

THE DATE OF THE *ARCHIVIO DI CRETULE* IN PHAISTOS

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The provenance of many Middle Minoan seals and sealings is unknown. In some cases, they have been found in the so-called tholos tombs, which have been in use for hundreds of years, or in some other context of a non-dating character. The internal, stylistic analysis of glyptics is advanced, but it has been difficult to establish a correspondence between different groups of seals and sealings and the general chronological system, which is mainly based on ceramics and on some stratigraphical evidence. The closed find of a large number of sealings and some pottery beneath a layer of concrete in the southern part of *vano* 25, the so-called *Archivio di Cretule*, in Phaistos, may, however, help to make the chronology of Middle Minoan glyptics more reliable.

The find has been interpreted in various ways and the dates given for it also vary considerably. The excavator, D. Levi, dates the sealings and pottery in his first phase, *prima fase*, corresponding to MM IB–IIA in Evans's chronological system¹. According to the architect at the excavations, E. Fiandra, the find belongs to the third constructional phase of the first palace (MM IIB in Evans's system)². A. Zois did not accept Levi's division of some of the material found in floor layers in Phaistos into a first and a second phase and suggested that the different strata reported by Levi were the remains of fallen-in upper storeys of a building dated in MM IIA³. This would, consequently, also be the date of the sealings in *vano* 25. For stylistic reasons, I. Pini favours a MM IIB date and V.E.G. Kenna has for similar reasons suggested a MM II–III date⁴. I have suggested a single stylistic period for the pottery and therefore on this point agree with Zois. On the other hand, I find his theory about fallen-in upper storeys difficult to accept. Floors and concrete from upper storeys do not generally fall in in such an orderly fashion, that it is possible for an excavator with the vast experience of D. Levi to interpret them as strata representing different phases. The stratigraphical evidence indicates that

The following special abbreviation is used:

L'Archivio D. Levi, 'L'Archivio di Cretule a Festòs', *ASAtene* N.S. 19/20, 1957/58, pp. 7–192.

Unless otherwise indicated, the numbers of the figures refer always to the figures of L'Archivio.

¹ L'Archivio, pp. 1–192.

² E. Fiandra, 'A che cosa servivano le cretule di Festòs', *Pepragmena tou B' Diethnous Kretologikou Syndriou*, p. 385, note 2.

³ A. Zois, 'Phaistiaka', *Ephem* 1965, pp. 27–109.

⁴ I. Pini, in: *CMS* II 5, pp. XIV–XVI, and V.E.G. Kenna, 'The Chronology of Cretan Seals', *Pepragmena a.O.*, p. 191.

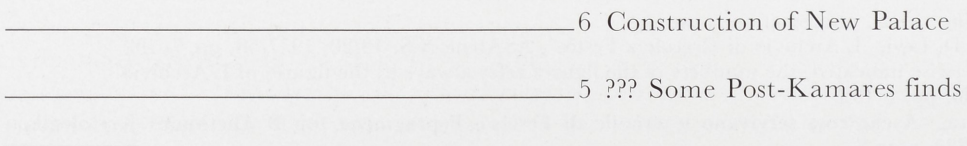
the strata actually belong to subsequent chronological phases. These two interpretations may at first seem difficult to reconcile, but repairs, new floors and other building activities do not necessarily cause changes in ceramic style. They are, in fact, totally independent of each other. My interpretation of the sequence of events in Phaistos can be summarized as follows.

- (1) Foundation of the palace while MM IA is still in use.
- (2) Repairs and rebuilding after some time, filling up of *Bastione II*, construction of new (north) palace wing.
- (3) Repairs after earthquake and addition of some rooms, ceramic material of the same stylistic phase as that of the floor deposits from the subsequent destruction, covered by concrete (*calcestruzzo*).
- (4) Destruction, ceramic material and other debris again covered by concrete before repairs.
- (5) Unknown events, repairs; the material of this phase largely removed by later building activities, some remains in the western part of the palace hill, some traces in the upper parts of walls.
- (6) Construction of the New Palace.

This interpretation corresponds largely to that of E. Fiandra, except for her date in MM IIA, according to Evans's system, for the stratum beneath the first layer of concrete.

My stylistic analysis of the pottery from Phaistos and Knossos led me to distinguish four different ceramic phases. The first phase, which I called Pre-Kamares, corresponds to Evans's MM IA. The second phase, called Early Kamares, corresponds to material labelled MM IB–IIA by Evans. The third phase, called Classical Kamares, corresponds to material which Evans classed as MM IIA, IIB and IIIA. The fourth phase, called Post-Kamares, corresponds to material which Evans classed as MM IIIA–IIIB. Evans's ceramic classes are thus not stylistically homogeneous and this fact has resulted in confusion in Middle Minoan relative chronology and, of course, also in difficulties in establishing a correspondence between the pottery sequence and the sequences of other types of material. The first stylistic phase is connected with the foundation of the palace of Phaistos, the second with the rebuilding and the filling up of *Bastione II*, the third with repairs and with the two subsequent, covering layers of concrete and the fourth with some remains on the western part of the palace hill in Phaistos and traces in the upper parts of the walls in the palace area excavated by Levi⁵.

The relations between the strata and the stylistic phases in Phaistos may be graphically represented in the following diagram:



⁵ See, for instance, E. Fiandra, 'I periodi struttivi del primo Palazzo di Festòs', *KretChron* 15–16, 1961–62, pp. 112–126, esp. pp. 121–122.

4 Floor with debris covered by *calcestruzzo* after destruction by fire. Classical Kamares material

3 Floor with debris covered by *calcestruzzo* after earthquake. Signs of hasty repair. Classical Kamares material

2 *Bastione II* etc.

1 Foundation. Pre-Kamares material

Rock

1-2 = Levi's *prima fase A* and Zois' Early Classical Phase.

2-3 = Levi's *prima fase B* and Zois' Ripe Classical Phase.

3-4 = Levi's *seconda fase* and Zois' Ripe Classical Phase, upper storey.

4-5 = Levi's *terza fase* and Zois' Late Classical Phase.

1-5 = Fiandra's *10-40 periodo*.

The stratigraphic evidence from the southern part of *vano 25* or *L'Archivio di Cretule* may be summarized as follows⁶:

Fill for second palace and floor

(c. -1.00), fill, mixed material

Calcestruzzo

Thin layer, pottery and sealings

Charcoal

Fill, containing solely Neolithic fragments

(-1.30)

Rock, sloping to the west

(-2.80)

In the northern part:

Mixed fill

Stone packing

The stratum beneath the concrete or *calcestruzzo* layer can be interpreted either as a fill or as a deposit of material left where it fell as the result of a catastrophe. Some filling material could also have been added to the catastrophe debris in order to level the area, before the concrete was poured. The vases in the stratum are, however, fairly well preserved. The sealing of this ceramic material by a layer of concrete soon after the catastrophe explains its good state of preservation. Well-preserved remains are not expected to be found in filling material which has been shovelled up and spread out.

⁶ L'Archivio, pp. 7-25.

The pottery in the stratum is stylistically homogeneous and it can be shown that parallels to the shapes and the decoration all occur in strata beneath concrete layers in other parts of the palace belonging to the third, Classical Kamares phase. The torsional and horizontal bands in the two jugs and the amphora in L'Archivio (*Fig. 32*) which, according to Levi, belong to the *prima fase* are simple and appear in any Kamares phase. The tall, ovoid and globular-conical shapes are, however, typical of the Classical Kamares phase. So is the concavity above the base, which gives the impression of a stem. The shape of the many small, rustic jugs decorated with antithetic *J*-spirals resembling a couple of leaves, also dated in his *prima fase*, is similar. Some of them, for instance those in L'Archivio, *Fig. 34c*, are rather tall and narrow, almost elongated and have the same concavity above the base as the vases in L'Archivio, *Fig. 32*. The tendency towards elongation is a late feature, which appears in Classical Kamares contexts and increases in Post-Kamares ones. The shape of these jugs and the amphora is obviously of late date.

The antithetic *J*-spiral motif on the small jugs is a simple variety of the more or less complicated *J*-spirals, mainly found in Classical and Post-Kamares contexts (see my motif 3:24-41). The shape of the horned jugs in L'Archivio, *Fig. 35*, is functionally conditioned and probably not very susceptible to change. The handles of metallic type and the globular shape of these bridge-spouted jars, L'Archivio, *Figs. 36a and 38a*, inv.no. C. 111 89 are, on the other hand, certainly Classical Kamares feature and the large spiral with the filled angle on the fragmentary amphora in *Fig. 36b* is a rather late motif. Filled spiral angles occur in Classical and Post-Kamares contexts and spirals of this size, almost covering one side of a vase, are more frequent in Post-Kamares than in Classical Kamares vases. The Post-Kamares varieties are, however, simpler. The rosette in the fragment, illustrated below the amphora (*Fig. 36c*), with its 'pointed petals' was considered by Evans to be a MM IIB motif (and mistakenly to be a late variety of the rosette with rounded petals). The spiral with the angle filled with a motif consisting of radiating, pointed petals and the double rows of filled, joined semicircles resulting in reserved diamonds, as in *Fig. 36f*, clearly belong to the same stylistic phase and so does the spiral-and-loop motif of the fragment on the left-hand side of the figure (*Fig. 36e*). Filled, joined semicircles do not appear in Early Kamares contexts. The spiral-and-loop motif may be compared with the combined *S*-spiral motif with filled angles etc., illustrated in Il Palazzo Minoico di Festòs I, Pl. XVIa⁷. Reserved rosettes, such as the ones in the two fragments in L'Archivio, *Fig. 37a-b*, appear in both Classical Kamares and Post-Kamares contexts. Of the large spiral on the fragment in *Fig. 37c* and of the joined, filled semicircles in *Fig. 37e, g, h and j*, we can say the same as of the varieties illustrated in *Fig. 36*: they are frequent in Classical Kamares contexts. Short, white strokes on broader black bands, as in *Fig. 37f*, appear in some vases from *vano* LI (see ASAtene N.S. 14-16, 1952-54, *Figs. 25 and 29*) which, according to Levi, belong to the *seconda fase*. There is no reason to date the fragment in an earlier phase than these vases. The rosette in the cup fragment, L'Archivio, *Fig. 37l*, does not have any close parallels but may be compared with various types of Classical Kamares rosettes with pointed petals. The frag-

⁷ L. Pernier, Il Palazzo Minoico di Festòs I, Rome 1935, Pl. XVIa, inv.no. C 5833.

ments in *Fig. 37i and m* do not permit us to draw any conclusions about the motifs as a whole, but the elements visible – the rounded petals and the petaloid loop with small internal dots – can be recognized from several Classical Kamares vases. The rhythm and curves of the lines are also characteristic of the Classical Kamares phase. The bridge-spouted jar in *Fig. 39* has a globular-conical shape which is not unlike that of the bridge-spouted jar from the Loom-weight Area of Knossos, illustrated in PM I, *Figs. 191 center and 192a*, though it is not quite as tall as these vases. The miniature ‘teapot’ is not a type susceptible to changes, owing to its special construction and small size. In some cases, Classical Kamares specimens may be difficult to distinguish from Early Kamares ones. Classical Kamares specimens, however, generally have a smaller spout pointing more obliquely upwards and a greater maximum diameter than Early Kamares ones. They are also lower and wider. The ‘teapot’, L’Archivio, *Fig. 41b*, clearly differs in shape and details from the Early Kamares specimens found in *Bastione II* and illustrated in ASAtene N.S. 19–20, Scavi, *Fig. 161n, p and q*. The globular jug with narrow neck and arched handle in L’Archivio, *Fig. 44f* is not unlike my types 117 and 125, which are represented solely in Classical and Post-Kamares contexts. The pointed petals visible in the large fragment, *Fig. 43a*, and the joined, filled semicircles in the cup, *Fig. 45a*, and the short strokes in the cup, *Fig. 45d*, are, as we have already seen, Classical Kamares features. Stone patterns, formed by small dots, such as those in *Fig. 45k* are not conclusive as regards the date, but small, irregular, white dots seem to be more frequent in Classical and Post-Kamares than in earlier contexts. The deep, straight-sided shape of the cups, *Fig. 46d and f*, cannot be used as the sole criterium in dating a context. The cup is also slightly irregular and not made with the same care and precision as most decorated specimens. But it is interesting to note that parallels generally seem to be found in Classical and Post-Kamares contexts.

To sum up, we can say that most decorative motifs and shapes in the vases of the stratum beneath the concrete layer in *vano 25* have clear Classical Kamares and later parallels and that no shape or motif is obviously Early Kamares or need even be suspected of belonging to that phase. Levi’s early date for some of the material is difficult to accept in view of later finds and was originally based on the correspondence between this material and, for instance, some material from *vani XXVII and XXVIII*. This material was probably ascribed to an earlier phase by Levi, because it was found in a stratum beneath a layer of concrete superseded by another stratum also covered by concrete. The stylistic correspondence between the material from the two strata in these rooms was not recognized at the time, nor was the stylistically earlier material from *Bastione II* etc. yet discovered. *Bastione II* was excavated in the two years following the excavation of *vano 25*.

If the pottery from under the concrete layer in the southern part of *vano 25* is stylistically homogeneous and represents the debris from a catastrophe left *in situ*, the sealings also ought to be debris material. The lumps of clay in which they were found are not likely to have been filling material brought from somewhere else, as E. Fiandra has suggested⁸. How is their presence in the debris to be explained? Levi’s theory – that we have to

⁸ Fiandra loc. cit., (note 2) p. 383.

do with some kind of archive – is, as E. Fiandra and I. Pini have pointed out⁹, not very probable. Several lumps of clay without seal impressions were found in the stratum and it is indeed difficult to understand why they should have been kept in an archive. Pini suggests that *vano* 25 was the room in the palace where different kinds of vessels were sealed and opened. This is, also in my opinion, the most probable solution. What is left is only the evidence of vases being opened. Why they were opened here is difficult to say. They may have contained oil or wine or something else delivered to the palace from outside, as a kind of tax, tithe or sacrifice. They may also have contained portions of some kind, distributed *from* the palace and consumed on the spot, shortly before the catastrophe. The more or less uniform size of many of the rustic jugs, which are decorated with antithetic spirals, is interesting in this connection.

An analysis of the sealing motifs provides support for dating the sealed nodules as contemporary with the accompanying pottery. In three cases, jugs are represented in the sealings: CMS II 5, 239, 240 and 322. Their shape closely corresponds to that of some of the small jugs decorated with antithetic *J*-spirals. The ovoid shape (it may be concave above the base) of the jug represented in no. 240 is, as we have seen above, a typical Classical Kamares one. The jug in CMS II 5, 322 is not unlike my type 117, which is found in Classical and Post-Kamares contexts¹⁰.

If we turn to the motifs of the sealings, we also find some correspondences between them and Classical Kamares pottery motifs. The radiating motifs in, for instance, CMS II 5, 82 and 124–140 (with the exceptions of nos. 128, 129 and 134) correspond fairly closely to Classical Kamares decorative elements. CMS II 5, 135 and 140 are direct equivalents to the Kamares rosettes with rounded petals. The motifs of CMS II 5, 169–181 and 204 may be compared with Classical Kamares varieties of antithetic *J*-spirals and the motif of CMS II 5, 194 is closely related to them. Whirling motifs not unlike, for instance, CMS II 5, 55, 107, 128, 129, 187–193, 196–198, 209–212 and 221, are frequent in Classical Kamares vases. The double axes in CMS II 5, 231–234 may perhaps be compared with the motifs on the vases in Boll. d'Arte 1956, *Fig. 24b5* and in Boll. d'Arte 1955, Pl. Ib, even though these are reserved, pictorialized elements and are not primarily meant to be representations of double axes. The filled-out angles between other elements in, for instance, CMS II 5, 53–55, 57, 97–99, 110, 139, 150, 159, 177, 187–190, 192, 194, 198, 205, 209 and 213–220, correspond to Classical Kamares *Zwickelfüllung* varieties.

It is true that some of the sealing motifs seem to correspond more closely to Early than to Classical Kamares material. The radiating motif in CMS II 5, 134 is a close parallel to a type of rosette, which is often found in Early Kamares vases. The circular motif in CMS II 5, 58 is reminiscent of a motif in a bridge-spouted jar from *Bastione* II (see ASAtene N.S. 19–20, 1957–58, *Fig. 153g*). The motif is, however, not of an exclusively Early Kamares character. A few motifs in the sealings seem to be of a rather early character, especially some rectilinear-network varieties. But networks formed by straight lines – cross-hatching – as in CMS II 5, 1–15, are used for accessory decoration on rims and bases of Classical Kamares vases. Seals held over from earlier phases are a common

⁹ I. Pini, CMS II 5, p. XI, and Fiandra loc. cit., (note 2) p. 384.

¹⁰ G. Walberg, Kamares. A Study of the Character of Palatial Middle Minoan Pottery, type 47.

phenomenon in archaeology and even if a few of these seal motifs are actually early, there is no need to make the date of the material as a whole early.

Some of the motifs of the sealings, for instance, CMS II 5, 270, seem, on the other hand, to be of a slightly *later* style than Classical Kamares motifs. The motifs in question are pictorial and of a concrete, representative character which is found in Post-Kamares decoration. There is, unfortunately, very little material for a comparison between glyptic and ceramic representative motifs. Pictorial motifs are extremely rare in Kamares decoration and the pictorialized motifs, which can be used for this purpose, are also rather few, owing to the fact that the Kamares painters chose to pictorialize abstract motifs into representations of other objects than those represented in the sealings. Floral representations – generally pictorialized spirals and radiating motifs – thus play a more important part in Kamares decoration than in glyptics. For instance, no Kamares representations of quadrupeds are known up to now, only a few cuttlefishes, an argonaut, a frog and a painted and a moulded fish. Human representations are also rare. In the large material excavated at Phaistos, there are only two vases with representations of dancing women – consisting of abstract elements such as petaloid loops, *J*-spirals, groups of radiating lines and joined semicircles¹¹ – and one vase with a pictorial representation of a man¹² – according to the principles of *Geradvorstelligkeit*¹³. It is obvious that these pictorial and pictorialized representations belong to two different traditions with different origins, though there may be a certain interaction between them (see Kamares, pp. 65–68). There is some correspondence between this representation of a man and the motifs of the sealings (CMS II 5, 323–324). Many of the figures represented in the sealings have the same curves and rhythms as abstract Kamares motifs. But unfortunately the comparison cannot be carried much further. The more concrete and stylistically more advanced character of the motifs of the sealings may perhaps be explained by differences in material and technique and, possibly, also by the fact that they were cut into a limited, flat surface, which provides a more neutral background than a vessel body. The seal was intended to leave a corresponding impression in another flat surface and the shape of the seal as a whole was of no importance for the composition of this motif. Kamares decoration is planned to accentuate the volume of the vase and is totally dependent on its shape. Shape and decoration are combined to give a certain overall effect. The motif of a seal has to be planned with regard only to the limits of the flat surface. The strong interdependence of shape and decoration in Kamares composition probably made the vessel wall difficult to conceive as a background for figures, a neutral space or a landscape etc. and may have prevented concreteness in Kamares motifs. Abstract and pictorialized motifs composed from abstract elements were more adaptable to Kamares composition than any pictorial representation could be. It is interesting to note that the interdependence of shape and decoration is less important in Post-Kamares pottery, in which more pictorial

¹¹ D. Levi, 'Attività della Scuola Archeologica italiana di Atene nell'anno 1955', *Boll. d'Arte* 41, 1956, p. 250, Fig. 26, and D. Levi, *The Recent Excavations at Phaistos (SIMA 11)*, Lund 1964, Fig. 25.

¹² D. Levi, *Boll. d'Arte* 41, 1956, p. 254, Fig. 33.

¹³ H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, Leipzig 1919. English transl. ed. by E. Brunner-Traut: *The Principles of Egyptian Art*, Oxford 1974, esp. p. 91.

motifs appear. The two vases with pictorialized representations of women from Phaistos are a bowl and a fruit-stand, providing comparatively large and flat areas for decoration. A date in the Classical Kamares phase (or in MM IIB in Evans's system) for the seal motifs in question seems reasonable.

Beside the differences in composition in glyptics and pottery, there are, however, also close connections. F. Matz¹⁴ and H. Biesantz¹⁵ have already shown that similar principles were at work. Biesantz drew attention to the tendencies in Minoan glyptics towards lines parallel to the frame or limits of the surface and contraction of the area of representation and the predilection for curved lines¹⁶. In my opinion, there is often the same attitude to volume and space in Minoan glyptics as in Kamares pottery. In Kamares pottery, we often find a tension between shape and decoration. The decoration seems to enclose the vase, preventing it from expanding in all directions. In the seals, there is often a similar tension between the border of the motif (=the edge of the flat surface) and the figures within it. The figures seem to press from within against the frame which encloses them. The effect may be described as that of a Kamares vase turned inside out. In some cases, there is a tension from the frame towards the centre or a network spanning the surface from the frame. Tendencies similar to those recognized in glyptics and pottery have also been thought to exist in Minoan architecture. Glyptics, pottery and architecture show traces of similar attitudes and the study of one of them may sometimes give us a better idea of features in the others. The following conclusions have therefore been arrived at in the present study:

- (1) The ceramic material from beneath the concrete layer in *vano* 25 is stylistically homogeneous and belongs to the Classical Kamares phase.
- (2) The material (including the sealings) is debris from a catastrophe, left *in situ* and not, as suggested elsewhere, filling material brought from some other part of the palace hill.
- (3) Vases represented in the sealings have shapes characteristic of the Classical Kamares phase, also found in the Post-Kamares phase.
- (4) The motifs of the sealings correspond in a great number of cases to Classical Kamares motifs.
- (5) A few sealing designs which appear to be early may reflect the presence of heirloom seals. It is a well-known fact that seals may be in use long after a stylistic change in pottery, as well as after a stylistic change in glyptics. Greater variation in the period of use is to be expected in stone objects than in pottery, which is easily broken.
- (6) Some representative motifs in the sealings, compared with Classical Kamares motifs, seem to be late. They have a concrete, pictorial character, which is not common

¹⁴ F. Matz, *Die frühkretischen Siegel. Eine Untersuchung über das Werden des minoischen Stiles*, Berlin & Leipzig 1928.

¹⁵ H. Biesantz, *Kretisch-mykenische Siegelbilder. Stilgeschichtliche und chronologische Untersuchungen*, Diss. Marburg 1954.

¹⁶ Biesantz *loc. cit.* p. 33.

¹⁷ Cf., for instance, V.E.G. Kenna, *Cretan Seals with a Catalogue of the Minoan Gems in the Ashmolean Museum*, cat. nos. 113. 201. 238. 239. 243. 244. 298. 314. 319 and 322.

in pottery decoration before the Post-Kamares phase. A later occurrence of such features in pottery decoration than in glyptics is not improbable, in view of the special function of the motifs in Kamares composition. A total stylistic correspondence between glyptics and pottery is not to be expected, though many details may coincide and even though the attitude to volume and space is similar in Minoan seal motifs and in Kamares pottery (the tension between the decoration and the vessel body and the enclosing frame). In view of all this, I suggest a date in the Classical Kamares phase or in MM IIB(–IIIA) in Evans's system for the closing of *vano* 25.

DISKUSSION

J.G. YOUNGER bemerkt, daß die Referentin mit dem Begriff »Classical Kamares« offenbar die Phasen MM IIB und MM IIIA von Evans und damit zwei von diesem unterschiedene Stilgruppen zusammenfaßt.

G. WALBERG erwidert, bei einer näheren Betrachtung von Evans' MM IIIA sei festzustellen, daß manche Stücke der Keramik dieser Phase mit derjenigen identisch sind, die Evans als MM IIB klassifiziert.

J.-C. POURSAT informiert, daß die Keramik aus dem »Quartier Mu« in Mallia stilistisch exakt den gezeigten Keramikbeispielen aus Phaistos entspricht. Die Keramik von Mallia korrespondiert mit Levis 1. und 2. Phase in Phaistos¹, und auch die Siegelabdrücke aus dem »Quartier Mu« entsprechen denjenigen von Phaistos. – Zum Problem der Phasen MM IIB und MM IIIA von Evans führt er aus, daß weder im »Quartier Mu« noch in Phaistos die Keramik später als MM IIB sei. Keinesfalls kann man bis in MM IIIA gehen, das Levi's 3. Phase entspricht. Die Grenze zwischen MM IIB und MM IIIA muß bestehen bleiben. – Problematisch erscheint ihm, daß einige der Abdrücke von Phaistos stilistisch entwickelter wirken, als die Funde aus Mallia, besonders diejenigen mit figürlichen Darstellungen (»style pictorial«). Dies könnte auf unterschiedliche Werkstatttraditionen zurückzuführen sein.

G. WALBERG betont noch einmal, daß ihrer Meinung nach die Phase MM IIIA nicht existiert.

J.-C. POURSAT fragt nach dem Unterschied zwischen der Keramik der 1. und der 2. Phase in Phaistos.

G. WALBERG sieht einen großen Unterschied: In der 1. Phase (»Early Kamares«) sind die Gefäßformen offener, »globular conical« oder »depressed«, in der 2. Phase (»Classical Kamares«) sind sie »ovoid« oder »globular rounded«. Die »semi-globular cup« mit Lippe findet sich nicht in »Early Kamares«². Auch in der Dekoration bestehen Unterschiede: Die »radiating« und »whirling motifs« der Phase »Classical Kamares«³ z.B. treten in »Early Kamares« nicht auf.

¹ Vgl. D. Levi, *The Recent Excavations at Phaistos*, SIMA XI (1964) 14; G. Walberg, *Kamares, A Study of the Character of Palatial Middle Minoan Pottery* (1976) 96ff. mit weiterer Literatur.

² Vgl. Walberg a.O. 179 Abb. 34.

³ Walberg a.O. 185ff. Abb. 40–42.