

Supplementary Content: Appendix

Appendix to accompany the *American Journal of Archaeology* publication:

The Functions of Masons' Marks in the Bronze Age Palace at Malia (Crete)

Maud Devolder

Link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.3764/aja.122.3.0343>

Published online 20 June 2018

American Journal of Archaeology Volume 122, Number 3

DOI: 10.3764/ajaonline1223.Devolder.appx

This online-only published content is freely available electronically immediately upon publication and can be distributed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License (CC BY-NC). This license allows anyone to reuse, remix, and build upon the content, as long as it is for legal noncommercial purposes; the new work must credit the author, the *AJA*, and the Archaeological Institute of America.



Appendix: Dataset of Minoan Masons' Marks

Table 1. Masons' marks in Minoan Crete.

	Knossos ^a	Phaistos ^b	Malia ^c	Petras ^d	Zakros ^e	Gournia ^f	Galatas ^g	Aghia Triada ^h	Amnisos ⁱ	Archanes ^j	Katsamba ^k	Khania ^l	Kommos ^m	Monastraki ⁿ	Nirou Hani ^o	Palaikastro ^p	Tylissos ^q	Xeri Kara ^r
Arch	x	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arrow	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Bras levés</i>	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Branch	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Circle with rays	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Crossed arms	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cross	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	x	-	x	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Distaff	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Door	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-
Double axe	x	x	x	x	x	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	x	x
Dumbbell	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Snake	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spiral	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Square	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Star	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
Strokes	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thunderbolt	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trident	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	x	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gamma	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Êta/Axle	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Psi	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pi	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tau	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Upsilon	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Wheel	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Window	x	x	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	x	-	-
Ligature or undetermined	x	x	x	-	-	-	x	-	x	-	x	x	-	-	-	-	x	-

^a Masons' marks at Knossos are recorded in the palace (Evans 1921, 4, 132–34, 204, 209, 218, 347, 364, 367, 393, 394, 425, 463, figs. 250, 322, pl. 10; 1928, 145, 146, 290, 296, 327, 582, 613, 663, 664 n. 1, 679, figs. 74, 171, 186, 187, 424; 1930, 7 n. 3, 161, 189, 244, 297, 299, 340, 346, 369, 374, 494, fig. 114; 1935, 4, 77, 650; Hood 1987, 2002); in the South-East House (Evans 1921, 425, 427, 436; 1930, 244; 1935, 212 n. 1); in the Little Palace (Evans 1921, 425; 1928, 542; Hatzaki 2005, 72–3, plans 26, 27, 34); in the Minoan Unexplored Mansion (Evans 1928, 545; Smyth et al. 1984, 121–22); in the South House (Evans 1930, 13 n. 3, 14; Driessen 2003, 28); in the High Priest House (Evans 1935, 202); in the Kephala tholos tomb (Hutchinson 1956, 77); in the Temple Tomb (Evans 1935, 971–73, 995); in the Isopata Royal Tomb (Evans 1906, 166–68, fig. 146, pl. 95); on the large dancing circle of the Stratigraphical Museum excavations (Warren 1983, 69, figs. 25, 27); in the “Serai” (at Skalani) (Evans 1928, 62–3); on re-used blocks in the Zafer Papoura cemetery (Evans 1906, 13, fig. 9); and on loose blocks (Evans 1928, 554). A synthetic publication by Hood and Bendall of the masons' marks discovered at Knossos is in preparation.

^b Pernier 1935, 399–415, figs. 239–43.

^c Masons' marks at Malia are recorded in the palace (Chapouthier 1930, 75–95; Olivier 1980), in House E (Deshayes and Dessenne 1959, 96–7), and in House Δβ (Demargne and Gallet de Santerre 1953, 49, pl. 22.3; Bradfer-Burdet and Pomadère 2011, 105 n. 15).

^d Tsipopoulou 1986.

^e Platon 1985, 96, 97.

^f Soles 1991, 50; Boyd-Hawes 1908, 25, fig. 9.

^g I thank G. Rethemiotakis who provided me with unpublished information on the masons' marks of the palace at Galatas. He underlines that all marks in the palace at Galatas (more than 100) are deeply cut on the lower or upper faces of the blocks and never on the visible side. The brief discussion of masons' marks in Rethemiotakis (1999, 19 n. 4) will be updated in the final publication on the palace.

^h Masons' marks at Aghia Triada are recorded in the Villa, Casa Est, Complesso della Mazza di Breccia, Piazza dei Sacelli, and on blocks reused in a LM III or later structure (Cucuzza 1992, 56, 59; 2001, table 1).

ⁱ Masons' marks at Amnissos are recorded in the villa (Schäfer 1992, 142, pls. 22, 122b, 123b), in the Megaron (Schäfer 1992, 158, pls. 26.3, 28.2), and on blocks reused in the Altar of Zeus Thenatas (Schäfer 1992, 177–78, tables 31.2, 31.3, 32.1–3, 128, 129).

^j Sakellarakis 1967.

^k Evans 1928, 255.

^l Driessen 1989–1990 n. 38.

^m Shaw 2006, 89–90.

ⁿ Kirsten 1951, 37, pl. 33.2.

^o Xanthoudidis 1922, 24.

^p MacGillivray et al. 1992, 124–25, fig. 4; Driessen 2000, 36 n. 9.

^q Hazzidakis 1934, 8, 33, pl. 8.1.

^r Daux 1959, 740.

Table 2. Catalogue of the blocks bearing masons' marks in the walls of the Neopalatial palace at Malia. (See fig. 6 in the published article for the location of each block.)

Block N°	Mark (type)	Mark N° Olivier 1980	Block trimmed (T) or not (NT)	Mark on trimmed face	Deep (D) or shallow (S) mark	Relation of the face upon which the mark is carved with the stratification of the stone	Block shape ^a
Blocks bearing masons' marks in their initial position in the Neopalatial walls of the palace at Malia							
1	<i>Bras levés</i>	40	NT	No	D	Parallel	C
2	<i>Bras levés</i>	60	T	No	D	Undetermined	C
2	<i>Bras levés</i>	61	T	No	D	Undetermined	C
3	<i>Bras levés</i>	72	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
4	<i>Bras levés</i>	38	T	No	D	Undetermined	C
5	<i>Bras levés</i>	15	T	No	D	Parallel	B*
6	<i>Bras levés</i>	13	T	No	D	Parallel	C
7	<i>Bras levés</i>	14	T	No	D	Parallel	B*
8	<i>Bras levés</i>	26	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
9	<i>Bras levés</i>	62	T	No	D	Undetermined	A
10	<i>Bras levés</i>	55	T	No	D	Parallel	C
11	Star	54	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	B
12	<i>Bras levés</i>	36	T	No	D	Parallel	B
13	<i>Bras levés</i>	35	T	No	D	Parallel	C
14	<i>Bras levés</i>	204	T	No	D	Parallel	B*
15	Star	39	T	No	D	Undetermined	C
16	Double axe	57	T	Yes	D	Undetermined	D

16	Star	59	T	Yes	S	Undetermined	D
17	Star	71	NT	No	D	Undetermined	A
18	Star	69	T	No	D	Undetermined	C
19	Star	68	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
20	Star	88	T	No	D	Undetermined	B
21	Star	51	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
22	Star	209	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	D
23	Cross	65	T	No	D	Parallel	A
23	Star	66	T	No	D	Perpendicular	A
24	Star	58	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	D
25	Star	19	NT	No	D	Perpendicular	A
26	Star	22	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
27	Star	47	T	No	D	Undetermined	A
28	Star	48	NT	No	D	Parallel	B
29	Star	37	T	No	D	Parallel	B*
30	Star	5	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
31	Star	45	T	No	D	Perpendicular	C
32	Star	89	T	No	D	Parallel	C
33	Star	53	Und.	Und.	D	Perpendicular	C
34	Star	21	NT	No	D	Undetermined	A
35	Star	–	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
36	Star	6	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
37	Star	20	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
38	Star or trident	–	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
39	Trident	1	NT	No	D	Perpendicular	B
40	Trident	42	T	No	D	Perpendicular	C
41	Trident	31	T	No	D	Parallel	B

42	Trident	24	NT	No	D	Perpendicular	A
43	Trident	2	NT	No	D	Undetermined	A
44	Trident	42bis	T	No	D	Undetermined	C
45	Trident	208	T	Yes	D	Undetermined	D
46	Trident	3	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
47	Trident	4	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
48	Trident	43	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
49	Trident	-	T	No	D	Parallel	A
50	Trident	67	T	No	D	Parallel	A
51	Double axe	27	T	No	D	Undetermined	A
52	Double axe	28	T	No	D	Parallel	B
52	Snake	28	T	No	D	Parallel	B
53	Double axe	30	T	No	D	Parallel	B
54	Double axe	34	T	No	D	Parallel	C
55	Double axe	33	T	No	D	Parallel	C
56	Double axe	12	NT	No	D	Parallel	B
57	Double axe	7	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
58	Double axe	56	T	Yes	D	Perpendicular	D
59	Double axe	17	T	No	D	Undetermined	A
60	Double axe	16	T	No	D	Undetermined	A
61	Double axe	11	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
62	Double axe	8	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
63	Double axe	9	NT	No	D	Parallel	A
64	Double axe	25	NT	No	D	Perpendicular	A
65	Axle	87	T	No	D	Undetermined	B
66	Axle	52	T	No	D	Undetermined	B
67	Cross	23	NT	No	D	Undetermined	A

68	Dumbbell	50	T	No	D	Parallel	B
69	Branch	90	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	C
70	Branch	92	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	B
71	Branch	93	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	B
72	Branch	91	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	C
73	Branch	90bis	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	C
Neopalatial blocks bearing masons' marks reused in LM II structures in the palace at Malia							
74	Star	76	T	Yes	S	Undetermined	B
75	Star	78	T	Yes	S	Undetermined	B
76	Star	79	T	Yes	S	Undetermined	B
77	Star	83	T	No	D	Parallel	B
78	Branch	77	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	B
79	Branch	85	T	Yes	S	Undetermined	B
80	Branch	73	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	B
81	Branch	75	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	B
82	Branch	80	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	B
83	Branch	86	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	B
84	Branch	74	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	A
85	Branch	84	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	C
Blocks bearing masons' marks and no longer in position in the palace at Malia							
86	Double axe	94	–	No	D	Parallel	–
87	Star	70	T	No	D	Undetermined	C
88	Star	96	NT	No	D	Parallel	–
89	Star	97	T	No	D	Parallel	C
90	Star	106	T	No	D	Parallel	Slab
91	Star	32	T	No	D	Parallel	B
92	Star	46	T	No	D	Parallel	C

93	Star	107	T	No	D	Parallel	C
94	Star	49	T	No	D	Parallel	C
95	Star	108	NT	No	D	Parallel	-
96	Star	98	T	No	D	Parallel	-
97	Star	99	NT	No	D	Perpendicular	-
98	Star	100	NT	No	D	Perpendicular	C
99	Star	101	T	No	D	Parallel	Slab
100	Star	102	NT	No	D	Undetermined	Slab
101	Star	103	T	No	D	Parallel	Slab
102	Star	104	T	No	D	Parallel	Slab
103	Star	105	T	No	D	Parallel	Slab
104	<i>Bras levés</i>	18	T	No	D	Parallel	C
105	<i>Bras levés</i>	95	T	No	D	Undetermined	Slab
106	<i>Bras levés</i>	112	NT	No	D	Perpendicular	-
107	Trident	44	T	No	D	Undetermined	-
108	Trident	109	T	No*	D	Undetermined	Slab
109	Trident	110	NT	No	D	Parallel	-
110	Trident?	111	NT	No	D	Parallel	-
111	Branch	81	T	Yes	S	Undetermined	B
112	Branch	113	T	Yes	S	Undetermined	B
113	Branch	114	T	Yes	S	Undetermined	B
114	Branch	115	T	Yes	S	Undetermined	C
115	Branch	116	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	C
116	Branch	117	T	Yes	S	Perpendicular	B
117	Branch	118	T	Yes	S	Undetermined	C
118	Snake	41	T	No	D	Undetermined	B
119	Dumbbell	119	T	No	D	Parallel	A

120	–	120	NT	No	D	Undetermined	–
121	–	121	NT	No	D	Parallel	–

^a See the description of the block types in the section “The Neopalatial Building Program of the Palace at Malia” of the published article.

Works Cited

- Boyd-Hawes, H., ed. 1908. *Gournia, Vasiliki and Other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Ierapetra, Crete: Excavations of the Wells-Houston-Cramp Expeditions 1901, 1903, 1904*. Philadelphia: The American Exploration Society.
- Bradfer-Burdet, I., and M. Pomadère. 2011. “Δβ at Malia: Two Houses or One Large Complex?” In *ΣΤΕΓΑ: The Archaeology of Houses and Households in Ancient Crete*, edited by K.T. Glowacki and N. Vogeikoff-Brogan, 99–108. *Hesperia* Suppl. 44. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens.
- Chapouthier, F. 1930. *Les écritures minoennes au palais de Mallia. ÉtCrét 2*. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- Cucuzza, N. 1992. “Masons’ Marks at Ayia Triada.” *Sileno* 18:53–64.
- . 2001. “Un’altra nota sui mason’s marks.” *CretAnt* 2:105–11.
- Daux, G. 1959. “Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1958.” *BCH* 83:567–793.
- Demargne, P., and H. Gallet de Santerre. 1953. *Exploration des maisons et quartiers d’habitation. 1, 1921–1948. ÉtCrét 9*. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- Deshayes, J., and A. Dessenne. 1959. *Fouilles exécutées à Mallia: Exploration des maisons et quartiers d’habitation (1948–1954). ÉtCrét 11*. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- Driessen, J. 1989–1990. “The Proliferation of Minoan Palatial Architectural Style: (I) Crete.” *ActaArchLov* 28–29:3–23.
- . 2000. “The Architectural Environment.” In *The Palaikastro Kouros: A Minoan Chryselephantine Statuette and Its Aegean Bronze Age Context*, edited by J.A. MacGillivray, J.M. Driessen, and L.H. Sackett, 35–47. *BSA Studies* 6. London: The British School at Athens.
- . 2003. “An Architectural Overview.” In *Knossos: The South House*, edited by P.A. Mountjoy et al., 27–35. *BSA Suppl.* 34. London: The British School at Athens.

- Evans, A.J. 1906. Reprint. *The Prehistoric Tombs of Knossos*. Vol. 1, pt. 2, *The Cemetery of Zafer Papoura: The Royal Tomb of Isopata*. London: B. Quaritch. Originally published in *Archaeologia* 59 (1905):526–62.
- . 1921. *The Palace of Minos*. Vol. 1. London: Macmillan.
- . 1928. *The Palace of Minos*. Vol. 2. London: Macmillan.
- . 1930. *The Palace of Minos*. Vol. 3. London: Macmillan.
- . 1935. *The Palace of Minos*. Vol. 4. London: Macmillan.
- Hatzaki, E.M. 2005. *Knossos: The Little Palace*. BSA Suppl. 38. London: British School at Athens.
- Hazzidakis, J. 1934. *Les villas minoennes de Tylissos*. *ÉtCrét* 3. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- Hood, S. 1987. “Mason’s Marks in the Palaces.” In *The Function of the Minoan Palaces: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 10–16 June, 1984*, edited by R. Hägg and N. Marinatos, 205–12. *ActaAth* 35. Stockholm: Swedish Institute in Athens.
- . 2002. “Minoan ‘Masons’ Marks.” *Cretan Studies* 7:97–110.
- Hutchinson, R.W. 1956. “A Tholos Tomb on the Kephala.” *BSA* 51:74–80.
- Kirsten, E. 1951. “Die Grabung auf der Charakeshöhe bei Monastiraki I.” In *Forschungen auf Kreta 1942*, edited by F. Matz, 27–61. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- MacGillivray, J.A., L.H. Sackett, J. Driessen, and S. Hemingway. 1992. “Excavations at Palaikastro, 1991.” *BSA* 87:121–52.
- Olivier, J.-P. 1980. “Catalogue des marques de maçons.” In *Le palais de Malia*. V, by O. Pelon, 175–238. *ÉtCrét* 25. Paris: P. Geuthner.
- Pernier, L. 1935. *Il palazzo minoico di Festòs: Scavi e studi della Missione archeologica italiana a Creta dal 1900 al 1934*. Vol. 1, *Gli strati piu antichi e il primo palazzo*. Rome: Libreria dello stato.
- Platon, N. 1985. *Zakros: The Discovery of a Lost Palace of Ancient Crete*. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert.
- Rethemiotakis, G. 1999. “Social Rank and Political Power: The Evidence from the Minoan Palace at Galatas.” In *Eliten in der Bronzezeit: Ergebnisse zweier Kolloquien in Mainz und Athen*. Vol. 1, edited by the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Forschungsinstitut für Vor-

und Frühgeschichte in Kommission bei Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, 19–36. Monographien des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums 43(1). Mainz: Verlag der Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums.

Sakellarakis, J. 1967. “Mason’s Marks from Arkhanes.” In *Europa: Studien zur Geschichte und Epigraphik der Frühen Aegaeis. Festschrift für Ernst Grumach*, edited by W.C. Brice, 277–88. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Schäfer, J., ed. 1992. *Amnisos nach den archäologischen, historischen und epigraphischen Zeugnissen des Altertums und der Neuzeit*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann.

Shaw, J.W. 2006. “Architectural Blocks, Mason’s Marks, and Column Bases from the Southern Area.” In *Kommos. Vol. 5, The Monumental Minoan Buildings at Kommos*, edited by J.W. Shaw and M.C. Shaw, 86–91. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press.

Smyth, D., M.R. Popham, and K. McFadzean. 1984. “The Architecture.” In *The Minoan Unexplored Mansion at Knossos*, edited by M.R. Popham et al., 99–125. *BSA Suppl.* 17. Oxford: The British School at Athens.

Soles, J.S. 1991. “The Gournia Palace.” *AJA* 95(1):17–78.

Tsiporoulou, M. 1986. “Τεκτονικό σημείο απο τον Πετρά Σητείας.” *AAA* 19:171–77.

Warren, P.M. 1983. “Knossos: Stratigraphical Museum Excavations. Part II.” *AR* 1982–1983:63–87.

Xanthoudidis, S. 1922. “Μινωικόν μέγαρον Νίρου.” *ArchEph*:1–25.