

DEDICATIONS IN CLAY:
TERRACOTTA FIGURINES IN EARLY IRON AGE GREECE
(c. 1100-700 BCE)

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In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree

Doctor of Philosophy

by

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Dr. Susan Langdon, Dissertation Supervisor

MAY 2007

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The undersigned, appointed by the Dean of the Graduate School,
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TERRACOTTA FIGURINES IN EARLY IRON AGE GREECE
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Presented by Erin Walcek Averett

A candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

And hereby certify that in their opinion it is worthy of acceptance.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographic abbreviations used in this dissertation follow those of the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

Chronological Abbreviations:

All dates are approximate.

LBA	Late Bronze Age	1600-1050
LH	Late Helladic	1600-1050
SM	Submycenaean	1100-1000
EIA	Early Iron Age	1100-700
PG	Protogeometric	1000-900
LPG	Late Protogeometric	950-900
EG	Early Geometric	900-800
MG	Middle Geometric	800-750
LG	Late Geometric	750-700
SG	Subgeometric	700-675
EA	Early Archaic	700-600
LC	Late Cypriot	1600-1100
CGI	Cypro-Geometric I	1100-900
CGII-III	Cypro-Geometric II-III	900-750
CAI	Cypro-Archaic I	750-600
CAII	Cypro-Archaic II	600-480

Other Abbreviations:

D.	diameter
H.	height
L.	length
MGUA	Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms

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Erin Walcek Averett

Dr. Susan Langdon, Dissertation Supervisor

ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores early Greek religion and society through a contextual analysis of the ritual use of terracotta votive figurines in the Early Iron Age, c. 1100-700 BCE. I have compiled the major deposits of terracotta figurines (both zoomorphic and anthropomorphic) from sanctuaries in the Peloponnesos and East Greece, creating a broad typology and chronology applicable to all Geometric terracotta figurines that allows for an in-depth analysis of the use, distribution, and symbolism of this category of votive offering. Terracotta figurines are among the earliest and most abundant figural symbols used in early Greece and offer insight into the evolving religious beliefs and social changes of the period. My diachronic approach to the Early Iron Age highlights the relationship of Geometric ritual to Mycenaean and Archaic traditions and contributes to the ongoing research in Greek religion, sculpture, figurine studies, and gender studies. I conclude my dissertation with a consideration of the relationship between votive, deity, and worshipper, exploring how gender construction and evolving social hierarchies in the Geometric period are reflected in the rituals practiced. This study highlights the elite concerns of figurines and their growing use throughout the Geometric period for encoding social roles in a changing society.

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

PART I

Mantiklos dedicated me to the far-darter of the silver bow as a tithe.

But you, Phoibos, give some pleasing favor in return.¹

From the eighth century, the gifts that worshippers donated to deities were a conspicuous aspect of most Greek sanctuaries. So important was this gift-giving that some of the earliest inscriptions, such as the inscription on a bronze warrior figurine quoted above, served to elucidate the reciprocal function of these dedications.² Almost all Greek sanctuaries received throughout their histories hundreds and sometimes thousands of terracotta figurines among the many gifts dedicated by both local and visiting pilgrims. Unlike other votives, figurines were small, portable, and affordable to most of the population. This does not necessarily imply, as many have assumed, that more humble worshippers dedicated these offerings. In fact, literary evidence suggests that the terracotta figurines were dedicated and noted by all sorts of visitors to these shrines, suggesting that figurines, along with other votives, formed an important visual element in many cults, giving expression to the religious beliefs and concerns of the worshippers.³

Monumental and exotic dedications often overshadow the more unassuming terracotta offerings in later Greek sanctuaries, but terracotta figurines and statuettes were prominent in some of the earliest sanctuaries. They were figural, non-utilitarian, and likely prominently displayed

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around the only architectural component: the altar. These figurines represented socially meaningful symbols intended to communicate the desires, hopes, and concerns of the worshippers in a dramatic way. A diachronic investigation into the origins and evolution of these symbols yields great advantages in reconstructing early Greek cult.⁴

THE HISTORICAL SETTING

The transitional period between the Mycenaean Aegean world and Archaic Greece has received increased scholarly attention as finds from scientific excavations continually expand our knowledge of this period. The Early Iron Age (EIA), c. 1100-700 BCE, is an amalgam of the remnants of Late Bronze Age Mycenaean culture and the seeds of later Greek institutions, a period of both conservatism and innovation. The generally perishable nature of the material culture, the absence of writing, and the limited nature of representative art complicate reconstruction of this crucial era. Although some traditions and artistic forms survived the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces, their use and symbolic meanings must have been adapted to suit the drastically changed socio-political environment. Likewise, traditions and forms that continued into the Archaic period did not necessarily carry the same meanings they did in the Geometric era.

Since the pioneering and influential work of Vincent Desborough, Anthony Snodgrass, and Nicolas Coldstream, the Early Iron Age has received ongoing study. The questions surrounding the collapse and disintegration of Mycenaean culture have served as the impetus for refining our knowledge of post-palatial Greece. At the same time, inquiries into the origins of many historical Greek institutions and trends have highlighted the need for further research on prehistoric and preliterate Greece.⁵ These investigations have revised our understanding of early Greece in two major areas. It has long been accepted that Mycenaean culture did not abruptly end

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with a Dorian invasion, but gradually died out as the Greeks adapted to new ways of life in a changing socio-economic world. Moreover, traditional Greek culture did not arise fully formed at the end of the eighth century with the sudden appearance of the polis. The revision of the Dorian invasion theory underscores the complex issue of continuity, once a hotly debated subject, especially in regard to Greek religion.

There is no longer serious doubt that certain Mycenaean cultural markers, such as language, toponyms, theonymns, chariots, artistic and religious iconography, and ceramic shapes, continued in some form after the collapse of the palaces and the post-palatial LH IIIC urban culture.⁶ The drastically changed conditions initiated by the collapse of a highly centralized, bureaucratic government insured, however, that nothing Mycenaean remained unchanged throughout the next centuries. Understanding the continuities, innovations, and revivals of the EIA sheds light on both LBA and Archaic Greece. Today the nature and type of continuity must be clarified. Scholars distinguish between spatial continuity (i.e. continuous site use) and the continuity of ideologies, beliefs, and symbols (something not always visible in the material record). The phenomenon of intentional revival of older motifs has been explored. Finally, the importance of regional differences in regards to these issues is recognized.

This study addresses the survival, re-introduction, and creation of new religious imagery in EIA cult. The context and pattern of dedication allow for a discussion of the producers and users of these votive objects. This project places terracotta figurine within the broader historical context of the EIA, relating their use to what came before and after in order to shed light on EIA religious and social transformations.

THE SCOPE OF THIS PROJECT

This dissertation participates in the current dialogue concerning EIA Greece through an exploration of the material products of religious rituals, specifically the terracotta sculpture dedicated at several sanctuary sites in Greece. Although the EIA is known for the rarity of figurative art, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures and figurines occur at many sites on mainland Greece and the Aegean islands. These coroplastic works, found almost exclusively in sanctuaries and graves, depict imagery that offers insight into ritual and religious communication systems. Terracotta is one of the few materials Geometric Greeks used to depict figural subjects and the iconography offers glimpses of the ideology and belief systems of many EIA cults. An analysis of these terracottas grounded in context and production, from their waning in the post-Mycenaean era to their dramatic increase by the end of the eighth century, sheds new light on religious, funerary, and social issues.

This project is based on a broad survey of terracotta dedications from key sanctuary deposits from mainland Greece and the Aegean islands that date between c. 1100-700. Terracotta sculpture is defined as any three-dimensional representation modeled out of clay, either by hand or on the wheel (later in moulds), and fired at a low temperature. The term “figurine” is used to describe pieces that are under 15cm in reconstructed height, while the term “figure” describes larger examples. In general, EIA figurines are small, handmade and relatively easy to produce. They are simply painted with little or no decoration. Figures, by contrast, are usually made on the wheel with handmade additions and are often quite elaborate in manufacture and decoration. These statuettes would have required more skill, time, and clay to produce and were likely more valued.

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These figurines are the material remains of the ephemeral dedicatory gestures of worshippers and provide information on the cultic life of various communities. There has been a flurry of studies devoted to exploring the votive habits and religion of certain cults or regions, and many valuable syntheses of geographical or religious trends.⁷ My research is intentionally broad in terms of geography and cults, but focuses chronologically on the EIA. By limiting this investigation to the Geometric period and by focusing on one type of offering, terracotta figurines, this study isolates a rich and broad, yet manageable, corpus of religious artifacts not previously synthesized. This synchronous approach provides a diachronic evaluation of early Greek cult, increasing our understanding of coroplastic development and adding to our knowledge of the production and function of these dedications.

This study begins with the premise that donors invested their gifts to the gods with meaning, though the precise motivation and meaning might be personal and therefore not reconstructible. The gifts and their dedicants, however, were part of a social structure with culturally predetermined systems of belief and ways of expressing this belief. The repetition of certain symbols confirms this. Votives, along with prayer and sacrifice, were a primary means of communicating with culturally understandable symbols. The figurine assemblage, which consists of readily identifiable types, supports this assumption. For this reason, I assume that each offering left at a Greek sanctuary is the direct result of a cultic gesture whose primary motivation was communication with the divine, a material record of “religious dialogues.”⁸ An examination of these offerings illuminates the personal and social motivations of the donor, the concerns of the society, and the Early Iron Age conception of the divine.

This investigation focuses on certain research questions regarding sanctuary dedication and is therefore concerned with figurines found in sanctuaries, a singular and well-defined context. Terracotta figures and figurines were deposited as grave goods and sometimes buried as

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prized possessions of the deceased; the types and distribution of terracottas found in graves offer interesting parallels with those dedicated in sanctuaries.⁹ Catherine Morgan has emphasized the need to consider all forms of ideological expression, avoiding the traditional division between “funerary” and “cultic” contexts.¹⁰ This dissertation notes similarities and differences between religious and funerary coroplastic traditions and my findings can be tested against the funerary and domestic assemblages by future studies.

The term “votive” in a strict sense refers to gifts dedicated in accordance with a vow. The ancient Greeks themselves, however, used several words seemingly interchangeably to refer to dedications. The textual evidence thus indicates that a strict distinction for offerings did not exist in ancient Greece, but the reciprocal nature of Greek religion makes it likely that some of the dedications accompanied vows.¹¹ Eric Brulotte distinguishes the following motivations for giving a gift to a deity in Greek religion.¹² An *anathema* refers to placing an offering on or above, the act of setting up the gift for display in the sanctuary. Gifts were displayed on bases, columns, and hung from trees and walls. Walter Burkert has also noted the importance of the visibility of offerings, which affected “perpetuating a claim to special relations with higher powers.”¹³ Another term used to describe offerings is *doron* (“gift”) and the most common word used is *agalma* (a pleasing gift, a beautiful ornament for the sanctuary), which was used indiscriminately to refer to any offering whether it accompanied a vow or not.¹⁴ Gifts could also be given as a thank-offering for prayers or vows fulfilled: *charisterion*. Finally, dedications were given as mementos, *mnemata*.

Motivations for gift-giving in the historical Greek period focus on the act of setting up a gift, conspicuous displays of piety and status, giving objects that please the deity, and lastly gifts that serve as a motivation for granting a wish or as a thank-offering for a fulfilled vow or prayer. Whether such motivations existed in the EIA is unclear, but by the end of the eighth century at

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least some offerings were given in association with vows. Due to the complex and often ambiguous rationales behind gift giving, this study uses the term “votive” in a broad sense to refer generally to a gift dedicated to a deity.

It is important to keep in mind that not all objects in Greek sanctuaries were deposited as votives and a more nuanced understanding of the use of images is possible. Some of the major motivations for placing works in a sanctuary include:

1. **Religious Symbols.** An object that depicts a religious symbol could be displayed in the sanctuary. These objects of display could have functioned as cult statues or cult idols. Both represent the divine, but the former would have been permanently displayed as the focus of ritual, while the latter could have been displayed or carried in processions. These might not have been conceived of as an abode for the deity, and therefore were not necessarily objects of veneration themselves. Religious symbols could represent the deity, a sacred animal, or even sacred symbols, such as bucrania, that may relate to cultic rituals. Religious symbols that were displayed emphasized and perhaps even delineated the sacred area of the shrine.¹⁵
2. **Cult Paraphernalia.** Utilitarian objects used for rituals were also left at a sanctuary, since they were presumably sanctified and could not leave the area. Such objects include rhyta, phialai and other vessels used in ritual libations; plates, cups, spits, cauldrons, and utensils used in ritual banquets; implements involved in animal sacrifice, such as knives or axes, and the burnt bones and ashes of the animals themselves. These items are found at most Greek sanctuaries, but such practical sacred objects are often the only material remains found at PG and EG sanctuaries, perhaps indicative of the importance of ritual activities (sacrifice, libation, and feasting) over material gift-giving practices.¹⁶

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3. **Votive Gifts made exclusively for offering.** We cannot reconstruct the exact motivations for offering. Many EIA gifts were made exclusively for offering and were likely produced at or near the sanctuary itself. These gifts take the form of non-utilitarian items, i.e., they serve no function other than votive. EIA votives include bronze and terracotta figurines, monumental jewelry (not intended for actual use) and perhaps also some of the more elaborate tripod cauldrons, which may or may not have been used in food preparation.¹⁷
4. **Personal Items left as Votive Offerings.** In addition to giving gifts made expressly for offering, worshippers could also dedicate personal items, which had a previous use-life.¹⁸ This category includes the offering of clothes, jewelry, heirlooms, toys, and hair. Included in this category are also spontaneous offerings, such as flowers or natural oddities. It is likely that this type of offering was popular at all periods, but many of these dedications are perishable and have not survived in the archaeological record.
5. **Commemorative Votives.** This category includes gifts given to accompany a specific event, for which there is no evidence from the EIA, since there are no texts to illuminate specific motivations for setting up a votive. Commemorative votives in later periods include arms or specifically commissioned art given to commemorate a victory in battle, but they can also include other offerings such as hair or clothing given to mark an important initiation rite.

The majority of terracotta figurines fall into the third category (votive gifts), since they were made as votives and served no practical function in ritual or daily life. A few notable EIA examples, however, might be examples of category one (religious symbols). EIA coroplastic sculpture reflects common religious subjects apparent at most Geometric sanctuaries: sacred or

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sacrificial animals, divine imagery, worshipper imagery, agricultural concerns, and elite participation. Agricultural animals, especially cattle, elite warriors and their chariots and horses, and elite women, perhaps representations of priestesses and some depictions of goddesses, dominate the assemblage.

The aim of this project is the identification of meaningful patterns in the dedications of figurine types that illuminate the development of early cult.¹⁹ Pattern recognition involves identifying continuities and discontinuities in the coroplastic tradition. This study focuses on dedicatory patterns in sanctuary offerings, which can be integrated in the future with other coroplastic patterns. By analyzing the types, quantities, and relation of figurines to other religious objects, we can begin to reconstruct past systems of activities and come closer to understanding the religious significance of figurines, their dedicators, and the earliest forms of Greek religion.²⁰ To achieve this, my research sets out a meaningful organization of EIA coroplastic types, an analysis of their archaeological contexts, and concludes with an investigation into their place within Greek EIA society and religion.

THE DISTRIBUTION

The production of terracotta figurines was not uniform in EIA Greece. The geographical range of this study is not random, but reflects the EIA figurine distribution pattern. Reynold Higgins first surveyed the general distribution of early Greek terracottas and his basic geographic analysis is confirmed by this study.²¹ There is a noticeable dearth of terracotta sculpture from northern Greece and Magna Graecia in the EIA. Although Geometric bronze figurines have been found at several central Greek sanctuaries, notably Delphi and Kalapodi, there are no terracotta figurines dedicated at these sanctuaries before the Archaic period.²² Boeotia is the home of a rich coroplastic tradition that begins in the LG, but these figurines are found only in graves.²³

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Similarly, terracotta figurines and figures from Euboea were used in funerary settings, although some show signs of prior use.²⁴

Attica also had a rich coroplastic output throughout the EIA geared toward the production of funerary figurines. Terracotta figurines were not, however, a part of Attic sanctuaries.²⁵ The Kerameikos and Agora graves contained several wheelmade figures of similar techniques to ones found in other sanctuaries, but the types are unparalleled or rare in the votive assemblage.²⁶ Graves from the Kerameikos and Agora in Athens also contained handmade figurines.²⁷ An unusual class of handmade incised ware figurines has an extremely isolated distribution, concentrated in Attica; no figurines of this ware have been found in sanctuaries.²⁸ There are a few wheelmade cattle figures from the slopes of the Athenian Acropolis, but the context of these objects is unclear due to the ambiguity of their original location as well as the function of the Acropolis in the EIA.²⁹ From the Acropolis proper, there are perhaps three or four crude handmade anthropomorphic figurines that may date to the LG.³⁰ None of these terracottas can be securely associated with a sanctuary and are therefore not included in this study.³¹ The well-known Geometric sanctuary of Zeus on Mt. Hymettos did not receive figurine dedications in the EIA, only a single horse from the seventh century.³²

Sanctuaries that received terracotta dedications are concentrated in the Peloponnesos, Crete, the Aegean islands, and Cyprus. In the Peloponnesos, notable exceptions include the Argolid plain. Geometric ritual deposits have been found on the Larissa acropolis, which included a Geometric bronze horse and terracotta pomegranates, and on the Aspis hill, which also had terracotta pomegranates but no figurines.³³ The existence of sanctuaries in Argos itself, where the reconstruction of cult sites is difficult due to the nature of excavating a modern city, is unclear.³⁴ Excavations have unearthed figurines in the area of the later agora and the area of the later theater.³⁵ These strata are mixed, often including graves, and contain much funerary material;

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thus the context of several interesting warrior figurines is not clear. The Argive Heraion received Geometric dedications, but the terracotta figurines do not begin until the early seventh century.³⁶ Of the Isthmian sanctuaries with Geometric material, only the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia received terracotta dedications.³⁷

In Arcadia, the well-known Geometric sanctuary of Artemis at Lusoi did not receive terracotta figurines until the seventh century.³⁸ In fact, while several Geometric Arcadian sanctuaries received bronze figurines (sanctuary of Artemis Knakeatis at Mavriki, sanctuary of Poseidon at Petrovouni, sanctuary of Apollo Epikourios at Bassai), only the Athena Alea sanctuary at Tegea received terracotta figurine offerings in the Geometric period.³⁹

In the Aegean, terracottas are primarily found in the East Greek islands. In general, the terracotta figurines do not appear in the Ionian sanctuaries on the coast of Asia Minor until the Archaic period.⁴⁰ The ongoing excavations in Ionia, however, might bring to light more figurines. The many Geometric cults and sites in the Cyclades, including the sanctuary on Delos, in general did not receive dedications of terracotta figurines.⁴¹

Terracotta figurines are limited geographically and are not as widespread as their bronze counterparts. The island sanctuaries with important terracotta deposits include the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, Rhodes; the Harbour and Athena sanctuaries at Emporio on Chios; the Heraion on Samos; a deposit on Kalymnos; the Artemision at Hephaisteia on Lemnos; and a sanctuary at Iria on Naxos. In the Peloponnesos, important deposits are found at the sanctuary of Apollo Hyakinthos at Amyklai; the sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia; the sanctuary of Artemis at Kombothekra; the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea; and the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia.

Coroplastic workshops on the islands of Crete and Cyprus enjoyed a vigorous and continuous life throughout the EIA, producing figurines for sanctuary dedication as well as for funerary use. The Geometric figurines from Cyprus have been collected in a useful compendium

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by Vassos Karageorghis, while Mieke Prent summarizes the Cretan EIA figurines in a study of Cretan sanctuaries.⁴² While there is potential for further analysis of the Cretan and Cypriot coroplastic works, both on local as well as Mediterranean levels, this was outside the scope of my immediate project. Crete and Cyprus offer exciting parallels to the contemporary figurine traditions on the mainland and Aegean islands and both regions participated in the east Mediterranean communication network. The Cretan and Cypriot cultures are unique, however, and their terracotta production is vast and complex. I bring these traditions into the discussion as they relate to the Greek traditions, but the coroplastic corpus of both islands deserves separate study.⁴³ My analysis of Greek terracottas provides groundwork for future comparisons between the figurine traditions operating in the eastern Mediterranean during the EIA.

To my knowledge, there are no terracotta figurines or figures found in purely domestic contexts. There are three sites where figurines were associated with domestic activities: Nichoria, Koukounaries on Paros, and Miletos. An eighth-century handmade horse figurine was excavated in Unit IV-1 in Nichoria, located in the southwest Peloponnesos on the Gulf of Messenia. Nichoria is one of the most important sites in Geometric Greece because of its thorough excavation, survey, and publication, as well as its rare insight into Geometric domestic life. The excavators note that Unit IV-1's construction and large size (15.9m x 8.0m) are truly monumental for Geometric Greek architecture. Unit IV-1 is an apsidal building of an extraordinary length and width and has a shallow front porch and paved circle against the middle of the rear wall; it was in use from the tenth to eighth centuries. In Phase II a courtyard was added east of the porch, and an apse was added to the west, and a wall was built to the north of the paved circle, forming a podium for the altar, and exterior posts were added along the side wall and apse. The presence of an interior altar inside Unit IV-1 indicates that religious rituals likely took place in the structure. The excavators, however, note the overall domestic character of the meager small finds, including

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coarse pottery, and suggest that the primary use was domestic, likely the village chieftain's house.⁴⁴ The excavators interpret Unit IV-1 as a ruler's house with special domestic functions, likely a center of community cult.⁴⁵ The terracotta horse figurine was found above Unit IV-1 along with a bronze quadruped and two very fragmentary bronze animal parts, perhaps also from horse figurines.⁴⁶ Because of Unit IV-1's special function, it is unclear whether the figurine found in this house had a ritual and/or domestic function. According to Mazarakis Ainian's comprehensive study on ruler's dwellings, figurines were not a regular feature of these structures in the Geometric period.⁴⁷

The second possible exception is from Koukounaries on Paros, where a handmade terracotta phallus found in a MG hearth located in a rock cavity beneath the floor of a LG structure.⁴⁸ Along with this phallus, the hearth contained bones, shell, and ash as well as fragments from open-shaped vases and spindle whorls. The hearth is not linked to a house and has been interpreted as the remains of a fertility or chthonic cult.⁴⁹ It cannot be stated whether this is an example of domestic cult or remains from a shrine.⁵⁰

From Miletos, two eighth-century handmade figurines of horses were discovered in a small pit in Building B (10.40 x 5.60m), an oval house just south of the Hellenistic fortifications.⁵¹ Mazarakis Ainian interprets this oval structure as a house, perhaps with cult activity. The presence of the horse figurines remains the sole evidence for LG cultic activity in this building and there is a danger of circular argument. Building B was reused after its destruction as a cult building in the seventh century, which might support continuity of use of a sacred building. This hypothesis, however, remains tentative.

The overwhelming majority of terracotta sculpture was used for ritual purposes, both religious and funerary.⁵² Most terracottas found in sanctuaries and in graves show no signs of previous use, suggesting that they were produced specifically for deposition in a shrine or grave.

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There are rare examples of figurines from graves that show signs of previous use, perhaps evidence that they were used for another purpose before their deposition.⁵³ Yet, it is important to note that these figurines were converted at the end of their use cycle to fulfill a sacred function. It is thus reasonable to conclude that in Geometric Greece, terracotta figures and figurines were used in the religious and funerary spheres, with only a few examples of other uses. The sample of sanctuaries investigated in this study focuses on figurines from secure sanctuary deposits in the Peloponnesos and the Aegean islands.

CHRONOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This project is limited chronologically to terracotta dedications from the EIA, encompassing the Protogeometric, Early Geometric, Middle and Late Geometric phases, c. 1100-700. My initial goal was to refine EIA figurine chronology by comparing sanctuary types to figurines found in graves, which could provide more specific dates for certain figurines types and styles. An exploration of funerary figurines, however, quickly revealed that there was little correspondence between votive and funerary figurine types. Geometric figurines from graves seem to represent a separate tradition. For example, the famous bell-shaped female figurines with attached legs from the graves of Attica, East Greece, Cyprus, and Boeotia, are not found in any Greek sanctuaries.⁵⁴ The bell-shaped female figurines of handmade incised ware have an extremely limited geographic distribution and are found only in graves, never in sanctuaries.⁵⁵ Many of the wheelmade figures from graves are also of unique types (centaur and stag), unparalleled in the votive assemblage. Figurine types found in both graves and sanctuaries include handmade horses, birds, and chariot groups, which have been utilized by excavators to date corresponding figurines found in various sanctuaries.⁵⁶

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The sanctuary deposits themselves provide little or no stratigraphical evidence for dating figurines, since all figurines from sanctuaries were found in votive dumps that included a broad range of chronological material. Exceptions include some stratigraphical deposits from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and the Samian Heraion, which are discussed in Chapter II. The primary means of dating the majority of votive figurines is painted decoration when it corresponds to local vase painting and style. Since many of the figurines are essentially “style-less,” dating remains tentative. Nevertheless, an attempt to define a relative chronology is valuable and defensible. Many of the handmade figurines display a progression from the elongated forms of the early EIA to the more compact and uniform styles of the LG. Although assigning dates to relative chronologies is always a problem, a broad progression of styles and types can be put forth for EIA terracottas.

A SELECTIVE REVIEW OF PAST SCHOLARSHIP

No study of Greek terracotta figurines would be possible without the systematic publication of figurines unearthed from controlled excavations. One of the earliest and most systematic accounts of this kind is Dieter Ohly’s publication in two substantial articles in 1940 and 1941 of the figurines found in the German excavations at the Sanctuary of Hera on the island of Samos.⁵⁷ Ohly’s study not only presented the figurines in full, organized typologically, but also incorporated stratigraphical evidence to date and analyze the original placement of the votives. Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer’s 1972 publication of the terracotta figurines from the Sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia remains an important analysis of a large corpus of figurines.⁵⁸ The German excavations unearthed thousands of figurines from the Black Layer, a stratum formed by dumping several generations of votives and sacrificial remains, which presented a daunting task to date, organize, and publish in full. Faced with no stratigraphical controls for sorting several generations

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of figurines, Heilmeyer dated the figurines based on careful stylistic analysis. Although this method is subject to scrutiny and debate, Heilmeyer's sequence is generally accepted.

The publication of the Olympic and Samian figurines provided evidence for very early figurines, dating back to the tenth century, which challenged the conventional view that coroplastic production ceased in the EIA.⁵⁹ Although the Olympic and Samian chronology has been challenged, almost all figurines found at other sites are dated based on comparison to the Olympic and Samian sequences.

In the last decade, a new generation of excavation reports has raised the bar in figurine analysis. Publications of terracottas from Medma in Sicily, Corinth, Samos, and Haghia Triada on Crete reflect the current standard of figurine publication. All are comprehensive and emphasize the broader religious and social contexts of the figurines. These studies go beyond questions of style and the artistic qualities of figurines and recognize the value of figurines for reconstructing ancient cult practices. Rebecca Ammerman's 1989 dissertation on the terracotta figurines from Medma in Sicily goes beyond a typological approach, discussing the figurines within their broader religious framework and comparing the terracottas to other coroplastic productions from West Greece.⁶⁰ This work provides a valuable study of Greek figurines in the West, a useful comparison to figurine use on the mainland and Punic worlds.

Gloria Merker's 2000 addition to the final reports on the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the slopes of Acrocorinth is a model of clarity, thoroughness, and interpretation for the study of Classical and Hellenistic terracotta figurines.⁶¹ Merker carefully discusses the diachronic development of Corinthian figurine production, workshops, and religious use in the cult of Demeter.

Veronika Jarosch's 1994 final publication of the figurines from the German excavations at the Sanctuary of Hera on Samos updates and supplants Ohly's earlier publications.⁶² Although

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her analysis is limited, this is a valuable presentation of a complete body of evidence from one of the most important Geometric sanctuaries. Jarosch discusses the major types found at the sanctuary, offers some analysis, and includes a thorough and well-illustrated catalogue of the excavated figurines organized by type. This valuable addition to the final reports has laid the foundations for further analysis of this important body of evidence.

Anna Lucia D'Agata's systematic 1999 publication of the Minoan and post-Minoan figurines from the site of Haghia Triada on Crete fills a longstanding need for thorough publication of these important figurines and provides valuable information on EIA-LBA Cretan coroplastic traditions.⁶³ The figurines from the early twentieth-century excavations have long-awaited full publication. This site provides important early figurines that greatly add to our understanding of early Cretan cult and coroplastic production.

Catherine Morgan's 1999 publication of the Early Iron Age material from the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia extended the analysis of the figurines beyond issues of typology and dating by using the figurines and other votive material to discuss the nature of EIA cult.⁶⁴ Despite the limited number and types of figurines found at Isthmia, Morgan demonstrates the value of figurines for reconstructing ancient cult by evaluating the figurines within their broader social and religious contexts.⁶⁵ No previous excavation report had attempted such a holistic approach. Finds from excavations are usually published according to material category, with the EIA objects published with later examples. By isolating the earliest phase of the site, Morgan critically analyzes previous assumptions about early Greece and created a model to apply to future EIA studies.⁶⁶

Despite scholars' long-standing interest in Greek religion, acknowledgement that votive offerings are a rich source of information regarding the nature of the deity, cult practices, and worshippers is a relatively new phenomenon. W.H.D. Rouse's *Greek Votive Offerings* (1902),

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which primarily uses literary evidence to discuss the votive habit, was the first comprehensive work devoted to votive offerings, but remained the only major work on the subject until recently.⁶⁷ Despite continuing interest in Greek religion and the excavation of several sanctuaries with rich votive deposits, no subsequent study updated or replaced Rouse's early work, which even today remains a valuable overview of the subject. Only in the last twenty-five years has interest been renewed in using votive offerings to reconstruct cult activity and these studies provide a firm foundation for the study of more specific aspects of Greek dedication.⁶⁸

The study of terracotta figurines as art objects has a long tradition. Beginning in the nineteenth century, figurine scholars analyzed figurines as works of art and explored their relation to other Greek arts, focusing on the Classical and Hellenistic figurine tradition. This approach is characteristic of the first phase of figurine studies, which persisted until the 1930s. Terracotta figurines did not receive the same respect and treatment in Europe as did more monumental sculpture, bronze objects, and vase painting until the 1840s, when a series of alluring draped female figurines found their way into the collections of European museums and private collections. These figurines, mostly from Tanagra and Myrina, appealed to contemporary aesthetic tastes in Europe and engendered an appreciation for the coroplastic arts. The first academic studies of Greek figurines approached the topic mainly from an art historical standpoint, focusing especially on the fourth-century examples, excluding the prehistoric and crude figurines.⁶⁹ These early compilations addressed figurine types, style, chronology, and their relation to more monumental art, but their interpretation of the use and meaning of figurines was less developed.

The second phase of terracotta figurine studies began with the work of two notable scholars: Dorothy Burr Thompson followed by Reynold Higgins. Thompson began her long career in Hellenistic figurine studies in the 1930s with her work on the terracotta figurines from

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Myrina.⁷⁰ Although the Myrina figurines had been a subject of interest for some time, Thompson's approach was the first grounded in the context and production. Thompson studied the Hellenistic terracottas from excavations in her next publication of the small finds from the Pnyx in Athens.⁷¹ Thompson continued her study of Hellenistic figurines, publishing the figurines from Troy and writing several general works on Hellenistic figurines in the 1950s-1960s, continuing her rigorous investigation into figurine production, types, archaeological context, and use.⁷² Thompson's approach marks a significant departure from earlier studies: she integrated the archaeological evidence with her nuanced understanding of style to date and interpret Hellenistic figurines. This astute approach elevated figurine studies to a legitimate avenue of research for future scholars.

In his study of terracotta figurines from the British Museum, Reynold Higgins demonstrated his extensive experience and expertise with Greek figurines, commenting on their development, types, fabrics, and regional styles.⁷³ Higgins continued his work on figurines with the publication *Greek Terracottas*, which remains the only modern comprehensive study on Greek terracotta figurines.⁷⁴ Unlike his predecessors, Higgins' research was not limited to the more artistic terracottas of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, but rather examined coroplastic production and its changes from the Neolithic through Early Roman periods. This work was unprecedented at the time and its broad chronological scope exposed readers to figurines beyond the more famous Hellenistic examples. The ambitious scope of the endeavor, however, allowed only summary interpretation of a few representative examples of coroplastic works for each period. Higgins' focus was clearly on creating a handbook on the subject, limiting discussion of the religious or social significance and function of figurines. Despite its shortcomings, Higgins' research laid the groundwork for future in-depth study of certain periods or types of figurines.

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The second phase of research is also distinguished by an interest in prehistoric figurines. Neolithic figurines and their importance in reconstructing Neolithic Greek society and religion have been the subject of several studies.⁷⁵ The Minoan and Mycenaean periods received similar attention. Stylianos Alexiou examined a specific type of figure: the so-called “Minoan Goddesses with Upraised Arms,” a term he coined, which were found on Crete beginning in the MMI period and lasting until the Classical period.⁷⁶ Alexiou was the first to approach this important cultic figure in a systematic manner and he was one of the first scholars to write a comprehensive monograph on one aspect of Minoan religion. Elizabeth Wace French’s systematic investigation into the chronology, typology, and context of Mycenaean handmade figurines analyzes a specific corpus of figurines, providing a chronological refinement as well as a discussion of the use patterns of Mycenaean figurines.⁷⁷ This phase continued to investigate the archaeological context of figurines and their function, use, and production.

Perhaps most influential to the present study, and the LBA-EIA transition in general, is R.V. Nicholls’ work, which brought to light the continuity of large wheelmade terracotta statuettes from the LBA into the EIA in the Aegean.⁷⁸ Nicholls’ influential article used these statuettes as rare evidence for religious continuity. The conclusions and theories Nicholls proposed have inspired many subsequent studies, which sought to explore his theories more thoroughly. Martin Guggisberg’s organized and comprehensive review of zoomorphic vases and related statuettes from the LBA and EIA expands Nicholls’ original corpus and includes several unpublished examples.⁷⁹ The beautifully illustrated catalogue is accurate, up-to-date, and systematic, providing a comprehensive collection for future research. More recently, Nota Kourou has studied the wheelmade animal figures from Central Crete, the Aegean islands, and Cyprus, and Geraldine Gesell has examined the wheelmade “Minoan goddesses with upraised

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arms” found at Cretan sanctuaries.⁸⁰ Terracotta female statuettes from mainland Mycenaean shrines formed the basis for Andrew Moore’s investigation into the identity of these idols.⁸¹

These scholars’ approaches, which emphasize the social and archaeological contexts, are typical of a new school of coroplastic inquiry beginning in the 1980s.⁸² The last twenty years have witnessed studies on the relation of figurine types to the society that produced them,⁸³ the relationship between figurine and deity,⁸⁴ the placement and display of figurines,⁸⁵ and the cultic significance and religious setting of figurines.⁸⁶ The relatively recent publication of important anthologies on terracottas illustrates this comprehensive approach towards figurines. *The Coroplast’s Art*, a work that accompanied the traveling exhibition of Greek figurines from American collections in honor of Dorothy Burr Thompson, contains a series of insightful essays on various aspects of Hellenistic terracotta figurines written by Thompson’s students.⁸⁷ These essays explore several areas dealing with the coroplastic tradition, including workshop production and location, the relation of coroplasts to other artists, techniques of manufacture, the distribution, trade, function, chronological issues, and the religious setting. Another compilation of essays, the results of a regional conference, concentrates on Cypriot figurines from the Neolithic era to the Hellenistic period.⁸⁸ The paper topics include the religious context of figurines, techniques of production, workshops and regional centers, the origins and development of the coroplastic craft, and the relation of Cypriot figurines to those of the Aegean and Near East. This new approach by young scholars reveals how far terracotta studies have progressed since the first generation of figurine specialists.

Vassos and Jacqueline Karageorghis’ monumental six-volume compilation of terracotta objects from Cyprus, *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus*, includes material from the Neolithic through Archaic periods.⁸⁹ While not intended to be exhaustive, these volumes organize and illustrate well-preserved examples from each class of Cypriot figurine. The work is arranged

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chronologically, and each period organized by type. These volumes provide a collection of all known types of coroplastic art on Cyprus, and therefore excludes discussion on technique, clays and fabrics, and the interpretation of the material is limited. Such a work greatly facilitates further research and analysis of this interesting body of material.

Prehistoric archaeologists studying Neolithic and Bronze Age figurines incorporate anthropological theories to a greater extent than classical archaeologists, likely a result of the absence of written sources to help populate ancient societies.⁹⁰ Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images provide tantalizing glimpses into the minds and beliefs of these non-literate societies. The lack of theoretical scholarship on later Greek figurines is due in some part to the role and production of figurines in the historic period. In advanced societies, figurines play a less vital role; they are often mass produced in a narrow range of standard types, often only pale imitations of more monumental art forms, and seemingly provide little to aid our reconstruction of societies better understood by their own writings and artistic expressions. Some new studies, such as Gloria Merker's work at Corinth and Veronika Jarosch's on Samos, are correcting the aforementioned views. Any study of Greek figurines, however, owes some debt to the more theoretical approach of prehistoric figurine studies.

This dissertation fits within the new contextual approach to figurines that allows more precise interpretation of their religious function, use, and meaning. This review of past scholarship has highlighted the absence of works exclusively devoted to EIA coroplastic objects. Prehistoric figurines have received much attention, as have the larger wheelmade terracotta statuettes that continued from the LBA into the EIA. This interest in terracotta statuettes as indicators of religious practices has not extended to the less monumental handmade figurines that predominate the EIA and later assemblages. These have been published in various site reports, but a synthesis of this scattered information is lacking. My dissertation places these objects within

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their social and religious context, enabling further interpretation regarding their meanings and use in early Greek society. Drawing on the full range of EIA terracotta sculpture in ritual contexts, my study will serve as a basis for further research and publication.

METHODOLOGY

This project uses a broad-based survey to answer research questions regarding the production, use, and religious meaning of terracotta sculpture from EIA sanctuaries. The scope of extant data made it practical to limit my sample to published terracottas from mainland and Aegean island sanctuaries dating from c. 1100-700 BCE.⁹¹ This project investigates not only the types of figurines produced, but also the patterns of use, regional variations, and the relationship between figurine, cult, and deity. These questions can only be answered with figurines from known archaeological contexts.

A reasonably complete corpus of figurines has been culled from scattered publications of various Greek sanctuaries. I studied many of the figurines on display in various local museums during 2002-04 while a member of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.⁹² My project is based on close study of nearly 2,000 figurines from twelve sites. The corpus is not exhaustive, since many excavation reports do not publish the figurines in full or even give the total number excavated. Nevertheless, the evidence presented here is representative of the wider scope and new findings should confirm these conclusions.

I created a FileMaker Pro database, an essential tool for organizing and searching a large amount of data, to collect the results of my research. Fields recorded for each figurine included Type, Gender, Site, Deity, Number, Dimensions, Context, Archaeological Context, Inventory Number, Modern Context, Description, Interpretation, and Bibliography. This database facilitated quick comparisons of quantities, types, and distributions between figurines. This database also

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included figurines from funerary contexts, with additional fields for Grave, Cemetery, and Associated Objects; although this information will be useful for future comparisons, it was not utilized in this study.

Practical considerations determined the collection of data while the methodology employed for the interpretation of this body of evidence is based on approaches developed by Roy A. Rappaport, Colin Renfrew, Joyce Marcus, and Kent Flannery.⁹³ This project does not examine terracotta figurines as isolated artifacts or as objects of artistic expression. Rather, figurines are placed within their religious contexts in order to augment our current understanding of EIA religion (a realm where texts cannot clarify the material evidence) and by extension comment on the social factors that led to certain religious behaviors. Because the objects are figural, their iconographical representations aid in reconstructing ideological systems.

This approach fits within the broad theoretical framework of Post-processual Archaeology.⁹⁴ Post-processual Archaeology, largely a response to Processual (or New) Archaeology, consists of diverse methodologies that are unified by their goals of reconstructing more than socio-cultural behaviors. The Post-processual approach seeks to understand past people's views and beliefs, not just the social mechanisms by which these ideologies affected material remains. Inherent in this approach is the assumption that objects functioned as symbols, and were meaningful to the society that produced them. Because my study concerns religious objects, I specifically employ Cognitive Archaeology, one of the many theoretical approaches under the larger field of Post-processual theory.

Cognitive Archaeology, developed and elaborated by Colin Renfrew, uses the material remains of past societies to reconstruct past ways of thought.⁹⁵ This approach is a reaction to Processual Archaeology, which was primarily interested in behavior patterns, actions, and systems. The Cognitive approach goes further in attempting to get to the meanings, often complex

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and multiple, behind the systems of use of objects. Although this approach can be applied to a variety of aspects of past ways of thinking, it lends itself effectively to reconstructing religious thought, ideologies, and rituals. Renfrew asserts that the material remains of cult can be used, especially through an analysis of the ways symbols were used to communicate with the supernatural and unknown, to reconstruct beliefs. These beliefs directly affect the physical manifestations of religion.⁹⁶

Past societies used symbols to cope with several aspects of existence, including interaction with numinous forces.⁹⁷ Cognitive Archaeology examines the ways these symbols were used and how they functioned within that society. This dissertation employs the approach of Cognitive Archaeology, while also specifically using the Direct Historical Approach and Contextual Analysis as methodologies.

The history of figurine scholarship presented above reveals the classical background from which many scholars approach figurines. The same methodology used for interpreting historical figurines, however, has to be modified when applied to prehistoric examples. The EIA is a period without writing: the administrative Linear B used by Mycenaean officials had disappeared with that form of government and the alphabet was not introduced until the end of the period. Yet, the EIA is often referred to as “proto-historic” or “pre-literate,” since writing does appear at the end of the era and this culture continued, without a break, into historical times. Therefore, a Direct Historical Approach is selectively employed in this project as a way of selectively using the rich historical evidence from Archaic and Classical Greece within a framework that limits assumptions of continuity.

Joyce Marcus and Kent Flannery first proposed the Direct Historical approach as an analytic tool.⁹⁸ This method allows one to use what is known from historical times to interpret the immediate prehistoric phases of a particular culture. This approach is most effective and secure

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when it can be demonstrated that there is direct continuity from the archaeological record to the historic present and that the same ethnic and linguistic group had continuously occupied the area under consideration from prehistoric to historic times. This scenario certainly applies to EIA and historic Greece.

Scholars have long used the evidence from historic Greece to flesh out and interpret the often-scarce EIA remains. The Direct Historical Method, however, does not focus on continuities at the expense of exploring the possibility of change, especially in the “conservative” area of religion and mortuary customs.⁹⁹ Step one in this methodology requires a description of historic religious practices of a particular culture, with a formulation of certain expectations concerning religious architecture, organization and use of sacred space, votive customs, and location of cult. Step two examines the archaeological record to determine if and when these historical phenomena appear and whether their form matches one’s expectations. Important in this approach is to realize that not all expectations will be met and also unexpected information will be discovered. The value of this approach lies in the reconciliation of the differences between expectations and the material evidence. This approach is employed primarily in the analytical sections of this study.

In order to analyze successfully this religious information, a second approach must be combined with the Direct Historical Approach: the Contextual Analysis of Ritual Paraphernalia.¹⁰⁰ Marcus, in her study of figurines and women’s ritual in ancient Oaxaca, Mexico, states, “although we cannot directly observe ancient rituals, we can find the places where rituals were performed and observe the patterning of artifacts involved.”¹⁰¹ Ritual is defined as a religious action performed repeatedly in prescribed ways; therefore, objects involved in ritual display patterns of use and discard that coincide with the rituals performed.¹⁰² Investigation into these ritual objects should provide evidence for the nature of the ritual. This works within the

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general objective of Cognitive Archaeology in that it provides a means to reconstruct what is essentially a mental construct since religious ideologies dictate ritual practices that are in turn performed by using material equipment that can be analyzed. The artifacts recovered from the EIA reflect rituals of animal sacrifice, food and liquid consumption, and the giving of votive offerings. This information reflects the religious rituals as evidenced by historical data such as literary texts, oral literature, epigraphic accounts, artistic depictions, and the physical make-up and contents of sanctuary sites. Therefore, one can assume certain continuities in religious ritual from the EIA to the historical period.

This project is grounded in the study of the material record: it begins with a close examination of the objects themselves and a comparison of their physical forms and archaeological contexts. From there, certain conclusions are made regarding the multiple meanings of the objects as meaningful symbols.

ORGANIZATION

This study is organized into five chapters and a catalogue. After collecting and studying nearly 2,000 figures from twelve sites, I selected representative examples to include in the illustrated catalogue. The catalogue examples were chosen based on state of preservation, representative examples of each type at a sanctuary, and unique or unusual figurines. Each catalogue entry includes the figurine type, technique of manufacture (handmade or wheelmade), inventory number, dimensions, date, and references to its publication history. Selected entries are illustrated. The appendices provide tables and charts for quick reference. Appendix I provides a typological table, Appendix II outlines the chronologies used for each site, and Appendix III provides a list of the sanctuaries examined by region. Appendix IV consists of charts illustrating the figurines types and quantities found by site, while Appendix Va provides a typological chart

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that lists the overall figurine types found for each period; Appendix Vb provides a breakdown of the gender ratios for male and female figurines; and Appendix Vc illustrates the distribution of zoomorphic figurines. The numbers represented on the charts in Appendix IV and V include all published figurines from each site, not just figurines included in the selected catalogue of this work.

Chapter II introduces the twelve sanctuaries, providing an overview of the early history of each site, its excavation and publication history, and a compilation of the terracotta figurines found by type. Chapters III and IV offer interpretations for each type of figurine, focusing on the type's distribution and possible social and religious meanings. Chapter V synthesizes this information, exploring the place of figurines within EIA society and religion. This conclusion offers a likely scenario for the producers and users of EIA figurines, the overall religious function of figurines, and a discussion of the social implications of terracotta figurines.

PART II

ESTABLISHING A GEOMETRIC TYPOLOGY

My study employs a new typology, developed to facilitate the synthesis of material from many EIA sites, rather than using established typologies developed for individual sites. This typology applies broadly to all EIA terracotta figurines and focuses on iconography rather than on differences in style and manufacture, subjects better dealt with on a local level in individual site reports. My approach allows for comparisons in votive habits among sites, enabling discussion of the interrelationships between the concept of deity, local rituals, and the personal motivations of worshippers.

Any organization of a quantity of objects requires implementation of potentially meaningless categories by which to sort the material. Ideally, these categories are based on

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differences that were meaningful to the ancient users of figurines.¹⁰³ To avoid an overly detailed typology, which can obscure meaning by focusing on minute and perhaps meaningless characteristics, I have developed intentionally broad categories. Within each type are variations that may prove to be significant. These variations are discussed in Chapters III and IV. I use four main criteria to sort this large body of evidence: subject, gender, dress, and gesture. The organization of the types is objective and was created before any analysis was conducted; therefore anthropomorphic figures are listed first, as is typical in several terracotta publications, followed by the zoomorphic figures.

The first and most basic criterion used to sort figurines is subject. The figurines are divided first as anthropomorphic or zoomorphic. The scope of my research includes anthropomorphic and zoomorphic depictions, but excludes architectural models dedicated at select sanctuaries in the late eighth century and seventh century, which have received extensive study.¹⁰⁴ The zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figures are sorted into more specific categories, such as standing male, standing female, bull or horse. For the anthropomorphic figurines, gender is the next criterion for sorting. Modern scholars have drawn attention to past studies that assumed gender is obvious, a biological given in all societies that is easily understood. Anthropological studies have complicated the issue of gender, which should now be understood as a cultural construct.¹⁰⁵ One cannot simply apply our own definition of gender to ancient societies and should be cautious in limiting definition to two clearly defined genders: male and female. The first depictions of the human figure in Geometric art began a long tradition of anthropomorphic representation that continues without break into the Archaic and Classical periods. Although Geometric art is stylized and reduces the human body to geometric shapes, many artists carefully included “signs,” or attributes to indicate gender, subject, and perhaps social status. Our assumption that traits such as long dresses, breasts, and sometimes long hair

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signify “female” is based on the continuation of these attributes in later Greek art, when gender is made clear from context and inscriptions. Using the Direct Historical Method, I extend these gender traits into the Geometric period. In this typology, traits later recognized as gender specific, especially if occurring together, are used to assign gender.

The presence of breasts and/or delineated pudenda identifies a figurine as female. Other traits, such as long robes, long hair, and jewelry, cannot by themselves denote “female,” since these also are found on male figures. A combination of several secondary-identifying traits along with the context can be used cautiously to identify a figure as female. For males, the presence of genitalia alone identifies a figurine as male. Other traits, such as armor, short hair and flat chests, cannot themselves denote male, but the presence of several of these secondary features can be used to identify the figure as male. I have found no instances of hermaphroditic (displaying characteristics of both sexes) or transvestite (figures adopting the dress and sometimes the behavior of the opposite sex) anthropomorphic figures in the Geometric period, although hermaphroditic centaurs are found in Cyprus.

Dress is another important factor for interpreting the meaning of figurines. Although the Geometric aesthetic emphasizes the lines and planes of figures rather than elaboration of details, many figures nonetheless display specific types of dress. This will be an important factor in relating figurines to each other and interpreting their meaning.

The last criterion is gesture. The Geometric style emphasizes gesture as a meaningful attribute. Indeed, much of Geometric art can be seen as representing signs, reducing figures to hieroglyphs that stand for an idea or meaning. In vase painting or the glyptic arts, the presence of multiple figures with many gestures can be easier to “read” since there are many signs and gestures that relate to each other. Figurines and other three-dimensional arts, however, stand alone; gesture then becomes the most distinguishing feature of a single figurine. Since the early

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twentieth century, gesture has been seen as a meaningful part of almost all ancient and modern societies.¹⁰⁶ In the Aegean, the dramatic and stunning gestures in Minoan bronze figurines and glyptic arts especially have been the focus of several important studies.¹⁰⁷ Although gesture has been addressed by limited studies, the significance of gestures in Mycenaean and Geometric art awaits further study.¹⁰⁸

THE TYPES

The following is a brief description of each type included in this study, see Appendix I for a reference chart.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC TYPES

FEMALES:

- Type I:**
- a. Females with outstretched arms
 - b. Females with arms at sides
 - c. Females with unknown gesture

This type includes all female figures that are primarily distinguished by the position of their arms. The broad categories of gestures include females with their arms outstretched, either upwards or out in front, arms held against the sides, and a category for fragmentary figurines with no identifiable arm position. These females are all in the standing position and most wear long robes.

Type II: Ring dancers/musicians

This type includes figurines arranged in a circle holding hands (dancers) surrounding a central musician. There are no examples of individual dancers or musicians from EIA Greece in terracotta.

Type III: Enthroned females

This type includes females seated upon benches. Fragments of chairs or benches are also included in this category, since many of these reveal evidence for an attached figure.

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Type IV: Pudica figures & nude females

This type includes females that draw attention to their sex through gesture or formal emphasis. Some hold both hands to their breasts, while others hold a hand to their sex. I have also included nude females in this category, since their sex is highlighted through their lack of clothing.

Type V: Kourotrophos

This group consists of females cradling infants and is only represented by one example in the EIA.

MALES:

Type VI: Standing clothed males

This type consists of males wearing long robes. They are not defined as warriors due to the lack of armor or arms, but are identified as male by the presence of beards and lack of breasts.

Type VII: Warriors

Warriors are identified by the presence of a weapon or armor, including a belt. Many warriors in the Geometric period are nude except for the presence of belts and arms, perhaps an indication of their heroic nature. There are no known female warriors in terracotta from the EIA.

Type VIII: Standing nude males

This type consists of nude males, often similar to Type VII, but with no indication that they are warriors.

Type IX: Horse riders

Horse riders include a horse and rider, either seated astride or sidesaddle. In the EIA, only males seated astride are known, although females seated sidesaddle are found in the bronze

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figurine assemblage. Some riders are armed, and therefore warriors, while others show no obvious indication that they are armed.

Type X: Chariot/cart groups

These are the most complex terracotta groups of the EIA. They consist of two to four horses pulling a wheeled chariot or cart, attached by means of a yoke and harnesses. There is often evidence for a driver inside the chariot/cart box as well. Included in this type are remains of drivers, horses with obvious harness attachments, yokes, chariot/cart boxes and wheels.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC FRAGMENTS:

- Type XI:**
- a. Female heads
 - b. Male heads
 - c. Fragments of uncertain sex

This type includes fragments from anthropomorphic figures that cannot be more specifically assigned to another type. This type includes heads as well as fragments from figures of uncertain sex.

ZOOMORPHIC TYPES

Type XII: Cattle

Geometric art reduces forms to their basic parts and is therefore often generic and ambiguous. Cattle generally lack explicit sexual attributes; identifying the animal as a bull (male cow) or heifer (female cow) if not possible. Furthermore, it is not clear whether the animal is a stud bull, an uncastrated cow used for breeding, or a castrated bull, an oxen used as a draft animal. Therefore, the more general terms cow and cattle and the adjective bovine are used throughout this study.¹⁰⁹

Type XIII: Sheep/Rams

This type includes quadrupeds with down-curving horns or snouts.

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Type XIV: Horses

This type includes animals of general equine nature, usually distinguished by having longer legs and snouts than the bovine type.

Type XV: Wheeled Equines/Equines carrying jars

This type consists of horses, mules, or donkeys with wheels attached to their feet as well as horses, mules, or donkeys carrying one or multiple jars pannier style.

Type XVI: Quadrupeds

This type includes quadrupeds that are not identifiable as generally bovine or equine.

Type XVII: Birds

This type includes all bird types, but most are small and handmade of indeterminate species.

Type XVIII: Other animals: dogs & snakes

This type includes rare animals that are usually found at only one or two sanctuaries. It includes canine figurines, which are generally distinguished by having short legs, perky tails and ears, and snakes.

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- ¹ Translation from Hampe and Simon 1981, 277; Jeffrey 1961, 94, no. 1. Boston M.F.A. 03.997.
- ² On the link between prayer and votive offerings, see Burkert 1987; Pulleyn 1997, 15.
- ³ Paus. II.10.3, II.11.6, III.26.1; Herondas *Mimianbus* 4.19-20; Pl. *Phdr.* 230B; *Greek Anthology* VI, 106, 163; IX, 326. See also van Straten 1981, 78-80; Alroth 1988; van Straten 2000, 197.
- ⁴ Kourou 2002, 11.
- ⁵ To name just a few studies on these issues: French 1969; Dietrich 1970; Snodgrass 1971; Kilian 1981; Dietrich 1986; Kilian 1988; Mountjoy and Hankey 1988; Popham 1991; Rutter 1992; Griebel and Nelson 1993; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994a; 1994b; 1998; Deger-Jalkotzy and Zavadil 2003.
- ⁶ Several scholars have contributed to the awareness of the continuation of Mycenaean traditions. See Benson 1970 for vase painting; Coldstream 1976 on deities; Crowel 1992 on chariots. Scholars who see continuity from the Minoan and Mycenaean times include Dietrich 1970; Nilsson 1971; Dietrich 1986; Hiller 1983; 1991. Scholars who argue for a universal Minoan-Mycenaean religion that in essence survives into the EIA have been generally criticized, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1989; Dickinson 2006, 219-22. For a more conservative approach to continuity, see Desborough 1972, 283-84; Burkert 1985, 49-53; Coldstream 2003, 329-32.
- ⁷ Simon 1986 (Ionian offerings); Dengate 1988 (Apollo sanctuaries); Brulotte 1994 (Artemis sanctuaries); Baumbach 2004 (Hera sanctuaries).
- ⁸ Baumbach 2004, 1.
- ⁹ The best examples of terracotta figures previously used before deposition in a grave come from the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi. The famous centaur and a worn wheelmade animal both show evidence of usage prior to deposition in graves and are interpreted as possessions of the deceased. Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, 168-70.
- ¹⁰ Morgan 1998, 90.
- ¹¹ Mauss 1954; Gill, Postlethwaite, and Seaford 1998; see also Brulotte 1994, 9.
- ¹² Brulotte 1994, 6-7; see also van Straten 2000, 191-97.
- ¹³ Burkert 1987, 49.
- ¹⁴ For example: *Od.* 3.273-75.
- ¹⁵ Criteria for identifying religious symbols has been outlined by Renfrew 1985, 11-24, 384-85, 413-25; Rutkowski 1986, iv-xvi; Renfrew 1994; Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 121-25; Morgan 1999, 298-304.
- ¹⁶ Morgan 1996; Morgan 1999, 389-94.
- ¹⁷ Strøm 1995, 19.
- ¹⁸ Snodgrass terms objects used in life which were dedicated unmodified as “raw” offerings (Snodgrass 1989/90, 291-94). See also Burkert 1987, 43-50.
- ¹⁹ Glassie 1999, 47.
- ²⁰ Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 49; see also Hodder 1986, 3, 6; Glassie 1999, 59.
- ²¹ Higgins 1967, 17-24. A useful compilation of finds associated with EIA architecture can also be found in Mazarakis Ainian 1997.
- ²² For distribution of anthropomorphic bronze figurines, see Langdon 1984, 232-71. Geometric bronze figurines, in addition to pins, fibulae, and a continuous sequence of pottery, have been found at Kalapodi in Boeotia, but no published terracotta examples (Felsch 1980; 1983; 1987; 1996). The sanctuaries of Apollo and Athena at Delphi in Phokis has similarly yielded Geometric offerings including bronze figurines, but no terracotta figurines (Rolley 1969; 1977; Morgan 1990, 137-47; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 311-12).
- ²³ Grace 1939; Higgins 1967, 23; Krogalska 1968; Higgins 1979; Schachter 1981; Symeonoglou 1985; Szabo 1994; Stamatopoulou and Yeroulanou 2002.
- ²⁴ Types found at Lefkandi include wheelmade equids, some with wheels: Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, 169, T32, 345-46, pl. 169, 253; Popham et al. 1990, 2, 73, pls. 32, 26a, b; Popham and Lemos 1996, pl. 126a; Lemos 2002, 98-99. Handmade birds: Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, 148-50, P22.28-29, 344, pl. 254b, d; Popham, Touloupa, and Sackett 1982, 222, 232; Lemos 2002, 99. Carts, likely with horses: Popham, Touloupa, and Sackett 1982, 218, 233, fig. 6, pl. 19, no. 21; Crowel 1992, 110, pl. 19.1; Lemos 2002, 99. Crude human figurine: Popham, Touloupa, and Sackett 1982, 232-33, pl. 29e, g. Incised

handmade figurines: Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, 149-50, P30, 344, pls. 137, 269. The bibliography on the centaur is extensive. For references see Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, 168-70, T1.5, T3.3, 344-45, pls. 251-52; Misch 1992, 217, pl. 18.3; Lebessi 1996; Guggisberg 1996, no. 286; Lemos 2002, 98, pl. 98.1.

²⁵ For a general overview of Attic types, see Higgins 1967, 20-23; for a survey of Attic LG sanctuary finds, see Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 314-18; for a useful analysis of figurines in Attic graves, see Xagorari 1996. I would like to thank John Papadopoulos for kindly meeting with me in May 2004 to discuss the contexts of figurines from old and new excavations found in the American School of Classical Studies excavations in the Agora.

²⁶ Wheelmade stag: Kübler and Kraiker 1939, pl. 77; Kübler 1943, 20, 40, pl. 26; Demargne 1964, fig. 373; Styrenius 1967, 107, n. 7, 110; Higgins 1967, 21, 140, pl. 7D; Nicholls 1970, 13, pl. 2C; Desborough 1972, 146, pl. 26; Misch 1992, 221-22, fig. 185; Guggisberg 1996, pl. 15, no. 221; Lemos 2002, 98, pl. 98.3. Wheelmade horses with wheels, some carrying jars pannier style: Kübler 1954, 69, 121, 245, pl. 14, 142, 144; Nicholls 1970, 14; Misch 1992, 14. Wheelmade pomegranate: Kübler 1954, 244, pl. 118. Wheelmade birds: Kübler 1954, 243-44, pl. 144; Higgins 1967, 23; Christou 1986 (for the origin of this type, parallels in Naxian and Cypriot graves). Wheelmade shoe models: Young 1949, 282-88, 296-97, nos. 22-23, fig. 12, pls. 67-70; Desborough 1952, 54, 125, pl. 15; Coldstream 1968, 10-13; Whitley 1991, pl. 25. Granary model: Smithson 1968, 93-94, no. 22, pl. 23; Coldstream 1995.

²⁷ SM and SG mourning female: Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 3, no. 2a, pl. 1.3; Young 1939, 53-55, no. XI.18, figs. 35-36. Enthroned women: Young 1939, 63-64, no. XII.18-23, figs. 40-41. Handmade horses: Young 1939, 63, no. XII.18, fig. 40; Kübler 1954, 243-44, pl. 142-43; Brann 1961, 136, O41-43, P27, pl. 23; Higgins 1967, 21, fig. 11, 12. Chariot groups: Young 1939, 65-67, no. XII.24, fig. 42; Brann 1962, no. 331, pl. 19; Higgins 1967, 22, pl. 8B. Handmade birds: Young 1939, 61-62, no. XII.14, fig. 40. Handmade dogs: Young 1939, 62-63, no. XII.15-16, fig. 40.

²⁸ The types in this ware include bell-shaped females with detachable legs and pomegranates, see Kübler 1943, 15, 19, 25, 36-39, pl. 1, 31; Kübler 1954, 38, 139; Smithson 1961, 170-71; Foltiny 1961; Styrenius 1967, 107-14; Higgins 1967, 20-21, pl. 7C; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 3-4, no. 3.4, Pl. 1.

²⁹ For wheelmade bulls found on the slopes of the Acropolis and their context, see Broneer 1933; Broneer 1935; Broneer 1938; Nicholls 1970.

³⁰ The early “primitive” handmade figurines found in the storerooms of the Acropolis excavations are the subject of a Greek dissertation by Vally Georgakou, currently at the Kanopolous Museum in Athens. Unfortunately, the original labels and excavation findspots for the figurines have been lost and so these figurines can only be identified as coming from somewhere on the Acropolis (V. Georgakou, personal communication, May 2004). Most of these figurines seem to date to the Archaic period, with only a handful possibly earlier.

³¹ For the controversies and use of the Athenian Agora and Acropolis in the EIA, see Papadopoulos 2003.

³² Langdon 1976, 70, no. 313.

³³ Croissant 1972; Foley 1988, 39-41; Hägg 1992, 11-12; Vink 2002, 56-57; Banaka-Dimaki 2002.

³⁴ For overviews of the topography and cults of Argos and the Argive plain, see Courbin 1966; Croissant 1972; Foley 1988, 102-03; Hägg 1992, 12-13; Vink 2002; Banaka-Dimaki 2002, esp. 108. Both Hägg and Foley caution that many strata, including those of the Papaparaskevas plot, in Argos are mixed. A deposit east of the agora contained four supposed Geometric female figurines (Roux 1954, 166, 180), but illustrations have not been published.

³⁵ Figurine types include warriors, chariot groups, horses, and wheeled carts with horses. Psiroyannis plot deposit on the eastern border of later agora: Roux 1954, 166, fig. 15. East of later agora: Foley 1988, 102. In Papaparaskevas plot (Su88) warrior figurines: Daux 1967, 844, figs. 23-24; Sarian 1969; Foley 1988, 102-03. Votive deposit on the Larissa hilltop: Roes 1953 (pomegranate); Karouzou 1955, 314; Kelly 1976, 53, 60; Courbin 1966, 27; Foley 1988, 140-41; Hägg 1992, 11, fig. 2a. For figurines from theater area, see Guggisberg 1988.

³⁶ Waldstein 1902.

³⁷ No Geometric figurines were found at the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora. There is one torso from a female figurine (Athens National Museum Inv. 17126), which has been dated to the Geometric period, but the modeling is unusual and is not similar to other Geometric figurines I have seen. Payne 1940, 195, Nr. 304, pl. 115; Böhm 1990, 149, T7, pl. 4a; for a general reevaluation of this sanctuary, see Menadier 1995.

³⁸ For Mycenaean, LG, and Archaic votives found at the sanctuary, see Reichel and Wilhelm 1901; Sinn 1980; Jost 1985, I.iii. Mitsopoulos-Leon 1992; Voyatzis 1990, 35-37, 133-38, 143-44, 242-44; 1992; 1995.

³⁹ For bronze figurines in Arcadia, see Langdon 1984; Jost 1985; Voyatzis 1990.

⁴⁰ The important eighth-century cult of Artemis at Ephesos received no terracotta figurines; the Basis deposit included only precious metal and objects of valuable material, including gold, ivory, amber, and rock crystal. In 1989, a sondage was sunk on the east side of the peripteros. The sondage yielded PG and Mycenaean pottery and fragments of six handmade cattle figurines (Bammer 1990, 142, fig. 12). No date was given for these fragments and the illustrated drawings are not enough to provide a firm date; the figurines could be either LBA or EIA. (Brein 1978; 1982; 1990; 1998). The sanctuary of Athena at Old Smyrna did not receive Geometric terracotta figurines (Cook and Nicholls 1998). Like many Ionian cities, Miletos has continuous LBA and Geometric strata consisting of pottery and some stone oval houses. The Temple of Athena near the Theater Harbor seems to have been founded in the eighth century with some occasional LBA finds, including Mycenaean terracotta animal and psi figurines and a hollow wheelmade bull. Three Geometric terracotta figurines were excavated at Miletos: a horse rider from a MG well and two horses from an oval house, but their contexts are not clearly ritual. For Miletos, see Weickert 1959/60; Mallwitz 1959/60; Kleiner 1966; Niemeier and Niemeier 1997; Niemeier, Greaves, and Selesnow 1999; von Graeve 1999 Gorman 2001, Ch. 5; Greaves 2002, Ch. 2, Ch. 3, 75-84. For discussion of the figurines, see Niemeier and Niemeier 1997, 244 (Mycenaean); Hommel 1959/60, 58-59, pl. 61; Kleine 1979, 155, pl. 44; Kleiner 1969/70, 119; Higgins 1967, 19; Schweitzer 1971, 98-99, fig. 67; Coldstream 2003, 260. For seventh-century figurines from the Athena Temple, see von Graeve 1999. For a general review of Ionian dedications, see Simon 1986.

⁴¹ There are important Geometric sanctuaries on Kea, Naxos, Paros, Selos, Naxos, and Amorgos; many of these are only preliminarily published. For Delos, Zagora, and Amorgos, see Rolley 1973; Rolley 1983; Gallet de Santerre 1958; Cambitoglou 1988; Marangou 1998. For a useful survey of Cycladic Geometric cults, settlements, associated finds, and extensive bibliographies, see Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 328-331; Gounaris 2005.

⁴² These island traditions are briefly summarized in Higgins 1967; more fully explored in Karageorghis 1993; Prent 2005.

⁴³ Vassos Karageorghis' multi-volume compilation of the terracotta figurines from Cyprus (Karageorghis 1991-1999) is invaluable, but provides little analysis. No such compilation exists for Crete.

⁴⁴ Coulson 1983, 33, 40; see also Snodgrass 1971, 408; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 74-79.

⁴⁵ Coulson 1983, 281-82.

⁴⁶ Coulson 1983, 281-82, 293, 314, no. 232, pl. 39.

⁴⁷ The exhaustive survey of Mazarakis Ainian (1997, especially 274-76, 285-86, 298-305) demonstrates that figurines were not a regular feature of these Geometric structures.

⁴⁸ Schilardi 1978, 204, n. 1; 1983, 175-77.

⁴⁹ Schilardi 1983, 177.

⁵⁰ Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 107. Although there are wall fragments, not enough is preserved to ascertain the nature of this building.

⁵¹ Kleiner 1966, 21; Kleine 1979, 155, pl. 44; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 109-110, 333, fig. 421.

⁵² This distribution is also seen in the bronze figurine assemblage, which is also almost exclusively used for religious purposes, and to a lesser extent for funerary use. See Snodgrass 1980, 52-54; Langdon 1984, 42-51.

⁵³ Desborough, Nicholls, and Popham 1970, 25-26; Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, 169, T32, 345-46, pl. 169, 253; Guggisberg 1996, 220-25. Some scholars (Williams 2000) suggest that some of the wheelmade animal figures could have been used as toys.

I: Introduction to the Study of Terracotta Figurines

- ⁵⁴ Elderkin 1930; Davidson and Thompson 1943, 114-118; Higgins 1967, 19-21, 23, 140-41; Vandenabeele 1973; Szabo 1994.
- ⁵⁵ Kübler 1943, 15, 19, 25, 36-39, pl. 1, 31; 1954, 38, 139; Smithson 1961, 170-71; Foltiny 1961; Styrenius 1967, 107-14; Higgins 1967, 20-21, pl. 7C; Vierneisel-Schlörb 1997, 3-4, no. 3.4, pl. 1.
- ⁵⁶ Higgins 1967, 20-23.
- ⁵⁷ Ohly 1940; 1941.
- ⁵⁸ Heilmeyer 1972.
- ⁵⁹ Higgins (1957, 10) proposed this hypothesis, asserting that figurine production ceased at the end of the LBA until the end of the eighth century. In a review of Higgins' work before the Olympia publication, Nicholls already pointed out the inconsistency between Higgins' proposal and the archaeological evidence.
- ⁶⁰ Ammerman 1989; see also Ammerman 1990.
- ⁶¹ Merker 2000; see also Merker 2003.
- ⁶² Jarosch 1994.
- ⁶³ D'Agata 1999.
- ⁶⁴ Morgan 1999.
- ⁶⁵ Mitten and Morgan 1999. This analysis is based in part on David Mitten's earlier unpublished dissertation (Mitten 1962) on the figurines from this sanctuary.
- ⁶⁶ This theoretical model was based on those developed by Renfrew 1985; Pilafidis-Williams 1998.
- ⁶⁷ Rouse 1902. An earlier work in German (Reish 1890) is not as comprehensive.
- ⁶⁸ A few of the most notable examples include van Straten 1981; Simon 1986; Linders and Nordquist 1987; Dengage 1988; Foley 1988; van Straten 1992; Brulotte 1994; van Straten 2000; Baumbach 2004.
- ⁶⁹ Hutton 1899; Huish 1900; Webster 1950.
- ⁷⁰ Thompson 1934.
- ⁷¹ Davidson and Thompson 1943.
- ⁷² Thompson 1952; 1957; 1963a; 1963b; Thompson, Thompson, and Rotroff 1987; see also Uhlenbrock 1990.
- ⁷³ Higgins 1954.
- ⁷⁴ Higgins 1967.
- ⁷⁵ Talalay 1987; Marangou 1992; Talalay 1993; Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 1997.
- ⁷⁶ Alexiou 1958.
- ⁷⁷ French 1971. This study set the groundwork for future contextual studies of Mycenaean figurines, see most recently Tzonou-Herbst 2002.
- ⁷⁸ Nicholls 1970.
- ⁷⁹ Guggisberg 1996.
- ⁸⁰ Gesell 1985; Kourou and Karetsoy 1997; Kourou 2001.
- ⁸¹ Moore 1988.
- ⁸² Talalay 1987; Marangou 1992; Talalay 1993; Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 1997; see also Tringham and Conkey 1998.
- ⁸³ Orphanides 1990.
- ⁸⁴ Alroth 1987; 1989.
- ⁸⁵ van Straten 1981; Alroth 1988; van Straten 2000.
- ⁸⁶ Gesell 1985; Renfrew 1985; Moore 1988; Ammerman 1989; 1990; Morgan 1999.
- ⁸⁷ Uhlenbrock 1990.
- ⁸⁸ Vandenabeele and Laffineur 1991.
- ⁸⁹ Karageorghis 1991-1999.
- ⁹⁰ Ucko 1968; Talalay 1987; Talalay 1993; Bolger 1996.
- ⁹¹ The sample of published figurines was large enough to conduct this research. Therefore, unpublished examples were not examined due to complexities in arranging permission in the build up to the 2004 Olympics in Athens, when many museums were undergoing significant reconstruction and storage materials were not available for study.

⁹² I was able to study firsthand the figurines from Olympia, Amyklai, Isthmia, Chios, and Samos. For comparison, I studied figurines on display from Athens, Lefkandi, Argos, as well as many from Crete and Cyprus.

⁹³ Renfrew 1985; Renfrew and Zubrow 1994; Marcus and Flannery 1994; Rappaport 1999.

⁹⁴ For a useful discussion of Post-processual Archaeology and Cognitive Archaeology, see Whitley 1998.

⁹⁵ For an overview of this approach to the study of past societies see Renfrew in Renfrew and Zubrow 1994, 3-5. In the introduction to this compilation of articles applying Cognitive Archaeology to various case studies, Renfrew argues that Cognitive Archaeology is a direct response to Processual Archaeology (New Archaeology). He uses the term “functional-processual archaeology” to refer to the focus of processual archaeologists in the 1960s-80s on the immediate material aspects of life and the term “cognitive-processual archaeology” to refer to scholars using material evidence to reconstruct belief systems.

⁹⁶ Renfrew in Renfrew and Zubrow 1994, 6, 47.

⁹⁷ Renfrew and Zubrow 1994, 6.

⁹⁸ Marcus and Flannery 1994, 55-56. This approach was first outlined by Wedel 1938. These scholars mainly apply this approach in using ethnographic and ethno-historical data to understand the direct predecessors of New World cultures. The same approach can be used in applying our knowledge of historic Greek institutions to the pre-literate period immediately preceding the historical period, since there is often continuous use of certain sites.

⁹⁹ Marcus and Flannery 1994, 56.

¹⁰⁰ As outlined in Marcus and Flannery 1994, 56; see also Flannery 1976. For a good review on the state of the field and its emphasis on contextualization see Hamilton et al. 1996.

¹⁰¹ Marcus in Hamilton et al. 1996, 286.

¹⁰² Rappaport 1979, 176.

¹⁰³ For a recent discussion on the problems of developing a typology, see Bolger 2003, 100-02.

¹⁰⁴ These architectural models have been extensively studied and seem to represent a slightly different and isolated tradition. See Schattner 1990; Merserau 1993; Mazarakis Ainian 1997.

¹⁰⁵ Butler 1990; Grosz 1994; Bolger 2003, 189-91.

¹⁰⁶ A few seminal works on gesture include: Mauss 1979 (an article first published in 1935); Blacking 1977; Rappaport 1979; Gombrich 1982; Asad 1997.

¹⁰⁷ Verlinden 1984; Morris and Peatfield 1990; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1995; Weede 1999; Morris 2001; Morris and Peatfield 2002.

¹⁰⁸ Brandt 1965.

¹⁰⁹ The terms are somewhat confusing since “cow” can refer both to a female bovine animal and to a domestic bovine animal regardless of sex or age. Also, “oxen” is used to refer to an adult castrated ox or to any domesticated bovine mammal. The term cattle refers to any domesticated quadruped of generally bovine nature.

CHAPTER II
DEDICATIONS IN CLAY
THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXTS

This chapter presents the terracotta figurines from sanctuaries throughout the Peloponnesos and Aegean islands by compiling information from various sources. The sanctuaries are organized by region; the East Greek sites are presented from east to west, while the Peloponnesian sites are presented from the deep Peloponnesos to the Corinthia. Interpretation and discussion of this material as a whole are presented in Chapters III and IV. Each entry begins with a general description of the layout and location of the sanctuary followed by a discussion of the types and quantities of figurines published from each site. Appendix II is a reference guide to the various regional and site-specific chronologies and Appendix III is a reference table of all the sanctuaries discussed in this chapter. Finally, Appendix IV contains reference charts for each site, listing the quantities of the types published.

EAST GREECE & THE AEGEAN ISLANDS

East Greece and many of the Aegean islands had links with several areas of Greece, including Ionia, Attica, and the Argolid. A close connection with Cyprus was maintained throughout the EIA, beginning in the tenth century as attested by bird vases, pilgrim flasks, and

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openwork kalathoi.¹ The Cypriot connection continued throughout the ninth and eighth centuries as evidenced by the bell-doll figurines found in Rhodian graves, imported Cypriot pottery, and Cypriot figurines dedicated at various sanctuaries. Rhodes and Samos in particular were visited by Levantine and Cypriot ships, and many eastern imports were dedicated and displayed at these sanctuaries.

RHODES

The island of Rhodes participated in the eastern Mediterranean trade network, with connections to the east established before the Archaic period. A diverse population settled on the island, which combined with trade traffic encouraged the creation of cosmopolitan communities in the port towns. Three major sites, Lindos, Kamiros, and Ialysos, divide the island into three major regions: north, central, and south. Athena seems to have been the patron goddess of the whole island, since all major sanctuaries are dedicated to her.

In the Late Mycenaean period, the extensive tomb evidence from Ialysos and other west coast cemeteries confirms that Mycenaeans, or at least people heavily influenced by Mycenaean material culture, inhabited the island. The funerary evidence from Ialysos further suggests that significant depopulation and perhaps destructions or evacuation of Mycenaean sites on the northwest coast occurred at the end of the Late Bronze Age, while habitation continued in the southeastern areas.² Although there is disagreement about whether Mycenaeans settled on Rhodes in the LH IIIC period, it does appear that some settlements on the island at this time were using Mycenaean pottery, Late Psi figurines, and wheelmade animal statuettes.³ It is at this time that Mycenaeans also likely settled on Cyprus and Cilicia; therefore, a Mycenaean presence on Rhodes, which is en route to the east, is not surprising. The Argive influence on the earliest LH IIIC pottery from Ialysos might indicate a Peloponnesian home for these newcomers, who seem

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to have settled primarily on the south coast.⁴ A gap in the material record from the early eleventh century to the late tenth century precludes discussion of continuity of Mycenaean culture.⁵

Rhodes enjoyed close relations with Cyprus early in its history. Not only do LBA burials contain Cypriot objects, such as bronze mirrors and stone mortars, but also the only significant EIA imports on the island were Cypriot.⁶ The sanctuary of Athena at Lindos received imported figurines, while the figurines from the graves at Ialysos provide important chronological controls as well as evidence for funerary traditions involving figurines that differ from the votive traditions.

Figurines were used in Rhodes in funerary as well as votive contexts. The figurines from graves include handmade female bell dolls, horses, and birds. A strong Mycenaean terracotta tradition existed on the island, as shown by numerous handmade horses, bulls, and female figurines, as well as wheelmade animal statuettes found in Mycenaean graves.⁷

The pottery sequence from East Greece is not as well known as those of other regions of Greece, but recent excavations of cemeteries in continuous use throughout the Geometric period have remedied this situation to some degree. In dating the East Greek figurines from Rhodes, I follow the chronology outlined by Robert Cook, Nicolas Coldstream, and Anthony Snodgrass (Appendix II).⁸

Lindos: The Sanctuary of Athena Lindia

In the EIA, Lindos became a commercial and maritime center with connections to Crete, Attica, Ionia, Cyprus, and Phoenicia, as well as contacts with West Greece and Egypt. The acropolis and the sites around it were excavated by the Danish under the direction of Carl Blinkenberg and Karl Kinch from 1902-1914 and in 1952 by Ejnar Dyggve. Blinkenberg dated the early figurines generally to before the sixth century, dividing them into locally and Cypriot

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produced groups.⁹ At the time of the 1931 publication, more refined dating was not possible; today, however, the abundance of figurines from Samos, Cyprus, and other areas of East Greece enables a more precise dating of these figurines.¹⁰

The sanctuary of Athena Lindia, located on the acropolis, has produced no defined strata earlier than the sixth century, but a significant amount of LG pottery and figurines attests to an eighth-century cult. The presence of Attic-style PG pottery at the site together with a few examples of PG wheelmade figures provides possible evidence for a tenth- or ninth-century cult.¹¹ The excavators believed that there was evidence for a pre-hellenic deity, Lindia, worshipped on the site of the later Athena Temple.¹² The lack of prehistoric ritual remains and the fact that the epithet “Lindia” begins no earlier than the fourth century, however, make this hypothesis untenable. It is reasonable to conclude that a cult with Mycenaean remnants existed in the tenth century and perhaps succeeded by a brief gap before the cult was revived in the eighth century when pottery, jewelry, and figurine dedications begin in quantity. This is corroborated by the bronze fibulae sequence, which does not begin until c. 800.¹³ The figurines, many of which exhibit earlier traits, cannot be securely dated within the Geometric period.

Many figurines imported from Cyprus were dedicated at this sanctuary in the Late Geometric and Early Archaic periods. Lone Wriedt Sørensen’s analysis of the Cypriot figurine imports at this sanctuary updates Blinkenberg’s original study. Based on a more thorough understanding of Cypriot figurine due to their excavation and publication, Sørensen identifies more specifically the close parallels for the ring dancer group, horse rider figurines, and female figures, with figurines excavated at the Cypriot kingdom of Salamis and to a lesser extent other eastern Cypriot sanctuaries.¹⁴ Sørensen asserts that the Cypriot figurines dedicated at Lindos are not directly related to the worship of Athena, but reflect types popular at Cypriot cults. I do not find this suggestion compelling, since the Cypriot figurine types were imitated locally at Lindos

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and are consistent with terracotta types found at other East Greek sanctuaries. The sanctuary at Lindos received Cypriot limestone statuary and pottery. The close contact between these two islands continues until the mid-sixth century.¹⁵ The quantity of Cypriot votive types at this sanctuary suggests that the dedicators considered them an appropriate dedication, perhaps perceiving an affinity between the Greek and Cypriot goddesses.

At Lindos, the earliest cult seems to have dictated dedications of bronze fibulae, but by the LG and EA terracotta figurines and statuettes, influenced by Cypriot imports, became more numerous along with faience votives.

Type IA	Females with outstretched arms
<i>EG</i>	2
<i>MG</i>	3
<i>LG</i>	5

This type is the earliest represented at the sanctuary, beginning in the EG period. Figurine **R3** (Fig. 3) is a Cypriot import with the closest parallels from Kition, Amathus, and Salamis and a Cypriot imported figurine from Samos (**S3**, Fig. 6). Based on these comparisons, the figurine can be dated to EG. These figurines are handmade, with tall cylindrical skirts, slightly flared at the base, arms that curve upwards at the shoulder, and applied disc-shaped breasts. There are also two locally made wheelmade females with arms uplifted (**R1-2**, Figs. 1-2). Based on similar figurines from Samos (**S1-2**, Fig. 5), they should be dated to at least as early as the MG period. **R1** holds both arms up in a gesture identical to **S1**. The style of rendering is also similar to the Samian examples: the lower bodies are wheelmade while the upper torsos are handmade with applied pellet breasts. Unfortunately, neither head is preserved. **R2** has a slightly different posture: the lower left arm is held against the upper arm as if touching the head.

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This type continues into the LG period. **R4 (Fig. 4)** is similar to the earlier examples, but the body is more naturalistically modeled, with painted circles around the plastic breasts and an elaborate painted necklace. Handmade figurines now predominate. These are more summarily executed and often have crudely shaped bodies with stump arms that protrude horizontally from the shoulders (**R5-6**). The heads are rectangular, with protruding faces with a slit mouth, applied pellet eyes and added eyebrows. They often have elaborately painted hair, dresses, and necklaces.

A slightly later figurine (**R7**) depicts a standing robed woman, with short outstretched arms and modeled dress. The figure is beginning to look more plank-like, dating it to the end of the LG or SG/EA period. This figurine is similar to ones found in graves at Vroulia.¹⁶

Type IB **Females with arms at sides** *LG* 3

At Lindos, this type begins in the LG period. There are two wheelmade figures depicting draped females with arms held close by the sides (**R8-9, Fig. 14**) The bodies are cylindrical with a curving base and wear elaborately painted dresses decorated in the Rhodian LG-SG vase painting tradition.¹⁷ **R8** has a dress with zigzag belt, hatched half-sleeves, and a checkered panel that runs between the breasts to the belt and a checkered rectangular panel on the back. The breasts are outlined in paint, with painted centers, and the collar of the garment is painted at the neck. There are also bands on the lower arms, which could indicate bracelets or the edge of the sleeves. The decoration confirms that these are local products dating to c. 700. Most likely this technique was introduced to the island from Cyprus based on close connections and imports between Rhodes and Cyprus.

R10 is a handmade figurine of a different style. This figurine is broken below the breasts and is missing the right shoulder and arm as well as most of the left arm. Enough is preserved of

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the left arm to indicate that the arms were positioned at the sides. The breasts and eyes are added pellets. The face is crudely formed: it is narrow and pinched to form a nose and jutting chin. The figure wears a flat polos headdress. This female is similar to the Samian figurine **S8**; both are related to Mycenaean stylized figurines in their stylized rendering and polos headdresses.¹⁸ Stylistic differences, such as the painted decoration and overall conception of the human form, place these figurines firmly in the LG period.

Type II Ring Dancers/Musicians

MG 1 (*Cypriot import*)

LG 5

The earliest example of this type on Rhodes is a Cypriot group of three figures holding hands in a circle with heads thrown back (**R11, Fig. 19**). The three outer figures are identified as female by their tiara headdresses. These female dancers surround a male figure with conical cap holding both hands to his mouth to play a double flute. Two of the three dancers are well preserved and the hands of the third survive attached to the other dancers' arms. The bodies are simply modeled with handmade, cylindrical skirts that flare at the bottom and were attached to a base. The faces are triangular and pinched. Painted stripes are preserved on the arms. This eighth-century import was copied locally in the LG. **R12 (Fig. 20)** is local handmade musician wearing a tiara with both hands held to the mouth to play a flute.

Type III Enthroned Females

LG/SG 2

There is one well-preserved Geometric enthroned female figure from Lindos (**R13, Fig. 23**). The simplicity of the preserved figurine makes dating difficult, but it likely dates to the LG/EA. The handmade figure wears a long dress and sits on a Pi-shaped bench with both arms

held by the sides. The breasts are softly modeled and the head no longer survives. Another fragment of a similar figure is mentioned by Blinkenberg, but not illustrated.

Type V Kourotrophos
LG/SG 1

The one example of this type in the Geometric period, c. 700, in terracotta is from Rhodes (**R14, Fig. 28**). The small standing female with modeled breasts holds the right arm out in front of the body while the left arm cradles a crude baby figure. The woman's face is round with modeled chin and nose, slit mouth, and small eyes. She wears a headdress with crosshatched lines on the back of the head, perhaps representing a veil.

Type VI Standing Clothed Males
LG 1 (1 Cypriot import)
SG 7 (7 Cypriot import)

A series of Cypriot-made standing males wearing long robes was dedicated at this sanctuary at the end of the eighth century and beginning of the seventh.¹⁹ They are remarkably similar to male figurines dedicated at Samos, which were also imported from Cyprus and likely represent the same subject. Their non-military character and long robes remove these males from the more usual Greek warrior type. These figures are more likely depictions of priests or male votaries, a common type on Cyprus. The type is not imitated locally on the island.

Type VII Standing Warriors
LG 2 (2 Cypriot imports)
SG 1

An imported figure of a warrior is a unique dedication at this sanctuary (**R15, Fig. 34**). The preserved upper half of a male figurine holds the preserved arm forward and has a circular piercing through the chest. His face is upturned with a large nose and jutting beard and has

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protrusions on each side of the head identified as earcaps. The only other site where this unusual figurine type has been found is Salamis on Cyprus, where the type was likely invented. A similar warrior with pierced chest was discovered in an Archaic deposit (c. late eighth/early seventh century) outside the ramparts of Salamis (**Fig. 35**), identified as the remains of votive offerings at a local sanctuary. At Salamis these unusual figurines, which take the form of warriors, animals, and masked men, have pierced chests and wheels and are interpreted as wheeled toys. The hole through the chest for insertion of a stick to “drive” these mobile “toy soldiers.”²⁰ These figurines are generally interpreted as toys, which became votive in secondary use; and seem to be a Salaminian specialty.²¹

Another warrior, **R16 (Fig. 36)**, was also imported from Cyprus. This male figure has a hollow, bell-shaped base and a conical torso painted with an “X.” The right arm brandishes a spear. His face is simply modeled with indented eyes and he wears a conical cap. The posture of this figurine is similar to warriors riding in quadrigas from Cyprus, such as seventh century examples from Ayia Irini.²² The technique of making bell-shaped hollow bases for handmade figurines is another specialty of the Salaminian coroplastic workshops and several similar figures were found in the Archaic deposit outside the ramparts.²³

Type IX	Horse Riders
<i>LG</i>	5 (2 Cypriot imports)
<i>SG</i>	2 (2 Cypriot imports)

The torso of one local handmade figurine (**R17, Fig. 48**) wears a long garment that flares at the hips, where it is broken. The arms are held upwards in front. The dress is intricate with rows of chevrons on the front with two starbursts over the breasts and a bird with two starbursts on either side in an upper register. The lower register that decorates the back is painted with

triangles. The edges and seams of the garment are delineated in brown paint. The painted designs are similar to Rhodian LG vases dating to the late eighth century-early seventh century.²⁴

Blinkenberg originally identified this figure as a female holding the arms forward, but it has subsequently been convincingly identified as a horse rider based on the position of the arms and the break at the front where the figure was originally attached to a horse.²⁵

Other horse riders are Cypriot imports (**R18, Fig. 49**), dated to the late eighth-early seventh century. The figures are roughly modeled, with legs and arms smoothed into the body of the horse. The riders hold the neck of the horse, often with their faces upturned. The horses are simple. Both rider and horse are decorated with stripes. Again, the closest parallels come from Salamis, where this type continues from the CG-CA periods.²⁶

Type XI	Anthropomorphic Fragments
<i>Female Heads, LG</i>	6 (2 Cypriot imports)
<i>Male Heads, LG</i>	4 (3 Cypriot imports)
<i>Heads, LG</i>	2 (2 Cypriot imports)

There are several heads from the sanctuary that cannot be joined to existing body fragments. Many of these LG handmade heads can be identified as female based on their similarities with preserved figures. **R19 (Fig. 64)** is similar to **R6**, but has flaring appendages on the side of the head, with holes for earrings. These appendages, which likely represent the side of an elaborate headdress, are found on another unusual head from Samos (**S93, Fig. 73**) with early Cypriot parallels. **R20** is unique at the site; this handmade head has applied circular eyes, a smooth, rounded chin, small slit mouth, and large ears. Plastically added hair extends down a long neck, identifying this figure as likely female. The last two heads (**R21**) are similar to **R6**, which suggests they are also from female figures. They have long faces with jutting noses and

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chins. The slit mouth has modeled lips. The circular eyes are added as well as the strip eyebrows, a typical feature of Rhodian faces.

One head can be identified as male by the painted beard and moustache, **R22 (Fig. 65)**. This head is from a handmade male figurine. The moustache and beard are painted solid black, while the hair is rendered in painted wavy lines. The eyes are circles with dots, and the eyebrows are painted arches.

R23 (Fig. 66) is another Cypriot import. This head is from a male figure with a jutting chin, large nose, and protruding ears. The most distinguishing feature is his large, conical hat.

Type XII	Cattle
<i>PG</i>	1 (?)
<i>LG</i>	7
<i>SG</i>	1

A few fragments from wheelmade bovine statuettes represent the earliest figures from the sanctuary. Nota Kourou dates these to the PG based on the general affinity with Minoan post-palatial bulls (**R25**).²⁷ Other wheelmade animals appear later, likely LG, and are perhaps a revival of an older style. These cattle figures have protruding circular eyes, linear decoration, and stylized treatment of the head.

There is also a series of handmade cattle of uncertain date (**R24, Fig. 77**). I have conservatively dated these figurines to the LG period, but it is possible that they are earlier.²⁸ The LG bulls have long heads with modeled muzzles, slit mouths, pierced nostrils, and large applied circular eyes. The horns curve upwards and they have small, modeled ears.

Type XIV Horses
LG 4

Lindos received several handmade and wheelmade horse dedications in the LG (**R26-27**, **Figs. 105-06**). The horses are ornate with painted manes and bridles. **R26** is painted with Geometric motifs and is simply modeled, while **R27** is more intricately painted with meanders, parallel lines, and rosettes and plastically added details. The decoration of these horses is local LG.

Type XVII Birds
LG 3 (3 Cypriot imports)

A series of handmade birds on small cylindrical bases with polychrome Geometric decoration begins at Lindos in the LG period and continues throughout the Archaic. The birds are Cypriot imports (**R28-29**, **Figs. 130-31**); they are small, handmade, and some have one wing raised and the other held against their sides. The closest parallels are birds that adorned cultic vessels from Salamis on Cyprus (**Fig. 134**).²⁹

Type XVIII Dogs
LG/SG 4 (4 Cypriot imports)

A series of dog figurines were dedicated to the Lindian goddess c. 700 and into the first quarter of the seventh century (**R30**, **Fig. 136**). These handmade canine figurines are simple with long, pointed muzzles, large rounded ears, and tails that jut out horizontally. They are painted in a LG/SG style with striped designs. All are Cypriot imports with close parallels from Salamis dating from CGIII-CA.³⁰

CHIOS
Emporio: the Harbour Sanctuary

Chios was home to a flourishing LH IIIC Mycenaean culture, which was succeeded by a gap in settlement evidence until the LG period.³¹ Emporio served as the main port town of the island and was the location of a major sanctuary, referred to as the Harbour Sanctuary since its deity is unknown. An early seventh-century incomplete graffito on a vase perhaps names Hera, but a later seventh-century graffito on a vase names Artemis while a sixth-century graffito names Apollo.³²

The sanctuary was laid out on a series of terraces in the lower town. Both sanctuary and town were excavated under the direction of Sinclair Hood between 1952-1955 and thoroughly published by the British School. Although they were not completely excavated, a basic plan and chronology were established.³³ The Archaic votives of this sanctuary (bronze belts, fibulae, jewelry, tweezers, pins, needles, and beads) are types of offerings typical of goddess sanctuaries.³⁴ The early votives from the Harbour Sanctuary, many of which were imported, attest the cosmopolitan character of this city with a port shrine frequented by travelers, merchants, and sailors. The votives parallel those found at the Samian Heraion, although they are not as rich or abundant.

The stratigraphy of the figurines from the deposits does not aid in refining the EIA figurine chronology. Most were discovered in later levels (Period IV), but are stylistically much earlier (Appendix II).³⁵ Some figurines, however, were found in earlier levels. Period I (900-690) has yielded 25 figurines, stylistically early, while Period II deposits contained fragments from earlier hollow animal statuettes. For this study, Period I supplies a *terminus ante quem* of c. 690; all other figurines must be dated stylistically. Many are difficult to date. Some wheelmade

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fragments have SM painted decoration (scale patterns, wavy lines), yet are clearly manufactured in a Geometric style. Since the sanctuary lacks a continuous series of terracottas, or other evidence for continuous use since the SM period, the excavator interprets these as LG revivals of a much older type. Nota Kourou, however, dates a fragmentary horse and parts of bovid wheelmade figures to LH IIIC or SM, interpreting these terracottas as evidence for a prolonged LBA cult (C10-11, Figs. 107-08).³⁶

Type IA **Females with outstretched arms** *LG* *1*

C1 (Fig. 12) is a wheelmade arm from a wheelmade female figure with upraised arms, similar to examples found at Samos and Rhodes. It was found in a disturbed deposit next to a wheelmade horse (**C10, Fig. 107**) and is dated by the excavators to the last half of the eighth century based on manufacturing techniques similar to Samian figures.³⁷ It is decorated, however, in a SM style with a scale pattern forming a decorative pattern on the back or front of the dress and wavy lines decorate the sleeves.³⁸ I have dated the figurine based on parallels from Samos and Rhodes to the LG in accordance with Boardman's dating, but this figurine may be earlier.³⁹

Type IC **Females, arm position unclear** *LG* *1*

Two handmade boots provide evidence for this type at Emporio (**C2, Fig. 18**). The boots are from bell-shaped female figures with detachable legs.⁴⁰ The boots are elaborately decorated in black paint over a white slip, with lacing from the toes to the ankle. Because the shoes are elaborately painted, Boardman suggests that a skirt did not hide them, and therefore are from a male figure. Although this is a possibility, I have not found any examples of wheelmade male figures with such boots. Moreover, elaborate boots seem to be associated with women, as

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evidenced by the terracotta boot figurines placed in the graves of women at Naxos, Eleusis, and Athens.⁴¹

Type XI Anthropomorphic Fragments *Heads, LG 1*

Only one head has been found at the sanctuary (**C3, Fig. 135**). The solid head is from a wheelmade figure, with thrown back head wearing a cap. The head is paralleled by similar female heads from Samos,⁴² and I have dated this head to the LG. The sex of the figure is uncertain.

Type XII Cattle *SM 1* *LG 16*

There is one fragment from a Mycenaean wheelmade statuette that indicates earlier cult activity in the area: **C10 (Fig. 107)**. **C10** is a rump fragment from a cattle statuette with a barrel-shaped body. It was manufactured and decorated in a SM style with two wavy lines vertically flanking a narrow, plastic tail. Two small holes are located on either side of the added tail. The style as well as its findspot in the lowest deposits (Period 1) of the sanctuary indicate its use in the earliest cult.⁴³

Eight fragments from LG wheelmade cattle figures were found at the Harbour Sanctuary (**C4-C7, Fig. 78**). These consist of fragments of hollow and solid heads, legs, and feet from hollow wheelmade cattle. These form a coherent group and are similar to wheelmade cattle from the Samian Heraion. There are also a series of eight simply modeled handmade cattle figurines (**C8-C9**). The heads have forward-facing horns and long noses that curve upward.

Type XIV	Horses
<i>SM</i>	2
<i>LG</i>	2

C11 (Fig. 108) provides evidence for the continuity of Mycenaean traditions on Chios. This horse is wheelmade with a handmade head and is fashioned in a Geometric technique with slim body with thick walls. The composition with a high, tilted head and a trumpet-shaped muzzle, however, is similar to Late Mycenaean animal statuettes. The decoration is also SM: there are wavy lines on the flanks and a triangle pattern on the chest.⁴⁴ Despite the Mycenaean and SM traits of this horse, Boardman points out one further detail that suggests an eighth-century date for this figurine: there are remains of a flat, circular disc beneath the rear legs which indicate that this horse was part of a team decorating a ceramic lid. This is an Attic concept, yet its Mycenaean style as well as the shape of the lid place this piece firmly within a local tradition. Kourou, followed by Guggisberg, disagrees with Boardman's analysis, asserting that this horse dates to the LH IIIC or SM style.⁴⁵ There are a few small fragments from other wheelmade horses, also with SM decoration. The other horses are handmade of typical LG style and form.

Emporio: the Sanctuary of Athena

The Sanctuary of Athena is located on the acropolis of the upper town of Emporio and was excavated by the same British team that explored the Harbour Sanctuary. Unlike the Harbour Sanctuary, most of the votives deposited at the Athena sanctuary were produced locally, indicating that this shrine served primarily the local population.⁴⁶ The earliest votives, dated to the eighth century, consist mainly of pottery and figurines with Geometric decoration. The earliest evidence for the venerated deity is a fragmentary sixth-century votive plate, pierced for suspension, depicting an armed Athena and a fragment from a sixth-century Chian cup also inscribed with the name Athena.⁴⁷ Based on the continuous use of the sanctuary, one can assume

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that the sanctuary was dedicated to Athena from the beginning of cult. The Archaic votives at the site included traditionally feminine objects, such as spindle whorls and fibulae, as well as arrows, a spear, and terracotta shields, typical of Athena as a protector goddess.⁴⁸

No architecture is associated with the earliest cult deposits. Altar A was constructed at the end of the seventh century, but its fill contained earlier material. Boardman believes that the early sanctuary was focused on an open-air altar that received unburnt offerings, since there is no evidence for burning on the altar itself or the objects found concentrated around it.⁴⁹

Uncontaminated votive deposits found in a white stratum around Altar A (beneath the later temple floor) and between two boulders forming the terrace east of the temple provide important stratigraphical evidence for the early votives.

Type IB **Females with arms at sides** *LG* 2

The Athena sanctuary has produced several LG female figures; only two are preserved enough to reconstruct arm positions. **C12** is a wheelmade female with arms held at the sides. The breasts are modeled and the figure wears a long, slightly flaring garment. There are two ventilation holes in the back.

Type IC **Females with unknown arm position** *LG* 2

Two other female figurines, handmade with long skirts, do not preserve the upper half of the body (**C13**). These figures are rectangular in shape, plank-like, and date to c. 700 or just after.

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Type XI **Anthropomorphic Fragments** *Heads, LG* 2

There are two examples of stylized bird-shaped heads and domed skulls with modeled eyes, eyebrows, and nose from this shrine. **C14** is a handmade head, likely from a wheelmade figure, while **C15** is a hollow head from a hollow figure. The sex of these figures is uncertain.

Type XV **Wheeled Equines/Equines Carrying Jars** *PG* 1

C16 (Fig. 126) is a fragment from a wheelmade mule or donkey carrying jars pannier-style, decorated with red lines. Only one vase and a small piece of the animal's back survive. This might have been the secondary opening of an animal rhyton or perhaps a statuette mimicking the shape of such rhyta. Boardman believes that this might be the earliest figure from the sanctuary, suggesting a PG date based on the comparanda such as the mule carrying jugs from a Late Mycenaean grave at Ialysos.⁵⁰

Samos: the Sanctuary of Hera

The Sanctuary of Hera is located approximately 8km from the habitation site of Samos town on the southeast shore of Samos in the bountiful Khora plain. In the Geometric period the site was not yet formally connected to the settlement but was reached by shore.⁵¹ Ongoing excavations since the early twentieth century by the German Archaeological Institute have unearthed abundant finds with well-recorded stratigraphic contexts that indicate that this sanctuary was wealthy and cosmopolitan, as expected by its geographical location.⁵² By the beginning of the Archaic period the sanctuary was one of the wealthiest in Greece, with dedications coming from the Near East, Egypt, and Anatolia, and extensive monumental architecture, including a stone temple, altar, and stoa. Samos appears to have been an early

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pilgrimage center, attracting the pious, both elite and common, from all over the eastern Mediterranean and competing with or surpassing other panhellenic sanctuaries. In the earliest phase the sanctuary was an open-air shrine centered on a series of altars and perhaps a sacred tree. Early imports from Athens, Lakonia, and Cyprus testify to foreign visitors to the shrine before its Archaic heyday.

The German excavators have published the results of their excavations, providing stratigraphic evidence to support early dates for the institution of cult and beginnings of monumental stone architecture. Eager to establish cultic continuity, the excavators heralded meager Mycenaean evidence to posit a Bronze Age goddess cult that continued into the Geometric and Archaic periods. In his early publication of the terracotta figurines, Dieter Ohly dated many of the wheelmade animal statuettes to the earliest phases of SM-PG to support the theory of continuous cult.⁵³

In the past twenty years the stratigraphy and many of the conclusions based upon it have been challenged. Many of the deposits were sealed beneath early architecture, mainly the altars and early temple structures, which provided the *termini ante quem* for the deposits (Appendix II). Although Helmut Kyrieleis dates the original altar to the Late Mycenaean period, this early dating has not received general acceptance.⁵⁴ Alfred Mallwitz has significantly revised our understanding of the early architectural history at this sanctuary and his conclusions have received general approval. Mallwitz has down-dated the architecture, which necessitates a down-dating of the associated deposits.⁵⁵ The result is that none of the architecture or deposits can be securely dated earlier than the ninth century. This study follows the lowered chronology of the Samian sanctuary as suggested by Mallwitz.

As at other early sanctuaries the lack of early architecture does not preclude earlier cult. There are significant, if few, earlier remains. Several LH IIIB-C conical cups were found and

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although they alone are not enough to conclude cultic activity, their placement directly beneath the earliest altar and their open shape (popular at other transitional shrines) is significant.⁵⁶ A small amount of SM pottery was found throughout the site as well. The new publication of the figurines by Veronika Jarosch dates select figurines to the LH IIIC-PG periods. The discovery of PG sherds and figurines establishes the cult relatively securely to at least the tenth century, if not earlier. The conical cups and SM sherds are not exclusively cultic in nature and so it is wise to leave open the question of Mycenaean cult.

Despite these chronological upheavals, new studies of the material from the sanctuary generally confirm the original early history presented by Ohly, Walter, and Vierneisel.⁵⁷ Ohly's publication of the terracotta figurines still forms the basis of recent studies of the Samian material by Guggisberg and Jarosch, both of whom use new dating information to refine his chronology.⁵⁸

The Samian terracotta figurines, now housed in the Samos Archaeological Museum in Vathy, form one of the most important assemblages from early Greece because of their early date, quantity, and quality. The majority of the early figures were found beneath and around Altars II and III, beneath Hekatompedon I, and under various streets and subsidiary buildings. These deposits provide only a *terminus ante quem*, which does little to elucidate the earliest cultic sequence.

The terracotta figurines from the early excavations were published by Ohly in two substantial articles, with newly found figurines published by Vierneisel in 1961.⁵⁹ Gerhard Schmidt later published the Cypriot imports, including the figurines, in a separate monograph.⁶⁰ Although these studies were thorough for their time, new excavations have unearthed more figurines and revised information on the stratigraphy. Jarosch's final volume on the figurines updates and replaces these earlier publications except Schmidt's, publishing all locally produced figurines excavated as well as providing a revised chronology.⁶¹ Jarosch shies away from the

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issue of cultic continuity with regard to the wheelmade animal statuettes and conservatively dates many figurines later than previous studies. Guggisberg also studied a selection of the wheelmade animal statuettes, providing general “Geometric” dates for most.⁶² This study generally relies on a broader interpretation of Jarosch’s chronology, with any exceptions noted (Appendix II).

Type IA	Females with outstretched arms
PG	5
EG	2 (2 Cypriot imports)
MG	1
LG	44
SG	6
EIA	1

Female figurines with outstretched arms have a long history on Samos beginning in the PG. This type is remarkably uniform and is best interpreted as representing the same figure. Three hands from such figures were found, one beneath Altar II in Fundgruppe A (**S2**), which securely dates this type to the ninth century or earlier. The torso and one upraised arm reconstructed from five fragments (**S1**, **Fig. 5**) were found in the fill of Altar V (Fundgruppe G) and are the most complete of this early type.⁶³ These figures are large, hollow, and wheelmade with the distinctive pose of both arms raised above the head. The reconstructed height for **S1** is more than 0.600m high.⁶⁴ The figures do not have bent elbows, but the arms rise in a smooth arch above the head. The torsos are triangular and stylized in form with short arms and large hands. The plastically added pellet breasts indicate the sex. Kourou suggests that the stylized nature of the bodies and narrow waists indicate Minoan or Cypriot influence. Following Kourou’s analysis, I date this figure early, perhaps to the PG.⁶⁵

Two interesting figurines of this type were imported from Cyprus (**S3**, **S13**, **Figs. 6, 16**). They have been placed in the EG period on the chart, but their date is not secure. These figurines are handmade with long, narrow cylindrical bodies, applied pellet breasts, and upraised arms. In

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Cyprus, similar figurines with upraised arms were found in eleventh-century levels at the Enkomi sanctuary. The type, however, seems to have enjoyed long use because similar figurines are found in CGII-III contexts.⁶⁶ Schmidt dated these Samian figurines to the end of the eighth century, but I date the figurines contemporary to or slightly later than their CGII-III Cypriot counterparts. The examples from Samos are neither as squat as the later Cypriot examples nor as tall as CGI figurines; an EG date for the Samian examples fits between these two styles.

S17 (Fig. 11) is another early example of this type. This local product is crude with a pinched face and arms that are reduced to protruding stumps. There are no sexual features, but the figure wears a dress with incised belt. I date this figurine, which is roughly similar to **S18 (Fig. 15)** to the MG.

Females with outstretched arms abound in the LG period. The LG examples hold their arms straight out to the side (**S4, S7, S9, Figs. 7-9**) or bent at the elbows like earlier examples (**S5-6**). The LG examples have hollow, wheelmade bodies that flare out at the bottom (often painted to resemble a ruffled edge) to support a standing figure. Their preserved height ranges from 0.120-0.140m without the heads. Others (**S4, Fig. 7**) are smaller, solid and handmade, with reconstructed heights of approximately 0.050m. They frequently have preserved paint to indicate elaborate robes and many have plastically added breasts. Examples with preserved heads show a range in facial styles. Some have modeled eyebrows, large noses, and protruding chins (**S7, Fig. 8**), while others have upturned faces, painted eyes, large noses, rounded chins, and wear the veiled headdress found on many of the independent heads (**S10-11, Fig. 10**). A few have added pellet eyes and pointed, outstretched chins (**S7, Fig. 8**). Some have painted necklaces as well (**S10-11, Fig. 10**). Even the more crudely designed examples indicate an elaborately dressed female, wearing a headdress and extending her arms (**S12**).

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The female with upraised arm type continues well into the Archaic period and some EA/SG examples are included to demonstrate the continuity of the type. The SG examples (S14) are wheelmade and more crudely fashioned than earlier examples. Plastic belts that cinch the waistline and torsos with subtly modeled breasts characterize the EA figurines (S15-16).

Type IB	Females with arms at sides
EG	1
LG	173
SG	34
EIA	1

The earliest figurine in this group dates to the transition to EG (S18, Fig. 15). This handmade figurine is dated generally to the Geometric by Jarosch, but the overall crude quality of the modeling and its similarities to the early male figurines from Olympia as well as to Mycenaean antecedents indicate an earlier date. The Olympic figurines are dated to the PG, but since this style does not entirely match the earliest heads from Olympia, I would date these to the transition to EG at Samos. This figure has a pinched face with large nose, circular incised eyes, and slit mouth with a solid neck that is not differentiated from the body. The back of the head is smooth and there is some indication of long hair, which is the only feature that tentatively identifies this figure as female. The body is crude with no indication of breasts. The arms and legs are now missing, but the arms seem to have hung loosely at the sides. There is an overall red glaze with no added decoration.

With the exception of S18, the tradition of female figurines with arms held at the sides does not begin in earnest until LG. Five larger wheelmade female figures (S19-22, Fig. 17), which are approximately 0.150-0.250m in reconstructed height, and 92 small, handmade figurines (S23-32), which range 0.0780-0.150m in reconstructed height, date to LG; they share certain similarities with the females with upraised arm type. Some are wheelmade figures with hollow, bell-shaped

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skirts (S21-22, Fig. 17) with wide neck and heads; the arms are reduced to small, added appendages. Others, slightly later in date, have solid upper torsos that are plank-like with modeled breasts. The arms are kept close by the sides (S20) and they wear flared skirts. The faces are upturned with large noses and modeled eyes. The figures wear the veiled headdresses found on many of the unsexed heads and on Type 1A figurines. Many of these females are elaborately decorated with striped dresses, some with crinkled hems, necklaces, and headdresses.

The solid, handmade figurines exhibit the same characteristics, but are often more schematized: they hold their arms straight by the side, wear striped dresses and elaborate necklaces, and have plastically modeled breasts. Some have pinched faces, commonly referred to as “bird-faces,” with exaggerated noses, chins, and long hair (S24-25). Other handmade females wear a defined flat headdress, a polos (S28). A third type has a plank-like form, and is highly schematized (S27-29). One figurine has slightly bent arms, almost approaching the Mycenaean phi figurines (S30). Some wear a modeled plastic belt (S31). Despite stylistic differences, all examples of this type clearly represent a female with elaborate robes often wearing a necklace and polos. This type continues into the EA, becoming more cylindrical (S32).

Type IC	Females, arm position unclear
LG	9
SG	3
EIA	1

Several fragments dating to the LG and SG phases from female figurines do not preserve the position of the arms. These fragments are from wheelmade robed females with dresses elaborately painted with stripes (S33) or hatched lozenge designs (S34), sometimes with feet sticking out from beneath the hem. Many have plastically modeled breasts and belts.

Type II Ring Dancers/Musicians

PG-EG 15 (4 Cypriot imports)

This type of figurine first appears at the Samian Heraion possibly as early as the PG. The type consists of three or more dancing females surrounding a central figure, usually a male musician, standing on a crude base. The earliest figurines (**S36-37, Fig. 21**) are handmade with flat backs, rounded heads (perhaps representing a tiara) with slightly modeled noses and chins. The arms are extended to hold hands. These simple figures might have been embellished with painted details. Jarosch dates them to the general Geometric period, while Schmidt dated almost identical female figurines imported from Cyprus to the end of the eighth century (**S38-40**). These Samian figurines, both locally made and imported, are remarkably similar to figurines with upraised arms and disc-shaped heads found in securely dated contexts at Enkomi, Ayios Iakovos, and Lapithos on Cyprus. The excavators date the Enkomi stratigraphic level that produced similar figurines to the eleventh-tenth century (CGIA) and this has received general acceptance.⁶⁷ I date the ring dancers of this type, both local and Cypriot, to the tenth-ninth centuries based on evidence from Cyprus.

Type III Enthroned Females

LG 2

SG 2

There are several LG-EA figurines that depict seated figures, two of which can be identified as females by their dress. **S41 (Fig. 24)** preserves the lower torso of a seated female wearing a long, striped dress, while **S42** preserves that torso and upper legs of a seated female also wearing an elaborately painted, belted dress. The throne or chair upon which these females sit is not preserved. There are two fragments of thrones, dating to the LG period, both of which have slight traces of attached figures. The thrones have four legs and relatively simple seats and

backs. It is assumed that the seated figures were female based on the later popularity of enthroned females and paucity of enthroned males.

Lastly, one unusual figure (**S43**) depicts a female head wearing a tall, tapering headdress rising from a highly reduced, carinated body. This figure dates to the EA, c. 690. The abstracted style suggests that this represents a seated female.⁶⁸

Type IV Pudica Figures & Nude Women

LG 2
SG 2

A few female figurines from the Heraion are unified by their postures that draw attention to their sex. The earliest of these figurines is a LG handmade female (**S44, Fig. 25**) who places the left hand with incised fingers over her genitalia, while her missing right arm probably rested along her side. The legs are separated to draw further attention to her sex. The head is missing and the breasts are not modeled. No trace of paint indicating clothing remains but there is a plastic belt. This posture has a long-standing tradition in the Near East. It was introduced in Greece at the end of the eighth century and became popular in sanctuaries dedicated to female divinities. The five other examples from the early seventh century are larger figures made on the wheel. Some (**S45-46**) hold one or both hands to the breasts, or just under, and wear flat caps, while another holds one hand over the genital area (**S47**).

Type VI Standing Clothed Males

LG 19 (*8 Cypriot imports*)
SG 14

Dedications of male figurines are rare and late at Samos. This type begins in the LG and remains a minority among the figurine types. The figurines in this category are almost all handmade and solid, ranging from approximately 0.090-0.140m in reconstructed height. Two are

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hollow-formed (**S48-49, Fig. 29**); the preserved figure (**S49**) is 0.173m high. This type at Samos consists of males standing upright with legs together and arms held at the sides. Their sex is clear by the prominently modeled genitalia, one ithyphallic (**S50, Fig. 30**), and the absence of breasts and presence of beards. Some have preserved paint indicating a garment, often striped (**S51-52**), while others have modeled robes (**S49, Fig. 29**). Some figures have modeled arms and legs (**S51, S53-55, Fig. 31**), while many of the bodies are summarily conceived with no distinction of the arms or legs (**S52**). Preserved heads are triangular, with bulging circular eyes, modeled ears, nose, eyebrows, and a slit mouth. In some, the pointed chin indicates a beard. The heads are often smooth and rounded, perhaps an indication of a skullcap. One figurine (**S50, Fig. 30**) stands out as being particularly crude, with short, lumpy body that splays to form a base, short skinny arms, no neck, and an overly large head with crudely modeled facial features. This male is clearly standing.

This group contains many variations and therefore should not be interpreted as representing one identifiable subject. Most of these males stand rigidly with their arms held close by their sides. Some are bearded and wear a close-fitting cap and long robe, but others have painted beards, moustaches, and hair, either incised or painted (**S53, S55**), and appear to hold objects (unidentifiable) and wear different dress. The males with caps and long robes have no attributes that signal the divine or warrior status. Rather, their covered heads and long garments might identify these males as priests or cultic personnel or worshippers, some bringing gifts (**S53, S55**).

Two male figures in this assemblage are unique. **S56** holds both arms below his chest, the sole example of this posture at Samos. Moreover, the face of this figure seems ape-like, with large nose and incised mouth and particularly large ears. **S57 (Fig. 32)** recalls a much earlier type:

the Minoan male ecstatic figurines, which hold one arm up to a thrown-back head, the other at the chest.⁶⁹

There are additionally several Cypriot imports that fall into this type (**S58-60, Fig. 33**). These are small, handmade robed males standing with the arms to the side or held out and wearing tall conical headdresses. Their faces are disc-shaped with prominent chins and noses. Similar figures are found in Cyprus and are dated to the Cypro-Archaic period.⁷⁰

Type IX	Standing Nude Males
LG	4
SG	4

The standing nude male figurine sequence does not begin until late, in the LG and SG periods. The males (**S61-64, Figs. 44-45**) stand to preserved heights of c. 0.080-0.125m with both arms held by the sides or one arm outstretched (**S61**), head facing forward, and have emphasized genitalia. Some may not be entirely nude, such as **S61-62 (Fig. 44)** who appear to have a painted garment depicted on their chest, but the sex seems exposed as if uncovered. Some heads are summarily modeled with flat-topped heads, reminiscent of the Mycenaean style, pinched bird faces with punched dot eyes, large prominent noses, and a slit mouth. One figure (**S62, Fig. 44**) has a more detailed head: this figure has a modeled head and defined nose with pierced nostrils, long, pointed ears, and a flat cap. He seems to represent an older man, although the other figurines are too schematic to be sure.

As this series continues into the seventh century the figures show greater care in modeling and details that might help to identify them. These males are nude, as indicated by their modeled sex, but some have painted belts (**S63**) and one male has long fillets or braids of hair that descend from a now-missing head to wrap around his ankles (**S64, Fig. 45**). The pectorals and buttocks of these later figures are well modeled.

Type IX	Horse Riders
<i>LG</i>	12 (4 Cypriot imports)
<i>SG</i>	15

Figurines of male horse riders begin at Samos in the LG and continue into the seventh century. The handmade, solid figurines (**S65-69, S68-69, Figs. 50-51, 53**) are under 0.100m in reconstructed height, but one figurine has a wheelmade, hollow horse with a solid rider attached and is 0.115m high without the horse's legs and rider's head (**S67, Fig. 52**). The riders are male and extend their arms in front to hold reins. None has painted or plastic garments to aid in identification. **S66 (Fig. 51)** has a well-preserved head with incised circle eyes, modeled nose, and small slit mouth. The back of the head is smooth, perhaps indicated a head-covering, but there are circular clay discs with straps added over both ears. **S67 (Fig. 52)** does not fit into the standard horse rider group. First, the size and hollow horse set this piece apart. Second, instead of the usual pose of a rider seated with arms outstretched to hold the reigns, this rider sits rigidly upright with both arms held stiffly by the sides. The head is missing and the dress is unclear. Most distinguishing, however, is the fact that this rider is ithyphallic and appears nude.

There are four Cypriot imports of this type (**S68-69, Fig. 53**). Like the Cypriot imports of Type VII, these are robed males with upturned heads and pointed caps.⁷¹

Type X	Carts/Chariot Groups
<i>EIA</i>	5

The evidence for models of wheeled vehicles dedicated at the Heraion consists of a series of wheels and axles (**S70-71, Fig. 59**). These are decorated in a Geometric style with concentric circles and hatching, but they cannot be dated more specifically. The wheels and axles could belong to a cart, chariot, or wagon of some sort. There are no fragments of riders, drivers, or attached horses for these chariot or cart fragments.

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Type XI	Anthropomorphic Fragments	
<i>Female Heads,</i>	<i>LG</i>	<i>1 (1 Cypriot import)</i>
<i>Male Heads,</i>	<i>LG</i>	<i>13 (6 Cypriot imports)</i>
	<i>SG</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Heads,</i>	<i>PG</i>	<i>2</i>
	<i>EG</i>	<i>1</i>
	<i>LG</i>	<i>44</i>
	<i>SG</i>	<i>36</i>
	<i>EIA</i>	<i>1</i>

Samos has produced several heads broken from both handmade and wheelmade figurines that cannot be securely joined to existing body fragments. The gender of many of these is uncertain, while a few can be more securely assigned to male figures. Perhaps the most important heads are two that have been dated by Jarosch to the PG period (**S72-73, Figs. 67-68**). Human figurines of this date are rare in Greece and only Olympia has comparably early human figurines. The dating of such early and unique figurines, however, is no easy matter. Since their findspots offer no secure dates, they must be dated stylistically. Jarosch has dated both heads early based on their reliance on Mycenaean traditions: the heads are disc-shaped with flat backs and are upturned with highly schematized facial features. The other early head (**S74**) was fortunately found sealed beneath Altar II, which gives it a *terminus ante quem* of 800. These heads, along with a series of early wheelmade animals, provide important evidence for early cultic activity.

The heads that are clearly male seem to represent the same subject: they are bearded, wear a plain flat headdress, and have large noses. These heads are from solid and hollow male figurines and range in size from 0.026-0.055m in height. The beards and eyes can be painted (**S76-77**) or incised (**S78**); the headwear is plain, depicting a flat cap. These heads seem to come from male figurines like **S62**. Like the better-preserved figurines, the heads show no signs that they represent warriors, since the headgear is not a helmet. **S79** is the most detailed of this type,

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showing the plain headwear, incised almond-shaped eyes, slightly upturned face, painted beard and moustache (perhaps others had painted moustaches as well), and a small modeled mouth.

The remaining heads are from either male or female LG figurines and show a greater range in types. The majority of these heads seem to wear a veil that forms a ridge across the front and drapes down to the shoulders to cover the hair, making them most likely female (**S80-85, Fig. 71**). Some of the figures wear flat caps that end at the nape of the neck. Many of these heads are slightly upturned, with prominently modeled noses and chins. Some of these heads have rather pointed chins, which might represent beards or simply be part of the exaggerated facial style.

A third unified group of heads consists of fragments with long hair, many with elaborate necklaces. The hair is incised or painted in crosshatching or zigzag patterns. The faces of these heads have modeled eyes, prominent noses; some have triangular faces, and large ears. **S90** seems to wear a cap on the top of the head, with hair painted from the back of the head to the shoulders. Other heads of this group have plain, helmet-like hair (**S91**). The presence of elaborate jewelry on some of these strongly suggests that they are from draped female figures.

Lastly, eight heads are helmeted. Three of these wear elaborately painted, crested helmets (**S92**), while the other five wear helmets, or perhaps other headwear, that closely conforms to the head. Again, these could be from armored warriors or perhaps armed goddess figurines. All are from wheelmade figures and begin in the EA period, c. 690-680. The remaining heads are crudely modeled or highly stylized, making identification based on attributes difficult. No armed figures date to the eighth century.

One head is rather unique at this site: **S93 (Fig. 73)**. This figure wears a polos headdress, has circular applied eyes with hole for the pupil, a long nose, and an extended chin that might represent a beard. The distinguishing feature, however, are the flaps on either side of the face that

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have two piercings each. This feature is reminiscent of Late Cypriot II terracotta figurines (c. 1450-1200), but the treatment of the face is different.⁷²

Type XII	Cattle
<i>SM</i>	4
<i>EG</i>	26
<i>MG</i>	31
<i>LG</i>	28
<i>SG</i>	26
<i>EIA</i>	26

The wheelmade animals from Samos, mainly bulls and horses, retain the form of LH IIIC-SM animal statuettes, which are characterized by the schematized forms and bold, linear painted decoration. Determining a date for these statuettes is difficult, since this tradition seems to have continued in some areas, particularly East Greece and Attica, for some time after the Mycenaean period. The Heraion has not produced much evidence for Mycenaean cult, but a few objects could push the beginning of cult back to the SM. The earliest bovine head (**S96, Fig. 79**) is generally agreed to be LH IIIC or SM. This schematized head from a wheelmade bull statuette was manufactured in the Late Mycenaean style: it has a stylized form with a flat muzzle, pierced nostrils and bulging eyes. It is decorated with bold brown lines, perhaps meant to represent a bridle, and the eyes are painted with almond-shaped outlines and a dot pupil.⁷³ Three other wheelmade cattle are best dated to the SM-PG period (**S97-98, Fig. 81**), since the bovine bodies also conform closely to Late Mycenaean traditions.⁷⁴ The cylindrical bodies are truncated but plump, with flat ends for the rump and breast. **S97** has a circular opening that can be understood as either a ventilation hole for firing or as a residual opening retained from its rhyta predecessors.⁷⁵ The wide tail lifts slightly up before curving down. Instead of the SM linear, abstract decoration, these statuettes have an overall black or red burnish.

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The schematized legs from hollow animal statuettes, such as **S99**, are straight, but flare out toward the bottom to represent the hoof. These find some similarities to LH IIIC animal statuette legs; therefore, these legs should be dated early, perhaps to the SM-PG period.⁷⁶ These early Samian cattle provide important evidence for cultic activity somewhere near the later Heraion in the Late Mycenaean-SM period.

Jarosch assigns only one bovid to the LPG-EGI period: a wheelmade cow (**S100, Fig. 82**) found under Altar II (Fundgruppe D, *terminus ante quem* 800). I also date the head (**S101, Fig. 80**) to the LPG-EG period based on similarities with LPG horse heads and stylized treatment.

Jarosch's conservative chronology is most apparent here: Ohly dated several wheelmade bulls to the PG or even SM period based on similarities with twelfth- and eleventh-century statuettes.⁷⁷

S100, which is agreed to be early, betrays a number of similarities to the early horses (see below): it has a cylindrical wheelmade body, rounded rump with a short tail coming down from the top of the rump, a thick long neck coming up at an angle from the body, short legs extending vertically down from the body, and a ridge under the neck representing the dewlap. The body is reduced to rounded, geometric shapes. The exaggerated forms of the head may be termed "mannered:" it is shaped like a curvilinear paddle, with a skinny snout extending from the round face flaring out to form the muzzle. This is not a bull's head reduced to geometric shapes, but rather a thoroughly stylized animal head. Indeed, the same shape is used (and perhaps is better understood) for the early horse heads. The eyes are incised circles and the back of the head is modeled to represent ears and horns (now broken). Some heads have applied circular pellet eyes, incised circles, or bulges.

The bodies of these animals are rounded and plump, no longer maintaining the earlier cylindrical shape (**S102, Fig. 83**). The rumps are rounded and rise up; the narrow tail is attached at the back and tapers at the end. The circular opening on the rump continues, but the tail now

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covers it. The legs are short and straight, with no detailing of leg or foot. The legs often have Mycenaean stylization, with a sharp flare (S103) at the bottom, while others are slightly tapered with faint indication of the hoof (S104), some even have the leg joint modeled. One leg (S105) is painted with horizontal stripes and has a naturalistic hoof and ankle.

The EG cattle are almost all wheelmade in this same tradition, with only five solid, handmade examples. The heads continue to have incised circle eyes, but these incised circles are also used as decoration on the neck (S101, Fig. 80). Many heads (S101, Fig. 80) are still mannered, but are less exaggerated, with a more naturalistic snout, often with modeled end and pierced nostrils, and horizontal horns. The muzzles on some (S106-107, Figs. 84-85) are no longer extended and pointed, but instead end more naturalistically in a disc shape with pierced nostrils. The body shape has evolved into softer, rounder forms, typified by the quadruped body S102 (Fig. 83); the rump is round, plump, and does not retain the cylindrical shape. The legs are short and straight with no detailing of the individual elements. The tails are narrow, tapering slightly at the end; some also have the circular openings. The dewlap is modeled quite naturalistically on these cattle (S107, Fig. 85). Guggisberg, who prefers to see many of these early animals as MG revivals, does not take up Jarosch's EG date for these.⁷⁸ The handmade EG cattle are simple with thick necks and rounded rumps with thick tails; they have overall dark finishes.

The wheelmade cattle type continues to evolve in the MG phase, becoming increasingly naturalistic with rounded rumps and modeled dewlaps (S109-110, Fig. 87). Some dewlaps are now incised with grooved decoration. The heads are now more bovine in shape, although they continue to have incised circle eyes, pierced nostrils, and slit mouths (S111-112). There is often a pronounced ridge for horizontal horns. The legs (S113, Fig. 89) are stylized, recalling their Mycenaean origins, with ridges representing the ankle and hoof. Wheelmade animals still predominate, with twenty examples published, but handmade examples are becoming

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increasingly popular, with 17 published examples (**S115, Fig. 88**). The handmade cattle are now more robust with large dewlaps and short legs.

One quadruped, identified variously as a horse or bull, is particularly difficult to date (**S116, Fig. 90**). This statuette does not match the more rounded, naturalistic cattle of the EG and MG phases, but neither does its schematized body match the earliest SM and PG examples. Superficially this animal resembles the LH IIIC-PG animal figures with its barrel-shape body, flat breast and rump, and stylized treatment of the legs and feet.⁷⁹ The distinct treatment of the narrow tail also recalls early statuettes.⁸⁰ Close inspection, however, reveals significant differences between **S116** and the earlier quadrupeds: the legs are squat and short, unlike the Mycenaean predecessors, and the ends of the cylindrical body flare out to form a disc-shaped chest and rump. I agree with Jarosch, who interprets these as revivals of earlier animal styles in the MG.⁸¹

From the LG come eleven wheelmade cattle; the handmade smaller figurines are now becoming more popular, with 17 examples in a variety of styles. The wheelmade animals directly continue the earlier wheelmade tradition, but the bodies are more naturalistically modeled with distinct dewlaps (**S117**) and naturalistic legs with modeled joints, split hooves, and clear musculature (**S118**). The heads are solid with circle stamped eyes with a center pupil (**S119, Fig. 91**), bulging eyes (**S120**), or pierced eyes (**S121**). These cows have horizontal horns and naturalistic muzzles, often with pierced nostrils and slit mouths. The LG handmade examples have rather long bodies with a slightly curved rump and rather short necks. Some cows are rather simple (**S122**), while others have more elaborate details such as added dewlaps (**S123**).

From the EA/SG are ten wheelmade and fifteen handmade cattle. The wheelmade cattle are more elaborate than LG examples, with hooves and ankles modeled, incised almond eyes, and incised decoration on the necks (**S124-125**). The handmade cows look much like the LG

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examples, but the bodies are slightly shorter, the dewlaps more dramatic, and the heads shorter (S126).

Type XIII	Sheep/Rams
MG	2
LG	1

There are only three examples of rams from Samos, although it is certainly possible that many of the quadruped fragments are rams. Rams begin in the MG and are similar to the cattle figures with the exception that their horns curl around the head or forward.⁸²

Type XIV	Horses
PG	10
EG	2
MG	3
LG	42 (2 Attic imports)
SG	48

Terracotta horse statuettes begin at Samos in the PG period. Two of the earliest examples were found beneath Altar II (Fundgruppe A, *terminus ante quem* 800), but the style of the PG horses dates them earlier than the ninth century. The earliest horses are represented by solid heads from large, wheelmade statuettes. The three earliest examples (S127-129, Fig. 109) have schematized, curved heads with narrow snouts that point up, small incised circle eyes that are not structurally anchored, small triangular ears, and rather long, narrow necks. S129 has a brown finish, while S128 has painted stripes across its face and neck, likely representing a bridle. The LPG horse head (S129) has a short head and snout, incised circle eyes, and larger, pointier ears that stand upright. The neck is also proportionally thicker than the earlier examples. The preserved horse bodies (S130, Fig. 111) are long with legs slightly outstretched, a neck meeting the body at a vertical angle, and a tail that curves slightly upward from the rump before angling

down. They are covered with brown or black finishes; one (S130, Fig. 111) has zigzag decoration on the neck imitating a mane.

Horse heads S131-132 (Fig. 110), both found beneath Altar II in Fundgruppe V and VI, share the same basic schematized shape and the incised circle eyes as the PG examples, but the snouts end in a flat disc and there is a modeled ridge representing a crest of hair coming over the forehead. The ears are more naturalistically placed and accentuated with painted detail. Both heads are elaborately painted with black linear decoration that likely depicts a bridle and/or decorative head covering. These two heads date to the LPG or beginning of the EG.⁸³

While there are no complete bodies from the EG, there are two preserved rumps from larger wheelmade statuettes (S102, Fig. 82). The hindquarters are round with stumpy legs coming straight down from the lower body; the tail is narrow in proportion to the body and hangs down vertically from the back, covering a circular opening. An EG rump fragment (S133, Fig. 113) found beneath Altar II (Fundgruppe V) is unique since it represents two bridled horses, standing side by side.⁸⁴ The inner side shows the cylindrical shape of the body, which has been modified on the exterior by the addition of a flat sheet of clay in place of hind legs. The result is a rump covered by a decorated cloth. Two circular openings are preserved on each rump with a plastically added, short tail attached beneath the holes. The cloth is decorated with parallel stripes with diagonal stripes between. Finally, two legs (one solid and one hollow) from wheelmade horse statuettes are preserved. The wheelmade statuette leg (S134) is modeled more naturalistically with overall brown finish.

The well-preserved MG handmade, solid horses (S135, Fig. 114) have long bodies with legs slightly outstretched and tails that come up slightly from the top of the rump before hanging straight down. A slightly later horse (S136) has a narrower body, less naturalistically modeled than MG, with shorter legs that form a U-shape with the lower body. The thick neck and mane

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rise vertically from the body and form a narrow face with plastically added eyes. The effect is not as naturalistic as earlier horses.

There are thirty-eight LG horses, all of these handmade except one. The tradition of dedicating wheelmade animal statuettes was dying out, soon replaced by mould-made figures. The LG handmade horses (**S137-139, Fig. 112**) have narrow, long bodies with legs that extend vertically from the body. The profile of the underside is arched. The neck extends vertically from the back and the tail begins at the back of the rump with a slight rise, before it extends down at a slight angle. Some have painted stripes. There are two LG (c. 760) horses that seem to be broken from Attic pyxis lids.⁸⁵ Most LG horses, however, have narrow bodies that are narrower in the middle with legs that extend slightly out from the body; this forms an inverted “U” profile for the underside of the horse (**S139**). The rumps often project upwards; the tails rise at the rump before descending at an angle. The necks meet the body at a more oblique angle. Some are painted, while others are plain. The heads have long muzzles, some with punched circle eyes or incised circle eyes, some with nostrils indicated. On several horses, the sex is by plastically added male genitalia.⁸⁶

In the first quarter of the seventh century, the exaggerated curving profile that was in vogue in the LG period begins to soften. Horses, like **S141**, have less exaggerated profiles, and the manes begin to increase in width, the necks decrease in length, and the heads are smaller. The manes are sometimes modeled as ridges separate from the neck. The hair on the foreheads is still modeled, the eyes are incised almond shaped or added pellets, and the muzzles are straight and rather compact. Some horses now have plastically added eyes, bridles, and headgear.

Type XV **Wheeled Equines/Equines Carrying Jars**
MG 2

Two MG hollow horse legs (**S151**) with horizontal piercings provide evidence for the dedication of wheelmade horse figures with wheels, a type better known from Attic graves.⁸⁷ These appear to be made from local clay, but were likely influenced by the Attic wheeled horses. In Attica, these wheeled horses were placed in graves and were perhaps used as toys.⁸⁸ The reason for their dedication at a goddess sanctuary might be related to their Attic function.

Type XVI **Quadrupeds**
PG 8
EG 15
MG 13
LG 45
SG 26
EIA 88

This type consists of fragments of hoofed quadrupeds that cannot be identified more specifically because of their fragmentary nature, but they most likely represent horses, cattle, or rams. Due to the generalized nature of Geometric animals, the legs, hoofs, and body fragments of bulls, rams, and horses look similar. Quadruped fragments begin in the PG period (**S142**). The PG examples are solid legs and one rump fragment from wheelmade, hollow animals, which are often covered with a dark finish, or decorated with red or black painted perpendicular stripes with diagonal strokes in between (**S143**), or dots. The legs flare out slightly at the bottom to indicate a hoofed foot and a few have holes.

Several rump and leg fragments from wheelmade, hollow quadrupeds are dated to the EG period. The EG wheelmade fragments (**S143**) are more naturalistically modeled and have painted decoration. The rump is rounded with short legs attached to the bottom of the body. The legs end with a flat foot with no flare or hoof depicted. A plastically added tail hangs from the top of the back, covering a circular opening. Several fragments from the hindquarters and solid legs from

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hollow animals (**S144**), painted with stripes or a black finish, one with part of the tail preserved, were excavated beneath Altar II, providing an EG date. Solid legs from wheelmade animals are modeled to depict the hoof naturalistically. No handmade quadrupeds date to the PG or EG periods.

The tradition of dedicating wheelmade, hollow quadrupeds continues in the MG period, but is accompanied by the dedication of solid, handmade animals as well. The fragments from hollow animals continue to have painted striped decoration and the solid legs bulge at the ankle and flare out for the hoof. Others are more naturalistically rendered (**S145**). Fragments of five handmade quadrupeds have dark painted stripes on the back, tail, and legs and are simply modeled.

Handmade and wheelmade animal dedications continue into the LG period, with a great boom in the numbers dedicated. Eighteen fragments from wheelmade animals are preserved. These body and leg fragments are painted with stripes, zigzags, and triangles; some have dark finishes. The solid legs can be naturalistically modeled, tapered toward the foot (**S146**), while some are more detailed, such as **S147**, which has a slight bulge at the ankle and naturalistically modeled hoof with cleft. Hollow legs, like **S148**, are carinated at the ankle and beginning of hoof in a more schematized manner, likely due to the technique of manufacture. Twenty-seven fragments are from large and small solid, handmade animals (**S149**). These figures are similarly painted with red and black striped decoration and range in size from c. 0.060-0.100m in height.

In the first quarter of the seventh century, the majority of quadruped dedications are from solid, handmade animals (eighteen fragments), with only four fragments of hollow and solid legs from wheelmade animal statuettes preserved. The handmade animals have elongated bodies, short legs, downward sloping tails, and necks rising vertically from the body (**S150**). They range in size from 0.050-0.120m in height without heads and feet.

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Many of the quadruped fragments do not have enough diagnostic elements to allow specific dating. Of these general Geometric quadrupeds, most (sixty-nine fragments) are from hollow, wheelmade statuettes, while only nineteen fragments are from solid, handmade animals.

Type XVII Birds

MG 1
LG/SG 10

There is only one securely Geometric bird from Samos (**S152, Fig. 132**) dated to the MG period. It is a schematized bird head with slit mouth, pierced nostrils, and bulging incised eyes. The other ten handmade birds published are given a general LG or early seventh-century date (**S153**).

Kalymnos: Sanctuary of Apollo Pythios

The remains from a sanctuary on the island of Kalymnos, just north of Kos in the Dodecanese, are still largely unpublished, an unfortunate circumstance because of the interesting links with LBA traditions hinted at by preliminary publications of select objects from this sanctuary.⁸⁹ Reference to select finds is made by Kourou and Guggisberg, but not enough is known to comment on the context of the figures.⁹⁰ The number of cattle figures found, however, identifies them as from the sanctuary.

Type XII Cattle

EIA 50

Reference has only been made by scholars interested in the continuation of the Mycenaean wheelmade coroplastic tradition to the finding of fifty wheelmade cattle figures (**K1**) of uncertain date. Kourou remarks that they are executed in the LBA tradition, presumably of EIA date, which links them to other island wheelmade animals that continue this earlier

technique. Like the wheelmade quadrupeds from Samos and Chios, it is unclear whether these represent a direct continuation of Late Mycenaean traditions, or whether they are eighth-century revivals of older cult objects.

Hephaisteia, Lemnos: Sanctuary of Artemis

This sanctuary was excavated in the early twentieth century and is the focus of recent excavations that will provide more information on this sanctuary. Luigi Beschi has published results of recent excavations, while Kourou has studied an important group of terracotta figures from these excavations.⁹¹ Lemnos was on the periphery of the Mycenaean world, but several small deposits provide evidence for Mycenaean influence or presence on the island.⁹² The sanctuary was later dedicated to Artemis. The shrine was open-air and was focused on a stepped altar, around which were found the terracotta figures and figurines. The architecture of the altar as well as the Mycenaeanizing style of several of the terracotta statuettes reflect the strong Cypriot influence in the Geometric and Archaic periods.⁹³

Type IA Females with outstretched arms
LG 3

Excavations have unearthed a well-preserved statuette of a female with raised arms as well as fragments from two others (L1).⁹⁴ There are reports of other smaller figurines of females with raised arms, but these are not fully published.⁹⁵ L1 (0.240m high) depicts a female with a cylindrical torso and arms upraised in a ninety-degree angle. This form, as well as the painted jewelry, closely recalls Mycenaean wheelmade figures from official shrines.⁹⁶ It differs, however, in the painted decoration, which elaborately depicts an ornate short-sleeved robe, the designs of which recall local ceramic decorations. The figure is therefore dated to the LG based on the

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painted decoration. The shape and modeling of the head, face, and ears are not paralleled in the LBA tradition nor are they found on any other Geometric figures; the head reflects local coroplastic styles.

Iria, Naxos: Sanctuary of Dionysos

Type XII **Cattle**
MG/LG 1

This Cycladic sanctuary is still under investigation, but there are preliminary references to a single large wheelmade cow figurine dated to the eighth century (N1).⁹⁷ Remains include two bovid legs from a statuette estimated to be c. 0.300m long. This is significant because these offer rare evidence for the animal statuette tradition outside East Greece and the Cyclades.

LAKONIA

Amyklai: Sanctuary of Apollo Hyakinthos

The sanctuary at Amyklai, located on Mt. Ayios Kyriaki five kilometers south of Sparta, received several interesting objects from the Late Mycenaean through Hellenistic periods. Christos Tsountas first excavated the site in 1890 with finances from the Archaeological Society of Athens; a brief review of select finds was published shortly afterwards.⁹⁸ A second series of excavations, again under the auspices of the Archaeological Society, began in 1904 under the direction of Adolf Furtwängler and continued after his death under Ernst Fiechter and Andreas Skias. The primary goal of these excavations was to excavate the Throne of Apollo and recover fragments of the Throne that had been re-used in a nearby church. The third and most important excavation project began in 1925 under the direction of Ernst Buschor and Albrecht von Massow.⁹⁹ The aim of this project was to find undisturbed early layers detected in the north

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terrace area and clarify the prehistoric, Late Mycenaean, and Geometric use-phases. The excavators proposed a continuous use of the sanctuary from prehistoric through Classical times. Despite the exciting finds and theory of continuous cultic use, the sanctuary received little study after Buschor's publication until recently. The Mycenaean material was the subject of a dissertation by Katie Demakopoulou, while Paul Calligas re-analyzed the older finds; both made use of published material as well as unpublished finds in the storerooms of Athens and Sparta.¹⁰⁰

The identification of the shrine was confirmed in the initial excavations by the discovery of later tiles stamped "Apollo Amyklaios."¹⁰¹ Near the altar, Tsountas found a deposit of blackened earth mixed with sheep horns and bovine teeth along with miniature handmade skyphoi, Geometric sherds, and part of a bronze breastplate, spearhead, and other bronze fragments.¹⁰² At the northeast corner of sanctuary wall, where altar debris had been discarded, Tsountas found ashy earth mixed with bronze votives; the other side of the wall also revealed more ashy earth mixed with votive offerings.¹⁰³ Between the altar and the Throne base excavations revealed a mixed deposit with a bronze mirror handle representing a nude female with cymbals, a dancer, and the heads of two terracotta figures (A1-2, Figs. 42, 74).¹⁰⁴

The early stratigraphy was largely destroyed by later building activity on the hill, especially during the construction of terraces, walls, and the Throne of Apollo in the sixth century. Most of the votive offerings were found in mixed deposits along with burnt earth to the north, east, and south of the semi-circular round altar; votives included tripod fragments, decorated bronze sheets, aryballoi, bronze mirror fragments, jewelry, a bronze figurine, Mycenaean female figurines, and two Geometric terracotta heads. Some votives also came from the slope of the hill east of the Throne, including a Geometric deer, Mycenaean psi figurines, and terracotta animal statuettes.¹⁰⁵ The existence of a Mycenaean open-air shrine on the hill is suggested by the presence of Mycenaean female, horse rider, and animal figurines, and confirmed

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by several fragments from hollow, wheelmade animal statuettes and unique fragments from wheelmade human figures: a hand holding a kylix with a snake on it and a fragmentary female head wearing a polos.¹⁰⁶ These wheelmade statuettes are found exclusively at Mycenaean shrines.

The later phases are more confusing due to the mixed nature of the strata. The German excavations discovered a single area in which layers contained sherds from consecutive periods.¹⁰⁷ These strata with a supposedly continuous pottery sequence has led to suggestions that the sanctuary was active from the Late Bronze Age through the Hellenistic periods. This theory has been criticized and it is recognized that pottery alone cannot verify continuity of cult.¹⁰⁸ Most scholars agree today that there is a gap in the material evidence at the site, but the length of this gap is anywhere from 25-150 years, depending on Lakonian PG ceramic chronology. Most recently, Demakopoulou has argued that LH IIIC lingers in the region until the middle of the eleventh century.¹⁰⁹ The Lakonian chronology of Cartledge is adopted in this study (Appendix II).¹¹⁰

Type VII Standing Warriors *LG 1*

One of the two handmade heads from wheelmade statuettes at Amyklai is of a longhaired male wearing a conical helmet, presumably from a standing warrior figure (**A1, Fig. 42**). The original statuettes must have been impressive in size, skill, and uniqueness. The helmet, face, and hair are elaborately decorated with Geometric designs. The reconstructed height of the male figure is approximately 0.400m.¹¹¹ See discussion of both heads below.

Type XI Anthropomorphic Fragments *Female head, LG 1*

The small quantity of terracottas from this sanctuary is more than made up for in the quality represented by the two terracotta statuette heads that were unearthed in 1890. One is a

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female head (A2, Fig. 74) wearing disc-earrings and a polos headdress; the head is handmade while the neck is wheelmade, indicating this was likely part of a large wheelmade figure. The similarity in context, technique, modeling, and painted decoration of both male and female heads necessitates discussing the two heads together since their stylistic unity suggests they were produced as a pair, likely by the same coroplast, and served the same function.¹¹² Both heads have distinct brows, incurving chins, large eyes, and pointed noses; both are decorated with black painted outlining the eyes and eyebrows as well as wavy lines to depict the hair.¹¹³

The heads were found together near the later peribolos walls with other religious objects. Although it is significant that the heads were reburied together, an indication that they were used and perhaps even displayed together in their original context, the stratigraphy was mixed and so they must be dated stylistically. Scholars have assigned a staggering variation of dates to these heads, ranging from the Mycenaean to Archaic periods, but perhaps most shocking is the fact that despite obvious similarities many have dated the heads to different periods. Today, there is general agreement that both heads date to the end of the eighth century.¹¹⁴

Schweitzer and Tsountas identified the male helmeted head as Apollo Amyklaios, believing it to be a copy of the famed helmeted cult statue.¹¹⁵ The existence of a Geometric cult statue, however, is dubious. This head is more like the LG warrior figurines with similar helmets dedicated at Olympia, the Athenian Acropolis, and other major sanctuaries.¹¹⁶ Because of their large size, this statuette and its female counterpart, both unique at the site, are likely not ordinary votive offerings.

Type XII **Cattle**
SM 5

A series of wheelmade cattle statuettes dating to the Late Mycenaean period provide important evidence that this site was used for ritual functions in the Late Bronze Age. One bull is executed in a SM style (A3, Fig. 96), indicating that the tradition of making these statuettes continued into the eleventh century and also that cultic activity continued at this site after the collapse of the Mycenaean system. The animal has a wheelmade, truncated body with a flat rump and breast. It is decorated in typical SM style. Additionally, there are small fragments from similar wheelmade cattle that are dated to LH IIIC Late –SM (A4-5).¹¹⁷

Type XIV **Horses**
SM 1

A solid horse head from a wheelmade statuette was recovered from this site. It is dated to either the LH IIIC or SM period.

ELIS

Olympia: Sanctuary of Zeus

The sanctuary at Olympia has received much attention due to its importance as a panhellenic sanctuary, the fame of the Olympic games, its early monumental architecture, and its continuous excavations since the nineteenth century. Olympia was first re-discovered in 1766 and was excavated in 1829 by the French. Scientific excavations were initiated in 1875 under the German Archaeological Institute and continue today. The most recent series of excavations began in 1986 under the direction of Helmut Kyrieleis after his work on Samos concluded. These excavations focused on clarifying the prehistoric levels, the beginnings of the cult, and on the Roman material, which was previously ignored. The excavations around the Pelopion, an Early

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Helladic II tumulus, have substantially revised our understanding of the early history of the site; the results of these excavations will be published in the *Olympische Forschungen* series.¹¹⁸

The early sanctuary was an open-air area focused around an ash altar just north of the Pelopion and sacred grove.¹¹⁹ The Early Helladic tumulus with a ring wall under the Pelopion, and perhaps partially visible, might have been the reason this area was chosen as a cult site.¹²⁰ There are also other Neolithic to Late Helladic remains in the area: a tumulus under the New Museum and one by the Hotel Altis, cist graves, chamber and shaft graves, apsidal and rectangular houses, as well as sherds and jewelry.¹²¹ Based largely upon the figurine chronology, in 1890 Adolf Furtwängler asserted that cult was established at this site in the Geometric period, a view later confirmed by Heilmeyer and Mallwitz.¹²² As early as Wilhelm Dörpfeld's 1935 study, however, scholars began to doubt Furtwängler's hypothesis, heralding later textual references and ambiguous archaeological evidence to posit a Bronze Age origin for the cult and games. They believed that the prehistoric tumulus was the tomb of Pelops, which was the reason for establishment of a hero cult and funerary games at the site.¹²³ This view culminated in Hans-Volkmar Herrmann's theory that an agricultural and fertility-oriented Mycenaean cult, dedicated to Kronos, the hero Pelops, and various female deities (Eilytheia, Rhea, and Gaia) existed in the Late Bronze age and was later replaced by the Dorian cult of Zeus and its associated games.¹²⁴ Subsequent scholarship, however, has highlighted the significant break in the material evidence between the prehistoric and historic remains. Furthermore, many have noted that much of the prehistoric evidence is from alluvial strata and likely washed down from settlement sites.¹²⁵

The paucity of pottery and problems with Elean ceramic chronology make reconstructing the chronological history of the sanctuary difficult. The current project, however, has found a significant amount of pottery. In particular, an extension of the Black Layer northeast of the Pelopion has yielded early ceramics, including LBA and SM, and a larger collection of PG and G

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pottery, providing evidence for earlier LH IIIC or SM use of the site in this area. Birgitta Eder is studying this new ceramic evidence as well as re-examining the pottery from the older excavations.¹²⁶ Eder's preliminary analysis has discovered an abundance of EIA small, open-shaped vessels, which suggests that feasting was an important aspect of the early cult.

Eder has also discovered a continuous ceramic sequence from the eleventh century onwards, including SM and PG, in the 1987 Pelopion excavation material. Not only does this evidence fill the previous gap in the material record, but also provides evidence for SM cultic use of the site in the form of two monumental kylikes.¹²⁷ Kyrieleis also found several particularly crude cattle figurines, which possibly date to the earliest phase of cult, as well as a few SM pins and fibulae, which could be interpreted as early votive dedications or later heirloom dedications. The combination, however, of SM pottery, figurines, and jewelry now extends Olympic cult back to the SM or possibly even LH IIIC Late period.¹²⁸ The new findings of Eder and Kyrieleis corroborate Heilmeyer's terracotta figurine chronology and have even pushed the beginnings of cult back to the second half of the eleventh century.

The early votives were found in the large burnt stratum, the remnants of sacrifice, which covered the central area around the Pelopion, the Heraion, and the Metroon. This Black Layer was laid down in a reorganization of the sanctuary in the first half of the seventh century.¹²⁹ The earliest votives, thousands of terracotta and bronze figurines and tripods, demonstrate that in this phase the sanctuary served the local populations primarily from Elis and Arcadia, differing significantly from the later panhellenic shrine it would become at the end of the eighth century. From its earliest inception, however, the abundance of metal offerings, tripods and figurines, indicate that this was a shrine where local elites competed in displays of conspicuous consumption.¹³⁰

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When discussing Olympia, the question of which deity or deities were worshipped in this early phase must be addressed. The importance of goddesses throughout the history of the sanctuary, literary sources that identify the earliest temple as Hera's, and the older theories of Dorian gods replacing earlier female fertility cults in Greece have influenced our view of the Olympic cult. Many scholars have postulated that various goddesses had primacy in the Geometric period. Ulrich Sinn, based on analogies with Kombothekra, asserts that Artemis was the primary deity at Olympia, while earlier scholars envisioned prehistoric deities such as Eilytheia, Rhea, and Gaia dominating early ritual activity.¹³¹ Aliko Moustaka has recently presented evidence refuting the idea that Hera, or any deity other than Zeus, was worshipped at Geometric Olympia.¹³² Her evidence is based on the votive offerings, many of which are not typical at other Hera sanctuaries, and the nature of the later literary evidence that identifies the first temple as dedicated to Hera. Moustaka concludes that Zeus was the main deity and that the first temple was dedicated to Zeus and his consort Hera, a fact later forgotten after the construction of the monumental Zeus temple in the Classical period. I agree that there is no convincing evidence for Hera at Olympia in the EIA with the exception of the female figurines that appear at the end of the eighth century. These figurines together with increased jewelry dedication might be evidence for a goddess cult at Olympia.

The terracotta figurines form one of the most important deposits at Olympia since they span the entire Geometric period, beginning in the tenth century. The majority was found in the Black Layer and was especially concentrated in the area of the Pelopion and the Heraion, the center of early cultic activity. It is also clear that the terracottas were already fragmentary when the Black Layer was deposited, which suggests that they were displayed in concentration near or on the early altar, a scenario similar to that postulated for the Samian Heraion.

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Because all of the figurines were found in this secondary context, no stratigraphic evidence is available to clarify their chronology. Heilmeyer used internal stylistic development, comparisons to Attic vase painting, and manufacturing techniques to establish a tentative chronological sequence for the thousands of figurines excavated.¹³³ The sheer number and significant stylistic variation argued strongly for their manufacture over several generations. Heilmeyer's stylistic typology, which postulates a continuous series of figurines dating back to the tenth century, remains controversial.¹³⁴ No other accepted chronology has been presented. The excavation of over six thousand early votives as well as the amount of ash debris supports Heilmeyer's theory that this cult was already old by the time of the seventh-century re-organization and deposition of the Black Layer.

There are three serious problems with Heilmeyer's chronology. First, Heilmeyer assumes that the Olympic games began in 776 and dates the figurine types accordingly. Second, Heilmeyer used Attic vase painting to date the stylistic development of the figurines. This technique has come under criticism since comparing styles between media is difficult and the applicability of the Attic style to other regions is doubtful. The third problem with Heilmeyer's chronology was the lack of early pottery to accompany the early figurines, a fact long held to be a peculiarity of Zeus sanctuaries with the exception of Mt. Hymettos in Attica.¹³⁵ Pottery was not a popular aspect of many Zeus sanctuaries. Eder's study of the previously unpublished pottery and newly excavated pottery has now rectified the lack of early pottery and changed our understanding of Zeus sanctuaries.

The majority of terracotta figurines were produced locally of Elean clay.¹³⁶ The figurines were handmade and covered with a glaze or partly painted; no striped decoration appears until the seventh century. Incision was the preferred means to mark details like eyes, breasts, and navels, while genitals, headdresses, and hair were added plastically. The terracotta figurines developed

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independently and cannot be stylistically related to local bronze figurines; many types are not paralleled in the bronze figurine repertoire.¹³⁷ The remarkable uniformity, the relatively high quality, and the early independent tradition indicate a strong local coroplastic tradition at Olympia.

This survey of Olympic terracottas is limited by the nature of the original publication by Heilmeyer. Out of over two thousand excavated terracottas, Heilmeyer published a representative 242, leaving the reader to accept many of his stylistic and typological attributions. Since I have not studied the figurines firsthand, I must follow Heilmeyer's basic typology and dating. The other limit to this study is the abundance of newly excavated figurines, numbering in the thousands, which will be published by Kyrieleis. I have not seen these firsthand and will assume these follow the basic principles outlined by Heilmeyer. The publication of these new figurines could dramatically alter the information presented here. See Appendix II for the Olympia chronology.

Type IV	Pudica figures & Nude Women
LG	4
SG	2

This type at Olympia does not appear until the LG period and is represented by only a few figurines. The female figures are simple and handmade: they depict females with their arms outstretched, legs slightly apart, and heads slightly thrown back (**O1-2, Figs. 26-27**). This posture mimics that of similar nude male figurines from Olympia. The navel, breasts, and eyes are rendered with bold incised circles, while the mouth and nostrils are indicated with incised lines. The most distinguishing feature of these figurines is the incised line that indicates the sex. The SG females have a raised *mons pubis* in addition to the incised line to further accentuate the sex.

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Two of the preserved female figurines wear headdresses. **O1** wears a head covering, perhaps a polos, with zigzag-incised lines over the long hair.

Type VII	Standing Warriors
<i>PG</i>	4
<i>EG</i>	2
<i>LG</i>	21
<i>SG</i>	13

Standing warriors are the most characteristic and well known of the Olympian figurines, perhaps because of their original identification as representations of Zeus himself. Armed males are the earliest of the anthropomorphic types at Olympia; the warriors are depicted as nude males with outstretched arms and legs wearing helmets, belts, and sometimes other armor. The early male figurines hold their arms out in front and there is evidence on many early figurines that they carried a weapon. By the LG, these figurines hold both arms to the side and their stance closely parallels the LG nude females.

Standing warrior figurines begin in the PG (**O3-5, Figs. 37-38**); a date assigned by Heilmeyer based on the continuation of Late Mycenaean forms. The transition from head to shoulders, the elongated proportions of the torso and neck are continuations of stylistic trends began in the twelfth century.¹³⁸ **O4** is especially close to Mycenaean figurines with stylized, pinched faces and so was dated to the Late Mycenaean or SM period by Herrmann and Furtwängler.¹³⁹ The elongated torso, general proportions, and protruding buttocks, however, are characteristic of the PG period and so a date in the tenth century, as Heilmeyer proposed, seems reasonable.¹⁴⁰ Many of the earliest figurines have painted details: **O3** has a painted belt and beard and **O5** has long painted hair and a belt. These warriors have thick waists, protruding backsides, and pronounced modeled genitalia. The heads are pinched to form stylized faces with shallow punched eyes, small chins, and small slit mouths. They have painted hair and a painted belt, but

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are otherwise nude. The fact that these figurines are nude and have no attribute except for a belt suggests that they represent idealized heroes or aristocratic warriors. **O5** is remarkable for this early period. A vertical piercing through the outstretched left hand indicates that it originally held a spear. **O4** might have had a similar piercing for an inserted weapon. The presence of the holes for holding weapons along with the painted belts strengthens the argument that these represent warriors. Michael Byrne, in his wide-ranging study of the Geometric warrior motif, concludes that the presence of a belt alone can indicate a warrior.¹⁴¹ In his examination of the archaeological and Homeric evidence for Geometric belts, Michael Bennett reaches a similar conclusion: that the *zoster*, a war belt, is a symbol of the aristocratic warrior.¹⁴²

Standing warrior figurines become more detailed in the EG and MG (**O6, Fig. 39**). The warriors retain the same posture, with arms extended in front, and their faces are still crudely formed with long necks and the nose and chin on the same plane. They now wear armor; one of the earliest fully armed figures is **O6**. This warrior wears a baldric for holding a sword over one shoulder, a small conical helmet with chin strap, and a belt also presumably for holding weapons. The faces are still pinched with punched eyes, small chins, and slit mouths.

In the LG period, the type multiplies and becomes more standardized (**O7-9, Figs. 40-41**). The males are still handmade, with outstretched arms and legs, and are nude with the exception of helmets. The later figurines do not wear belts. The arms are now extended horizontally from the torso, while the legs are spread apart. Eyes, breasts, and navels are rendered with heavily incised circles, the mouths with deep slits and two small incised lines represent some nostrils. The genitals are extremely pronounced, made with plastically added clay, and protrude from the body to emphasize the nudity of the figures. The presence of helmets, in the form of simple caps, on almost all examples, however, identifies these as warriors. Their nudity might indicate a heroic status as well, but it is not clear that this concept existed in the Geometric period. These warriors

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continue into the seventh century (**O10**), retaining the same characteristic of the LG warriors, but are now more summarily rendered.

Type VIII	Standing Nude Males
<i>LG</i>	21
<i>SG</i>	2

Nude male figurines lacking armor or weapons are rare in Geometric art and, along with nude warriors, seem to be associated especially with Olympia. Standing nude male figurines do not begin until the LG period and they share many features with the standing warriors (**O11-12, Fig. 46**). In fact, Heilmeyer's main criterion for identifying a figurine as "Zeus" seems to be the presence of a helmet; figurines without a helmet are identified as "kouroi."¹⁴³ Otherwise, this type is identical to Type VII: these figurines are handmade with outstretched arms and legs and thrown-back head. The eyes, breasts, and navel are rendered with incised circles, while the mouth and nostrils with small slit incisions. The modeled genitals are prominent.

Type X	Chariot/Cart Groups
<i>PG</i>	1
<i>EG</i>	17
<i>MG</i>	159
<i>LG</i>	150
<i>SG</i>	3

Along with nude male warrior figurines, chariot groups most exemplify the Olympia votive tradition. The earliest chariot driver dates to the tenth century (**O13, Fig. 54**): it is crudely formed with torso bent forward, arms outstretched in front, and legs slightly apart. The date is derived from the crude modeling, especially the lack of details on the face, and the transition from head to shoulders, which is similar to the PG warrior figurines. This figurine is identified as a chariot driver by the clay attachment on the figure's chest, interpreted as part of the chariot box. In the EG period, drivers are modeled with slightly more refinement (**O14**). The EG charioteers'

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torsos bend more dramatically and the head is modeled by pinching out an elongated, pointed nose; otherwise, however, the modeling is simple. In the MG period more remains of chariots attached to the drivers are preserved (**O15-16, Figs. 55-56**); these examples explain the bent body shape, which is designed to fit in the driving box of the chariot, with arms extended over the box to hold the reins. The MG faces have deep slit mouths, pinched noses with two slotted nostrils, and small incised circle eyes.

In the LG period the bodies become more streamlined and the incised circular delineation of the eyes and sometimes breasts becomes larger and more pronounced (**O17-18, O22, Fig. 61**). The bodies do not bend dramatically to envelope the chariot box, but stand upright with arms held out to the sides. From this period it is possible to reconstruct complete chariot groups, including the four horses, the chariot yoke and box, and single driver. **O19 (Fig. 62)** illustrates a reconstructed LG chariot group, typical of the type dedicated in the eighth century. The chariot consists of a small box, in which one driver was placed; the box sits over an axle supported by two large wheels. The driving box is connected to the two or four horse team by means of a long pole, which is yoked to the horse's harnesses (**O21, O23**).

Chariot groups begin in the PG. Their popularity dramatically increases in the MG and LG, but wanes in the EA. This type of figurine group is the most elaborate of all Geometric types: it required assembly of many small parts, which were then fired. The eighth-century Olympia chariot groups are the most complex products of the Geometric coroplastic industry.

Type XII	Cattle
<i>PG</i>	13
<i>EG</i>	19
<i>MG</i>	25
<i>LG</i>	116
<i>SG</i>	32

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Handmade cattle figurines dominate the Geometric terracotta dedications at Olympia: they begin early and remain relatively homogenous stylistically throughout the EIA. This pattern contrasts with that of the bronze figurines at Olympia, where cattle are popular in the earlier periods, but are quickly supplanted by horses. Both cattle and horses slowly increase in numbers from the PG to the MG and greatly increase in the LG.¹⁴⁴ The bulls are simple, small, and handmade; the more elaborate wheelmade cattle statuettes were not produced or dedicated at Olympia. The earliest cattle figurines date to the PG (**O25-26, Fig. 92**). The PG and LPG bulls are small with cylindrical bodies, short stumpy legs that end in tapered points, and downward sloping tails. The necks are short and the heads have horns that point forward with long, pointed muzzles. There is no incised detail. The EG bulls are similar, except that the muzzles and legs no longer end in a pointed taper and some have modeled dewlaps (**O27, Fig. 94**). The horn ridge is also more pronounced. There is greater variety in the style: some have added pellet eyes, modeled mouths, while others have long, tapering muzzles with few or no details.

The MG bulls are more standardized and detailed (**O28-29**). The heads are clearly modeled with long muzzles, incised nostrils, slit mouths, bulging or incised circular eyes, and horns that extend horizontally from the head. The necks are naturalistically modeled, but the bodies remain simple with short legs. LG bulls (**O30-31, Fig. 95**) continue the same styles seen first in the MG: they have narrow, simple bodies, short legs, and the heads have thin elongated muzzles. The horns are narrow and point slightly forward. All decoration is now incised and the figurines have large incised circle eyes. Some of the bulls also have modeled dewlaps. The tails extend horizontally from the rump before curving down. In the SG and EA periods, the bulls become smaller and more compact in shape.

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Type XIII		Sheep/Rams
<i>PG</i>	1	
<i>EG</i>	8	
<i>MG</i>	11	
<i>LG</i>	63	
<i>SG</i>	2	

Rams are similar to bull figurines with the exception that their horns curve downwards, instead of horizontally or upwards. The type also begins in the PG (**O32, Fig. 102**) and continues throughout the Geometric period, following the stylistic trends seen in the handmade bovine figurines (**O33, fig. 103**). The dedication of sheep or ram figurines (85) is not nearly as common as cattle figurine offerings (205).

Type XIV		Horses
<i>PG</i>	2	
<i>EG</i>	8	
<i>MG</i>	40	
<i>LG</i>	222	
<i>SG</i>	66	

Horse figurines were dedicated from the earliest periods at Olympia, but their numbers greatly increase in the LG when they outnumber cattle for the first time. As with the other animal figurines, all examples are small and handmade. The PG horses have a stylized form: they have simple cylindrical bodies, with short tapering legs, but their neck flares into an arch that extends to a tapered muzzle (**O34, Fig. 115**). This arched neck is pinched flat to indicate a mane. There are no facial details apart from simple modeled ears. In the EG, the manes and necks become less stylized as the necks become longer as they extend from the shoulders vertically and curve downward into the head (**O35-36**). The heads are narrow with muzzles that end in modeled open mouths and pierced nostrils. The ears are also modeled and some figurines have pellet eyes. Some of the legs now end in slightly flared flat ends, indicating hoofs. Many of the manes have remains of striped paint. Some horses now also have harnesses, indicating that these horses likely

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belonged to chariot teams. Appendix IV includes only horses with remains of reigns in the chariot group type, while horses with no obvious signs of being attached to a group are included in the horse type.

In the MG period, the horse necks are vertical and elongated. The eyes are incised circles, while the nostrils are pierced and there is a slit mouth. Many of these horses are clearly part of chariot groups (**O37, Fig. 116**). LG horses that belong to chariot teams are elongated and slim, with traces of harnesses around their necks (**O38-40, Figs. 117-18**). The manes are reduced to small ridges, often painted with stripes that form a rounded crest on the top of the head. The legs are also elongated with no indication of hooves. The tails rise up from the rump before extending halfway down the legs. Horses that likely stood on their own, however, are shorter with more naturalistically rendered details. The manes are painted ridges following the neck, ending in a crest above the forehead. LG horses that do not appear to belong to chariot groups have squat proportions and no harness attachments.

Type XVIII	Dogs
<i>EG</i>	3
<i>MG</i>	3
<i>LG</i>	3
<i>SG</i>	2

The presence of canine figurines is characteristic of Olympia. They are identified by their short stature and pointed ears. Although dog figurines appear sporadically at other Greek sanctuaries, no other sanctuary has yielded the number of dogs or such early examples. **O41 (Fig. 137)** is typical of the EG dogs at Olympia and is dated based on the form of the body, the short tapered legs, and transition from the body to neck that is similar to early horses and bulls. **O42 (Fig. 138)** is typical of MG dogs at Olympia: the body is elongated with long, narrow, tapered legs and the neck is long and vertical. The head is unique with a short, flattened muzzle, incised circle

eyes, and a ridge across the top of the head, from which the ears protrude. LG dogs at Olympia continue to have narrow solid bodies, short, tapered legs, but they now have tails that curve and triangular heads with upright ears (O43, Fig. 139).

Kombothekra: the Sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis

The sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis was located on a hill north of the modern village of Koumouthekra in the region of ancient Elis. The sanctuary is approximately ten miles southeast of Olympia. An open-air Geometric shrine occupied a small terrace, the northern end of which was adorned with a stone Doric temple and built altar in the early Archaic period. The votives testify to cult activity as early as the ninth century. Two sixth- and fifth-century votive dedications found in the temple adyton are inscribed to Artemis Limnatis and identify the deity of this shrine. The early votives, however, are not consistent with those typically found at goddess sanctuaries, but parallel those found at Olympia. This could mean several things. Perhaps the Geometric cult at Olympia was dedicated to a female deity like Artemis, a theory put forth by Sinn with little support.¹⁴⁵ More likely, the early sanctuary at Kombothekra was dedicated to Zeus or the similarities in votive offerings were due to “votive drift,” the presence of votive types from a dominant sanctuary at nearby, sometimes different, cults, or that votive offerings were motivated by similar concerns of the dedicators at both sanctuaries.¹⁴⁶ The presence of similar votives at sanctuaries of different deities is an issue discussed in the final chapter.

This previously unknown sanctuary was discovered in 1907 and excavated by Kurt Müller and Fritz Weege; the results were published in a brief article the following year.¹⁴⁷ Only a small portion of the sanctuary was excavated and approximately 500 objects were unearthed, including many terracottas noted by the excavators as being like those found at Olympia. Many of the objects were mixed with soil from earlier robber trenches. The early excavations were brief

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and the material not thoroughly studied until Ulrich Sinn revisited the material, paying close attention to its relationship to nearby Olympia.¹⁴⁸ Sinn found only 116 inventoried Geometric terracotta figurines from Kombothekra in the Olympia Museum storerooms, which is only a fraction of the total number dedicated.¹⁴⁹ Sinn concluded that the site had been extensively looted before it was excavated in 1907. The bronze figurines had apparently been the main objective of the looters, since they were more valuable on the contemporary art market than “primitive” terracottas. Thus, many terracottas were thrown back in with the fill dirt.¹⁵⁰ Sinn emphasizes, however, that despite the removal of bronze figurines, the terracottas likely outnumbered the bronze figurines in antiquity.

The terracotta figurines from Kombothekra are small and handmade, appearing stylistically very similar to the Olympian terracottas. The Geometric terracottas were found mostly outside the temple in disturbed contexts. The types closely parallel the terracottas at Olympia: there are nude males, nude male warriors, cattle, rams, horses, and dogs. Cult-specific dedications, such as a female riding sidesaddle on a horse and a series of snakes, are not found at Olympia and indicate peculiarity of the Kombothekra cult.

The location of the coroplastic workshops is debated. Heilmeyer postulated that the terracotta and bronze figurines were produced inside the Olympia sanctuary.¹⁵¹ Although there is no direct evidence for this, there is post-production bronze material that strongly suggests production of bronze on site. The Olympic figurines were made of the same clay as local Elean pottery, which suggests that the figurines were produced at the same location as local pottery. The discovery of the Kombothekra votives, which closely match the Olympic series in clay and style, complicates this theory. The figurines could have been made by a dominant coroplastic center operating out of Olympia, which exported figurines for dedication to the neighboring areas. This does not account for the unique Kombothekra snake figurines. Sinn believes it more likely that

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there was an atelier operating in the Elean countryside, which supplied votives for both Kombothekra and Olympia.¹⁵² This theory is attractive, since it accounts for the unique types dedicated only at Kombothekra as well as the independent development of the coroplastic objects from the bronze figurines at Olympia and Kombothekra.

Type VII Standing Warriors

LG 1

There is only one armed nude male from Kombothekra, dated to the LG on analogy with the warriors from Olympia (**K1, Fig. 43**). This warrior is handmade with outstretched arms and legs, incised circle eyes, nipples, and navels, and a jutting chin and upturned face. The figure wears a small conical helmet that identifies the figure as a heroic warrior. This figurine is almost identical to warrior figurines from Olympia and it must have been made in the same workshop.

Type VIII Standing Nude Males

MG 2

LG 8

There are ten standing male nudes, two from the MG and eight from the LG, at Kombothekra (**K2, Fig. 47**). These are identical to nude males dedicated at Olympia and follow the form of the warrior figurines, with the exception of a helmet, arms, or armor.

Type X Chariot/Cart Groups

MG 6

LG 2

EIA 20

Like Olympia, handmade chariot teams, including chariot, horses, and drivers, were dedicated at Kombothekra. There are three surviving drivers, beginning in the MG (**K3-4, Fig. 58**). These handmade figurines are related to the warriors and nude males: they are small, handmade

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with incised circle eyes, breasts, and navels. There is just a small attachment at their waist where they were originally attached to the driving box. Their arms extend forward to grasp the reins.

There are also remains of the chariots (**K5**). They begin in the MG with many horse teams and drivers. Fragments of the chariots are often difficult to date more specifically than Geometric. There are a total of twenty fragments from the chariots themselves, including fragments of the driving box, axles, and both plain and spoked wheels.

Type XII	Cattle
<i>EG</i>	2
<i>MG</i>	1
<i>LG</i>	3

Dedication of handmade cattle, one of the earliest figurine types at Kombothekra, begins in the EG. The cows are stylistically related to the Olympia cattle and are dated based on comparisons with these figurines. The EG cows (**K6-7**) are fragmentary: only the head and neck remains. **K6** has a slender, long neck with slightly modeled dewlap. The muzzle is long and flat; the horns extend horizontally from a forehead ridge. **K7** has a short, stout neck with dewlap and a short muzzle with incised details and circle incised eyes. The body of a MG cow (**K8**) is slender with rather thick, straight legs. The two LG bulls (**K9-10, Fig. 97**) have rather squat legs that taper slightly with a tail that extends horizontally from the rump. The heads are elongated with incised circle eyes.

Type XIII	Sheep/Rams
<i>MG</i>	1
<i>LG</i>	4

The rams are similar to the cattle figurines, with the exception that they have down-curving horns. One figurine (**K11, Fig. 104**) lacks horns, but has elongated ears that hang down and a down-turned muzzle; Sinn tentatively interprets this figurine as a sheep.

Type XIV	Horses
<i>MG</i>	7
<i>LG</i>	5

Both individual horses as well as horse teams pulling chariots were dedicated at Kombothekra beginning in the MG. **K12-13 (Fig. 121)** are MG independent horses; they have long, cylindrical bodies with long, upright necks. The mane is a modeled ridge that runs up the length of the neck and rises to a crest above the forehead. The ears are modeled. The muzzle is cylindrical and flattened on the end. LG horses (**K14**) do not have upright necks: their necks are shorter and meet the body at an angle. The mane is a ridge that ends in a large crest above the forehead. The ears are modeled and the eyes incised circles. The tails are long and extend horizontally from the rump.

Other horses (**K15-16, Fig. 120**) belong to chariot teams, as denoted by the remains of harnesses on their necks. As at Olympia, this formed one of the most popular types.

Type XVIII	Snakes and Dogs
<i>LG</i>	10

Kombothekra received a unique dedication among Geometric terracotta figurines: snakes. Nine handmade snakes were dedicated, likely in the LG (**K17-18, Fig. 135**). The snakes are simple and handmade with 'S' shaped bodies; some have incised circular patterns reminiscent of octopus tentacles. The heads are simple, triangular shaped with incised circle eyes and the tails taper to a point. The snakes are not paralleled at Olympia and their presence at Kombothekra indicates a local cult tradition. Sinn speculates that the snakes are linked to chthonic deities, such as Demeter or Hades.¹⁵³

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There was also a head from a dog figurine dated to the LG based on comparison with canine figurines from Olympia (**K19, Fig. 140**). The head is smaller, the muzzle more pointed, and the ears more perky than on quadruped figurines.

ARCADIA

Tegea: Sanctuary of Athena Alea

The Sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea in eastern Arcadia was excavated by the Germans in the 1880s, the French in the early twentieth century, and is the focus of current excavations by the Norwegian Institute at Athens.¹⁵⁴ Although Geometric material was discovered in earlier excavations, the Norwegian excavations within the fourth-century cella and to the north of the temple have uncovered stratified remains of LG architecture and votives directly beneath the Archaic temple.¹⁵⁵ This is one of the few sanctuaries with evidence for two LG buildings, perhaps early temples.¹⁵⁶ The early votive objects from the sanctuary include a few LBA objects (including LH IIIC stirrup jars, a LH IIIC psi figurine, a twelfth-century leaded bronze figurine, a violin bow fibula, and an arched bow fibula), PG sherds and a pin; and more objects of Geometric date, including sherds, terracotta figurines, bronze objects, and gold jewelry.¹⁵⁷ Although there are several MG sherds, there is a significant increase in pottery in the second half of the eighth century, including decorated pottery.¹⁵⁸ The bronze types, likely produced locally, include horses, deer, birds, oxen, sidesaddle riders, a seated human/monkey, a water carrier, and two male warriors.¹⁵⁹

This sanctuary was established early, perhaps as early as the PG but certainly by the eighth century.¹⁶⁰ The LBA as well as Geometric figural images, including a psi-figurine, a bronze female figurine with hands to her breasts, a Geometric bronze disc depicting a nude female holding a poppy standing on a quadruped, a bronze female seated side-saddle, a bronze

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figure separating two animals, the nude female terracotta, a seated monkey/man, and pendants of a turtle and pomegranate, present a consistent image of the deity: a *potnia theron* goddess concerned with fertility.¹⁶¹ It is likely that the deity worshipped in Geometric times was Alea, who was only later associated with Athena. Both goddesses served as protector goddesses, but Alea also presided over domains not typical for Athena cults.¹⁶²

Most of the terracotta figurines date to the Archaic period, but the original excavations did not fully publish all the figurines or even list the total number of each type. There are only a few securely LG figurines, but many of the Archaic figurines continue the Geometric tradition. Most of the Geometric dedications were found in a votive deposit under the northeast corner of the later temple. The overwhelming majority of votives were produced locally. This sanctuary seems to have been one of the dominant cults in Arcadia, a religious center; other regional cults, such as the sanctuary of Artemis at Mavriki, the sanctuary of Athena at Alipheira, and the sanctuary of Artemis at Gourtsouli, reveal influence from the Tegea cult.¹⁶³

The region of Arcadia is somewhat remote and mountainous, and remains distinct in many ways from other areas of Greece. Its isolation accounts for a conservatism of Arcadian culture with little influence from other regions of Greece. This secure inland highland was reportedly the refuge for Mycenaeans who did not emigrate farther east. Despite the lack of site continuity from the Mycenaean to Geometric periods, Arcadia presents many interesting instances of Mycenaean holdovers, including dialect and religious iconography. Arcadia also shares many links with Cyprus, another area of Mycenaean settlement that retained many Bronze Age customs well into the historic period.¹⁶⁴

The French under the direction of Charles Dugas excavated the sanctuary at the turn of the twentieth century and the early material from these excavations was re-investigated by Mary Voyatzis.¹⁶⁵ The Norwegian Institute at Athens resumed excavations between 1990-1995,

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uncovering many new figurines as well as more tenth- and ninth-century material, which has been studied by Voyatzis and others.¹⁶⁶ These excavations found a number of Archaic female figurines in the northern area of the sanctuary and a small number of earlier terracottas inside the temple. In addition to new Geometric figurines, two more Mycenaean figurines were also unearthed.

Terracotta figurines are not dedicated until the LG, yet there is a conspicuous Mycenaean element in many of the LG and Archaic figurines and an absence of influence from contemporary figurines from other regions of Greece, which is typical of Arcadian material in general.¹⁶⁷ This suggests either continuity of production, for which there is no evidence, or more likely a revival of older traditions, perhaps through discovery of Mycenaean figurines. The few votives dating to the twelfth through tenth centuries suggest that this was an old cult, perhaps intermittent from the Late Bronze Age.¹⁶⁸ The eighth-century votives revive not only Late Bronze Age artistic motifs but also Late Bronze Age religious symbols, such as the female holding both breasts and the pomegranate, indicating that aspects of a Mycenaean deity could have been preserved in cultural memory. This religious iconography, however, was also prevalent in the Near East and especially Cyprus, an island that enjoyed close affinity with Arcadia.¹⁶⁹ It is possible that these motifs were inherited from the prehistoric local past or were re-introduced to the region via Cyprus.

Type IA **Females with Outstretched Arms** *LG* *1*

The 1991 excavation season unearthed the only anthropomorphic terracotta figurine from Geometric Tegea (**T1, Fig. 13**).¹⁷⁰ The preserved torso is of a nude female; the figurine is flat in profile. The female has modeled breasts and the preserved arm stumps indicate that both arms were outstretched.

Type XIV		Horses
<i>MG</i>	1	
<i>LG</i>	5	

Horses form the majority of the few terracotta figurines dedicated at Tegea. The earliest is a handmade horse dated to MG based on similarities with figurines from Olympia (**T2, Fig. 122**).¹⁷¹ The horse has a long, narrow cylindrical body, short legs, a long, thick tail that arches away from the body, and an unusually long neck. The neck has a pinched ridge to indicate the mane. The head is missing, but one preserved ear is similar to other horse figurine ears. Most unique about this figurine is the painted decoration: a series of black dots cover the horse and additional chevrons are painted on the top of the tail. Voyatzis notes that this type of decoration recalls Mycenaean painted figurines.¹⁷²

Five LG handmade horses have been excavated. **T3 (Fig. 123)** has small proportions with a short body and legs curving away from the body. The tail hangs down from the high rump, the back of the horse dips down slightly, and the neck has a slightly pinched mane. The horse is painted with bold, linear designs that follow the contour of the body. Like **T2**, this decorative motif recalls Mycenaean prototypes, specifically “Linear 2” style in a “debased, provincial form.”¹⁷³ **T4 (Fig. 124)** is a fragment of the neck and head from a similar horse figurine, although larger in size. This horse is also decorated with bold linear designs and painted chevrons on the neck that appears Mycenaean.¹⁷⁴ Three other horses date to the end of the eighth century: they are small with slight indications of manes and short necks (**T5-7**). **T5-6** have hatched lines forming geometric designs, like meanders, on the bodies. The painted decoration on these three horses is similar to LG pottery decoration.

Type XVII **Birds**
LG *1*

One handmade bird figurine was dedicated at Tegea in the LG (**T8, Fig. 133**). This handmade bird has a long, narrow neck with a small undifferentiated head and long pointed beak. There are two protrusions for the eyes. The neck is decorated with a series of painted horizontal stripes, the eyes outlined in black paint with a dot representing the pupil, and the beak is decorated with a series of convergent lines. The size of this figurine is large for the site. Voyatzis notes that another large bird is depicted alongside a standing woman on a quadruped on a bronze disc at Tegea. It is likely that birds played an important role in this cult. Bird imagery had religious significance in the Mycenaean era and the importance of birds at this sanctuary perhaps represents another LBA survival. The style is similar to a bird from Amyklai, which has been alternately dated to the LH IIIC and Geometric periods.¹⁷⁵

CORINTHIA

Isthmia: Sanctuary of Poseidon

The excavations of the early levels of the shrine at Isthmia provide important evidence for EIA cult. Isthmia is one of the earliest shrines established in the post-Mycenaean Greek world, a “transitional shrine,” and one of the only sanctuaries established in an area that was later to become a polis and panhellenic shrine.¹⁷⁶ Catherine Morgan’s analysis of the terracotta figurines at Isthmia emphasizes the difficulty and uncertainty involved in dating these simple handmade figurines. She uses parallels from Olympia and Samos when possible, but these chronologies are also uncertain and do not provide exact parallels for the Isthmian figurines.¹⁷⁷ Fabric was also used as a chronological guide. In general, the LG figurines are made of the same

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fabric as Archaic Corinthian ceramics, while the earlier figurines are made from crude, gritty clay, similar to clay used for coarse to semi-coarse Iron Age vessels.

The careful analysis of this cult by Morgan is invaluable; rather than assuming all material beneath the later panhellenic shrine was ritual, she developed a theoretical model based on those of Colin Renfrew and Korinna Pilafidis-Williams to isolate cultic remains from non-cultic remains.¹⁷⁸ This theoretical model enabled close, objective analysis of material from each period to determine the context: funerary, religious, or domestic. This approach stands in contrast to the method of interpretation employed at most sanctuaries sites, where cult is assumed to have existed as far back as material remains exist. The Isthmian shrine is the only definite shrine in the EIA Corinthia and it likely served as a religious center for the region.¹⁷⁹ Despite its early establishment, the shrine was not located by Mycenaean centers or settlement areas.

The EIA cult was concentrated on the southeast side of the central plateau, the location of the later temple and altar of Poseidon. The evidence for earlier use of the site was unearthed in the fill laid down in the Archaic period during the construction of the first temple; this fill was re-deposited and is of mixed date. Thus, the material is sorted and dated based on style and typological features. The shrine was open-air, but there is some evidence for a path and a small, temporary structure of wood (attested by postholes) in the eighth century.¹⁸⁰ Broad deposits of open ceramic shapes, used for ritual drinking and dining, mixed with burnt ash and bone provides evidence for EPG cult. Other possible ritual objects, including figurines, jewelry, and an increased range of ceramics, also begin in the LPG.¹⁸¹

Although the use of a theoretical model lends credence to Morgan's conclusions, there are some problems with the analysis. John Papadopoulos notes that the EIA deposits are mixed and we cannot be sure that the material was originally from the site.¹⁸² The presence of rare funerary types in the Isthmian fill is problematic and perhaps an indication that some of the fill

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was brought from elsewhere, perhaps from a nearby cemetery. Another problematic issue at Isthmia is dating sacrificial remains. One of the main criteria for identifying cult is the presence of calcified animal bones and ash, the remnants of animal sacrifice. Morgan concludes that the amount of burnt bone and ash suggests that this was always a feature of activity on the site.¹⁸³ The lack of defined strata within the fill, however, precludes dating the sacrificial remains. Despite these problems, the presence of terracotta figurines such as cattle and horses is consistent with other early sanctuary activity. Moreover, cattle figurines are not found in funerary contexts. It appears that even if this is a contaminated mix, at least some of the objects were used in ritual activity in the area.

Type X **Chariot/Cart Groups** *LG* 2

There are two examples of chariot/cart fragments from LG Isthmia. **I2 (Fig. 63)** is a spoked wheel from a chariot or cart. The wheel is wheelmade with the spaces cut out between the spokes before firing.¹⁸⁴

Type XI **Anthropomorphic Fragment** *Heads, G* 1

There is only one anthropomorphic figurine found at Isthmia and it is crudely executed in coarse clay (**I1, Fig. 76**). The head is pinched to form a “bird-face,” the top of the head is flattened, perhaps a crude polos, and the eyes are added in clay. Morgan dates this figure to the eighth century based on parallels from Olympia and Samos, the crude modeling, and the fabric.¹⁸⁵ The broken arms appear to be outstretched like the male figurines found at Olympia, but the otherwise style-less quality of the figure makes dating difficult.

Type XII	Cattle
<i>PG</i>	3
<i>EG</i>	2
<i>MG</i>	2
<i>LG</i>	8
<i>EIA</i>	3

This type forms the majority of figurine dedications at this sanctuary and is also the earliest type found. There are three PG cows: two handmade (**I3**) and one wheelmade (**I4, Fig. 99**). The handmade cattle have heavy bodies with large necks and high, rounded rumps. The legs, all missing, were probably short and tapered. The tails are rolled clay and attached to the hindquarters with pinched outer edge. There is also a separate strip of clay applied on the underside of the bulls to represent genitalia. The third cow fragment from this site is important since it is wheelmade and is the first evidence that wheelmade animal statuettes were dedicated in the Corinthia (**I4, Fig. 99**).¹⁸⁶ This fragment is a solid rear leg from a wheelmade bull statuette; the knee joint is modeled with a bulge. Morgan dates this leg to the LPG/EG based on similarities to the Lefkandi centaur, in particular the crosshatched zones of decoration, and other LPG wheelmade bull statuettes. The modeling and elaborate decoration make this among the most sophisticated of the EIA wheelmade statuettes.

Cattle dedications continue into the EG with two handmade bulls (**I5**). Only the hindquarters of these cows are preserved, but they are blocky in shape and dated based on similar EG bulls from Olympia.¹⁸⁷ In the MG, the two examples of cattle are also handmade with only the bodies surviving. The bodies are cylindrical and the necks pinched to form a slight ridge; **I5** has a series of diagonal incised lines across the body. **I6** represents the hindquarters: the rump is high and the tail arches away from the body. Several of these bulls also have a roll of clay applied to the underside to represent genitalia: **I7 (Fig. 100)** has a cylindrical roll of clay as well as two circular pellets applied to the belly to represent the genitalia.

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Cattle figurines are more numerous in the LG. There are eight handmade cows from this period; five of these bulls could be MG/LG (**I8-10**). The cows have long, cylindrical bodies with high rumps and arching tails. The clay is coarse. Most of these bulls have applied genitalia. One bull (**I10**) has unique incised linear decoration: two parallel lines along the back, a line around the torso, and a line encircling the neck. These appear to represent a saddle, harness, or pannier; although there are some examples of painted harnesses in the Geometric, this is the only example of an incised harness.¹⁸⁸ **I11 (Fig. 101)** is one of the largest figurines from the site and one of the only animals with a preserved head. The body and chest are large and supported by short, stumpy legs. A ridge runs along the back of the bull and turns into the tail. Added clay between the legs represents male genitalia. The head is small and triangular with a short neck and a short dewlap. The head has a ridge for the horns, a flat forehead, and pointed muzzle. The eyes and nostrils are indicated by punched holes. There are no exact parallels for this figure.

Unlike the handmade bovine figurines from other sites, many of the Isthmian figurines clearly represent bulls, as indicated by the added male genitalia.

Type XIV Horses *LG 2 (1 Attic imports)*

There are only two horses from this sanctuary, both handmade and dated to the LG (**I12, Fig. 125**). One fragment is a long, tapered leg; the other fragment is the forequarters of a horse. The slender proportions and the pinched ridge forming a mane identify this quadruped as a horse. Morgan notes that although the fabric resembles Argive clay, horses are not common in the Argive coroplastic repertoire and accordingly identifies this as an Attic import.¹⁸⁹

Type XV Wheeled Equines/Equines Carrying Jars

MG 1 (1 Attic import)

LG 3 (2 Attic imports)

EIA 1

There is one dedication of a mule carrying vessels on its back and it is an Attic import (**I13, Fig. 127**). This fragment is the left hind leg and rump from a handmade mule/donkey with hollow, wheelmade body; on the left side is the beginning of a cylindrical wheelmade body. There is a rising edge on the body at the upper break, the remains of the base of the vessel carried on the animal's back. Based on the position of the preserved jar, Morgan reconstructs a mule carrying a load of five or six jars rather than one to four. Morgan dates this import based on similar figures that rest on wheeled platforms found in Athenian graves dated to the eighth century.¹⁹⁰

There are four wheeled horse figures from Isthmia: two are Attic imports (**I15-16, Fig. 129**) and two appear to be local copies of Attic types (**I114, Fig. 128**). These are fragments of the lower legs of horses, pierced for wheels or with evidence that they were attached to a wheeled base. Similar examples of wheeled horses are common in Attic tenth- to early ninth-century graves, but the presence of such figures at a nearby sanctuary is suspect.¹⁹¹

The early votives from the Isthmia shrine include several odd figurines, most notably the presence of Attic wheeled horses and three terracotta models of boots.¹⁹² The boot models are dated to EGI based on similarities to the Athenian examples. Two of these were imported from Attica and likely formed a pair, while a third seems to be a local imitation of Attic boots. The boots have a striated fringe on the toe of the boot while the front of the boot has parallel vertical striations made with a toothed comb, likely representing the laced fringe of the boot. There are also two holes toward the rear, which may have been intended for tying laces or for hanging the boots. The fragment of the Corinthian boot represents the sole and back part of the boot. The

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ankle protrusions are modeled, and there are remains of a hole on the right side, again likely for laces or suspension. Similar terracotta boots have been found in graves in the Athens, Eleusis, and Naxos.¹⁹³

Both the boot models and wheeled horses are more typical in funerary contexts. Isthmia seems to have been especially open to Attic influence and imports, but it seems odd to adopt funerary terracotta types for dedication. In his review of Morgan's Isthmia publication, Papadopoulos questions the interpretation of these objects as votive.¹⁹⁴ He remarks that the questionable mixed stratigraphy leaves open the question of the original context of the fill, which could include funerary remains. I agree with Papadopoulos that many of the early offerings are better interpreted as from disturbed graves, especially the wheeled horses and boots. The mixed deposits also included handmade cattle and horse figurines, which are not common funerary offerings but do fit within the usual votive tradition. Based on the inclusion of both typically funerary and votive objects in the Isthmia fill, it is likely that the early Isthmian material is disturbed and includes both funerary and ritual fill.

- ¹ Coldstream 2003, 346-47, 45-46, 267. Levantine ships visited Rhodes and Samos on their trade mission and their sanctuaries displayed many oriental imports.
- ² Mee 1982, 87-92; Deger-Jalkotzy 1998, 109-110. It appears that the population at Ialysos increased in LH IIIC, as evidenced by pottery that shows affinities to early Rhodian LH IIIA-B, but also to the LH IIIC pottery of the central Aegean and Peloponnesos (Benzi 1988: 253-56). It is possible that this population increase was due to Aegean newcomers. LH IIIC Rhodes was prosperous, with significant Cypriot and Near Eastern contacts, as evidenced by wealthy graves with Cypriot and eastern Mediterranean heirlooms.
- ³ Benzi 1992, 165-69.
- ⁴ Deger-Jalkotzy 1998.
- ⁵ Deger-Jalkotzy 1998.
- ⁶ Jacopi 1930-31; Benzi 1988; Gallou 2005. Rhodes is one of the few areas of Greece where Cypriot imported figurines were found in funerary contexts, evidence of Cypriot visitors, if not inhabitants, on the island.
- ⁷ Jacopi 1930-31; Friis Johansen 1958; Dietz 1984 Benzi 1988; Dietz and Papachritidou 1988; Deger-Jalkotzy 1998; Gallou 2005.
- ⁸ Snodgrass 1971, 127; Cook 1997, 33-36.
- ⁹ Blinkenberg 1931, 459-502.
- ¹⁰ Sørensen (1991) also re-dates many of the seventh- and sixth-century figurines from the Copenhagen Museum.
- ¹¹ Kourou 2002, 23.
- ¹² Dyggve 1960; for the inscriptions, see Blinkenberg 1941.
- ¹³ Snodgrass 1971, 278.
- ¹⁴ Sørensen 1991, 234-35. Due to the variety of clays, she believes that the figurines were produced from multiple workshops on Cyprus.
- ¹⁵ Hermary 1998.
- ¹⁶ Kinch 1914.
- ¹⁷ Cook 1997, 33-36.
- ¹⁸ Blinkenberg 1931, 468, no. 1889.
- ¹⁹ Blinkenberg 1931.
- ²⁰ Sørensen 1991, 228-29. For Salamis wheeled figures, see Monloup 1984, 151-57, nos. 575-598.
- ²¹ Monloup 1980; see also Karageorghis 1995, 142-43.
- ²² Karageorghis 1995, 108, no. 4.
- ²³ Monloup 1984, 136, no. 518. For several similar unprovenanced examples, see Karageorghis 1995, 25-26, nos. 1-10.
- ²⁴ See Coldstream 2003, 248-49, fig. 78.
- ²⁵ Blinkenberg 1931, 459, no. 1860; Higgins 1967, 19; Coldstream 2003, 249.
- ²⁶ Monloup 1984, nos. 149-161.
- ²⁷ Kourou and Karetsoy 1984, 123; Kourou 2002, 23.
- ²⁸ Several indeterminate animal fragments were published by Blinkenberg, but these are not preserved sufficiently to identify the animal represented or date and are therefore not included on the chart.
- ²⁹ Karageorghis 1970, pl. LVI, 1; pl. CIX, 9; Monloup 1984, 91; Sørensen 1991, 230. Similar birds applied to cult vessels are found at other Cypriot and Rhodian sites.
- ³⁰ Monloup 1984, 29-30, nos. 1-12.
- ³¹ Boardman 1967, 250. Boardman points out that although there is no material evidence for earlier settlement, it seems unlikely that the island was not inhabited by Ionian and Aeolian Greeks before the LG.
- ³² Boardman 1967, 62-63.
- ³³ Boardman 1967, 53.
- ³⁴ Boardman 1967, 63; see also Baumbach 2004.
- ³⁵ Boardman 1967, 187.
- ³⁶ Kourou 2002, 23.

- ³⁷ Boardman 1967, 189, 196.
- ³⁸ Boardman 1967, 189, 196.
- ³⁹ Kourou (2002, 25) mentions the presence of several early wheelmade female figures at Emporio, but she misidentifies these as coming from the Athena shrine. Boardman 1967, 63, 186-199.
- ⁴⁰ There are similar bell-shaped figures with detachable legs found in graves at Ialysos (Higgins 1967, 19; Coldstream 2003, 46) and Boeotia (Mollard-Besques 1954, 9I; Higgins 1967, 23, pl. 9c, d; Symeonoglou 1985, 95; Coldstream 2003, 202, fig. 65f.) There are bell-figures with detachable legs from Cyprus as well (Karageorghis 1977, 20, pl. VII.1; Demetriou 1989, 54).
- ⁴¹ Young 1949, pl. 70, 71; Morgan 1999, 336-38; Coldstream 2003, 91.
- ⁴² Jarosch 1994, no. 896, pl. 46.
- ⁴³ Boardman points out that the SM style could have been used on Chios some time after the close of the Late Bronze Age during a pre-migration period (Boardman 1967, 188-89). Kourou, however, dates this bull to LH IIIC or SM (Kourou 2002, 23).
- ⁴⁴ Boardman 1967, 188-89; see also Guggisberg 1996, nos. 302-303.
- ⁴⁵ Kourou 2002, 23.
- ⁴⁶ Boardman 1967, 29.
- ⁴⁷ Boardman 1967, 23, pl. 60, 98.
- ⁴⁸ Boardman 1967, 28.
- ⁴⁹ Boardman 1967, 8-9.
- ⁵⁰ Jacopi 1930-31, 295, fig. 35; Higgins 1967, 12-13, 5B.
- ⁵¹ Shipley 1987.
- ⁵² For an overview of earlier excavations at the site, see Kyrieleis 1993, 126-29.
- ⁵³ Ohly 1940; Walter 1957, 36-8; Homann-Wedeking 1964; see also Nicholls 1970, 15.
- ⁵⁴ Altars I-III from Samos are dated to before 700, the first is usually dated to the tenth century. See Buschor and Schlieff 1933, 146-50, 157-63; Walter 1976, 32-47; see also Kyrieleis 1993, 128, who dates Altar I to the Late Mycenaean period. The dating of these altars to the tenth century has not received general acceptance, see Snodgrass 1971, 410-12; Coldstream 2003, 317, 321. Rupp (1983, 102-04) dates the earliest Samian altars to the eighth century. For problems in dating these altars, see also Simon 1997, 127.
- ⁵⁵ Mallwitz 1981, 624-33; see also Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 199-202; Barletta 2001, 32-33. Snodgrass (1971, 412) does not put faith in the EG date for the deposit under Altar II and sees parallels in the elliptical shape of the altar in a LG stone altar from a shrine at Miletos.
- ⁵⁶ Buschor and Schlieff 1933, 159.
- ⁵⁷ Ohly 1940; Ohly 1941; Vierneisel 1961; Walter 1965; Walter 1976.
- ⁵⁸ Jarosch 1994, 1-4; Guggisberg 1996, 106-07.
- ⁵⁹ Ohly 1940; Ohly 1941; Vierneisel 1961.
- ⁶⁰ Schmidt 1968.
- ⁶¹ Jarosch 1994, 3-4, 53.
- ⁶² Guggisberg 1996, 106-07.
- ⁶³ The date of the fill of this altar includes earlier Geometric material, see Ohly 1940, 86-88; Rupp 1983, 102-04; *contra* Guggisberg 1996, 103 (nos. 334, 337, 338 Geometric or Archaic).
- ⁶⁴ Kourou 2002, 25.
- ⁶⁵ As noted by Kourou 2002, 25-26; *contra* the EGII date assigned by Jarosch 1994, 31-34.
- ⁶⁶ For eleventh century examples from Bothros 1 at Kition, see Karageorghis 1993, Type GA (i), 58-61. For CGII-III examples, see Karageorghis Type LGA (iv), Karageorghis 1993, 82-86. For a revised view of the Enkomi sanctuary, see Webb 1999; Webb 2001.
- ⁶⁷ Courtois 1971, 343; Karageorghis 1993, 65, pl. XVIII: nos. 8-11.
- ⁶⁸ LIMC IV, no. 80 s.v. Hera; Jarosch 1994, 136, no. 557, pl. 50.
- ⁶⁹ Higgins 1981, 136, no. 168.
- ⁷⁰ Karageorghis 1995, 1-11, pls. II-IV.

⁷¹ For early Cypriot riders, see Karageorghis 1993, 65-67, 88-90, pls. 29, 39-40; Karageorghis 1995, 61-71, pls. XXIX-XXXV; Karageorghis 2006, 88-94, nos. 65-70.

⁷² Karageorghis 2002, 53, fig. 109.

⁷³ Similar to LH IIIC bull heads, see Guggisberg 1996, 37, no. 79, pl. 5.1; 56, no. 174, pl. 11.6.

⁷⁴ The dating of these bulls is disputed. Jarosch dates these to the end of the LG period (1994, 103, nos. 63-65), interpreting them as late revivals of a much older style. Nicholls' review (1996) of Jarosch's final publication challenged this drastic down dating. Guggisberg (1996, 105, nos. 357-58) dates two of these very broadly to the Geometric period. I agree with Ohly's original dating of these to the SM period, based on similarities with SM bulls such as the one from Amyklai. It is possible, however, that this tradition lasted for a while at Samos, so I would place these in the SM-PG.

⁷⁵ For similar residual holes in LH IIIC animal statuettes see Guggisberg 1996, 46, no. 111, pls. 8.1.2, 3.4; 56, no. 169, pl. 11.2.

⁷⁶ See Guggisberg 1996, 46, no. 111, pl. 8.

⁷⁷ Nicholls (1996) outlines some of the problems with Jarosch's down dating of the animal statuettes.

⁷⁸ Guggisberg 1996, 100-10.

⁷⁹ The treatment of legs and feet, with stylized ridges representing the ankle and hoof, is similar to the LH IIIC wheelmade mule/horse from Ialysos (see Guggisberg 1996, 129, no. 442, pl. 34).

⁸⁰ For example, Guggisberg 1996, nos. 111, 302, pl. 8.

⁸¹ Although Nicholls (1996) raises doubts in down-dating these to the eighth century, I cannot see any parallels for dating this figure earlier. I do think that Guggisberg's date of LG is too low.

⁸² Jarosch 1994, 101, no. 45, 117, no. 268, 128, no. 452.

⁸³ Guggisberg dates these heads to LPG-EG, while Jarosch assigns the heads to the EGI period. The chart here places the horses in the LPG period.

⁸⁴ Although there are no terracotta parallels, there is a bronze pair of harnessed horses also found at Samos, see Gehrig 1964, 4, inv. B 1080.

⁸⁵ Jarosch 1994, 117, nos. 271-72, pl. 18.

⁸⁶ Jarosch 1994, 118-19, nos. 278, 280, 296-99, 306, pls. 18, 19, 21.

⁸⁷ Kübler 1954, 69, 121, pl. 142; Nicholls 1970, 13-14, pl. 3D; see also Williams 2000.

⁸⁸ Williams 2000.

⁸⁹ See Segre 1944/45, 217, nos. 245-47, pls. 125-26. For identification of sanctuary, based on three inscribed sherds, see Jeffrey 1961, 154, 353.

⁹⁰ Guggisberg 1996, no. 120, 416; Kourou 2002, 23.

⁹¹ Beschi 1985, 53-56; Kourou 2002, 27.

⁹² See Kourou 2002, 27, n. 133 for references.

⁹³ Demetriou 1989, 79; Kourou 2002, 28. Kourou and Demetriou discuss other aspects of Cypriot presence on the island.

⁹⁴ Kourou 2002, 27.

⁹⁵ Beschi 1985.

⁹⁶ Kourou 2002, 27-28.

⁹⁷ Lambrinouidakis 1992, 215; Kourou 2002, 24, n. 96.

⁹⁸ Tsountas 1892. Most of the objects were brought to Athens, becoming part of the Collection of the Archaeological Society until they were moved to the National Archaeological Museum. The rest of the excavated material, mainly pottery, was stored, unpublished and un-inventoried, in the local museum at Sparta. Today, much of this material lacks the original excavation information.

⁹⁹ Buschor and von Massow 1927. The finds of these excavations were stored in the Sparta Museum.

¹⁰⁰ Demakopoulou 1982; Calligas 1992.

¹⁰¹ *JG V* 1.823.

¹⁰² Tsountas 1892, 11-12.

¹⁰³ Tsountas 1892, 17-18.

¹⁰⁴ Tsountas 1892, 10, pl. 1, 18, pl. 2, 13, pl. 4.4-5.

- ¹⁰⁵ Calligas 1992, 35.
- ¹⁰⁶ Demakopoulou 1982, 82-96; Petterson 1992, 95-96.
- ¹⁰⁷ Buschor and von Massow 1927, 32-33.
- ¹⁰⁸ Desborough 1964, 42, 88; 1972, 280; Calligas 1992, 40-44. Although Calligas' close scrutiny of the finds is insightful, I do not find his argument against a Mycenaean cult convincing.
- ¹⁰⁹ Demakopoulou 1982, 90. This view is against the assertion by Berit Wells that Lakonian PG is contemporary with Attic and Argive PG based on the finding of a Lakonian PG sherd at Asine in an eleventh century context (Wells 1983, 42, 124). Wells' date is not generally accepted (Calligas 1992, 53).
- ¹¹⁰ Cartledge 2002, Ch. 7.
- ¹¹¹ Langdon 1998, 253.
- ¹¹² Langdon 1998, 256.
- ¹¹³ For a discussion of the style of these heads, see Langdon 1998, 253-54.
- ¹¹⁴ For the dating of these heads, which has ranged from the Early Archaic to Mycenaean for one or both of the heads, see Higgins 1967, 24; Nicholls 1970, 17; Schweitzer 1971, 142; Demakopoulou 1982, 139, no. 73; Calligas 1992, 34. Most recently, for a thorough review of their publication history, see Langdon 1998, 253-54.
- ¹¹⁵ Tsountas 1892, 13, pl. 4, 4; Schweitzer 1971, 142, pls. 162-63.
- ¹¹⁶ Herrmann 1964, 52-57.
- ¹¹⁷ Guggisberg 1996, 56-57, nos. 170-173.
- ¹¹⁸ Nancy Bookides provided information on the results of the new excavations during a seminar on Olympia at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in Winter 2003.
- ¹¹⁹ Kyrieleis 2002. Based on the especially thick Black Layer just north of the Pelopion, Kyrieleis believes that the earliest altar was located there, in close proximity to the still-visible tumulus, and was later moved in the seventh century when the black ash from the original altar was spread out over the sanctuary.
- ¹²⁰ Kyrieleis 2002. There are numerous examples of sacred areas built directly on or next to visible prehistoric remains: the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, the cult on the Tiryns acropolis, sanctuary of Demeter at Corinth, the Argive Heraion, Delphi, and others (Antonaccio 1994).
- ¹²¹ For a survey of the prehistoric remains, see Papakonstantinou 1992.
- ¹²² Furtwängler 1890, 2-3; Heilmeyer 1972, 3-6, 10-12, 20, 89-90; Burkert 1985, 96.
- ¹²³ Dörpfeld 1935; Herrmann 1962; Burkert 1983.
- ¹²⁴ Herrmann 1962; 1972; 1980.
- ¹²⁵ Morgan 1990; 1996; Kyrieleis 2002.
- ¹²⁶ Eder 2001a; 2001b.
- ¹²⁷ Kyrieleis 1990, 187, fig. 15. Although kylikes are found in domestic contexts, Kyrieleis argues that they also served ritual purposes and the exceptionally large size of these examples suggests a cultic use.
- ¹²⁸ Eder 2001a; 2001b.
- ¹²⁹ Eder's current work on the unpublished pottery from this layer will provide more information on the original context of the Black Layer, the duration of the altar's use, and the date when the layer was deposited.
- ¹³⁰ Morgan 1990, 27, 45.
- ¹³¹ Herrmann 1962; Sinn 1981, 40-43.
- ¹³² Moustaka 2002.
- ¹³³ Heilmeyer 1972.
- ¹³⁴ Critics of a tenth-century date for the earliest figurines include Herrmann 1982; Nicholls 1975; Mallwitz 1988, 96.
- ¹³⁵ Langdon 1976.
- ¹³⁶ Heilmeyer 1972, 2; see also a discussion of local production in Morgan 1990, 90.
- ¹³⁷ Heilmeyer 1972, 60.
- ¹³⁸ This new style of depicting the human figure can be seen with the Late Mycenaean male figures from Phylakopi, see Renfrew 1985, 223-30. Cretan bronze and terracotta figurines dated to the PG display

similar elongated torsos and arm positions, see Boardman 1961, pl. III no. 18; Verlinden 1984, no. 212; Byrne 1991; Prent 2005, 391-92.

¹³⁹ Furtwängler 1897, 44; Herrmann 1972, 59.

¹⁴⁰ Heilmeyer 1972, 65-72.

¹⁴¹ Byrne 1991, 19.

¹⁴² Bennett 1997, 67-91.

¹⁴³ Heilmeyer 1972, 56-59.

¹⁴⁴ See Heilmeyer 1979, 54-85, 139-48, 152-70; Zimmermann 1989, 63-90, 319-24.

¹⁴⁵ Sinn 1981, 40-43.

¹⁴⁶ Heilmeyer (1972, 90-93) interprets the Olympian terracottas as specific to the Zeus and Hera cult. He explains the similarities to the Kombothekra series, which must have been associated with an Artemis cult, as due to the dominance of the Olympia workshop, which overshadowed the needs of a local Artemis cult. Sinn (1981, 28-29) does not accept the dominant workshop theory for the homogeneity of votives from several sanctuaries. He considers similarities among cults as well as similar motives for dedication, which could explain votive patterns as well.

¹⁴⁷ Müller 1908.

¹⁴⁸ Sinn 1981.

¹⁴⁹ Sinn (1981, 27-28) outlines the problems involved in studying an incomplete deposit. Many of the figurines were lost to looters and the majority of the earlier figurines were found outside the retaining wall built for the Classical temple. Much of this material must have been lost to erosion. Additionally, Müller and Weege's work at Kombothekra in the early twentieth century was part of a larger exploratory journey; after Kombothekra, they went on to Tripoli, Bassai, and Sparta. It is not at all clear where the finds from their excavations were deposited. Sinn searched the storerooms of the Olympia museum, eventually identifying some finds as from Kombothekra.

¹⁵⁰ Sinn (1981, 27) believes that this illegal activity focused on the Geometric bronzes, which were perhaps even labeled as from Olympia on the art market to bring higher value. Indeed, a number of "Olympian" bronzes appeared in the art market at the turn of the century.

¹⁵¹ Heilmeyer 1969, 6-14; 1972, 2; Heilmeyer, Zimmer, and Schneider 1987; see also Rostoker and Gebhard 1980, 352; Morgan 1990, 37-38, 89-90.

¹⁵² Sinn 1981, 42.

¹⁵³ Sinn 1981, 39.

¹⁵⁴ Milchhöfer 1880; Dörpfeld 1883; Mendel 1901; Dugas 1921; Østby et al. 1994; Østby 2002.

¹⁵⁵ Østby et al. 1994; Østby 2002.

¹⁵⁶ Østby et al. 1994; Nordquist 2002; Østby 2002; see also Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 80-82.

¹⁵⁷ Voyatzis 1990, 252; 1995, 273-75.

¹⁵⁸ Voyatzis 1995, 273-75.

¹⁵⁹ Voyatzis 1995, 275. For the horse figurines, see Zimmermann 1989, 102-06; for evidence for bronze production at the site in the eighth century, see Østby et al. 1994.

¹⁶⁰ Voyatzis (1995, 281) suggests that the presence of certain Mycenaean objects might indicate a LBA cult in the area with intermittent activity until the eighth century.

¹⁶¹ Voyatzis 1995, 281. For association of seated monkey figures with fertility, see Langdon 1990, 422-23.

For the association between turtle imagery and fertility, see Bevan 1988, 159-65, esp. 162-63.

¹⁶² Jost 1985, 368-70; Voyatzis 1990, 198-200, 269; 1995, 281. The iconography related to fertility includes nude females, pomegranates, seated monkeys, and poppies, while the Geometric sanctuary also received two Geometric bronze warrior figurines and bronze Dipylon shields and arrowheads, suggesting that the Alea cult was also concerned with war and protection.

¹⁶³ Voyatzis 1990; 1995, 277-79, 283. Tegea was less isolated than other cults, but the sanctuary at Lousoi was also an important religious center for the more remote area of northern Arcadia.

¹⁶⁴ Perdrizet 1903, 309; Daniel and Wade-Gery 1948; Karageorghis 1964, 353-56; Courtois and Schaeffer 1971; Buchholz and Karageorghis 1971, no. 1741; Buchholz 1974, 370; Palmer 1981, 14-17; Burkert 1985,

47; Voyatzis 1985. Linguistically, the link between Arcadia, Cyprus, and the Mycenaeans is evident in the Cypro-Arcadian dialect, which is the closest to Mycenaean Greek, see Chadwick 1956; Ruijgh 1957; Chadwick and Ventris 1973, 68-69, 73-75. For continued links between these two regions, see Roy 1987.

¹⁶⁵ Dugas 1921; Dugas, Berchmans, and Clemmensen 1924; Voyatzis 1990.

¹⁶⁶ Østby et al. 1994; Østby 2002; Nordquist 2002; Voyatzis 2002.

¹⁶⁷ Voyatzis (1990, 244) notes that it is not until the Archaic period that local terracotta figurines display Argive influence.

¹⁶⁸ Voyatzis 1990, 270-71.

¹⁶⁹ Voyatzis 1985; 1992.

¹⁷⁰ Voyatzis 1990, 274-75, fig. 11.

¹⁷¹ Heilmeyer 1972, pl. 14 no. 77.

¹⁷² French 1971, pl. 26c.

¹⁷³ French 1971, 151, fig. 11, 155; Voyatzis 1990, 241.

¹⁷⁴ Comparable to Dawkins 1929, pl. XCI no. 12; Heilmeyer 1976, pl. 15, no. 87.

¹⁷⁵ Voyatzis 1990, 240-41, T3, 345. For LBA parallels, see Demakopoulou 1982, no. 115, pl. 49; 66-68, n. 191, 192.

¹⁷⁶ Morgan 1996; 1998; 1999, 369.

¹⁷⁷ Morgan 1999, 167-75.

¹⁷⁸ Morgan (1999, 295-304, 369-72) uses the model developed by Pilafidis-Williams (1998, 121-25), who adjusted the model for determining cult developed by Colin Renfrew (1985, 11-26) to interpret open-air shrines.

¹⁷⁹ Morgan 1999, 386-94.

¹⁸⁰ E. Gebhard in Morgan 1999, I.7.

¹⁸¹ Morgan 1998; 1999, 314-30, 386-89.

¹⁸² Papadopoulos 2001.

¹⁸³ Morgan 1999, 313, 339.

¹⁸⁴ Heilmeyer 1972, nos. 123-26, pl. 21, no. 129, pl. 22; Sinn 1981, no. 6.9, 11, pl. 10; Heilmeyer 1981, 69, fig. 43, pl. 3; Heilmeyer 1990.

¹⁸⁵ Morgan 1999, F8, 168.

¹⁸⁶ Morgan 1999, F32, 173.

¹⁸⁷ Morgan 1999, F11-F12, 170; Heilmeyer 1972, 124, figs. 3, 5, 8.

¹⁸⁸ Morgan 1999, 171.

¹⁸⁹ Morgan 1999, F27, 172.

¹⁹⁰ Kübler 1954, pl. 144; Boardman 1957, 15, pl. 3; Higgins 1967, pl. 8A; Boardman 1967, 188-89, no. 30, pl. 74; Nicholls 1970, 13-14, pl. 3D; and for other unpublished fragments from the Athenian Agora, see Morgan 1999, 173.

¹⁹¹ Kübler 1954, 69, 121, pl. 142; Nicholls 1970, 14.

¹⁹² For boots, see Morgan 1999, F36-38, 174-75.

¹⁹³ Morgan 1999, 174-75. Two pairs from EGI female grave in Athenian Agora, see Young 1949, nos. 22-23, 282, 287-88, 296-97, fig. 12, pls. 67-71; two pairs in grave of young woman on Odos Dimitrios, Athens, see G.' *Archaïologikē periphēreia* 1964, 54-55, pl. 49: g, d; pair of boots from Naxos, see Karouzos and Kontoleon 1937, 117-118; Kourou 1999, 64-69; pair of boots from Eleusis grave A, see Desborough 1952, 54, 125, pl. 15; Coldstream 1968, 10-13.

¹⁹⁴ Papadopoulos 2001.

CHAPTER III

ANIMAL FIGURINES IN EARLY IRON AGE CULT

Although animals have always been a part of Greek religious imagery, they are especially important in the EIA when they appear as the first figural images at many sanctuaries. Throughout the Geometric period, worshippers communicated with the divine primarily through animal imagery. Human figurines do not consistently appear until the second half of the eighth century. This chapter explores the importance of animal imagery in early Greek cult through an analysis of the dedication of animal figurines and their religious and social significance. The votive pattern of zoomorphic figurines and statuettes presents a unified and coherent symbolic system common to many early cults. Animal imagery presented a clear and understandable mode of communicating concepts of fertility, prosperity, and even regeneration to worshippers at all levels.¹ This potent iconography operated on multiple levels simultaneously. The association of animals with the natural world and its cycle of regeneration, suffused with the concept of life and death, invoked eschatological themes prevalent in Greek religion. Expression of this worldview through symbols of the natural world is widespread in the ancient Mediterranean. Animals served as a display of wealth, a symbol of man's place in the *kosmos* and the power of the deity over the natural world, a symbol of sacrifice, and a gift that accompanied a prayer.

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On a practical level, animals were vital to the EIA economy. They were necessary for both pastoral and agricultural farming and an intimate knowledge of animal husbandry was crucial for survival and prosperity. The necessity of many animals in the EIA economy led to their high social and economic value. In early Greece especially, animals became symbols of wealth, prosperity, and mastery over nature. These connotations were adopted for religious use since early Greek society did not strictly separate economics and religion.² Animals in religion generally represent the wealth of the deity or cult as well as mortal and divine control and mastery over the natural world. The behavior of some animals invoked special meanings for individual cults. Thus, animal imagery operated on several levels, connoting wealth, prosperity, fertility, regeneration, and control.

Animal iconography served as a metaphor for mortals' relationship with the natural world. A successful farmer or shepherd relies on an understanding of the intricacies of animal breeding, raising, and training. This knowledge depends on a relationship with one's herds and mastery over them. Dominion over nature is expressed in religious iconography through *potnios* and *potnia theron* imagery that was common in Near Eastern, Minoan, Mycenaean, and Greek artistic representations. Terracotta figurines do not generally depict group scenes, but individual figurines functioned as signs for larger concepts. The overwhelming majority of zoomorphic figurines depicts domestic animals and perhaps embodies the desire for continued control of and harmonious relationship with these animals.

Animals operate in the ritual-mythic realm as symbols of the divine, sometimes as intermediary beings or divinities themselves. Divinities in Aegean LBA and Iron Age Greece enjoy close relationships with specific animals, which are crystallized in Archaic myth and ritual, where each Olympian deity has at least one animal companion. The relationship between the divine and animals is complex: animals invoke the divine, they accompany the divine, they are

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sacrificed to the divine, and in some instances they themselves are divine. Walter Burkert explains, “The concept of the theriomorphic god and especially of the bull god, however, may all too easily efface the very important distinctions between a god named, described, represented, and worshipped in animal form, a real animal worshipped as a god, animal symbols and animal masks in the cult, and finally the consecrated animal destined for sacrifice.”³ In myth, Greek deities physically transform into animals, have theriomorphic offspring, and transform mortals into animals.⁴ In later Greek art, gods and goddesses are commonly depicted with their associated animals: Zeus with the bull or eagle, Poseidon with the bull or horse, Artemis with stags or birds, Hera with the cow, and Athena with the owl.

There is a paucity of EIA anthropomorphic figurines that represent gods, either as votives or objects of worship. The lack of consistent anthropomorphic divine imagery suggests that deities were not worshipped in anthropomorphic form or that cult was not centered on permanent divine images.⁵ The dominance of zoomorphic imagery, however, especially bovine figurines, invites the question of whether any of these represented theriomorphic divinities. Theriomorphic deities were prevalent in Egypt and not uncommon in the ancient Near East.⁶ There are many representations of theriomorphic beings in Minoan and Mycenaean art and references to animals in the Linear B texts, but there is some debate whether theriomorphic deities existed in these cultures’ religions.⁷ Korinna Pilafidis-Williams suggests that the bull statuettes found at several Mycenaean sanctuaries perhaps served as a symbol of a male deity, a counterpart to the wheelmade female statuettes.⁸

Animals also were a key element in the central rite of Greek religion: animal sacrifice. Domesticated and wild animals were ritually killed on an altar, select parts were burnt for the gods, and their meat consumed in festive meals.⁹ This rite illustrates the worshippers’ willingness to sacrifice part of their wealth to obtain divine favor as well as commune with the deity and

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fellow worshippers through ritual feasting.¹⁰ The sacrificial animal is intimately linked to the god as well as to the worshipper, who owns and later consumes its meat.¹¹ The prevalence of cattle among early figurines and in later Greek sacrificial practice suggests that these figurines invoked this rite in some way. Cattle figurines are not confined to certain sanctuaries and do not seem to be connected to any particular deity. Rather, they are found at the more monumental EIA sanctuaries. A link to sacrifice, a conspicuous aspect of most cults, seems plausible. Figurines perhaps served as material commemorations of sacrifice as well as reminders of the prayers that accompanied the sacrifice.¹² The figurines functioned as permanent reminders or tokens of the act of sacrifice and prayer.

Studies of the artistic and literary evidence for animal sacrifice indicate a predilection to sacrifice certain types of animals at certain sanctuaries, usually an animal associated in myth or cult with the deity.¹³ Osteological analysis of select sanctuaries, however, does not present such specific practices. In the rare instances when chronological markers exist within the osteological record, the evidence indicates that in earlier cult animal sacrifice consisted primarily of cattle and sheep/goat. At Knossos, Demeter receives the general sacrifice of sheep/goat and only after the fifth century are pigs sacrificed. Robin Hägg compares this to the general nature of deities, who only are given more specific personalities in the Archaic period.¹⁴ At Samos, Didyma, and Kalapodi, cattle bones outnumber those of sheep and goats, while pigs are rare. At Kommos, outside the temples, sheep/goat and cattle thighs were common.¹⁵ Contrary to many scholarly claims, it is impossible to sex the burnt bones from animal sacrifice; therefore, any claim that “bulls” or “cows” were sacrificed is an assumption.¹⁶

In the EIA, animals related to the agricultural concerns of the worshippers, and presumably the deity, are by far the most common dedications. In addition to cattle, ram and sheep figurines were dedicated. Along with the land, animals were the basis for wealth. It is likely

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that worshippers offered these agricultural animals to the deity in hopes of divine protection of herds or flocks. It is logical that such an important resource be put under divine protection, either by establishing sacred herds or by placing privately owned animals under the care of the gods.

Not all animal figurines, however, were associated with animal sacrifice. The appearance of the horse in the ninth century, an animal that comes to dominate the figurine assemblage by the eighth century, signals a change in dedications. The horse figurines are related to the worshippers and the aristocratic lifestyle that becomes an essential part of cult iconography in the ninth and eighth centuries. Finally, at the end of the Geometric period, animals that are unique to certain cults, including snakes and dogs, begin to appear.

DEITIES & SACRIFICE CATTLE FIGURINES (Type XII)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 453

Lindos: 9 (1 Cypriot import)
Chios, Harbour Sanctuary: 17
Chios, Athena Shrine: 1
Samos: 141
Kalymnos: 50
Naxos: 1
Amyklai: 5
Olympia: 205
Kombothekra: 6
Isthmia: 18

Bovine figures are the earliest three-dimensional figural images in post-Bronze Age Greece. Their wide distribution and early appearance underline their central role in the early cultic symbolic system. Bovine figurines are found at Rhodes, Chios, Samos, Kalymnos, Naxos, Amyklai, Olympia, Kombothekra, and Isthmia and were dedicated to an array of deities: Athena, Hera, Apollo, Zeus, Artemis, and Poseidon. Cattle are found at all major Geometric sanctuaries with figurine dedications except Tegea.

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Cattle statuettes continue without a break from the Late Mycenaean to the SM period.¹⁷ The earliest EIA cattle figures, dated to the eleventh century, are wheelmade and are found at sanctuaries where aspects of Mycenaean cult continue. These statuettes represent the end of Mycenaean cultic traditions at certain sites; they disappear before a revival occurs at Samos and Emporio.¹⁸ The early examples are found at Amyklai (**A3-5, Fig. 96**),¹⁹ where five twelfth- and eleventh-century bulls were dedicated, as well as on the Athenian Acropolis, where the majority of cattle statuettes seem to date to the LH IIIB-C period, with a fragmentary SM example from the North Slope and a PG fragment from the South Slope.²⁰ The context of the Athenian bovine figures is not certain, although it seems likely that they were ritual.²¹ There are also early examples of wheelmade cattle from Emporio Harbour Shrine and Samos (**C10, Fig. 107, S96-97, Figs. 79, 81**).

In the PG period, a new tradition of handmade cattle figurines, distinct from Mycenaean handmade bulls, begins on Rhodes, Samos, Olympia, and Isthmia (**R25, Fig. 77, S98-100, Fig. 82, O25-26, Fig. 92, I3-4, Figs. 98-99**). By the EG, handmade cattle figurines are dedicated in more sanctuaries: Olympia, Kombothekra, Isthmia, and Samos (**S101-107, Figs. 80, 83-84, 85, O27, Fig. 94, I5**). During the MG period, cattle figurines were dedicated at the same shrines, but in greater numbers (**S109-116, Figs. 87-90, O28-29, I6-7, Fig. 100**). At Kalymnos, fifty wheelmade cattle, likely of eighth-century date, are the largest single deposit of wheelmade cattle yet found (**K1**). Finally, by the second half of the eighth century, handmade bovine figurines are found at almost all sanctuaries, with the exception of Tegea and Amyklai (**R24, Fig. 77, C4-9, Fig. 78, N1, S108, 117-124, Figs. 86, 91, O30-31, Fig. 95, I8-11, Fig. 101**). Wheelmade statuettes continue longer at Samos than at any other Geometric sanctuary. The increasing popularity of bovine figurines throughout the EIA does not continue into the seventh century, when the number of these figurines decreases significantly.

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The pattern of cattle figurine dedication illustrates their universal ritual significance: they are not related to any specific deity, gender of deity, or cult. The bull or cow is a universal image, important to all early cults, and one directly and exclusively related to ritual, not found in funerary contexts. To my knowledge, there are no cattle figurines in graves or funerary contexts, nor are they common subjects in vase painting.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

The earliest two-dimensional figural images from the Dark Age include isolated horses or birds painted on vases.²² In three-dimensional arts, however, cattle dominate the animal repertoire from the eleventh century. Bovine figurines are ubiquitous: they were dedicated at sanctuaries to male and female deities, at shrines scattered from East Greece to Crete, and at shrines primarily serving local populations as well as at more international sanctuaries. In the EIA, cattle were not specific to certain deities, as in later Greek myth and religion, but were associated with all Geometric divinities.

In the Near East and Anatolia bulls were associated with rulers and divinities.²³ Bovine imagery was also an important aspect of Minoan and Mycenaean cult: bulls occur in scenes of sacrifice and on ritual instruments.²⁴ Most Mycenaean handmade zoomorphic figurines, beginning in LH IIIA, are cattle with no obvious sexual attributes.²⁵ There seems to have been a coroplastic industry specializing in zoomorphic statuettes for official dedication from the LM IIIB period on Crete and the LH IIIA period on the mainland; cattle statuettes flourish on Crete, the Cycladic islands, and on the mainland in LH IIIC.²⁶ The use of these statuettes spreads with the expansion of Minoan-Mycenaean culture to the Cyclades and to Cyprus. On the mainland and Crete, the practice of dedicating these statuettes continues into the EIA at Amyklai, Athens, and Hagia Triada.

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The dedication of bovine statuettes dies out after the eleventh century at Amyklai and the Athenian Acropolis, the only mainland sites to continue the tradition from the LBA. The tradition and technique of creating zoomorphic vessels and statuettes continue in the Dodecanese, the Cyclades, Cyprus, Crete, Euboea, and Attica, but new types are added to the standard repertoire, likely related to their new funerary function.²⁷ In Greece, this continuation is brief, while on Crete and the Aegean islands, this tradition enjoys a longer life with periodic revivals.

Despite the hiatus in wheelmade cattle statuette dedications after the SM, cattle imagery does not disappear. From the PG period on, handmade cattle figurines appear at almost all Greek sanctuaries. Although the figurines and statuettes of other animals are found in graves in many regions of Greece, cattle imagery is associated exclusively with sanctuaries: there are no cattle terracottas in EIA graves.

Cattle have been domesticated since the early Neolithic period in Greece and became an important element of the Mycenaean palace economy. They were used for dairy, meat, and as draft animals.²⁸ Because of the animals' size, strength, and essential role in agriculture, many ancient cultures conferred upon them a symbolic, sometimes supernatural, significance. Bulls in particular are associated with virility, fertility, and male deities. In the LBA, there is evidence from Anatolia and the Near East for taumorphic deities, but there is no conclusive evidence for zoomorphic deities in the Aegean, although later Zeus, Poseidon, and Dionysos could take the form of the bull.²⁹

In her publication of the Mycenaean remains from the Aphaia sanctuary on Aegina, Pilafidis-Williams suggests that Mycenaean bovine statuettes served as a symbol of a male deity, while wheelmade female statuettes invoked the goddess at different sanctuaries. Instead of relating the presence of bull statuettes to official or unofficial shrines, Pilafidis-Williams links these images to the gender of deity worshipped.³⁰ This suggestion is attractive because it provides

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imagery for the male gods listed in the tablets from Pylos and other sites not otherwise not represented in the material record. This also provides visual expression for gods and goddesses, balancing the duality of male-female divine pairs evident in Linear B texts.³¹ The bull became a symbol of a god in Mycenaean Greece, although not a straightforward depiction of a tauromorphic god. Bovine statuettes as well as other male images increase in the twelfth century, indicating an increase in the importance of male deities.³²

Since it has been emphasized that few Late Mycenaean or EIA cattle figure have explicit sexual attributes, we must also consider the association between cattle and goddesses. In the Mycenaean period, cattle are closely associated with male deities. Several scholars have noticed that cattle statuettes are not found in the same sanctuaries as female statuettes with the exception of Phylakopi, where a double sanctuary housed cults of a god and goddess.³³ In the EIA, however, cattle figures and figurines are ubiquitous, appearing at sanctuaries of gods and goddesses; there is no clear association of this animal with male or female cults and so we must not assume that all cattle are intended to represent bulls. Despite the ambiguous quality of cattle figurines, it is entirely possible that these generic figurines had more specific meaning depending on the character of each cult. In addition to Zeus, Poseidon, and Dionysos, the goddess Hera is closely associated with cattle in art, literature, and cult.³⁴ The cow in the ancient Mediterranean is generally associated with fertility, but a fertility of the land in opposition to the virile fertility that is linked to bulls.³⁵ The evidence that Hera was worshipped in bovine form, however, is unconvincing. Bovine features connote female beauty, fertility, wealth, and sacredness.³⁶ Like the bull, cattle in general signify different but related forms of fertility, beauty (either masculine strength or female domesticity), and wealth.³⁷

The social importance of cattle in the EIA is debated. Although older scholarship emphasized the paucity of material evidence in the EIA, noting the small villages that lacked the

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art of writing, the luxury crafts so widespread in the Mycenaean period, and the strictly stratified, bureaucratically controlled centralized political system,³⁸ newer studies have highlighted new evidence for settlement nucleation, perhaps even the beginnings of the polis system, complex hierarchical social structures, and extensive trade and contact with other cultures.³⁹ Today a regionalist approach is necessary. It is highly unlikely that all areas of Greece were at the same level of social complexity or had the same economy during the EIA. The presence of non-essential objects, such as figurines, jewelry, and other goods throughout much of EIA Greece argues against a subsistence-level economy. The funerary, domestic, and religious evidence from some regions suggests that land-owning warrior elites came to power during the Geometric period, although the exact nature of the political and social structures are debated.⁴⁰ Land-ownership, warfare, and horse breeding became an elite controlled economy in some areas. As the polis system emerged in some areas, a more urban society with an agricultural zone surrounding it replaced the earlier settlement distribution pattern of land and herd ownership as the basis of wealth and status.

There has been some debate about the role of animal husbandry, pastoralism, and farming in early Greece. The Mycenaeans relied on farming and their diet was primarily grain and pulse based. Cereal farming played a primary role in the Archaic economy as well.⁴¹ In 1987, Anthony Snodgrass suggested that with the collapse of the Mycenaean system, Greece reverted to a dominantly pastoral subsistence system, which gradually became secondary to grain cultivation beginning in the ninth century.⁴² The recording and analysis of the osteological evidence from the Dark Age settlement at Nichoria offer the most compelling evidence in support of Snodgrass' theory: the animal bone assemblage demonstrates that more cattle were consumed in tenth-century Nichoria than in the Mycenaean period, indicating a change to a cattle ranching society.⁴³ This sort of evidence is not widely available for most Greek sites and the interpretation of the

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Nichoria economy is based on very few remains. James Whitley notes the importance of sheep and goat over cattle at several Cretan sites and so we must be cautious in making generalizations based on the Nichoria evidence alone.⁴⁴

The evidence presented for a pastoral Dark Age economy by Snodgrass can be explained in another way. Snodgrass uses the decreasing number of bull and sheep figurines at Olympia to corroborate his theory that herding decreased in importance, gradually replaced by cereal agriculture.⁴⁵ This hypothesis requires two assumptions. The first assumption is that figurines represented cattle herds kept for meat and dairy production, not draft oxen used for plowing fields. The second assumption is that the dedication of figurines can be associated with the economic realities of the worshippers rather than as ritual or religious symbols. For the first assumption, Snodgrass states that the cattle figurines have “the general appearance of being beef cattle.”⁴⁶ There is no basis for a physical distinction between beef or dairy cattle. His second assumption is generally accepted and I agree that religious motivations often reflect the social realities.⁴⁷

The current state of evidence for EIA subsistence in Greece suggests that a variety of farming and herding systems were practiced and that pastoral farming was likely restricted to areas in which arable farming was not an option, while arable farming along with animal husbandry was practiced in the lowland, fertile areas.⁴⁸ In contrast to Snodgrass, Heilmeyer interprets the prevalence of domestic animal imagery (cattle, rams, horses) as evidence of the importance of herding and farming and believes farmers were the primary dedicants. The motivations for dedication and rituals were entwined with the life of farming.⁴⁹ Cattle are an integral part of arable farming: farmers relied on their strength as beasts of burden for plowing the fields as well as for transporting people and agricultural goods in carts short distances over wide roads.⁵⁰ Cattle were expensive to maintain but indispensable.⁵¹ It is likely that wealth even in

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early Greece was based on ownership of arable land and the ownership of cattle necessary to farm that land. Therefore, whether invoking ranching or agriculture, cattle connote status, wealth, and strength even in mundane acts like pulling carts or ploughs. The value of cattle is reflected in the poetry of Homer, in which the value of people and objects is commonly compared to number of oxen, which at least represents the importance of the animal at the end of the eighth century.⁵²

The scant osteological evidence suggests that throughout most of Greece sheep and goats were at least as prevalent as cattle, if not more so.⁵³ Yet, sheep and goats are not as common in the figurine assemblage, which suggests that these animals did not have a symbolic value equal to that of cattle.

Today, cattle and farming conjure visions of a simple and rustic life, a modern view that might account for the interpretation of clay bull figurines as offerings of the “common man.” The use of cattle along with their link with land ownership and wealth in EIA Greece, however, places bovine imagery in ancient Greece within the realm of the landowners and those concerned with the fertility of the land and food supply. Agricultural concerns and the material (clay) are not necessarily linked to the concerns of humble farmers.⁵⁴ To the contrary, cattle imagery must have connoted wealth, prestige, and prosperity.⁵⁵ The use of clay as a medium for votives might be related to ritual concerns rather than display of status.

The social and symbolic value of cattle is directly related to the long-lasting privileged place that cows enjoyed in Greek sacrificial ritual. They are *the* sacrificial animal in many cults. Animal sacrifice, the ritual killing of an animal followed by a shared meal among worshippers as well as a burnt offering to the gods, is well documented in Mesopotamia and West Semitic religions.⁵⁶ It is now accepted that animal sacrifice also played a role in the Minoan and Mycenaean worlds, although it was not ubiquitous and the rite cannot be connected to the distribution of cattle statuettes.⁵⁷ At some point in the EIA, the Semitic sacrificial rite was

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introduced to Greek ritual. Homer's description of sacrifice, which is corroborated by the archaeological evidence, consists of the ritual killing of an animal (including lambs, goats, and bulls), the burning of the meat on an altar, which culminated in smoke for the gods and a communal meal for the worshippers.⁵⁸ When this form of sacrifice was introduced is unclear and the lack of specifically EIA strata at most Greek sanctuaries does not allow dating of sacrificial debris. Exceptions include Olympia and Samos, where some deposits with sacrificial ash can dated to the Geometric period; in these cattle bones predominate.⁵⁹ The overall continuation of the practice combined with the enduring importance of the bull as the ultimate sacrificial victim provide important evidence for continuity from Bronze Age to historic traditions.⁶⁰

Although there is archaeological, literary, and artistic evidence that a variety of domesticated and wild animals were sacrificed in LBA and later Greek rites, the bull seems to have been the ideal sacrifice in most Greek cults.⁶¹ Guggisberg uses this theory to account for the predominance of bovine imagery amongst figure dedications in the LBA and EIA, as opposed to sheep or goats, which he believes were the more common sacrificial offering.⁶² The majority of sites, however, has not yielded animal bones sufficiently preserved or collected to ascertain the types and quantities of animals sacrificed in the EIA. At some sanctuaries, cheaper sacrificial animal remains (primarily sheep and goat) outnumber cattle bones. Indeed, the expense of cattle made these an elite and rare sacrifice, likely reserved for special occasions, in which the communal eating of the sacrificial meat was a socially meaningful event.⁶³

There is likely a link between cattle sacrifice and figurine dedication that is related to their economic and social value. These animals were sacrificed because of their close association with certain deities as well as their high social value. It is likely that cattle figurines functioned as long-lasting reminders of the sacrifice.⁶⁴ The display of these mementos recalled the nature of the

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deity as well as the actual sacrifice. A fourth- or third-century inscription from Cyrene illustrates this function:

*Hermesandros, the son of Philon, placed this in remembrance over the spring when he brought 120 oxen as a sacrifice to the goddess Artemis on her feast-day; this stands here as an ornament, a memento and an honor for him.*⁶⁵

This inscription provides important evidence that dedicants left mementos, material reminders, of their piety. We can postulate, using the Direct Historical Method, that this same mentality perhaps existed in the Geometric period. Hermesandros had the benefit of writing to express his motivation. In pre-literate Greece an image could serve as a powerful substitute for writing, visually preserving the memory of the act commemorated.⁶⁶ Without writing, a cattle figurine likely invoked the act of sacrifice, and with it the prayer and festival at which these events occurred. It is possible then that each EIA figurine represented a specific sacrificial occasion, or perhaps each figurine represented an actual sacrificed animal.

Inscriptions on votive offerings from the end of the eighth and seventh centuries, such as the Mantiklos Apollo dedication as well as references in Homer, demonstrate that offerings to the gods could function as votives that accompanied a vow or prayer.⁶⁷ This system of reciprocity characterized Greek votive religion by the end of the eighth century.⁶⁸ Because the religious systems in place in the LG period were a direct continuation of earlier Geometric rituals, we can postulate a similar motivation for offering in earlier cult. We can reasonably reconstruct a prayer, vow, and on special occasions a sacrifice accompanying figurine dedication. The dedication and display of a cattle figurine would serve as a material expression of the worshipper's piety and as a reminder to the deity of this request. If they accompanied an animal sacrifice, we can surmise that it was the owners of cattle herds who sacrificed cattle and dedicated the figurines. A cattle

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figurine would stand at the sanctuary as a memento to the sacrifice, the dedicant, and presumably a related prayer. It displayed both the wealth and piety of the dedicator.

Because of their role in sacrifice, bovine imagery was widely used in the ancient Mediterranean and Near East to demarcate sacred areas. Bovine imagery, including bucrania and figurines, served as appropriate adornments for sacred areas where animal sacrifice occurred and often had an additional apotropaic function. Thus, bovine imagery came to invoke the power of the divine, whether specifically related to bulls or bull sacrifice. This practice was common in the Near East and Cyprus.⁶⁹

The theory that animal figurines, specifically cattle figurines, were “cheap substitutes for actual victims,” is an old one that is frequently repeated.⁷⁰ Guggisberg notes that LBA and SM bulls are often decorated with special blankets and garlands, which he relates to their role as sacrificial victims, an observation that accords with other artistic evidence.⁷¹ Yet, this observation only links the statuettes with the practice of sacrifice and does not necessarily imply that they functioned as substitutes for actual animals. If cattle figurines served as substitutes, an act of sympathetic magic, the figurines should exhibit special traits that link them to a real animal, such as signs of being burnt or ritually “killed” in the same manner as an actual victim. I have found no figurines with evidence for this special treatment.⁷² It is true that EIA figurines are often found in secondary depositional contexts close to altars. Although it cannot be proven, cleaning deposits are not usually far from original contexts and we can surmise that cattle figurines were likely displayed on or around altars. Archaic Altar C at Kommos vividly illustrates the original association of bulls with altars: a terracotta bull was found standing *in situ* at the southwest corner of this altar, which was covered with burnt earth and bone.⁷³ Another bovid leg fragment was found next to the preserved bull, suggesting that there may have originally been more than one bull placed on the altar.⁷⁴

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The placement of cattle figurines on altars, however, is part of the larger votive practice of placing many types of gifts in close proximity to the holiest places within the sanctuary and is not specific to cattle figurines.⁷⁵ Other figurines found in the same deposit as cattle include types that cannot be directly associated with sacrifice, including humans. The deposition of figurines on or close to altars is more likely related to the sanctity of this area. Later literary sources indicate that proximity to the altar for display of votives was desirable for efficacy of the votive and perhaps also prestige of the donor.⁷⁶ The location of cattle figurines near altars cannot be used as evidence that these offerings functioned as substitutes for animal sacrifice. It is more appropriate to interpret cattle as material accompaniments to prayer, likely ones involving actual herds, but also material commemorative expressions of animal sacrifice and its importance to the community as a whole.⁷⁷

THE PASTORAL ELEMENT: SHEEP AND RAM FIGURINES (Type XIII)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 93

Samos: 3

Olympia: 85

Kombothekra: 5

The distribution of figurines depicting sheep and rams may be skewed by the difficulties in identifying these animals. Figurines of rams are usually distinguished from other horned creatures by their distinctive down-curving horns. Sheep, however, have a generic form and it is difficult to distinguish a sheep from a horse or cow except for a down-curving muzzle. This ambiguity might account for the low number of sheep and rams in the figurine assemblage, but the quantities of identified examples are so different that I would assert that rams/sheep were not as popular as horses or cattle.

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Images of sheep and rams are not common in Geometric vase painting and they are relatively rare in the bronze figurine assemblage.⁷⁸ No figurines of rams or sheep have been found in funerary contexts. Terracotta rams are first dedicated in the tenth century at Olympia, with only one example published (**O32, Fig. 102**). Olympia continues to be the only sanctuary with ram dedications in the EG, but in the first half of the eighth century, ram figurines were dedicated at Kombothekra and Samos (**O33, Fig. 103, K11, Fig. 104**). These figurines are all handmade and follow the stylistic development of cattle figurines.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Sheep were among the earliest animals domesticated in the Mediterranean basin and were an important source of meat, dairy, and wool. Unlike cattle, only the males (rams) had horns. In Aegean Crete, bones of ovicaprids are among the most common found in excavations; the osteological evidence suggests that some were slaughtered at a very young age, indicating that young sheep were used for meat consumption, while older sheep were likely kept for dairy and wool.⁷⁹ Ovicaprid bones are found in settlements as well as in cult places, suggesting that these animals were used domestically as well as for religious purposes.⁸⁰ Birgitta Hallager cites no reports of ram bones in the sacrificial remains, either in the burnt debris or in the collection of horns sometimes left as commemoration of the act.⁸¹ If rams were important sacrificial animals, we should be able to trace them in the archaeological record. Rather, the bucrania and horns in Crete belong to cattle, stags, and agrimia. Artistic evidence, especially seals and sealings, depicts a similar range of sacrificial animals: bulls, pigs, and goats.⁸²

The Linear B tablets from Knossos list almost 100,000 sheep that were distributed and maintained by the palace. This has been interpreted by John Killen as a listing of the wool-producing flocks that were managed and maintained by the religious centers under palatial

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control.⁸³ In wool production, only a few rams would have been kept for breeding, while the bulk of the flock would have been castrated males. The Linear B information, however, does not specify whether these animals were used solely for wool as sacred herds or whether they were also sacrificed.⁸⁴ Hallager's assertion, based on artistic and archaeological evidence, that rams were not sacrificed in Minoan Crete speaks against viewing herds as sacrificial.

Wild sheep or mouflons are not uncommon subjects in Near Eastern and Cypriot art from the EBA through EIA.⁸⁵ Images of flocks of sheep are known from Luristan and Hittite cultures, where they signified wealth.⁸⁶ There are a few Mycenaean terracotta figurines depicting rams or sheep with their curving horns and drooping muzzles.⁸⁷ Ram and sheep imagery is not common in the Bronze Age Aegean, but in the EIA these animals become more commonly represented.⁸⁸ Eight known bronze groups from the Geometric period depict a flock of sheep with and without a shepherd.⁸⁹

Archaic and Classical iconography, mythology, and literature demonstrate that the sacrifice of sheep, rams, and pigs was common in later Greek religion.⁹⁰ Unlike cows and bulls, these animals are not specifically associated with deities until later.⁹¹ The known importance of these animals in sacrifice and feasting does not correspond with their representation in the figurine assemblage. Although cattle were the most elite sacrificial animal, rams and sheep were also sacrificed. As I argued with the cattle figurines, it is likely that images of the animal were dedicated to deities along with a prayer that accompanied a sacrifice. It has also been suggested that herding figurines were dedicated to place flocks under divine protection.⁹² Like cattle figurines, these pastoral animals invoke the piety as well as wealth of their dedicators.

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THE HORSE: HORSES, RIDERS, & CHARIOT GROUPS

(Type XIV, IX, X)

THE SINGLE HORSE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 471

Lindos: 4
Chios Harbour Shrine: 3
Samos: 105 (2 Attic imports)
Amyklai: 1
Olympia: 338
Kombothekra: 12
Tegea: 6
Isthmia: 2 (1 Attic import)

THE CHARIOT GROUP DISTRIBUTION

Total: 365

Samos: 5
Olympia: 330
Kombothekra: 28
Isthmia: 2

THE HORSE RIDER DISTRIBUTION

Total: 34

Lindos: 7 (4 Cypriot imports)
Samos: 27 (4 Cypriot imports)

These three figurine types are discussed together because they are united by the presence of the horse. The section will discuss first the horse itself followed by a discussion of the horse in chariot groups and finally as ridden animals. The horse is among the earliest figural symbols to appear in EIA Greece and is one of the most enduring symbols of the Geometric and Early Archaic period.⁹³ Unlike bovine imagery, the horse is a popular subject in early vase painting and is abundant in funerary contexts. In vase painting the horse first appears as a single creature tucked between geometric zones of decoration and its earliest appearance in the figurine assemblage is also as a solitary creature, without rider or chariot.⁹⁴ Horse figurines are not part of narrative scenes but functioned as symbols or hieroglyphs. In the ninth century, horses become the most popular subject represented in bronze: horses sit atop tripod handles and appear individually on small bases.⁹⁵ Terracotta horses were dedicated at nearly all Geometric

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sanctuaries that received figurines dedications and, like the cattle figurines, they cannot be associated with any particular deity.

The earliest possible horse figure is a SM statuette from the Amyklaion (**A3, Fig. 96**); although this quadruped may perhaps be a bull, and a horse lid attachment from the Harbor Sanctuary (**C11, Fig. 108**). In the PG period, horse figurines appear at the two greatest sanctuaries of the era: Samos and Olympia. At Samos, nine horses were dedicated in the tenth century (**S127-130, Figs. 109, 111**). The earliest are solid heads from wheelmade statuettes. These figures are a continuation of the Late Mycenaean wheelmade technique and are dated to the PG period. The horse heads continue the stylization seen in SM art, but are even more mannered and exaggerated.⁹⁶

The early handmade horses dedicated at Olympia reflect a tenth-century local style.⁹⁷ The two PG horses from Olympia have a stylized form: short tapered legs and short thick neck with an exaggerated mane that continues over the head to form a pointed muzzle (**O34, Fig. 115**). No terracotta wheelmade statuettes of the Late Mycenaean tradition were offered at Olympia.

The pattern of horse figurine dedication continues in the EG at Olympia and Samos. The Olympia horses continue to be handmade and are more naturalistic (**O35-36**). Some of the surviving decoration indicates that these horses wore harnesses, suggesting that some of the Olympia horses pulled chariots. EG horses continue to be wheelmade in the SM tradition at Samos (**S131-34, Figs. 110, 113-114**). The tenth-century horse heads from Samos were painted with linear decorations, perhaps a stylized representation of a bridle. In the ninth century, Samian figurines clearly depicting harnessed horses appear: **S133 (Fig. 113)** is a depiction of two harnessed horses, with a decorative blanket covering their hindquarters. At Samos and Olympia some horse figurines were part of groups, perhaps depictions of chariots and carts used in religious processions, while others were independent dedications.

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It is not until the MG, in the first half of the eighth century, that the pattern of horse dedication changes. There are fifty-one horse figurines dedicated at several sanctuaries: Tegea (T2-7, Figs. 123-24), Kombothekra (K12-16, Figs. 119-121), Samos (S135, Fig. 114), and Olympia (O37, Fig. 116). The Samian MG horses do not increase in number but handmade horses appear for the first time; these handmade examples are similar to mainland horse dedications.

The number of horse dedications at Olympia dramatically increases with at least forty horse figurines, some of which belong to chariot groups, others are single horses. Horse figurines begin at the newly established cult at Kombothekra. Seven handmade horses, of similar style to the Olympic examples, have been published (K12-13, Fig. 121). Two horse figurines were dedicated to Athena Alea at Tegea at this time as well (T2-7, Figs. 123-24). The eighth-century date of T2 is based on similarities with MG Olympia horses, but it is decorated in a unique style. The painted black dots covering the entire body and the chevrons on the tail have no parallels in Geometric art, but are reminiscent of Mycenaean designs.⁹⁸ There is no evidence for Mycenaean cultic activity on the site to suggest that there was a continuous figurines tradition at this sanctuary. We must assume that the coroplasts operating at Tegea revived earlier motifs, perhaps using Mycenaean figurines that had been rediscovered or even kept as heirlooms.

In the second half of the eighth century, there is an explosion of horse figurine dedications. Individual horses, chariot teams, and ridden horses are now offered at most Greek sanctuaries: Lindos (R26-27, Figs. 105-06), Olympia (O38-40, Figs. 117-18), Kombothekra, Tegea (T2-7, Figs. 123-24), Isthmia (I12, Fig. 125), and Samos (S136-140, Fig. 112). Both the quantity and distribution of horse figurines increase: at Olympia there are 222 horses, at Samos forty-two, and at Tegea five. These horses are handmade; the wheelmade statuette tradition has almost completely disappeared with the exception of the wheelmade LG horses from Lindos. Horse

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imagery in bronze, terracotta, and in vase painting flourishes in the eighth century, when it is found at most major sanctuaries.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE HORSE

The prominence of horse iconography in various media throughout the Geometric period illustrates the importance of the animal in early Greek society. The horse signifies wealth, aristocratic beauty, and is associated with the wilderness as well as the forces of civilization. Horses pulled chariot teams and were likely ridden occasionally throughout the EIA; the animal was vital in war and for land survey and transport. Later literary sources associate horse ownership and breeding with wealth, taste, and social status.⁹⁹ In addition to their practical uses, the intelligence of these creatures fostered an intimate relationship between man and animal.

Small horses and donkeys were introduced to the Greek mainland from Anatolia in the Middle Helladic period, while modern-size horses appear on the mainland first at Grave Circle A at Mycenae.¹⁰⁰ Horses enjoyed an important role in Greek society at least since the Mycenaean period, when they were used with chariots. Mycenaean horses appear exclusively in artistic depictions of heroic or ceremonial chariot scenes, such as hunting, processions, and war. They are not depicted as draft animals.¹⁰¹ In the LBA, horse iconography is found in funerary contexts as well: horses pulling chariots decorate on the stelai from the Mycenaean Shaft Graves; horse figurines were deposited in graves; and actual horses were sacrificed at some tombs.¹⁰² The horse was an animal intimately associated with elite, courtly culture because of its expense and use in ceremonial activities.

Horse imagery continues with little or no break into the Dark Age, when horse ownership must have been a rare luxury.¹⁰³ The horse was a symbol of land ownership and warfare, since the animals were not part of the traditional agricultural system. Horses were not agricultural draft

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animals, but were used in ceremonial processions, sport and recreation, and in military pursuits. Horse rearing required time, large tracts of land, abundant water, and a portion of the population freed from the duties of intensive farming, all resources that might otherwise be used for agriculture and food production. The appearance of the horse in EIA art was at first sporadic but came to dominate Geometric artistic production.

Mastery over horses required considerably more skill than domesticating cattle, sheep, or goats and the development of equitation necessitated a close relationship between man and horse. Evidence for regular horse riding in the Aegean and Near East appears in the first millennium, indicating an increased appreciation, mastery, and use of the horse in EIA Greece. With the spread of equitation, at first experimental and uncommon, ridden horses were used increasingly in ceremonial and military venues. Horses made possible equid racing, sport, chariot warfare, and later cavalry warfare.¹⁰⁴ Their expense and use in elite activities made them powerful symbols of prestige and status.

The time and skill needed to become a master horseman, the grace and intelligence of the animal, and the science of breeding horses further added to the significance of the horse. Snodgrass notes that “the intricacies of its breeding also reflected the almost mystical quality that aristocrats find in human breeding.”¹⁰⁵ In Geometric art, the act of breaking untamed horses and mastering them was elevated to the realm of myth and ritual.¹⁰⁶

Horse imagery reflects an aristocratic lifestyle and wealth, but the appearance of the horse in sanctuaries and graves suggests religious meaning as well.¹⁰⁷ Horses decorate monumental vases and bronze tripods, both highly visible monuments and markers of status, but also funerary and religious objects. The presence of horse imagery in funerary and religious contexts suggests a multivalent meaning for this creature in the EIA.

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Horses have a funerary and chthonic meaning as well. Horses are commonly depicted on funerary pottery from the SM to the LG, both in Greece and on Cyprus, indicating the widespread role of equines in Geometric funerary ritual.¹⁰⁸ Wheelmade and handmade terracotta horses were placed in wealthy graves in Attica, the Argolid, the Cyclades, East Greece, and on Cyprus.¹⁰⁹ Horse figurines are also found in graves of women and children, especially in Attica where they appear either individually or atop pyxides. In the context of elite burial, horse figurines signify the heroic and elite status of the deceased. The widespread association between horses and the world of the dead also indicates a chthonic or funerary symbolism.¹¹⁰ The archaeological evidence for horse sacrifice at the grave in Mycenaean and Geometric Greece as well as on Crete and Cyprus connotes the dual function of the horse as a marker of status and chthonic symbol.¹¹¹ Horses figured prominently in the funeral, in which the body of the deceased was publicly transported to the grave on a horse-drawn cart. Homer's description of the funeral of Patrokles (*Il.* 23), during which horses were sacrificed at the pyre, again associates horses with the realm of the dead and heroes and provides a link between Mycenaean and Geometric practices.

There is also evidence for horse sacrifice consisting of driving a horse into an underground body of water or the sea in ancient Greece and many other cultures. In later Greece, horses and bulls were sacrificed in this way to Poseidon to calm the water.¹¹² It seems that this sacrifice occurred outside the usual altar/sanctuary setting and was not common. There is no link between horse figurines in sanctuaries and this rite, which is not associated with traditional Greek sanctuaries.

In addition to its association with the heroic dead and the underworld, the abundance of horse imagery in sanctuaries suggests additional sacred meanings. Wheelmade horses analogous to the prolific wheelmade bull statuettes have been found in the Cretan sanctuaries at Tyliossos, Patsos, and Karphi from the twelfth to the tenth centuries.¹¹³ On Cyprus, horse figures were

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dedicated at Kition, Salamis, and other sanctuaries.¹¹⁴ In Greece, horse imagery was a conspicuous aspect of cult since the tenth century. Horse figurines at sanctuaries are commonly associated with games, specifically chariot racing, but horse figurines are found at a variety of sanctuaries, including those with no later tradition of games or horse racing. The use of horse imagery in sanctuary contexts is linked more generally to the heroic nature of many early votives.

Horses differ from the usual dedication of domesticated animals associated with agriculture. Horses were appreciated in Greece for their graceful and powerful beauty, their intellect, and for their speed. Alkman's *Partheneion* illustrates the Greek appreciation of horses. In an extended simile of eleven verses, Alkman compares the beauty of the girls' chorus to four horse breeds, using the horse as a metaphor for exotic beauty, grace, and accomplishment.¹¹⁵ The horse is an appropriate metaphor for the physical beauty. Moreover, the wild, independent nature of the horse, which has been brought under the control of man, is analogous to the social control of young maidens, a potentially dangerous threat.¹¹⁶ Both horses and maidens were considered dangerous and beautiful, and in need of control by the civilizing forces of society.¹¹⁷

Horse imagery was a symbol of man's control over nature. Horses, independent and intelligent animals, needed to be bred, broken, and trained to benefit society. This concept was frequently elevated to the mythic realm in Greek thought and art. In Archaic Greece, temples everywhere abound with images of the gods' triumph over chaos expressed through *gigantomachia*, *centauromachia*, and *amazonomachia*. Geometric artists did not use this Olympian mythology, which had perhaps not been fully formed and had a limited distribution, but turned instead to a daily reality that could be understood: the care and mastery of the horse.¹¹⁸

The idea that horses were a symbol of mastery, put forth by Kübler in the 1950s, has found support by more recent studies on Geometric art.¹¹⁹ Several scholars have noted that various horse deities and mythologies are shared by Indo-European peoples and are intimately

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linked with the mysteries of horse breeding and breaking.¹²⁰ In a study of the iconography of the horse tamer motif, Susan Langdon notes the elevation of the act of taming horses to a divine level, likely associated with Poseidon, explaining that, “for early Greek society horse-breeding in itself was symbolic on a religious/mythical level: horse-breaking, the taming of wild nature, embodied the essential act of civilization.”¹²¹ Other studies have traced the history of equine deities and associated mythology from the Mycenaean through later cults, especially prevalent in the region of Arcadia.¹²² Deities with equine associations include Poseidon, Athena, Artemis, Despoina, Demeter, but it is clear from the widespread distribution of horse imagery that horses were an integral part of almost all Greek cults.¹²³ Since figurines are generic, they connote only the general use of the animal in cult.

Horse figurines lack a narrative setting and the long, complex history of equine imagery is not entirely understood due to the lack of preserved mythologies before the eighth century.¹²⁴ A contextual analysis of horses within Geometric sanctuaries, other equine imagery, and later references to horses in Greek religion suggest horses served as symbols of human control over nature, just as bovines are linked to the mastery of agriculture. They were also associated with aristocratic wealth, beauty, and eugenics. Like other votive types, horses are not yet associated with specific deities; their widespread distribution highlights the common concerns of the worshippers. The horse without chariot, without rider, without agonistic or warlike settings, must have communicated a basic theme central to the animal’s earliest significance as a symbol of society’s relationship with his environment. Artistic representations of horses and their archaeological contexts reveal an ideological significance for this animal beyond the mundane world.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF CHARIOT/CART GROUPS

Since the LBA, horses have been closely linked to chariots. Chariot groups are among the earliest and most accomplished of Geometric terracotta types. They begin at Olympia in the tenth century (**O13-24, Figs. 54-57, 60-62**). The Olympia workshop produced hundreds of handmade chariots with drivers, sometimes with secondary riders, and chariot groups of similar style were also dedicated at Kombothekra beginning in the MG period (**K3-4, Fig. 58**). The fragments from these sanctuaries are from chariots with armed male drivers. The type is dedicated in greater quantity throughout the eighth century, but the practice of dedicating a chariot group ends dramatically in the early Archaic period at Olympia and Kombothekra. From Isthmia and Samos (**S70-71, Fig. 59, I2, Fig. 63**), there are only fragments of boxes, which could be from a cart or chariot. Outside of a few fragments from Samos, this type is typically Peloponnesian and especially prominent in cults of male deities.

These groups are of local development and represent the most complicated handmade coroplastic compositions of the Geometric period. Unlike their Mycenaean precursors, these groups are quite elaborately constructed, with separately made drivers, occasionally secondary passengers, chariots, harnesses, and horses.

In the LBA Aegean, Near East, and Egypt, artistic and textual evidence indicates that chariots (including the trained horses, the vehicles, and the drivers and archers who rode in them) were the elite military force. In the EIA, the tradition of chariot transport was an important connection with the Mycenaean past, a symbol of heroic warfare and wealth.¹²⁵ In the impoverished culture of Geometric Greece, very few could afford the luxury of owning and maintaining a chariot team and the vehicles would have “lent status to their owners in manifestation of conspicuous expenditure.”¹²⁶ In the Aegean, horse-drawn chariots were used in warfare (primarily as transport vehicles), in funerary processions (to transport the deceased), in

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religious processions, in marriage processions, for hunting, and in sacred and funerary games. The expense of owning and maintaining these vehicles as well as their military and ritual functions made them a powerful ideological symbol of kings and the elite.¹²⁷ In Greece, horse-drawn chariots became a symbol of status and power with the earliest Mycenaeans in the Shaft Grave period.¹²⁸

Joost Crouwel has documented the style and use of chariots and carts in EIA Greece and the Near East, noting that EIA Greek vehicles differed in function from their Near Eastern counterparts, but retained many similarities with their Bronze Age Aegean predecessors.¹²⁹ Crouwel concludes that the use of chariots must have survived the collapse of the Mycenaean system, despite a gap of several centuries, before secure evidence for chariots appears in Attic vase paintings and figurines from Olympia.¹³⁰ EIA chariots were associated with warriors in graves and in heroic artistic representations, suggesting that their primary function continued to be ceremonial.¹³¹

Mycenaean terracotta chariot groups could be quite realistic, such as an elaborate model from Thessaly, or stylized, such as the numerous simple handmade examples.¹³² Like other Mycenaean figurines, chariot groups were found in sanctuaries, tombs, and settlements. The stylized, handmade chariots depict two horses pulling a simple, open semicircular box with one draft pole connecting the latter to the yoke in the form of a broad strip. The occupant, usually single, was summarily modeled from waist up, the lower body smoothed to the chariot box. Variations, such as multiple drivers or drivers shaded by umbrellas, were not uncommon.¹³³

Despite the widespread popularity of chariot groups in the Mycenaean world, the type re-emerges in the Geometric period only at Olympia and later at select sanctuaries. The form of Geometric chariots bears little resemblance to the simplified chariot groups of the LBA. The appearance of chariot figurines in the Geometric period, however, does not of itself indicate

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actual use of chariots. Chariot imagery could be remembered and serve as a heroic symbol, not a depiction of contemporary chariots. In his exhaustive study of LBA and EIA chariots Crowell concludes that artistic depictions of EIA chariots do indeed represent contemporary vehicles based on new types of traction and harness systems and four-horse draft teams that appear in vase painting.¹³⁴ The dress and attributes of the riders reflect Geometric trends. It is reasonable to relate artistic depictions of chariots to vehicles in use.

Chariots appear in Attic and other regional vase paintings, which suggests that they were used in many areas of Geometric Greece. The appearance of the vehicles primarily on funerary vessels, in scenes of ritual or funerary significance, and as dedications in major sanctuaries highlights their elevated and ceremonial status. These were not everyday transport vehicles, but the ceremonial and military instruments of the elite and the heroes with whom they identified. Their expense, the horses that pulled them, and their association with the heroic realm in vase painting emphasized their link to the Mycenaean past. Chariots continued to connote wealth, status, and now association with heroes.

Excluding artistic representations, the physical remains of actual chariots in early Greece are extremely rare. One of the first examples are the chariot remains from the heroön at Lefkandi.¹³⁵ The interred warrior and his cremated consort were laid next to a pit containing four horses with iron mouthpieces, which suggests this leader was buried with his driving horses, likely used in the funerary ceremony. The unusual nature of this early tomb/heroön highlights the close link between the elite, horses, and chariots. This same phenomenon occurs again in eighth-century Cyprus at the Royal Cemetery at Salamis, where several kings were buried in a heroic, Mycenaean manner complete with full chariot groups.¹³⁶

The occurrence of bronze and chariot figurines, which depict contemporary vehicles, has been used as evidence that chariot racing was an early feature of the Olympic games.¹³⁷ Crowell

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notes that many of the bronze and terracotta figurines represent armed drivers or even two occupants; this does not accord with later chariot races.¹³⁸ The dedication of similar chariots at other sanctuaries, where games or chariot racing did not occur in the historic period, further cautions against interpreting the figurines as evidence for games. The chariots, many with armed drivers, correspond to the overall theme of heroic subjects found in other votives. Chariots are connected with the funerary world as well: several EIA burials contain the remains of the funeral cart/chariot, they adorn funerary vases in scenes of processions connected to funeral ritual, and there was a chariot procession at the funeral of Patrokles. The figurines from Attic burials should be related to their funerary connotations. It is possible that the close association of chariot figurines with the Olympic sanctuary is related to the hero cult of Pelops. Chariots might have been used in religious processions that accompanied his cult. It is equally possible, however, that the chariots at Olympia and other sanctuaries were more generally related to the aristocratic participation in cult and the use of these vehicles in religious processions.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF HORSE RIDERS

Rider figurines do not appear in Geometric sanctuaries until the end of the eighth century, and then only in East Greece. The earliest locally produced riders include a handmade rider dedicated at the Athena Sanctuary at Lindos and one at the Samian Heraion (**R17, Fig. 48, S66, Fig. 51**). The fragmentary Rhodian example is especially elaborate: the rider wears a robe decorated with a water bird, star patterns, and chevrons. This unarmed robed rider holds both arms forward and upward to grasp the neck of the horse. The rider finds close parallels with a series of Cypriot robed male, unarmed riders as well as a rider from Miletos.¹³⁹ The Samian rider wears a helmet and holds both arms, now missing, forward. The rider has incised circular eyes and ear-caps. The style of this figurine is local. On Samos another unique rider was dedicated (**S67, Fig. 52**). This

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ithyphallic rider appears nude and has clearly modeled legs and feet astride the horse; both arms are held straight against the body. The rider sits upon a horse with a wheelmade body. Both the nudity and pose of the rider are unique, as is the size and technique of the horse.

Around 700 and into the beginning of the seventh century, many Cypriot-made riders were dedicated at Samos and Lindos (**R18, Fig. 49, S68-69, Fig. 53**). These simple handmade riders, with bodies simply pressed into the body of the horse and arms smoothed into the neck of the horse, were quickly copied. Throughout the seventh century, this type gains in popularity and soon spreads to mainland Greece. The contexts of the earliest riders and the presence of eighth-century imported riders from Cyprus at these sanctuaries indicate that the type was introduced to East Greece from Cyprus, where the type was popular since the eighth century.¹⁴⁰

Current evidence indicates that horses were not ridden until the end of the third millennium, and then only occasionally for sport or athletic display, not for military activities that require considerable skill.¹⁴¹ Classical and Near Eastern scholars have long held that riding horses was a relatively late development that did not occur regularly or proficiently until the first millennium, a theory recently corroborated by Robert Drews.¹⁴² More recent evidence, however, indicates that horse riding was practiced in at least some areas of the Late Mycenaean world.

The absence of artistic representation of horse riding in the LBA seems to support the view that the Mycenaeans or various Near Eastern cultures did not regularly ride horses.¹⁴³ New excavations have unearthed an increasing number of horse rider figurines, once believed to be rare in Mycenaean Greece: they have been found at Mycenae, Prosymna, Epidauros, Eutresis, Aegina, and Attica.¹⁴⁴ The discovery of the Mycenaean sanctuary at Methana has yielded the most significant series of riders to date. One of the shrine rooms, Room A, yielded a large deposit of terracotta figurines, including several male horse riders and ridden oxen, which have revised

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the history of horse riding in Greece as well as our conception of Mycenaean shrines dedicated to male deities.¹⁴⁵

Most of the LBA riders depict armed male warriors riding astride horses, grasping the neck tightly with both hands. The warriors wear conical headdresses, a common Mycenaean helmet, while only one of the riders from Mycenae may carry a weapon.¹⁴⁶ Crouwel and Konsolaki-Yannapoulou doubt that equitation had developed in the thirteenth century to a degree that allowed for cavalry warfare, which necessitates considerable riding skill. It seems likely that the Mycenaean elite elevated themselves from the general population by their ability to own, drive, and occasionally ride horses. Horse riding might have had ceremonial and religious significance and elites might have paraded on horseback during festivals and funerals.¹⁴⁷

Excavations at Koukounaries on Paros, a Mycenaean stronghold in the LH IIIC period, have unearthed convincing evidence that the Mycenaean elites brought horses and chariots with them to the islands, but more significantly it has provided evidence that the elite rode horses in more than an occasional manner. Osteological analysis of a man buried in a cave near the Mycenaean outpost on the island identified extreme hypertrophy of the tubercles, a condition caused by an activity such as constant horseback riding.¹⁴⁸ This provides valuable evidence that the Mycenaean elite may have ridden horses regularly after the fall of the palaces.¹⁴⁹ The Koukounaries evidence together with the Methana and other figurines suggests that at the end of the Mycenaean period horses were ridden, which necessitates a re-evaluation of horse iconography previously assumed to belong to the realm of chariot warfare.¹⁵⁰ Demetrius Schilardi, in his report of the Koukounaries burial, tentatively suggests that not only were horses ridden in the LH IIIC period, but they could have been ridden in cavalry warfare.¹⁵¹ Regardless, the new evidence speaks to horseback riding on a level previously unknown in the LBA Aegean.

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Cavalry warfare is securely attested in the EIA first with the Assyrians. The use of cavalry spread from Assyria to the Mediterranean and this mode of warfare gradually replaced the increasingly antiquated use of war chariots. As proficient riding spread, so too did artistic representations of the act. Terracotta figurines of riders have a long history in the Near East: the earliest examples come from third-millennium Ashur and Susa and continue into the Neo-Babylonian period and beyond.¹⁵² The type spreads to Syria c. 2000.¹⁵³ In the third and second millennia, however, riding was rare and perhaps an indicator of divinity and/or high status. From Syria, the type spreads to Palestine, Cyprus, Egypt, and eventually to the Aegean. Despite the wide chronological and geographical range of these rider figurines, the type is united by the representation of a warrior sitting at their mount's withers and grasping the horse's neck with both arms, a realistic representation of riding.

After the Mycenaean riders, depictions of riders in terracotta do not reappear in the Aegean until the end of the Geometric period, first on Cyprus in the eighth century and in East Greece at the end of the eighth century and seventh century. Earlier depictions of horse riding, however, occur in eighth-century vase painting in Attica, the Argolid, and on Cyprus, indicating the early importance of horse breeding, raising, and training in these regions.¹⁵⁴ It is not until the Archaic period that rider figurines become popular on the mainland.

The significance of the horse-rider motif, especially in a religious context, is complex. The breaking and taming of horses is a dangerous task that requires skill and patience, and is necessary for both training chariot teams as well as horses for riding. There is only a single mention of horse riding in Homer, for whom riding must have been new and therefore intentionally omitted from the poems to maintain poetic distance from contemporary events.¹⁵⁵ Although the Koukounaries evidence might indicate riding in the Mycenaean period, the lack of riding depictions in the subsequent period perhaps indicates a loss of this skill. At the end of the

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Geometric period, the activities revolving around horses, especially riding, must have been exciting, dangerous, and expensive.¹⁵⁶

The identity of riders dedicated at Greek sanctuaries is ambiguous. None of the earliest votives depicts armed riders, which argues against interpreting these as warriors. The lack of historical evidence for the military use of cavalry until the seventh century also supports a non-military interpretation for these figurines. In Mesopotamian art, deities often stand or sit on bulls and horses, thus a physical association with an animal connotes their divine status.¹⁵⁷ In Israel and Judea, riders sit astride horses with solar symbols attached to their foreheads. The inclusion of solar symbols may be an indication of divine representation, but other scholars hypothesize that rider figurines in the Near East functioned to secure divine protection for riders.¹⁵⁸ Moorey asserts that most horse riders in the Near East were produced as votives and that their widespread distribution speaks against association with specific deities.¹⁵⁹ Drews takes Moorey's conclusions a step further, suggesting that the earliest rider figurines in the Near East in the late third millennium were a result of a "precautionary ritual" in which men who rode, a new and dangerous activity, prayed to a deity for safety and dedicated a figurine.¹⁶⁰ Although in LG Greece riding was not in its infancy, as in the third-millennium Near East, Anderson has remarked that the Greeks did not become skillful riders until the seventh century.¹⁶¹

In Geometric Greece, terracotta rider figurines were dedicated at only two sanctuaries: the Samian Heraion and the Athena sanctuary at Lindos. Bronze rider figurines are more widespread with seven found at Olympia, one at Delphi, and one at Philia.¹⁶² The distribution of terracotta riders at East Greek sanctuaries with close connections to Cyprus suggests that these figurines were influenced by Cypriot coroplastic traditions. Eight of the thirty-four LG riders were made on Cyprus. Whether these were dedicated by Cypriots or by Greeks who brought back these figurines from their travels, it is likely that these imported riders inspired subsequent rider

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dedications at these sanctuaries. Both the form and votive function quickly spread to the rest of Greece in the seventh century. The appearance of a Cypriot type in East Greece is not surprising given the close relations between these regions, but there likely also existed a common link in cultic traditions.¹⁶³

Horse imagery was associated with the elite warrior class throughout much of Greece in the eighth century. The owning, breeding, and training of horses were activities reserved for aristocrat-warriors and the profusion of this heroic imagery reflects of the rise of this class. In Attica horses appear in scenes of chariot processions, funerals, and games, all ritual activities that defined and re-affirmed the elite class. The dedication of a horse rider in a Greek sanctuary operated, like so many other votives, as a status signifier but perhaps also as a plea for continued divine protection in the dangerous acts of breaking, taming, breeding, and riding horses.

An interesting variation on the typical male riders found in the Aegean is a series of female riders, a motif first encountered in the Near East and LBA Aegean that enjoyed a widespread revival in the eighth to sixth centuries.¹⁶⁴ The Geometric and Archaic female riders are nude and ride sidesaddle, sometimes with saddles or footrests. This unusual type is limited and it is notable that all Geometric examples are in bronze; terracotta examples do not begin until the Archaic period when the type gains in popularity.¹⁶⁵ This female type is outside the scope of this study, yet it highlights the non-military link between horse-riders and divinities.

It is possible that some early riding figurines represent a divinity, as has been suggested for the sidesaddle riders. In addition to the female riders addressed in studies by Schweitzer and Voyatzis, there are also examples of divine male riders. The Bomford rhyton (c. 1100-1050) from Cyprus depicts a male seated sidesaddle on a horse with explicitly religious symbols that convey a divine identity.¹⁶⁶ The ithyphallic example from Samos (S67, Fig. 52) and the female riders in bronze are other candidates for divine representations. The more usual riders, however, are small

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and handmade. Instead of depicting religious symbols or warrior iconography, the riders are simply dressed in long robes and they grasp the neck of the horse. This fundamental difference between sidesaddle riders and astride male riders argues against a common interpretation.

Although some are summarily rendered, even the more modeled or painted examples show no signs of weapons or armor. Indeed, many wear long robes, garb inappropriate for battle. I would argue that the military function of the riders, if indeed they were used in battle in this period, was not of primary importance for the votive purpose of these figurines. Because of the expense of the animal and the luxury of riding, the rider must be linked to the aristocratic status of their dedicants, as were the chariot groups. It is most likely that the LG terracotta riders depict worshippers, perhaps riding horses in religious processions.

Toys or Votives? Wheeled Equines (Type XV)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 5

Chios, Athena Shrine: 1

Isthmia: 4 (3 Attic imports)

There are five figurines of wheeled horses or equines carrying jars on their backs pannier-style from Geometric Greek sanctuaries. This is a type associated with graves in Attica, Euboea, and East Greece from the twelfth century.¹⁶⁷ The wheelmade technique of many of the early figures indicates a continuation of Bronze Age traditions, but the type is used for new funerary functions in the EIA. The Athena Sanctuary on Chios has produced one fragment of a LPG mule carrying jars on its back (**C16, Fig. 126**), while the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia has produced a hindquarter fragment from a similar animal, dated by the excavators to the first half of the eighth century (**I13, Fig. 127**). There are also fragments from horses with pierced ankles for the insertion of an axle with wheels at Isthmia (**I14-16, Figs. 128-29**); three of these are Attic imports.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

The image of equids carrying baskets or jars has a long history dating back to Chalcolithic Palestine.¹⁶⁸ Production of wheelmade figures of mules or donkeys carrying vessels on their backs began in the Aegean world in the twelfth century and continued until the tenth century, with only sporadic examples dated after this. Many of these early statuettes functioned as rhyta.¹⁶⁹ These statuettes are found almost exclusively in East Greek tombs. The earliest securely dated example is a wheelmade equid rhyton (referred to as a mule, donkey, or horse) from a twelfth-century tomb at Ialysos.¹⁷⁰ There are a number of equines carrying jars from the tenth century, most from tombs.¹⁷¹ After a gap, the type reappears in the Geometric period in both funerary contexts and in the sanctuaries listed above.¹⁷²

The funerary context of most of these statuettes suggests that they might have symbolically provided provisions for the journey to the underworld.¹⁷³ For Near Eastern examples, Claire Epstein has convincingly associated the type with fertility.¹⁷⁴ Others have interpreted these as toys, noting their presence in the graves of women and children. Guggisberg suggests that the appearance of these types especially in graves of women and children is not related to their original use as toys, but is related to their apotropaic function: women and children were in special need of extra protection in the journey to the afterlife.¹⁷⁵ Theories that dismiss terracotta figurines as toys often do not take into consideration the entire use-life of the objects. No figurine that I have studied from a sanctuary shows signs of prior use, but there are figurines from Lefkandi graves that were likely used as toys before they were deposited in the grave.¹⁷⁶ Even if some functioned as toys, they were converted to a ritual function in their final use cycle.¹⁷⁷

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The examples from Isthmia further confuse the votive function of this type. The finding of Attic imports, the production of which was specifically for funerary types, raises several questions about the Isthmia sanctuary deposits. One possibility is that local worshippers, unfamiliar with the funerary connotations of these objects, dedicated them at Isthmia. This scenario seems unlikely given the close proximity between Attica and the Corinthia. Another possibility is that these objects shared a common funerary and religious symbolism, but this is found at no other site. Moreover, these are not the only types found at Isthmia that are perhaps better interpreted as funerary. Several Attic terracotta boots, and one local imitation, were also found at Isthmia; this too is an Attic type found only in graves in Attica, Eleusis, and Naxos.¹⁷⁸ The number of funerary objects found at Isthmia is problematic. John Papadopoulos suggests that the early Isthmian material could be fill mixed with tomb material, arguing that the deposit does not represent uncontaminated votive material.¹⁷⁹ This would explain the presence of several dedications of funerary objects.

Thus, the appearance of equines carrying vessels and wheeled horses in sanctuaries is sporadic and problematic. There are not enough examples to present a consistent pattern of votive use for this type and it is likely that this was not a standard gift to the gods.

Harbingers of the Divine: Birds (Type XVII)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 15

Lindos: 3 (3 Cypriot imports)

Samos: 11

Tegea: 1

Bird figurines have a limited distribution beginning in the eighth century. The earliest handmade bird figurines were dedicated at the Samian Heraion in the first half of the eighth century (S152-53, Fig. 132). After this, a series of handmade birds atop small cylindrical bases

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appear at the end of the eighth century and beginning of the seventh century at Samos, Lindos (R29, Fig. 131), and Tegea (T8, Fig. 133). The Lindian examples, however, are Cypriot imports with a distinctive gesture of one wing raised, the other held against the sides. These figurines, as discussed in Chapter II, are related to the birds that decorated cultic vessels from Salamis on Cyprus (Fig. 134).

The reconstructed bird figurine from Tegea is especially interesting: it is the largest figurine found at the sanctuary and is stylistically similar to a handmade bird figurine found at Amyklai.¹⁸⁰ The bird from Amyklai has been variously dated to the LH IIIC period and the LG period. The confusion is understandable due to the later revival of many Mycenaean decorative schemes in LG. It seems likely that the bird from Amyklai dates to LH IIIC and the Tegean bird is Geometric, but closely follows LBA bird figurine types.¹⁸¹

Bird figurines were offered at East Greek sanctuaries with close ties to Cyprus and many were Cypriot imports. Cypriot influence may account for the production of bird figurines in East Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Bird imagery abounded in Minoan and Mycenaean cultures in religious and funerary contexts. Minoan birds frequently adorn sacred architecture and accompany a female divinity; they have been convincingly interpreted as harbingers of divine epiphany, a central aspect of Minoan religion.¹⁸² This association of goddesses and birds continues into the SM period, as seen on the bird-crowned tiaras worn by the wheelmade female statuettes from shrines such as Karphi.¹⁸³ This tradition continues in Geometric vase paintings depicting a female goddess flanked by bird figures.¹⁸⁴ In Mycenaean painted pottery, birds appear on funerary vessels and large birds are associated with chariots and horses, all referring to the realm of the dead.¹⁸⁵ There

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are also a few Mycenaean terracotta bird figurines found at sanctuaries, in graves, and in settlements; it is likely that many of these adorned rims of vessels.¹⁸⁶ Mycenaean bird figurines are not as common as other animal and anthropomorphic types.

Despite the popularity of birds in Mycenaean painted pottery, they do not reappear in vase painting until MG Attic funerary vessels.¹⁸⁷ Benson argues that birds appear in a variety of contexts, which suggests multiple meanings, but also notes their strong funerary connotations.¹⁸⁸ Bird figurines, both handmade and wheelmade, are found in several EIA graves: Palia Perivolia Cemetery at Lefkandi, Serraglio cemetery on Kos, the Athenian Agora and Kerameikos cemeteries, Argos, and Naxos.¹⁸⁹ The bird and horse are connected in Geometric art, recalling the earlier Mycenaean associations between bird, horse, and chariot. A bronze figurine from Samos depicting a horse with a bird perched on its back and a bronze disc from Tegea decorated with a bird next to a bull and goddess figure are evidence that this association existed in other media as well.¹⁹⁰ Unlike the terracotta animal dedicatory patterns, birds are popular bronze figurine dedications in the LG period.¹⁹¹

On Cyprus, single bird figurines are also relatively rare, although bird figurines have been found in graves at Rizokarpaso-Latsia, Salamis, and from Soloi.¹⁹² Cypriot bird imagery has distinct funerary associations as well: they circle dead bodies, as in the Near East and Egypt, and frequently decorate funerary vases. Ritual vessels also sometimes take bird forms.

The appearance of bird figurines in Greece has a complex history. Benson's study of Cypriot Iron Age pottery demonstrated that the Mycenaean, Minoan, Syrian, and Philistine exported the popular bird motif in the LBA to Cyprus and that this foreign iconography was quickly incorporated into existing traditions.¹⁹³ Bird iconography was re-introduced to Greece at various times: first as askoi, then in vase painting, and lastly at the end of the eighth century, in the form of terracotta bird figurines Greek sanctuaries with Cypriot connections. Additionally,

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many birds from Geometric Greek graves show stylistic similarities with bird figurines found in Cypriot graves, and in both regions are associated with bell-skirted figurines with detachable legs.¹⁹⁴

Bird imagery has close associations with other elite iconography already discussed: birds accompany horses and chariots on vase painting and birds are found in wealthy graves. A tomb of a Mycenaean ruler at Kourion contains an eleventh-century scepter made of luxury materials with two birds perched atop, an exceptional illustration of the elite use of bird iconography continuing after the Mycenaean period.¹⁹⁵

Although birds are associated with beliefs of the afterlife, perhaps symbolizing the journey to the underworld, or acting as symbols for the divine, their role as sanctuary offerings suggests other meanings.¹⁹⁶ Because of their lofty habitats, birds symbolize the unknown, whether this is the world of the gods or the underworld. Like the gods, the birds were believed to live in the sky and the heavens, but their flight brings them into a liminal space between heaven and earth. Thus, birds are a symbol of communication between gods and humans.¹⁹⁷

Geometric terracotta bird figurines are only found in sanctuaries of female deities, an association between goddess and bird that was perhaps inherited from the Bronze Age, Crete, or Cyprus. Perhaps their link to female deities explains their use as grave goods, since figurines in graves and sanctuaries could invoke the presence of the goddess for protection. They are further associated with *potnia theton* divinities: a bronze disc from Tegea depicts a bird associated with a female figure with upraised arms on a quadruped, and a Cretan vessel from Knossos depicts a goddess flanked by two birds.¹⁹⁸ Elinor Bevan notes the association of Artemis and Athena especially with birds, which were considered appropriate dedications at many of their sanctuaries.¹⁹⁹

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Chthonic Animals: Dogs and Snakes (Types XVIII)

Dogs

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 16

Lindos: 4 (4 Cypriot imports)

Olympia: 11

Kombothekra: 1

Dog figurines are rare in the Geometric period: a few handmade examples were dedicated at Olympia, Kombothekra, and Lindos. The earliest figurines appear in the ninth and eighth centuries at Olympia (**O41-42, Figs. 137-38**). The figurines continue in the second half of the eighth century, with three canine figurines in the LG and two from the SG/EA period at Olympia (**O43, Fig. 139**). A single dog figurine from Kombothekra appears at the end of the eighth century (**K19, Fig. 140**). As discussed in Chapter II, the sanctuaries at Kombothekra and Olympia share many similarities in the figurine dedications. A third sanctuary, the sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, stands apart from the Olympic coroplastic tradition. Four Cypriot canine figurines dating to the end of the eighth/beginning of the seventh century were dedicated at this shrine (**R30, Fig. 136**). Since this type was never produced locally it may be more closely associated with foreign dedicants than with local customs.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Unlike the other animals depicted in terracotta, dogs did not provide food, fur, or dairy products. It appears that dogs were domesticated long before any of the agricultural animals, at least as early as 7,000 BCE, and served primarily as hunting and herding animals and as companions.²⁰⁰ The close relationship between man and canines is found in the *Odyssey* in scenes featuring Odysseus' dog Argos.²⁰¹ Representations of canines highlight their mild nature: the ears

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are small or floppy, the muzzles non-aggressive, and the tails short, often perky. An early example of a playful canine composition is found on a tankard from the LBA town of Toumba tou Skourou on Cyprus: handmade attached dogs climb playfully around the vessel while also serving as handles.²⁰² Small Cypriot Bichrome Ware and Plain White Ware figurines of dogs seem to be a specialty of EIA Salamis.²⁰³

In the Late Bronze Age Aegean, dogs appear in Mycenaean frescoes of hunting scenes and in Minoan and Mycenaean funerary or ritual contexts. There are a few Mycenaean terracotta dog figurines, LH IIIA-C, which are characterized by their pointed ears and noses, pointed or curly tails, and general canine appearance. Dog figurines were deposited in graves at Argos and Perati.²⁰⁴ There are dog-head rhyta, a dog reclines on a pyxis lid from Zakro, a box from Grave Circle A at Mycenae is decorated with dogs, and a dog figurine was placed in a grave on Mochlos.²⁰⁵ In graves, dogs might serve as guardian figures. A series of ritual dog burials in LBA tombs provides further evidence for the chthonic meaning of dogs, which perhaps served as guardian figures to the underworld.²⁰⁶

Dogs are also associated with the underworld in the Near East. There are several dog burials as well as evidence for dog sacrifice.²⁰⁷ Additionally, dogs were associated with fertility deities and with healing, especially with the cult of Gula in Babylonia and in Phoenician healing cults.²⁰⁸

Although the practice of dog burial dies out everywhere but Crete, there are a few dog figurines from EIA graves, indicating a continuation of the LBA association between dogs and the underworld, a chthonic significance that continues in later cults.²⁰⁹ The dog is most closely linked with Hekate, goddess of the underworld, and with Artemis, who was closely associated with Hekate.²¹⁰ Bevan has compiled evidence for the animal as a symbol of the hunt, but also metaphorically as a symbol of death as early as Homer and Hesiod.²¹¹ In myth, dogs are linked

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specifically to heroic death and perhaps their occurrence at Olympia is related to the worship of Pelops.

In addition to their funerary meaning, dogs were associated with women and childbirth. Bevan provides convincing evidence that dogs were sacred to the kourotrophic deities (Artemis, Hekate, Eileithyia, and Athena) who presided over birth and death and that dog iconography figures prominently in their cults.²¹² The ease with which dogs give birth provided an amuletic image for women about to give birth; dog figurines are found in the Archaic and Classical periods at sanctuaries where pregnant women worshipped.²¹³ Although dog figurines are most commonly later dedicated to Artemis, they are also frequently associated with Athena Lindia, Artemis, Hekate, and Eileithyia. The earliest EIA figurines of dogs occur in Cypriot sanctuaries and graves, the majority from Salamis. The dog figurines from Rhodes were made on Cyprus, and were dedicated at Lindos, likely because of perceived similarities of the Cypriot and Rhodian cults. The presence of dog figurines at the East Greek goddess sanctuaries and Kombothekra could be related to the association between dogs and fertility.

The dog figurines from Olympia are more problematic due to the debate over which deities were worshipped in the early cult. Those wishing to see the importance of early female deities at the site interpret the dog figurines as evidence for the early establishment of the cults of Artemis or Eileithyia. Alternatively, dogs are also associated with hunting and the life and death cycle it symbolizes, and can be related to the chthonic nature of the hero cult of Pelops. Indeed, later there are several Cerberus figures dedicated at Olympia.²¹⁴ The appearance of dogs at the end of the eighth century at Olympia might be connected with the increasing importance of the hero-cult of Pelops and the newly established games or to an emerging goddess cult.

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Snakes

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 9

Kombothekra: 9

Figurines depicting snakes are only found at one sanctuary: Kombothekra (**K17-18, Fig. 135**). The nine handmade snakes dedicated to Artemis at Kombothekra are difficult to date since there are no other snake figurines known from the EIA. The presence of snakes is highly significant because they offer evidence for a unique cult at Kombothekra.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

The snake was a powerful symbol in the ancient world. Because the animal sheds its skin, it commonly served as a symbol of regeneration and rebirth, immortality, and even reincarnation and resurrection. The phallic-shaped snake body connotes virility and fertility. Snakes were linked to the cycle of death and rebirth because of their underground habitats, closely associated with the underworld, chthonic powers, and the realm of the ancestors. In Greek myth, the snake becomes an apotropaic symbol, for example Athena's *aegis* and Medusa's snaky-hair.

In the Minoan and Mycenaean worlds, the snake was an attribute of the goddess, perhaps with chthonic and fertility connotations.²¹⁵ On Crete, the famous faience "Snake Goddess" from Knossos grasps snakes in both hands and a votary or priestess statuette has snakes crawling up her arms. Later terracotta snakes adorned the snake tubes found at bench shrines in the Late Minoan period and also adorned the MGUA statuettes.²¹⁶ There are no small handmade snake figurines in the Mycenaean world, but there are unique wheelmade snakes (two complete snakes and fragments of at least four other snakes) found in the Cult Room at Mycenae, in the same context as the wheelmade goddess statuettes, further emphasizing their link with goddesses, and perhaps with chthonic powers.²¹⁷

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In the Geometric period painted and plastic snakes adorn funerary vessels, continuing their chthonic associations.²¹⁸ On fibulae, snakes are found in battle scenes, in the Stymphalian swamp, and with birds and swastikas; snakes serve as harbingers as death as well as markers of wild landscapes.²¹⁹ The first three-dimensional snakes appear in the LG at Kombothekra. These snakes indicate that this cult was not wholly dependant upon Olympic types, providing evidence for a cult-specific image.

The chthonic significance of snakes is clear from Geometric vases, but we need to use the Direct Historical Method to investigate the meaning of snakes in Greek religion beyond associations with the underworld. In the Archaic period, snakes remain closely linked to *potnia theron* goddesses as symbols of the earth, life and death, fertility and decay.²²⁰ The creatures, both real and artistic, play important roles in cults of goddesses with possible Bronze Age ancestry. The cult of Athena on the Athenian Acropolis made use of the actual animals in ritual and the cult statue of Athena Parthenos prominently displayed snakes: they adorned her *aegis* and a monumental snake coils by her leg. The first king of Athens, Erichthonios/Erechtheus, also had a snaky form.²²¹ Snakes were associated with many other goddesses as well: snakes are prominent in the cults of Demeter at Eleusis and at Phigalia, where the cult statue of Demeter had snake-like hair.²²² Artemis was also associated with snakes: her cult statue by Damophon at Lykosoura had snake attributes and her temple on Corfu is adorned with the Medusa. In the Archaic period, snake images decorate votives given to Artemis more than any other deity: snake figurines and gifts with snake images were dedicated to Artemis at Lousoi, Mt. Kotilon, Thasos, and to Artemis Orthia outside Sparta.²²³ Bevan interprets the prominence of snakes in Artemis cults as due to their role as symbols of fertility, but it is also significant that they are wild, undomesticated animals.²²⁴

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Snakes are also associated with gods. In addition to Erichthonios/Erectheus, Zeus himself appears in snake form in his guise as Meilichios.²²⁵ As a snake, Zeus is concerned with purification and death. Later, snakes are an important part of the healing cults of Asklepios, Apollo, and Hermes because of their supposed ability to regenerate. Most vividly, snakes retain their underworld associations in their close relationship with the heroic dead. At Sparta, an interesting series of plaques depict the heroic dead with snakes, or in the form of snakes.²²⁶

Because the snakes at Kombothekra do not appear in narrative scenes, we must rely on other votives to interpret the snakes. There are two possibilities. The Kombothekra cult is later associated with the goddess Artemis, who is linked to snakes. Perhaps the snakes are symbols of fertility and Artemis. Alternatively, snakes are associated with heroes and one interpretation of the nude male figurines at Olympia and Kombothekra is that they represent elite warriors, perhaps as heroes. The snake dedications could perhaps be linked to a chthonic aspect of the Kombothekra cult.

THE ABSENCE OF TERRACOTTA SUPERNATURAL & MYTHICAL CREATURES

The beginning of Greek myth and narrative in the Geometric period has been the focus of many studies. The presence of several narrative and mythical scenes has pushed back many Greek myths as far back as the tenth century.²²⁷ There are no terracotta examples of supernatural creatures, such as centaurs and sphinxes, from Geometric Greek sanctuaries. This absence is significant because of the important role of supernatural creatures in the Aegean Bronze Age, contemporary Near Eastern and Egyptian cultures, and in later Greek myth.²²⁸ There are examples of bronze figurines depicting mythical creatures in the Geometric period, as well as terracotta examples in EIA graves. A wheelmade centaur was placed in two tenth-century graves in the Toumba cemetery at Lefkandi and an askos in the shape of a hermaphroditic centaur was found in

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the Fadil cemetery on Kos.²²⁹ A handmade centaur was discovered in a grave in Athens dating to the LG.²³⁰ There is also a bronze centaur figurine from Olympia and another one from Phigalia dating to the LG.²³¹ Terracotta centaurs do not appear at sanctuaries until the seventh century: a centaur was dedicated at the Samian Heraion and another was discovered in an ambiguous context in Corinth.²³² The Samian example is fragmentary and not securely identified as a centaur, while the Corinth example is not clearly from a sanctuary. Centaurs and sphinxes were popular dedications at transitional sanctuaries on Crete (Haghia Triada and the Spring Chamber at Knossos), Cyprus (Ayia Irini and Enkomi), and Melos (West Shrine at Phylakopi).²³³ Mycenaean centaur figurines have even been found at Ugarit.²³⁴

The tradition of supernatural creatures as agents of divinity dates back to the LBA, and continues uninterrupted on Crete and Cyprus.²³⁵ In EIA Greece, hybrid creatures occur sporadically in graves, where they perhaps served as protective guardians to aid in the transition to the next world. Supernatural or mythological figures do not appear in EIA sanctuaries until the end of the eighth century, where they produced only in bronze. It is not until the seventh century that such creatures appear in terracotta at sanctuaries, likely inspired from the Near East and Cyprus. The isolated examples of supernatural creatures in terracotta and bronze in the EIA appear to be objects of great value, likely serving specialized functions. They are not part of the common votive habit, but represent a special and isolated tradition.

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¹ A trend also true of zoomorphic vessels from the LBA to EIA; see Guggisberg 1996, 19-21.

² Snodgrass 1971, 414-15; Langdon 1984, 170.

³ Burkert 1985, 64.

⁴ Zeus transforms Lycaion into a wolf (Paus. 8.6.2), Medusa mates with Poseidon and gives birth to Pegasus, Demeter mates with Poseidon, both in the form of a horse, and gives birth to the horse Areion (Demeter's cult statue at Phigalia had a horse head. For this and other Arcadian cults, see Paus. 8.42.1-6; 8.25.4-10; Burkert 1983, 84-92; Jost 1985, 301-17, 333-35; Voyatzis 1995, 281; Voyatzis 1992; see also Gantz 1993, 62-70). Mortals are transformed into animals: Atalanta, Callisto, Io, and Actaion (a rite copied in the Brauron rituals, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1988). For an extensive discussion of animal metamorphoses and catalogue of primary sources, see Irving 1990, Ch. 2-3, 197-259; see also Simon 1983, 83-88; Jost 1985, 249-69, 279-96. Zeus transforms into many animals shapes while pursuing maidens, including a bull for Europa and a swan for Leda (Gantz 1993, 318, 335-39); Dionysos is referred to as the bull god or a god with bovine characteristics and had a tauromorphic cult image at Kyzikos and elsewhere (Plu. *Quaest. Graec.* 299 B=PMG 871; Eur. *Bacch.* 1017; *IG VII* 1787; Soph. *Fr.* 959; see Burkert 1985, 371, n. 89 for several references; Irving 1990, 43-45; *LIMC* s.v. 'Dionysos,' nos. 154-59). Zeus Meilichios is depicted as a snake approached by worshippers (Blümel 1928, pl. 77); Athena as an owl perched on her altar (Simon 1983, pl. 16.1). In early Greek art and in isolated areas, many deities are unusually presented in theriomorphic form. For example the horse-headed ithyphallic men from Petrovouni (Schweitzer 1971, pl. 193); the horse-bodied Medusa on a Boeotian relief amphora; and zoomorphic masked figures popular in Arcadian and Cypriot cults (Kavvadias 1893; Dugas 1921, 354-56; Hejnic 1961, 37; Schweitzer 1971, pl. 193; Karageorghis 1971; Karageorghis 1996). For various other theriomorphic beings in Greek art, see Padgett 2003.

⁵ It has been argued that Minoan religion was not centered on divine images, but on ephemeral experiences with the divine, see Matz 1958; Marinatos and Hägg 1983; Hägg 1986; Burkert 1997, 25-28. It was only in the last phase of Mycenaean religion, especially the twelfth century, that portable divine images appear in the form of terracotta and bronze statuettes, see Gérard-Rousseau 1968; Rutkowski 1981, 115; Hiller 1984; Hägg 2001. In a study of the Greek word *theos*, Walter Burkert illuminates an earlier Greek concept of the divine based on experience, epiphany, and portable images, not on cult images that are typical of polis religion, that coexisted with the later anthropomorphic concept of the divine (Burkert 1997). For discussion of anthropomorphic gods, see Rutkowski 1973 Burkert 1991.

⁶ Smelik and Hemelrijk 1984; Watanabe 2002; Dunand and Zivie-Coche 2004, Part I, Ch. 1.

⁷ Palmer 1983; *contra* Rousioti 2001. Linear B tablets from Thebes, Pylos, and Mycenae record lists of animals (mules, dogs, snakes, birds, and pigs) that seem to receive offerings of oil, flour, wine, and barley; all in religious contexts. Rousioti uses the artistic evidence, however, to dismiss the existence of theriomorphic deities, arguing instead that the lists refer to sacred animals kept in official sanctuaries.

⁸ Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 140-41; see also Renfrew 1978, 13. *Contra* Nicholls 1970, 9.

⁹ For a study of the elements of Greek animal sacrifice, see Burkert 1983.

¹⁰ Burkert 1983a, 37; Burkert 1985, 57-59; Hamilakis 2003, 251; Dietrich 2005. For feasts in the Minoan, Mycenaean, and Homeric worlds, see various articles in Wright 2004. For feasting in the ancient Near East, see Schmandt-Besserat 2001. For a broader perspective on feasting, see Dietler and Hayden 2001.

¹¹ Burkert 1983a, 76-77.

¹² Pulleyn 1997, 8-15. Pulleyn states that, "Prayer itself was not an autonomous mode of religious action," stressing the unity of prayer, sacrifice, and offering in Greek religion (15). Pulleyn further notes that there is not a simple monetary or value link between what is requested and what is given. The importance of dedication is that the object please the deity; the value of the gift cannot necessarily be correlated to the request.

¹³ For literary and artistic evidence, see van Straten 1995, 170-85; Himmelmann 1997.

¹⁴ Hägg 1998, 51.

¹⁵ Hägg 1998, 54-55.

¹⁶ Reese 2005, 123; see comment by van Leuven in Hägg and Alroth 2005, 209.

¹⁷ Nicholls 1970; Guggisberg 1996.

¹⁸ Kourou 2002, 22-23.

¹⁹ Demakopoulou 1982, 43-78, pl. 27-39.

²⁰ Nicholls 1970, 9-11, pl. 3b; Guggisberg 1996, 67-70, esp. 68, no. 210, 213, pl. 14.6, 15.2-4; Kourou 2002, 21-22.

²¹ For a review of the present state of evidence for the use of the Athenian Acropolis, see Papadopoulos 2003, 297-316.

²² Benson 1970.

²³ In Egypt and the Near East, mythical creatures, gods, and kings wear attributes of the bull, such as horned headdresses and bull tails, to denote their divinity (Frankfort 1970, 86, fig. 91, 120, fig. 134, 154, fig. 178, 163, fig. 188, 202, fig. 213, 231, fig. 267, 235, fig. 274, 295, fig. 345, 336, fig. 397; Aldred 1980, 35, fig. 6-7, 36, fig. 8, 48, fig. 14, 119, fig. 77). For Egyptian gods with zoomorphic forms, see Hopfner 1913; Frankfort 1948, 8-14; Helck, Otto, and Westendorf 1972-1992, s.v. *Tierkult* and *Götter, Tier-*; Hornung 1982, Ch. 4. Ancient Greek accounts, see Her. 2.37ff, 3.27.9.; DS 1.83ff; Strab. 17.1.38ff; Plut. *De Is. Et Os.* 71ff. For Near Eastern gods with bovine forms, see Conrad 1957; Astour 1967, 85-91; Ringgren 1973. Other discussions in Marinatos 1986; Irving 1990, 38-45; Younger 1995.

²⁴ Loulloupis 1979; Rehak 1995; Younger 1995.

²⁵ French 1971, 151, 160. There are a few cattle figurines that depict male genitalia. The earliest wheelmade cattle, however, do have male sexual attributes, but later cattle have no explicit indication of sex. It is possible that all Mycenaean cattle are meant to represent bulls, the later examples are stylized and abbreviated versions of earlier more naturalistic examples. See French 1985, 238; Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 140.

²⁶ A series of newly discovered animal statuettes has complicated our understanding of the exact mode of transmission of the motif between Crete, the mainland, and the Cycladic islands. Nicholls (Nicholls 1970, 10-11) asserted that the tradition of zoomorphic statuettes began on the mainland and spread from there to Crete, based largely upon an early example from Delphi. The publication of the Phylakopi figures, however, has revised this view and the primacy of the Cyclades in melding earlier Minoan traditions with Mycenaean ones to produce the earliest animal statuettes (LH IIIA) must be seriously considered (French 1985). A recently discovered wheelmade bovid fragment of LH IIIA date from Dimini-Iolkos in Thessaly provides another early example and adds to our increasing knowledge of the broad distribution pattern of these statuettes. For references to wheelmade animal statuettes, see Nicholls 1970: 9-16; Wright 1994; Catling 1995; and additions to these lists in Demakopoulou 1999, 204, n. 61; Kourou 2002, 12, n. 5; Prent 2005, 184-87, 403-04. For studies dealing specifically with animal statuettes, see Misch 1992; Guggisberg 1996; Kourou and Karetsou 1997, 113-15; D'Agata 1997; D'Agata 1999. For the context of wheelmade animal statuettes, see Hägg 1981; Wright 1994, 72-6; Hägg 1995; Wardle 2003. Zoomorphic statuettes are found in the Peloponnesos at Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, Amyklai, Apollo Maleatas at Epidaurus; in central Greece on Athenian Acropolis, Delphi; as far north as Dimini-Iolkos; on Crete at Piazzale dei Sacelli at Haghia Triada, Patsos, Symi Viannou, Iuktas, Phaistos, Kommos, Knossos, Dictaeon cave, Tylissos; and at Ayios Constantinos on Methana, Phylakopi on Melos, Aegina, Emporio on Chios, Lemnos, and Naxos.

²⁷ Nicholls 1970; Misch 1992; Guggisberg 1996, esp. 291-316 for new types. In graves, new types, such as deer, birds, and centaurs, replace earlier bovine figures. See also Kourou and Karetsou 1997; D'Agata 1999; Shaw 2000; Kourou 2002.

²⁸ Some scholars argue that the Mycenaean and Dark Age Greeks ate little grain and that their diet was primarily vegetables and meat (Howe 1958; Snodgrass 1971, 378-80; Snodgrass 1980, 35-36; Tandy 1997, 35), while others argue for a grain-based diet (Langdon 1976, 88-91; Cherry 1988; Jameson 1988, 87). See also Foxhall 1995. Important evidence for ranching versus agricultural subsistence is found at Nichoria, where 26% bovine meat from the LBA diet increases to 60% in the Dark Age (Sloan and Duncan 1978, 76; Snodgrass 1987, 187-209). The Dark Age Nichoria evidence consists of a very small number of preserved bones. Tandy (1997, 38-43) argues that grain-based diets begin only in the eighth century. For criticism pastoral economies in Geometric Greece, see Cherry 1988; Dickinson 2006, 98-104.

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²⁹ Lists of cult statues in the Hittite empire mention several bull statues made of iron and other metals: King Tuthaliya IV, c. 1250, introduced the use of iron bulls as cult statues in cult temples and shrines. There are a few depictions of taumorphic gods from Anatolia c. 1200-1100 (a bas-relief in the Museum of Aleppo, and a rock carving from Alaja Hüyük depict a Hittite king worshipping an image of a bull at an altar, see Frankfort 1970, 231, fig. 267). The Hittite bull-weather-god Teshub appears in cylinder seals and rock carvings at Boghazkoi depicts him standing by the side of a bull, both god and bull wear same high headdress. Other depictions show him standing on bull's back, see Conrad 1957, 97-98. In the Levant, bull gods include Adad, Hadad, Ramman, Sandas, and Baal; in Babylonian and Assyria, the god was called Ramman, "the bellowing one." In Palestine and Phoenicia, Baal was related to the bull and weather; a copper coin from Rhosos on the Gulf of Issos depicts Adad as a horned god standing between two reclining bulls; in his right hand he holds a thunderbolt, in his left an ear of wheat, symbols of strength, forces of nature, and agriculture. See Conrad 1957; Astour 1967, 85-91; Ringgren 1973. In the Greek world, Poseidon, Zeus, and Dionysos are closely associated with the bulls and often exhibit physical and behavior aspects of the animal in art and literature. There are no examples, however, of cult statues depicting these gods in taumorphic form. See Irving 1990, 42-45.

³⁰ Pilafidis Williams 1998, 140-41. Nicholls' suggestion that bovine statuettes were linked to open-air cults rather than built shrines (Nicholls 1970, 8) cannot be sustained in light of the excavation of the built shrine at Phylakopi, with cattle figures, as well as the Aphaia sanctuary, an open-air cult with no cattle figures. Therefore, Pilafidis-Williams' suggestion that these statuettes are linked to the gender of the deity is attractive. She agrees with Elizabeth French that all cattle figures represent bulls or oxen, noting that earlier examples have male genitalia. This detail is abbreviated in later Mycenaean art, as occurs with many other terracotta figurines (French 1985, 238). Nicholls (1970, 9) rejects altogether the concept of a bull god, but Pilafidis-Williams amends this slightly by denying a bull-god, but accepting the bull as a symbol of the god, a common concept in several contemporary cultures. Bull statuettes are especially prevalent in sanctuaries later associated with a god: Apollo Maleatas, Amyklai, Kalapodi; they are uncommon in sanctuaries exclusively dedicated to goddesses: Mycenae and Aphaia. They are also found at dual sanctuaries, dedicated to god and goddess, such as Phylakopi.

³¹ Chadwick and Ventris 1973, 127; Chadwick 1985; Pilafidis Williams 1998, 140-41. In Linear B there is often a male and female form for therionymns, for example Zeus and Diwija and Poseidon and Posiaeia.

³² Renfrew 1985, 420-25; Pilafidis Williams 1998, 141.

³³ Gesell 1985; Renfrew 1985, 420-25; Pilafidis Williams 1998, 141; Prent 2005, 174-76.

³⁴ Hera's priestess Io is transformed into a cow by Zeus, in Homer her epithet is *boopis* ("cow-eyed"), and at Samos her image was adorned with horns. Cows were also a significant part of her cult: at Argos and Samos, cows were offered to Hera as sacrifice; at Argos her priestesses were brought to the city on an ox-drawn cart, and her temple was located on a hill called Euboea, "rich in cows," and a herd of sacred cattle was kept nearby. *Il.* 1.551; Herod. I.31, see artistic and literary references in Irving 1990, 47-50, 215-16. See also Cook 1914, 437-57.

³⁵ Zeus' union with Io in cow form is seen as a mirror to his union with Hera, perhaps a representation of a *hieros gamos* ceremony. After this union, flowers spontaneously grow from the land, a physical symbol of the fertility of the earth invoked by the sacred union and one that parallels Near Eastern hymns and myths. Aesch. *PV* 834; Aesch. *Supp.* 41ff. See Cook 1914, 437-57; Astour 1967, 85; Kramer 1969; Burkert 1985, 132-35; Irving 1990, 47-48.

³⁶ Irving (1990, 48-49) presents convincing evidence in support of this. Several cults had cow herds, a general indication of wealth; the epithet *boopis* is actually applied to several women in Homer as a general feature of beauty; and the horns at Samos can be linked to the more general use of bucrania to denote sacred areas in the Aegean and Near East.

³⁷ Guggisberg 1996, 336-41. Guggisberg notes the function of bulls as protectors of love, sexuality, and the creative force of nature; they are symbols of masculine strength and sexuality, both associated with prosperity and fertility (Guggisberg 1996, 155-57, 337).

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- ³⁸ Robin Osborne characterizes the Dark Age as a period of “contracted horizons,” in which a population-depleted Greece was reorganized into simplified chiefdoms, whose main concern was subsistence, dependent upon agriculture, pastoralism, and herding (Osborne 1996: 32).
- ³⁹ Haggis argues for a hierarchical structure and a ranked elite operating within a complex structure of subsistence (Haggis 1999, 307). See also Drews 1983, 112-14; Foxhall 1995; Tandy 1997, 88-93, 135-38.
- ⁴⁰ Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 358-62; Tandy 1997: 91-93. It is not clear how elites or basileis came to power. Some argue it was hereditary (van Wees 1992, 31ff, 281-94), while others maintain it was due to personality, ability, wealth, and contacts (Whitley 1991), *contra* Drews 1983, 100-15; van Wees 1995. Donlan (1985, 305) suggests that early “Big Men” systems gave way to rule by land-owning aristocrats in the eighth century. For a discussion of the use of Homer to reconstruct EIA society, see Morris 1986; Sherratt 1990; Crielaard 1995; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, 358-62; Morris 1997.
- ⁴¹ Langdon 1976, 88-91; Cherry 1988; Jameson 1988, 87. See also Foxhall 1995. Jameson argues that most of the population ate a grain-based diet and most meat consumption occurred at sacrificial festivals.
- ⁴² Snodgrass 1987, 193-210; see also Tandy 1997, 35-43; Dickinson 2006, 98-104.
- ⁴³ Sloan and Duncan 1978; see also Whitley 2001, 85-86.
- ⁴⁴ Whitley 2001, 85-86.
- ⁴⁵ Snodgrass 1987, 205-07.
- ⁴⁶ Snodgrass 1987, 207.
- ⁴⁷ Morgan 1990, 57-58. Morgan regards “religious activity as a mechanism that both legitimizes and reinforces the form of the particular society within which it operates, not only by mirroring its values, but even, on occasion, by questioning or inverting them. Ritual thus closely reflects community values....”
- ⁴⁸ Osborne 1996, 57.
- ⁴⁹ Heilmeyer 1972, 54, 87-89; Heilmeyer 1979, 196.
- ⁵⁰ Osborne 1996, 61. It should be noted that bulls were ill-suited for transport over most of Greece, where the mountainous terrain necessitated small paths navigated on foot or by mules, donkeys, or asses (Crouwel 1992, 102; Zimmermann 1989, 2-3). Osborne (1996, 63) emphasizes the importance of cattle’s transportation ability for agriculture, “for better crop transport alters the place of animal herding within the overall agrarian economy.” Osborne notes that the advantage of cattle lies in their mobility, which allows for the use of marginal land for either farming or for animal husbandry.
- ⁵¹ Osborne (1996, 67) notes the mixed blessings of oxen: they enabled farming wider tracts of land, but required large quantities of grain. The harvesting of larger quantities of grain required more human labor.
- ⁵² *Il.* II.448, VI 236, XXIII 703-705, 886; *Od.* I.431, XXII.57. The epics provide other evidence that the Homeric population had a grain-based diet, see Jameson 1988, 93. Meat seems to be eaten after sacrifice on special occasion.
- ⁵³ Jameson 1988, 87; see also Prent 2005, 394.
- ⁵⁴ Pulleyn stresses the lack of value correspondence between dedication and prayer (1997, 8-15). We should also not assume that there was always a direct correspondence between social status and value of dedication.
- ⁵⁵ The story of Kleobis and Biton in Herodotus relates the inter-relationship between cattle, agriculture, wealth, status, and sacred rituals (Herod. I.31). The value of cattle is also apparent in Homer (*Il.* II.448ff, VI 235ff, XXIII 703ff, 885; *Od.* I 430ff, XXII. 57).
- ⁵⁶ Ringgren 1973, 77; Ringgren 1979, 107; Dietrich 1991, 146. This practice is attested in the Old Testament (*Gen.* 8:21; *Lev.* 26:31) as well as in the *Epic of Gilgamesh* II, 160. The rite is illustrated in the myth of Utnapishtim, who made an animal sacrifice after the great flood, and the hungry gods, smelling the sweet smell, crowded like flies around the sacrifice.
- ⁵⁷ Mylonas 1977, 104; Lambrinouidakis 1981, 59; Kilian 1981, 53-56; Marinatos 1986, 15-35, 37-39; Rutkowski 1986; Dietrich 1991, 145-46; Isaakidou et al. 2002; Konsolaki 2002; Davis and Stocker 2002; Hamilakis 2003; Hamilakis and Konsolaki 2004. Aegean Bronze Age sites with evidence for burnt animal sacrifice include the Kynortion hill at Epidauros, Ayios Konstantinos at Methana, Tiryns, and Pylos. This new evidence has disproved the theory that the Minoans and Mycenaeans did not practice burnt animal

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sacrifice (first put forth by Yavis 1949, 41). In the Minoan and Mycenaean world, altars were for the deposition of dedications, animals were sacrificed on movable tables. Animal sacrifice did not occur at all LBA sanctuaries, see Renfrew 1985, 481. Thus in the LBA cattle statuettes not found at sites where bull sacrifice occurred.

⁵⁸ *Il. I.* 66-67 (lambs and goats), 315-16 (bulls and goats), IX.497-500 (unspecified animal). On Greek sacrifice, see Burkert 1985, 35, 55-66; Hägg 1998. More generally, see Burkert 1983; Detienne and Vernant 1989; van Straten 1995.

⁵⁹ Burkert 1985, 53, 67, n. 62; Dietrich 1991, 146; Hägg 1998, 50-55. The earliest sanctuaries with evidence for open-air altars include Myrtou-Pighades and Kition Temples A and 4, 5 (end of Bronze Age), Kourion and Ayia Irini on Cyprus, Ayia Triada and Kommos on Crete, in East Greece the Samian Heraion and the Sanctuary of Athena at Lindos, and Olympia and Kalapodi on the mainland.

⁶⁰ Dietrich 1991.

⁶¹ Although it is difficult to date the osteological deposits, at Samos, Kommos, Didyma, and Kalapodi, cattle bones make up the majority of osteological deposits, most of which are interpreted as the remains of sacrificial rites. Boessneck and von den Driesch 1988; Kyrieleis 1993, 137-38; Reese 1995. Nicholls (1970, n. 22) notes the association of sanctuaries with early altars and wheelmade terracotta bovine statuettes.

⁶² Guggisberg 1996, 301-02.

⁶³ Baumbach 2004, 161; see also Morgan 1996, 56.

⁶⁴ Sinn 1981, 87-88; Baumbach 2004, 161.

⁶⁵ Pugliese Carratelli 1961-1962, 312, no. 161; translation van Straten 1981, 69.

⁶⁶ For the power of images, see Gombrich 1982; Belting 1994.

⁶⁷ Jeffrey 1961, 46, 90, 94; van Straten 1981, 70-76.

⁶⁸ van Straten 1981, 66, 70-76; Pulleyn 1997, 2-15.

⁶⁹ Morris 1985, 193-96; Marinatos 1986, 40. See Burkert 1983a, 14-15; Burkert 1985, 36-37, 65, 372, n. 93 for references to horns, bucrania, and other animal remains at sanctuaries. The tradition of marking sacred areas with animal horns is found already in the Neolithic period, as evidenced at Çatal Hüyük (Mellaart 1967, 140-41, 144-55). In the Aegean, deposits of goat horns are found in the Cretan sanctuaries at Dreros, Psychro cave, and Kato Syme, and the horn altar of Artemis on Delos was one of the wonders of the ancient world. In the Minoan world, horns of consecration marked sacred and important areas, and on Cyprus, bull skulls and horns were prominently displayed at many early sanctuaries, notably at Kourion and Enkomi. The symbolic role can still be seen today: bucrania (both real and models) adorn rural houses in Malta, Gozo, and other Mediterranean places to protect the inhabitants from the Evil Eye and other negative forces (Morris 1985, 193-96).

⁷⁰ Tsountas 1888, 169; Burkert 1985, 93; Osborne 1987, 186; Guggisberg 1996, 339; see also Baumbach 2004, 161-62.

⁷¹ Guggisberg 1996, 285-89.

⁷² Figurines with traces of burning are extremely rare, including figurines of a ram and dog from Araxos in Achaia, and a horse leg from Isthmia. See Mastrokostas 1964, 187-88, pls. 215a, c-d, 216a; Brulotte 1994, 202, n. 30, 305; Morgan 1999, 172-73, F29.

⁷³ Shaw and Shaw 2000, 192, C9, pl. 3.6.

⁷⁴ A later example of bulls associated with altars include a Hellenistic sanctuary at Epanochori Selino on Crete, where approximately 460 terracotta cattle were found on the altar (unpublished, see Brulotte 1994, 304-05). Aristotle also describes a golden bull set up on the altar of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (*De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, 847b).

⁷⁵ van Straten 2000, 197. van Straten uses later evidence that proximity to altar or cult statue was highly desirable for efficacy of offering, especially a memorable story of two women visiting the Asklepieion at Kos, who set their votives to the right of the cult statue of Hygieia (Herondas 4.19-20).

⁷⁶ Herondas *Mimianbus* 4.19-20; see discussion in van Straten 2000, 197-98.

⁷⁷ van Straten 1981, 74-75; Pulleyn 1997.

⁷⁸ Langdon 1993, 146-50, nos. 49-51.

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- ⁷⁹ Reese 1995, 165-94 (with further references); Hallager 2001, 317.
- ⁸⁰ Marinatos 1986, 11 (with further references).
- ⁸¹ Hallager 2001, 318.
- ⁸² Marinatos 1986, 11-12, notes 7-8; Hallager 2001, 319.
- ⁸³ Killen 1964.
- ⁸⁴ Hallager 2001, 319. Hallager found no evidence that rams were sacrificed, only ewes.
- ⁸⁵ Morris (1985, 216-18) notes that sheep were so important in the agrarian and pastoral areas of Cyprus that ram cults were introduced beginning in the seventh century; the elite cults of Ammon in Egypt and the ram-headed god Baal-Hamman from Syria were transformed into Cypriot rural cults.
- ⁸⁶ Langdon 1993, 146-47 (with references).
- ⁸⁷ French 1971, 163; Tamvaki 1973, 225.
- ⁸⁸ Only two animal rhyta depict rams, one from a settlement on Naxos (LH IIIC) and one from Khania (LM IIIB:2), see Hallager 2001. Terracotta figurines depicting rams are rare, only two have been published from Mycenae, see Tamvaki 1973, 225-26.
- ⁸⁹ Mitten 1977; Langdon 1984, 164-70; 1993, 146, no. 49.
- ⁹⁰ Bevan 1986, 246, 249-50; van Straten 1995, 107-09, 170-86.
- ⁹¹ In later Greek religion, there is some evidence for gods with ram imagery. In the case of Apollo Karneios at Sparta, some have argued that Apollo took the form of a ram. A sixth-century ram-headed herm from outside Las, a Lakonian dedication to “the Karneian” that is decorated with crudely drawn ram’s horns, and Hellenistic coins of Cyrene that depict a young man with ram’s horns offer supporting evidence. Dengate has rejected this view, arguing that none of these representations can be securely identified as representations of Apollo and there is no firm evidence that the Greeks regarded Apollo as a ram god, or even ram-headed or horned. Theokritos 5.83; *IG* V 1.222; Dengegate 1988, 125-28. For criomorphous gods on Cyprus, see Vermeule 1974; Sophocleous 1985, 59-69, pls. XIII-XV.
- ⁹² Mitten 1977, 33-34.
- ⁹³ For a review of horses on vases, see Benson 1970; for bronze horse figurines, see Zimmermann 1989.
- ⁹⁴ For example, the horse on an Attic PG belly-handled amphora from the Kerameikos (Boardman 1998, 19, fig. 13).
- ⁹⁵ Zimmermann’s (1989) comprehensive study of bronze horse figurines published 1,135 examples. Unlike terracotta horses, bronze horse production seems to have been the direct result of the desire to adorn metal tripods.
- ⁹⁶ Jarosch 1994, 5-24.
- ⁹⁷ Heilmeyer 1972, 20-31.
- ⁹⁸ French 1971, pl. 26c; Voyatzis 1990, 241.
- ⁹⁹ Crouwel 1992, 102. In Homer, horses are ceremonial and used by the elite. They are paraded at Patroklos’ funeral, given as prizes and gifts, and are fought over (*Il.* 23.265, 5.628-54; *Hymn.Hom.Ven.* 210). The status of certain heroes, Atreus and Diomedes, is characterized by their ability to tame horses (*Il.* 3.126, 2.287, 2.23, 5.415, 23.5).
- ¹⁰⁰ Crouwel 1981, 32-35; Schilardi 1999, 753-54, n. 26.
- ¹⁰¹ Crouwel 1981, 46-50; Langdon 1989, 191.
- ¹⁰² Kosmetatou 1993; Petrakos 1996, 63-64, fig. 23; Carstens 2005; see also Vermeule 1964, 298-99, pl. XLVIIIB; Benson 1970, 20-26; French 1971, 162-63; Burkert 1985, 34; Morris 1985, 211; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 38. Single horses were sacrificed outside the tombs of elite males in MH and LH Greece (Mycenae Tumulus A, Deiras, Lerna, Nauplion, Argos), especially in the Argolid, while a separate tradition existed on Crete as evidenced by the ritually slaughtered horse in the tomb of a woman at Archanes. Pairs of horses, who pulled funerary carts or chariots, were found at Dendra and Marathon. Horse sacrifices occurred in Geometric and Archaic Cyprus as evidenced by the spectacular horse burials found at the Salamis necropolis and the recent discovery of similar burials in Larnaca (Buchholz and Karageorghis 1971, no. 181). The Cypriot examples are remarkably similar to the Mycenaean practices, with the

exception that they are associated with male and female burials. Karageorghis has argued that this burial custom was imported to Cyprus by the Mycenaeans (Karageorghis 1969, 26-28).

¹⁰³ Osborne 1996, 66-67.

¹⁰⁴ Snodgrass 1971, 414.

¹⁰⁵ Snodgrass 1971, 414.

¹⁰⁶ Heroes have the ability to break and tame horses (Atreus and Diomedes, *Il.* 3.126, 2.287, 2.23, 5.415, 23.5), Poseidon in the form of a horse overcomes Demeter, and Poseidon himself is a tamer of horses (*Hymn.Hom.Dem.* 22.4; Paus. 7.21.9), and the master of horse motif becomes widespread in early Greek art (Langdon 1989, 198).

¹⁰⁷ Zimmermann 1989, parts III and IV.

¹⁰⁸ Benson 1970, 26-28. The rare sacrifices of horses at tombs in the LBA and EIA offers additional evidence for an unusual rite and demonstrates the chthonic/funerary symbolism of the horse, see Bevan 1986, 194; Kosmetatou 1993; Carstens 2005.

¹⁰⁹ Horse figurines in Geometric graves: MG horse in grave alpha (young woman) at Eleusis (Skias Aephem 1898, 104; Xagorari 1996, 29, 91, no. 45); horse figurines in several Kerameikos graves (grave 50, c. 750: Xagorari 1996, 29, 55, 91, nos. 46-47; Kübler 1954, 243-45, pl. 143; Bohlen 1988, 102 Nr. 207-208, pl. 36.1; Higgins 1967, 21, fig. 12. Inv. No. 642: Kübler 1943, pl. 27; Kübler 1954, pl. 142); Dipylon cemetery child's grave, c. 700: Xagorari 1996, 29, 55, 91, no. 48; wheelmade horse in PG grave on Skyros: Lemos 2002, 99. Athenian Agora c. 700-690 horses in sacrificial funerary pyres of man's grave: Young 1939, 63, no. XII, 18, fig. 40; horses from fill: Brann 1961, 136, O41-43, 140, P27; wheelmade horse from LG grave in Serraglio cemetery, Kos: Kantzia 1988, 175-76; Coldstream 2003, 399; Ialysos Exochi cemetery grave V: Friis Johansen 1958, 53, 61, 181, Abb. 125; Kamiros grave: Jacopi 1931, 342, Abb. 379; Argos tomb 32: Courbin 1966, 250, pl. 107. On Cyprus: CGIII grave 79, Karageorghis 1983, 246, no. 84, pl. CLIV; Vandenabeele 1991, 63, 68.

¹¹⁰ Roes 1933; Kübler 1943, 5; Kübler 1954, 27-29; Burkert 1985, 34, 138-39; Bevan 1986, 200-03.

¹¹¹ Kosmetatou 1993; see also Vermeule 1964, 298-99, pl. XLVIIB; Benson 1970, 20-21; Burkert 1985, 34; Morris 1985, 211; Petrakos 1996, 63-64, fig. 23. Single horses were sacrificed outside the tombs of elite males in MH and LH Greece (Mycenae Tumulus A, Deiras, Lerna, Nauplion, Argos), especially in the Argolid, while a separate tradition existed on Crete as evidenced by the ritually slaughtered horse in the tomb of a woman at Archanes. Pairs of horses, who pulled funerary carts or chariots, were found at Dendra and Marathon. Horse sacrifices occurred in Geometric and Archaic Cyprus as evidenced by the spectacular horse burials found at the Salamis necropolis and the recent discovery of similar burials in Larnaca (Buchholz and Karageorghis 1971, no. 181; Carstens 2005). The Cypriot examples are remarkably similar to the Mycenaean practices, with the exception that they occurred with male and female burials. Karageorghis has argued that this burial custom was imported to Cyprus by the Mycenaeans (Karageorghis 1969, 26-28).

¹¹² *Il.* 21.131 (Achilles describes this Trojan custom); *SEG XXXIV (hippokathesia* for Poseidon at Kameiros, Rhodes); Paus. 8.7.2 (*hippokathesia* festival in which horses were driven into an underground river for Poseidon in the Argolid); Paus. 3.20.4 (horses sacrificed to Helios on Mt. Taygetos); Paus. 2.27.4 (a single instance of a horse sacrificed to Asklepios at Epidauros by Hippolytus); Apollod. 1.60. See also Burkert 1985, 138; Bevan 1986, 194-200; Robertson 2005. These instances are not usual practice and illustrate the rarity of horse sacrifice in Greek religion.

¹¹³ Nicholls 1970, 12.

¹¹⁴ CGI horses from Kition: Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 208, no. 4105, pl. CLXIX, 226, no. 551, pl. CLXIX; Salamis: Monloup 1984, pls. 215-16.

¹¹⁵ *Alcm. Partheneion*. See Rayor 1991, 31-34; Campbell 1997, 18-22.

¹¹⁶ Winkler 1990.

¹¹⁷ The danger of the untamed horse is alluded to in myths about anthropophagic or mad horses, such as the man-eating mares of Diomedes, King of Thrace. Paus. 6.27.1-4; Apollod. 2.58.

¹¹⁸ Kübler 1954, 27.

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¹¹⁹ Kübler 1954, 27.

¹²⁰ O'Flaherty 1980; Maringer 1981, 181-99; see also Langdon 1989, 199; Voyatzis 1992, 268-69.

Although Drews (2004) has presented systematic evidence to dispel the theory championed by Marija Gimbutas that horse riding was introduced to Europe by the Proto Indo-Europeans in the fifth or fourth millennium, it is nevertheless clear that domesticated horses were vital to early Indo-Europeans, primarily as a food source. The divine associations with horse breeding is behind the myth of Poseidon's union with Demeter, which was celebrated at Phigalia where Demeter's cult image bore a horse head.

¹²¹ Langdon 1989, 200.

¹²² Schweitzer 1971, 156-59; Maringer 1981, 181-99; Langdon 1989, 199; Voyatzis 1992, 268-69; Scheffer 1994. These scholars examine the evidence for horse deities and horse mythology in the Aegean, perhaps introduced to the Aegean along with the animal itself and its Indo-European name; many Indo-European cultures have horse deities associated with fertility. There is a "Mistress of the Horse" in a Linear B tablet from Pylos and Hittite textual evidence for a horse deity named Pirva. Later Greek evidence occurs in the form of deities seated side-saddle on horses and the close link of many Arcadian deities (Despoina, Demeter, Alea, Poseidon) as well as Artemis in other areas with horses.

¹²³ Burkert 1985, 138-39, 161; see also Bevan 1986, 194-219. Centaurs, with their horse bodies, are similar equine divinities that combine the dual nature of the horse. They are both wild and forces of order and civilization, aspects embodied in the myth of Cheiron and his daughter Hippo (Callim. fr. 569; Ov. *Met.* 2.635). See Kirk 1970, 152-62; Irving 1990, 78-79, 210-11.

¹²⁴ Mellaart 1981; Crouwel 1981, 32-35.

¹²⁵ The development of the more maneuverable light chariot with spoked wheels radically altered Bronze Age warfare. Chariot warfare began in the East Aegean c. 1700 and continued in use until the beginning of offensive, standardized infantry units c. 1200. See Dawson 2001, Chs. 3-4.

¹²⁶ Crouwel 1992, 105.

¹²⁷ Drews 2004, 65-66.

¹²⁸ Schilardi 1999, 753-54 (with further references).

¹²⁹ Crouwel 1992, 53-54. Specifically, the light rail chariot appears to be a direct continuation from a Mycenaean type depicted in vase paintings c. 1100. The high-front chariot was influenced from Mycenaean predecessors. *Contra* continuity of chariot use and types, see Snodgrass 1964, 159-63; Snodgrass 1971, 433. Crouwel's theory is supported by the burials of paired horses with metal bits from the Lefkandi warrior graves and the inclusion of similar iron bits (but no horse) in an early ninth-century cremation burial in the Agora.

¹³⁰ Crouwel 1992, 104-05.

¹³¹ Crouwel 1992, 54, 105. The funerary and ceremonial association is also present in Homer, where chariots were a conspicuous aspect of Patrokles' funerary games and other elite displays. In war, the two-man chariot served as conveyance transport for high status warriors, who fought on the ground with spears and swords. Chariots were not used for active battle as in the Near East and Egypt, where they were used as mobile platforms for archers.

¹³² One of the most elaborate Mycenaean terracotta compositions is a chariot group (0.165m long) found in a chamber tomb in Megalo Monastiri, Thessaly (Volos Archaeological Museum K3914/69). It has been interpreted as a substitute for a real chariot, see Demakopoulou 1988, 131, no. 74 (with earlier references); Crouwel 1981, 161, pl. 41.

¹³³ Crouwel 1981: 145, 162; Demakopoulou 1988, 238, no. 240.

¹³⁴ Crouwel 1992, 55.

¹³⁵ Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, 168-70.

¹³⁶ Karageorghis 1969; Rupp 1988; Kosmetatou 1993.

¹³⁷ Kunze 1944, 110; Heilmeyer 1972, 38-40; see also Coldstream 2003, 150.

¹³⁸ Crouwel 1992, 56.

¹³⁹ Schweitzer 1971, 99, fig. 67; Karageorghis 1993, 65-67, 88-90.

¹⁴⁰ Karageorghis 1993, 65-67, 88-90, pls. 29, 39-40; 1995, 61-71, pls. XXIX-XXXV.

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¹⁴¹ Drews 2004, Chs. 1 and 2.

¹⁴² *Contra* Indo-European scholars, who argue that horse riding began as early as the fifth millennium. For a review of this controversy, see Wiesner 1968, 110-36; Crouwel 1981, 45-53; Drews 2004.

¹⁴³ Moorey 2000, 471; Drews 2004, 52-53.

¹⁴⁴ Blegen 1937, fig. 615, no. 760; Levi 1951, pl. 4c; Hood 1953, fig. 47-48; French 1971, 164-65; Tamvaki 1973, 243, fig. 19; Crouwel 1981, 45-51, 161-63; Peppas-Papaionnou 1985, 38, 86, pl. 18. More generally, see Catling 1974, 108-09; Hyland 2003, 127; Drews 2004, 44, 52-54. The figurines range in date from LH IIIA-IIIC. There are also thirteenth- and twelfth-century Mycenaean and SM vase paintings depicting riders, see Wiesner 1968, 114-16, figs. 20a-b, 21a-b.

¹⁴⁵ Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 1999; 2003, figs. 5-8. Preliminary reports have published five horsemen with mounts, including one ridden mule, 17 driven oxen (or ox-cart groups). Unlike the figure published by Hood from Mycenae, which sits far back on the animal, in the “donkey seat,” the Methana horsemen sit well forward, indicating a development degree of equitation (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 1999, 430).

¹⁴⁶ Crouwel 1981, 47, 50; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 1999, 431-32. *Contra* Hood 1953. Konsolaki-Yannopoulou notes that the Methana rider group, along with other evidence, suggests a rather high degree of equitation among the elite of Late Helladic Greece, even if horses were not ridden in battle. Indeed, the use of mounted troops in warfare is not documented before the sixth century, see Anderson 1961, Chs. 11-12. Snodgrass argues the opposite: that there is no evidence for chariots in Dark Age warfare, but that early warriors rode horses into battle (Snodgrass 1999, 45).

¹⁴⁷ Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 1999, 432.

¹⁴⁸ Schilardi 1999. The importance of the horse at this Cycladic Mycenaean outpost is underscored by a horse figurine in the burial, the discovery of a cache of horse skeletons, and rare examples of horse bits.

¹⁴⁹ Schilardi 1999, 754.

¹⁵⁰ For possible artistic depictions of horse riding in the Mycenaean period, see Crouwel 1981, 45-46.

¹⁵¹ Schilardi 1999, 754. Schilardi uses evidence of a IIIC krater from Mouliana, Crete, which depicts a heavily armed rider wearing a ridge-crested helmet, carrying a shield and spear. This view is supported by the armed nature of the Mycenaean horse figurines. Neither the new figurine evidence nor the burial at Koukounaries is addressed in Drews' study (Drews 2004), which concludes that cavalry riding was not possible in the LBA.

¹⁵² van Buren 1930, 163-64, nos. 785-91; Morris 1985, 205, fig. 329; Drews 2004, Ch. 4. This type continues into the Persian and Parthian period. Cyprus seems to have adopted either the act of riding or depictions earlier than the Aegean, for LBA sidesaddle riders, see Morris 1985, 205, figs. 330-31.

¹⁵³ Drews 2004, 34, fig. 3.3. See also Moorey 1970; 2000; 2003, pl. 13.

¹⁵⁴ Hood 1953, 92 (with earlier references); see also Crouwel 1992, 102-03. In his seminal study on Greek horsemanship, J.K. Anderson notes that depictions of riders do not begin until the end of the eighth century, and the vase paintings indicate that the Greeks were not comfortable riders until middle of the seventh century (1961, 13). Anderson attributed the increased skill level of riders in the seventh century to the use of the jointed bit and severe bits (70-48), noting that riding was introduced to the Olympic Games in the seventh century. His conclusions concerning the importance of non-perishable bits for control of ridden horses have been subsequently corroborated by new archaeological finds and interpretations (Drews 2004, 96; for significance of bits in Near East and Cyprus, see Littauer 1969).

¹⁵⁵ In the *Iliad*, the only mention of horses not in connection with chariots occurs when Diomedes and Odysseus ride off with the stolen chariot horses of Rhesos (*Il.* 10.465). See Drews 2004, 72, 171-72, n. 23 for commentary on this passage.

¹⁵⁶ Colin Renfrew states, “since warriors on horseback are depicted with some regularity in the first millennium BC but are lacking from earlier depictions, while warriors in horse-drawn chariots are seen from the middle of the second millennium BC, warriors on horseback did not form part of a significant cognitive constellation during the second millennium.” (Renfrew 1998, 270).

¹⁵⁷ Frankfort 1970, 41, fig. 33, 45, fig. 37, 122, fig. 136, 226, fig. 261.

¹⁵⁸ Kenyon 1971, 120; 1974, 142; *contra* Moorey 2000; 2003, 61-63; Drews 2004, 65.

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- ¹⁵⁹ Moorey 2000, 481.
- ¹⁶⁰ Drews 2004, 36.
- ¹⁶¹ Anderson 1961, 13.
- ¹⁶² Langdon 1984, 128-34; Zimmermann 1989, 327-28, pl. 61 (Macedonia).
- ¹⁶³ Snodgrass notes that the first cavalrymen were likely at the fringes of the Greek world where Greeks were in contact with the Near Eastern cavalrymen. This theory would explain the predominance of rider figurines on Cyprus and in East Greece in the Geometric period (Snodgrass 1964, 163-65, 256, notes 21-22.).
- ¹⁶⁴ Voyatzis 1992. The eighth-century votive examples from Arcadia, Olympia, and Samos are convincingly interpreted as reintroductions of a LBA type via Cyprus.
- ¹⁶⁵ Schweitzer 1971, 156-59; Langdon 1984, 198-201; Zimmermann 1989, 110, 323-24; Voyatzis 1992, 259. The series of female sidesaddle riders appear to have been introduced into the Minoan and Mycenaean repertoire from the Near East. Voyatzis' study of the relationship of the later examples to LBA ones addresses the important issues of the mode of transmission and identity of the figures.
- ¹⁶⁶ Catling 1974.
- ¹⁶⁷ Higgins 1967, pl. 5B, pl. 8.
- ¹⁶⁸ Epstein 1985. Laden rams, mules, and donkey vessels are found in Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age domestic, religious, and funerary sites in Palestine.
- ¹⁶⁹ A twelfth-century wheelmade mule carrying jars from Crete and another from a tomb in Ialysos are among the earliest depictions in the Aegean world (Higgins 1981, fig. 153; Guggisberg 1996, 129, no. 442, pl. 33). There is a crude figure of a donkey with panniers of unknown provenance from Cyprus that dates to the Early/Middle Bronze Age (Karageorghis 2006, 51-52, no. 32, fig. 41).
- ¹⁷⁰ Jacopi 1930-31, 295; Higgins 1967, 16, pl. 5B; Demakopoulou 1988, 161, no. 120; Guggisberg 1996, 129, no. 442, pl. 33. (from Chamber Tomb 73, Rhodes Archaeological Museum 12727). 0.310m high.
- ¹⁷¹ Nicholls 1970, 10, pl. 3C (Athenian Acropolis), 12 (Karphi domestic structure). Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, 169, T32, 345-46, pl. 169 (c. 900 from grave).
- ¹⁷² Higgins 1967, pl. 8A (unknown provenance); Boardman 1957, 15, pl. 5 (Attic or Euboean, eighth century); Kübler 1954, pl. 144 (Kerameikos LG child's grave); Morgan 1999, 173, personal communication with R.V. Nicholls (several mid-eighth century fragments from Athenian Agora).
- ¹⁷³ For EIA examples of handmade pack animal figurines found in Cyprus, most with no provenance or from tombs, see Morris 1985, 210-11: fig. 341, pl. 239.
- ¹⁷⁴ Epstein 1985.
- ¹⁷⁵ Guggisberg 1996, 291-317.
- ¹⁷⁶ Desborough, Nicholls, and Popham 1970, 25-26; Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, 169, T32, 345-46, pl. 169, 253; Guggisberg 1996, 220-25.
- ¹⁷⁷ Williams 2000.
- ¹⁷⁸ Morgan 1998, 81; 1999, 336-38; Coldstream 2003, 91.
- ¹⁷⁹ Papadopoulos 2001.
- ¹⁸⁰ Demakopoulou 1982, pl. 49, no. 115.
- ¹⁸¹ Voyatzis 1990, 240-41.
- ¹⁸² For birds as symbols of the epiphany of a deity, see Nilsson 1971, 330-31.
- ¹⁸³ Rethemiotakis 2001, 20, 36-37, 46-47, 67, 74; see also Bevan 1986, 30.
- ¹⁸⁴ Coldstream 1984; Burkert 1988; Prent 2005, fig. 79-80.
- ¹⁸⁵ Benson 1970, 29; Gallou 2005, 38-39, 48, 102-03.
- ¹⁸⁶ French 1971, 160; see also Tamvaki 1973, 222-24, 260. Many Mycenaean bird figurines adorned rims of ceramic vessels, for example the LH IIIC bird figurine dedicated at Amyklai, see Demakopoulou 1982, 66-68, pl. 49; Demakopoulou 1988, 103, no. 32. This bird with its linear decoration delineating the wing pattern, and large outlined eye with dot pupil is very similar to the LG bird figurine at Tegea.
- ¹⁸⁷ Benson 1970, 27-28, 60-61. Benson notes the popularity of birds in Close Style pottery, found as isolated examples, heraldically, or in lines, and their popularity in Mycenaean Rude Style pottery in

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Cyprus. In Cypriot painted pottery, the bird continues uninterrupted into the EIA. Bird iconography is continuous into PG Crete. Bird iconography was temporarily lost to Greek world and was reintroduced from east or (as Benson argues) rediscovered from Mycenaean examples.

¹⁸⁸ Benson 1970, 29.

¹⁸⁹ Lefkandi: Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980; Kos: Higgins 1967, Kantzia 1988, 175; Athens: Young 1939, 61-62, no. XII 14, fig. 40, Kübler 1954, 243-44, pl. 144, 14; Naxos: Coldstream 2003, 91; Argos: Courbin 1966, 250, pl. 107. See also Xagorari 1996, 23-25, nos. 33-37, pls. 20, 21.

¹⁹⁰ Voyatzis 1990, fig. 28; for several different illustrations of birds and horses, see Schweitzer 1971, figs. 31, 87, 105, 117-118, 120-121, pl. 82.

¹⁹¹ Bevan 1986, 28.

¹⁹² Vandenabeele 1991.

¹⁹³ Benson 1973.

¹⁹⁴ Rizakarpaso tombs dating to tenth century: Christou 1986, pl. XXIV, 7, 8; Kouklia-*Skales*: Karageorghis 1983, pl. XCIX, CXLIII. Salamis: Monloup 1984, 91. Bird figurines also dedicated at Kition in CGI.

¹⁹⁵ Karageorghis 1970, fig. 89; for date of Kourion scepter, see Goring 1995; Benson 1970, 30, 60-61. Benson states that birds might “represent a ritual honoring noble ancestors,” and an “aristocratic ennoblement of the dead.”

¹⁹⁶ It has been suggested that the Greeks conceived of the soul as a bird, equivalent to the Egyptian Ba bird (Pollard 1977, Ch. 22). In Homer, spirits of the dead fly to Hades like birds (*Od.* 11.605, 24.5; *Il.* 22.362, 16.586). In later Greek art, the dead are represented as winged, while in the Gilgamesh epic the dead are bird-like (Pritchard 1955, 87 Vermeule 1979, 8-11).

¹⁹⁷ Birds are “heralds of the gods,” and *metoikoi* of the gods (Eur. fr. 989a, Soph. *El.* 148, Aesch. *Ag.* 57). This belief that birds are intermediary figures is linked to their use in augury. In art and literature, birds are compared to gods (the eagle is king of birds as well as symbol for the Olympian king; the dove is the most beautiful of birds and is a symbol of Aphrodite). An amusing link in Ar. *Av.* In Roman culture, birds are also associated with the divine realm as well as apotheosis. See discussion in Irving 1990, Ch. 4.

¹⁹⁸ Voyatzis 1990, fig. 28; see later examples in Bevan 1986, 40.

¹⁹⁹ Bevan 1986, 31-35; 39. Bevan describes an engraved stone from Lindos that depicts a kneeling worshipper before a large bird, perhaps a representation of Athena in bird-form.

²⁰⁰ Brewer, Clark, and Phillips 2001, 23.

²⁰¹ *Od.* XVII, 290ff; *Il.* X. 359ff; XV 271ff.

²⁰² Vermeule 1974, fig. 72; see also Karageorghis 1991, 190-93. Enkomi and Kition in the LBA also produced canine figurines, see Karageorghis 1993, 48.

²⁰³ Monloup 1984, 29-30, nos. 1-12.

²⁰⁴ French 1971, 160-61; Tamvaki 1973, 224. There are also two examples of dog figurines carrying young in their mouths, figs. 12, 13.

²⁰⁵ For dog rhyta, see Karo 1911, 262; Marinatos and Hirmer 1960, pl. 6; Laffineur 1975. A wall painting fragment from Tiryns depicts huntsman, horse, and hound; an ivory box with dogs on the side was found in Grave V from Grave Circle A, Mycenae (Vermeule 1964, pls. XXIXa, XXXVIa). On Crete an Early Minoan green schist jar from a tomb near Zakro has a reclining dog reclining on the lid (similar lids were also found at Mochlos and Tylissos, see Higgins 1981, 37-38, fig. 29).

²⁰⁶ Day 1984; Vasilikou 1995; Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1995; see also Gallou 2005, 103-04. Dog burials first occur in the Aegean in the Early and Middle Bronze Age on Cyprus; in the Greek world dog burials occur in LBA Crete and on the mainland and continued in EIA Crete. There is a dog burial over the grave of a woman on the Areopagus from Geometric Athens (Smithson 1974, 334), but its association with the woman's grave is unclear. Dogs were also sacrificed at the funeral of Patroklos, when Achilles sacrifices two of Patroklos' nine dogs (*Il.* 23.171-77). For the Indo-European association between dogs and death, see White 1989.

²⁰⁷ For puppy sacrifice in Hittite ritual, see Collins 1990; for dog burials at Ashkelon, see Wapnish and Hesse 1993. See also Brewer, Clark, and Phillips 2001, 53-55.

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- ²⁰⁸ Frankfort 1970, 112-13; Brewer, Clark, and Phillips 2001, 53-55. For a discussion of impact of this cult on Greek religion, see Burkert 1983. Evidence for dog sacrifice, consisting of burnt canine bones, is found with the Hittites and later at Sardis and Motya, Sicily (see catalogue of known dog burials and sacrifices, Day 1984). Clark associates the ritual burial and sacrifice of dogs in the Near East and Phoenicia with healing cults.
- ²⁰⁹ Grave 12 in the Athenian agora contained three terracotta dog figurines in the same grave with bird figurines. Young 1939, 61-62; Xagorari 1996, 34-35, nos. 57-59, pl. 29.2-4. Some scholars believe the dogs were placed in tombs to accompany the deceased on their journey, perhaps serving a magical function (Scholz 1937, 37; Vermeule 1979, 61). Others postulate that dogs were included as beloved pets in the graves of their owners (Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 66).
- ²¹⁰ Day 1984, 27-28.
- ²¹¹ Bevan 1986, 115-16. In Homer, Cerberus is the monster guarding the gates to Hades, but in later funerary reliefs, dogs appear as friendly companions to the deceased.
- ²¹² Bevan 1986; see also Day 1984, 28. Bevan sees the variety of Archaic goddesses as the heirs of the Bronze Age *potnia*, using the continuity of imagery for goddesses from the LBA to Archaic period as evidence. One interesting Archaic depiction of a *potnia theron* depicts the goddess flanked by dogs (Christou 1968, 167), a nice illustration of the close association between these animals and the *potnia*-type goddesses.
- ²¹³ Bevan 1986, 116-25.
- ²¹⁴ Bevan 1986, 125.
- ²¹⁵ Gesell 1985, 62-63.
- ²¹⁶ Higgins 1981, 16, figs. 3, 22, 33; Gesell 1985, 62-63; Bevan 1986, 260, 262-63.
- ²¹⁷ More clay snakes were also discovered with human figurines in the triangular-shaped room next to the Cult Room; some of these fragments between rooms join. Tylour 1971; Whittaker 1997, 170.
- ²¹⁸ Schweitzer (1971, 47, 59, 64-65, fig. 23, 81-82, figs. 42-43, 90-91, pls. 45-47, 50, 63, 74) interprets snakes as representations of the dead on the mainland as well as on East Greek pottery. Burkert (1985, 195; see also Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 24) also notes that the dead are generally believed to take form of snake.
- ²¹⁹ Schweitzer 1971, 212-16.
- ²²⁰ Christou 1968, 52, 141-47; Bevan 1986, 264-67.
- ²²¹ Burkert 1985, 50.
- ²²² Bevan 1986, 266.
- ²²³ Bevan 1986, 268.
- ²²⁴ Bevan 1986, 272-73.
- ²²⁵ Cook 1914, 1016; Burkert 1985, 130. For Diasia, a purification festival of Zeus Meilichios where Zeus takes a snake-form as a chthonic deity, see Harrison 1991, 12-22; Burkert 1985, 201.
- ²²⁶ Harrison 1991, 325-31.
- ²²⁷ Desborough, Nicholls, and Popham 1970; Coldstream 1991; Snodgrass 1998.
- ²²⁸ For an interesting exhibit on supernatural creatures in Greek art, see Padgett 2003; see general studies Bauer 1912; Buschor 1934; Fittschen 1969.
- ²²⁹ Desborough, Nicholls, and Popham 1970; Popham, Sackett, and Themelis 1980, 168-70, pl. 157; Lemos 2002, 99; see also Kourou 1993.
- ²³⁰ Misch 1992, 216, fig. 200b; Xagorari 1996, 86, no. 32, fig. 9.
- ²³¹ Langdon 1984, 151, C179, 202, nos. C73, C152.
- ²³² For Samian centaur, see Jarosch 1994, 126, no. 409; for Corinth centaur, see Shear 1931, 424, fig. 2; Demetriou 1989, 52; see also Misch 1992.
- ²³³ Gjerstad et al. 1935, 785, pls. CCXXVII, CXXVIII; Desborough 1964, 180; Nicholls 1970, 11-12; Renfrew 1985, 229, pls. 36b, 37a, b, d; Kourou 1993; D'Agata 1997; 1999.
- ²³⁴ Shear 2002.

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²³⁵ For a discussion of the transmission of centaurs in LBA and EIA, see Fittschen 1969; Desborough, Nicholls, and Popham 1970; Demetriou 1989, 51-52; Kourou 1993; Lebessi 1996. The tradition of wheelmade dedications of sphinxes and centaurs occurs first at Subminoan Cretan shrines and appears soon after in Cypriot sanctuaries.

CHAPTER IV
ARMED MEN & ROBED WOMEN
THE ANTHROPOMORPHIC FIGURINES

The interpretation of symbols in any culture is challenging and the analysis of symbols in ancient pre-literate societies even more so. Nevertheless, such a task is essential for understanding Geometric Greece, its relation to its Mycenaean predecessors, and its contribution to later generations. Many scholars have contributed to our increasing knowledge of the use, transmission, and function of symbols and images in the EIA and I am indebted to these studies.¹ In Geometric Greece, figurative symbols functioned as icons: images were meant to be “read” and they transmitted important cultural information. This chapter explores the anthropomorphic figurine types presented regionally in Chapter II. For each type, I investigate its history, distribution, and possible symbolic meanings and function in EIA cult.

This study employs the following criteria to interpret the religious and social significance of each figurine type:²

- 1. Context of image in scene or group.** The majority of figurines are independent figures. Similar figures sometimes occur in group scenes in terracotta, bronze, or in vase painting and comparison between contextual scenes and figurines can aid in interpreting the meaning.
- 2. Gesture.** Certain figurines display distinctive gestures. Some gestures, such as arms raised above the head or the smiting pose, have complicated traditions.³ The history of certain gestures

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complicates analysis since similar gestures are found across cultures and periods and the mode of transmission is not always apparent. In religious contexts, it is likely that gesture operated on multiple levels.⁴ Gesture can be directed to the transcendent, which is not depicted but implied by the gesture itself. Gesture also links object and user through associated imagery, as Christine Morris notes, “the gesturing body generates the appropriate bodily state such as respect, supplication, altered states.”⁵ Thirdly, figurine gesture is arrested in permanent form and communicates eternal messages.⁶

3. Attributes. Geometric art is stylized, minimal, and reductive. Attributes included on bronze or terracotta sculpture or in vase painting are therefore deliberate and meaningful. Distinguishing and identifying these attributes and their use over time and regions can help analyze the figures.⁷ Especially in a period without texts, attributes can be an important detail for elucidating figurine identity and meaning.

4. Manufacturing Technique and Size. Geometric communities produced few objects of intrinsic value; many “valuable” objects are defined as such by the skill and time required to produce the item. For example, commonly recognized objects of value include the Lefkandi centaur and the monumental Dipylon vases. These objects are made of clay, but the excellence of manufacture, the time invested in making and decorating these objects, their use of symbols (not common in the Geometric period, especially the use of anthropomorphic forms), and their monumental size signal their use as prestige items. Some figures in the EIA terracotta repertoire, notably the wheelmade statuettes, stand out for their size and quality. Objects of value should be singled out from the majority of quickly produced handmade figurines.

5. Archaeological Context. Other objects, both figurative and non-figurative, found in associated contexts from the same site or other related sites, can provide important contextual evidence for interpreting types. Placing figurines within the larger votive assemblage from a

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sanctuary ensures a more complete understanding of the deity and cult. Moreover, the occurrence of certain types in other contexts, such as funerary, must be taken into account to understand the use of symbols in Geometric Greece.

6. Quantity. The repetition of symbols, or the lack thereof, is crucial to understanding their importance. Detecting frequency of images in the ancient world is often difficult due to the incomplete nature of the archaeological record. For example, we can never be absolutely sure that an object is unique since future excavations can unearth similar examples. Yet, some figurine types occur in abundance only at certain sites or occur in numbers at many sites. The quantity of the types at each sanctuary and their overall distribution pattern are significant. The presence of only a small quantity of a certain image at sites that have been carefully and thoroughly excavated is significant.

7. Analogy. The similarity of figure types between sites becomes an important factor in interpreting the meaning of the image. For example, if one type of figure is only found at certain sanctuaries, it can be surmised that these cults had something in common. If a certain image is found in sanctuary and funerary contexts, it is likely this image had a larger symbolic value appropriate in the realm of the dead and the divine.

8. Distribution. Lastly, the overall distribution of each type documents the routes of transmission of ideas, including artistic and religious. Distribution patterns help reconstruct the chronological and geographic transmission of symbols.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC IMAGES IN GEOMETRIC GREECE

In a world where figural symbols were rare and zoomorphic images far outnumbered anthropomorphic ones, any depiction of a human in EIA Greece is significant. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines differ from the highly standardized and stylized human figurines of

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the Mycenaean period as well as from the standardized repertoire of human figurines, often mold-made, from the seventh century. The variety of styles, many quite lively and naturalistic, suggests that multiple local coroplastic ateliers were operating throughout Greece.

Both the Minoan and Mycenaean artistic and religious traditions were dominated by female imagery and a scarcity of male divine imagery.⁸ This asymmetry in Minoan and Mycenaean religion has been modified recently in light of new finds of male religious figures, such as the “kouros” from Palaikastro and the male figures from Phylakopi.⁹ Nevertheless, the overwhelming majority of both handmade terracotta figurines and wheelmade statuettes on Crete and Greece are female. The artistic evidence for religious beliefs, including wall paintings, glyptic and other minor arts, and figurines, which depict a religion centered on female imagery, is at odds with Linear B texts, which list male gods with female consorts.¹⁰ The known discordance between textual and artistic evidence cautions against asserting a change in religious practices based on iconography alone.

This gender ratio radically changes in the EIA on Crete and in southern Greece: on Crete the breakdown of the Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms (MGUA) tradition coincides with the appearance of nude male figurines at many sanctuaries and in the Peloponnesos Olympia begins a strong tradition of male figurine dedication.¹¹ The male figurines in bronze and terracotta have been variously interpreted as depictions of gods or male votaries.¹² This reversal of gender preferences for votive dedications is striking and reveals social changes that affected the ritual practices in Crete and southern Greece.

This new trend toward male imagery does not extend to East Greece, where the religious traditions of Cyprus and the Near East exerted considerable influence. Cyprus and Crete preserved many Minoan and Mycenaean customs well into the Geometric and Archaic periods that were selectively re-transmitted to parts of the Greek world throughout the EIA. Sanctuaries

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dedicated to the goddesses Hera and Athena predominate in East Greece and the votive assemblages from these shrines show an affinity for Near Eastern and Cypriot motifs and imported objects.

Deities or Votaries? Females with Outstretched Arms (Type IA)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 71

Lindos: 10 (2 Cypriot imports)

Chios, Harbour Shrine: 1

Samos: 59 (3 Cypriot imports)

Hephaisteia: 3

Females with arms upraised began in the LBA and continued directly after the collapse of the palaces on Crete and Cyprus, where Bronze Age religious customs persisted.¹³ The twelfth-century statuettes of this type are large, approaching one meter in height, but throughout the EIA these statuettes become smaller and their arms descend. By the eighth century the wheelmade figures are small and the handmade figurines have arm stumps, barely extended from the body, or arms held against the side (Type IB). From Crete and Cyprus, wheelmade females with upraised arms were re-introduced to the Aegean world first at the Hera sanctuary on Samos, where five fragments from wheelmade women appear in the tenth century (**S1-3, Figs. 5-6**). Shortly afterwards, slightly smaller Cypriot-made cylindrical female figurines, also with upraised arms, were dedicated at the Athena Shrine at Lindos (**R3, Fig. 3**). In the MG, this type increases in popularity in East Greece and was dedicated in numbers to goddesses at the Harbour Shrine on Chios (**C1, Fig. 12**), the Lindos sanctuary (**R1-2, Figs. 1-2**), and to Hera on Samos (**S4-17, Figs. 7-11, 16**). Two fragments and one well-preserved statuette, remarkably similar to Mycenaean statuettes, were found at Hephaisteia (**L1**). The figures are now increasingly handmade, smaller in scale, and crafted with greater stylistic variety. Additionally, the gesture of upraised arms

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gradually becomes less emphatic until later figurines simply hold their arms out horizontally. The type never becomes popular in the Peloponnesos, but gains in popularity in goddess sanctuaries in Attica and on several islands in the seventh century.¹⁴

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Depictions of women with upraised arms are among the most famous of coroplastic types because of their distinctive posture, controversial identification, and early discovery on Crete and at Mycenae. In the Aegean, this type first appears on MMI Crete, where they are referred to as Minoan Goddesses with Upraised Arms (MGUA).¹⁵ Terracotta handmade figurines and wheelmade figures were exported to the mainland from Crete during the transition from LH IIB to LH IIIA1, becoming an important aspect of Mycenaean religion.¹⁶ Katie Demakopoulou has highlighted the role of the Cyclades and other areas in the development of various wheelmade statuettes (especially cattle and females), pointing to the earlier Cycladic life-size terracotta statues from Ayia Irini on Kea and the almost life-size fragments from anthropomorphic statuettes from Amyklai.¹⁷

Stylized figurines depicting females with upraised arms are found in the thousands at almost every Mycenaean site, while wheelmade statuettes of this type have been found at several Mycenaean sanctuaries of the palatial and post-palatial periods, including Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, Asine, Epidauros, Tsoungiza, the Menelaion outside Sparta, Amyklai, Athens, Thebes, Eutresis, and on the islands Hydra, Aegina, Melos, Thera, Rhodes, and Chios.¹⁸ The statuettes parallel the small handmade figurines in form, gesture, and decoration.¹⁹ Both figurines and figures emphasize the facial features, breasts, hands and fingers, and they wear elaborate dress and jewelry, a key attribute.

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The Mycenaean and later Minoan female statuettes are found in religious contexts, usually associated with bench shrines in palatial centers, where they likely served as cult images.²⁰ Demakopoulou asserts that the limited numbers compared to the masses of ordinary figurines, the fine modeling, and the unique appearance of these statuettes suggest that they functioned as special cultic objects.²¹ The distinguishing gestures of these statuettes have religious significance, indicating blessing, supplication, or divine epiphany.²² The context of almost all statuettes in cultic groups in official religious centers such as the Cult Center at Mycenae, Rooms 110-115 on the Unterberg of Tiryns, the sanctuary of Phylakopi, and perhaps the “Lord of Asine” from a shrine in Asine, reinforces their special function. Klaus Kilian asserts that both figurines and figures possessed a cultic significance that differed only in their level of use: the larger figures were associated with an official cult while the figurines were used on a popular level.²³ The majority of these female figures are found in cult buildings of palatial centers in ritual deposits, which indeed suggests their use in state or official cult. The Tiryns statuettes illustrate that this cult continued after the fall of Mycenaean palaces.²⁴

The tradition of making large wheelmade female figures with upraised arms that characterized post-palatial Crete and Mycenaean Greece continues directly into the Subminoan period, as evidenced by the famous MGUAs from Karphi and the PG unidentified sanctuary at Kalo Chori.²⁵ They continue the earlier Cretan statuette tradition: they have narrow waists, barrel-shaped, carinated dresses, large, exaggerated hands, and stylized upraised faces. Their associated symbols, horns of consecration, birds, poppies, and snakes also continue, although they are now part of the goddess figure itself, not independent figures.²⁶ After the collapse of the Mycenaean system at the end of the twelfth century, Minoans and Mycenaean emigrants apparently emigrated to the east, many settling on the Aegean islands and Cyprus. These settlers/refugees brought with them the tradition of making wheelmade female figures.²⁷ In Cyprus, MGUA inspired figures appear as

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early as the eleventh century.²⁸ In Crete, the PG MGUA figures differ from their earlier predecessors in context and there is a decline in the gesture. The Cretan examples are not clearly depictions of goddesses, but on Cyprus the figures are more securely identified as divine images.²⁹

Wheelmade statuettes of females with outstretched arms are one of the few images to survive the LBA collapse, but because of the complexities of transmission and social change we should not assume that the meaning and function continue. The controversy surrounding the meaning of this type in the LBA and the change in style and function in the EIA make interpreting the continuation of the symbol in the EIA challenging. The Mycenaean and Minoan statuettes are identified either as depictions of goddesses, possibly even cult statues, or priestesses in the guise of the goddess, or depictions of votaries.³⁰ The uniformity of the type, their size and decoration, and their exclusive religious context support a divine identification.³¹ These images were not on permanent display, as later Greek cult statues, but were likely carried in processions as idols, venerated by the population on festival occasions.³²

Mycenaean handmade female figurines, on the other hand, were discovered with the first material evidence for the Mycenaean civilization and their lavish publication by Heinrich Schliemann engendered much discussion of this type.³³ These standardized and stylized females, with arms upraised or held under the breasts, have been interpreted as servants of the deceased (analogous to Egyptian ushabtis) or representations of goddesses that served as nurses to the deceased, religious idols, superstitious amulets, or even toys.³⁴ The figurines are found in shrines, graves, houses, and dumps; their widespread use argues against a single function and identity. Their iconography, however, does repeat official religious iconography. These figurines were not sacred in and of themselves, but took their meaning and efficacy, which could be temporary, from

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their context. The figurines depended on official sacred imagery, but their multiple users generated multivalent meanings.³⁵

Minoans and/or Mycenaeans brought this type with them to Cyprus, where it was appropriated by existing goddess cults.³⁶ On Crete, Subminoan MGUA statuettes continued their earlier function as representations of goddess(es), but later depictions on Crete display a change in form and context.³⁷ The type dies out on the mainland. The next reappearance in Greece of this type occurs on the East Greek islands, where female statuettes were found at goddess sanctuaries. At Lindos and Samos the earliest fragments are stylistically similar to SM and PG figurines from post-Palatial Crete (**S1, Fig. 5, R1-2, Figs.1-2**): these belong to wheelmade statuettes with exaggerated hands and outstretched arms.³⁸ The style of these figures, with large skirts and small, carinated waists, have been compared with the MGUAs from Crete, while later depictions, with cylindrical bodies, exhibit Cypriot/Mycenaean influence.³⁹ Nota Kourou asserts that the change in stylistic influence from Minoan, followed by a gap, to Cypriot indicates a change in cult practice and the associated imagery.⁴⁰ This emphasis on style obscures the continuity of type and context. The fragments from wheelmade females from Samos and Rhodes, however, are only superficially similar to earlier Cretan examples: they are not nearly as large and despite their narrow waists, they are not similar in profile. The Samian and Rhodian figures are local imitations of a widespread type. Stylistic differences need not imply a change in function or meaning. Indeed, the continuity of the type, technique of manufacture, and context in goddess sanctuaries in the eastern Aegean argues for a continuity of meaning.

Kourou's study confirms that the Mycenaean appearance of many of the eighth-century figures is not a recollection of a centuries-old type, but was intentionally adopted from Cypriot figurines, which continued LBA styles.⁴¹ Regardless of the inspiration for style, the East Greek coroplasts consistently created images of women with upraised or outstretched arms, iconography

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considered appropriate for local cult. Perhaps the source of influence reflects the dominance of Cretan influence in the earlier EIA and the ascendancy of Cypriot traders in the later Geometric period when many of the East Greek islands enjoyed close relations with Cyprus and the sanctuaries received Cypriot-made gifts.⁴² The change in inspiration might be due to the fame and antiquity of the goddess cults on Cyprus, which were quite famous by the Archaic period. Perhaps the antiquity and renown of the Cypriot goddess was the impetus for the stylistic switch, not a change in local cult practices.

In the EG, a new version of this type appears at the same sanctuaries of Athena and Hera. These new figurines were imported from Cyprus and are close replicas of figurines found at Enkomi (**R3, S3, Figs. 3, 6**).⁴³ Because these are imports, we can be sure that Cyprus is the source for this type, although it is not at all certain how these arrived. Whether brought to the sanctuaries by traders or pilgrims, local traders or Cypriots, there must have been a perceived affinity between figurine type and cult. It is likely that the goddesses on Samos and Rhodes shared features in common with Cypriot goddess cults.

The earliest females with raised arms found in EIA contexts continue the Bronze Age tradition: they are wheelmade and are only found in sanctuaries, indicating a continuity of identity and use. In developing a theoretical framework for identifying cult, Renfrew has outlined several features to distinguish between cult image and votive offering. One criterion is a “highly asymmetrical role emphasized markedly by attention focusing devices. An image, focally placed, without rivals for attention, and accompanied by offerings...may well qualify as a cult image.”⁴⁴ The original contexts of the early wheelmade females from these sanctuaries are lost and we cannot reconstruct their display or identify offerings left to these figures. To use the term “cult statue,” which implies that they were the main focus and received prayer, offerings, and

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eneration, is too strong a term. These early statuettes cannot be interpreted as votive offerings and they likely invoked the presence of the deity as cult idols.

By the ninth century there is a change in size and style, which suggests a possible change in function and/or meaning. By the LG, more examples of this type are dedicated, but they are now small, handmade figurines and the gesture less dramatic: arms are often stumps held out horizontally rather than upraised (**R4-6, S4, Figs. 4, 7**). Female figurines with outstretched arms become smaller, most handmade, and have varied gesture. The practice of making wheelmade figures does not entirely die out and many small, wheelmade figures are dedicated at Samos. These figurines are smaller with increasingly stylized features and the gesture is more varied (**S7-12, Figs. 8-10**). These figurines are produced in quantity, they are of less remarkable size and decoration, and they are no longer unique or rare at the site.

By the later eighth century the form and manufacturing technique of these figures had undergone significant change, which must be related to a change in function.⁴⁵ The gesture evolved from the LBA gesture of sharply upturned arms with large hands, to arms curved dramatically above the head, and finally to minimal arms outstretched horizontally. With each change, the gesture became less distinctive. The change in manufacture technique, the dramatic increase in the number of figurines, and the variety of gesture all indicate a change in function. There are now no outstanding features, such as style, size, or uniqueness, to indicate these eighth-century figurines were used as cult idols. Applying Colin Renfrew's model, we can no longer claim that these terracotta served a special function as cult idols. Rather, the quantity and variation present in these figurines imply that they were dedicated as gifts; their production intensified to meet the demands of a new votive habit.

In EIA Greece, terracotta females with outstretched arms are not found outside sanctuary contexts; their exclusive association with goddess sanctuaries at Lindos, Chios, Samos, and

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Lemnos, suggests a close association with the goddess and her worshippers. Bronze examples of this type are found only at Olympia, but these figurines lack the distinctive early gesture, appearing only with the arms held horizontally. The bronze females are nude and wear headdresses, perhaps identifying them as divine.⁴⁶ Their predominance at Olympia provides evidence for the appearance of the Hera cult, or at least a female role in cult.⁴⁷

The significance of the gesture of raised or outstretched arms is associated exclusively with goddesses and is likely a gesture of divinity. The earliest examples might have served as cult idols that were displayed or used in rituals such as processions, but by the eighth century the gesture, size, and quantity of the figurines suggest a new votive function. The continuation of the basic type suggests that they might have retained their divine identities, but no longer functioned as important cult idols. Rather, they were deposited as gifts intended to please the goddess. The motivations for gift giving are complex and likely varied with each gift. Even standardized types, often ambiguous, could assume different meaning and even identities to worshippers, many at Samos from different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Reconstructing why worshippers would dedicate an image of a deity to the deity is complex. An image of the divine could have been considered an appropriate offering. In later Greek religion, a worshipper could give a gift that was pleasing, an *agalma*, to delight the deity. Perhaps giving an image of the goddess herself was a means to obtain divine favor. It is likely that images of the goddess were dedicated at several goddess sanctuaries as something pleasing to the deity, something given to create a relationship of *charis* between worshipper and deity.⁴⁸

Standing Females
(Type IB)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 213

Lindos: 3

Chios, Athena Shrine: 2

Samos: 208 (1 Cypriot import)

Like many other female terracotta types, females with arms held at their sides are found mainly in East Greece. The earliest example comes from Samos (**S18, Fig. 15**): a crudely handmade figure with neck roughly smoothed to a lumpy torso. The neck, crude modeling, elongated torso, and incised circle eyes are remarkably similar to ninth-century male terracottas from the Zeus sanctuary at Olympia (**O4-5, Fig. 38**). Lacking other evidence of contact between Olympia and Samos at this early date, the similarity likely reflects lingering LBA handmade figurine traditions in both areas. The Samian figurine is the sole example of this type at this early date.

The type's increased popularity in the LG attests to a growing need for votive offerings in the second half of the eighth century. 173 LG examples from Samos have been published (**S19-35, Fig. 17**). These figurines show remarkable variety: there are handmade and wheelmade examples of large and small size, some with flat chests and large skirts, others with barrel-shaped bodies. The Athena sanctuaries on Rhodes and Chios also received several female figurines with arms to their sides in the LG. On Rhodes, these females are larger and wheelmade with carefully executed painted decoration (**R8, R10, Fig. 14**). The decoration emphasizes the geometric designs of the dress, their fingers, and breasts.

Despite the variety in style, all figurines depict women with decorated dresses, poloi headdresses, and an abundance of painted jewelry. The uniformity of subject matter argues for a coherent identity.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Robed females with arms held by their sides do not enjoy the early popularity of female figurines with outstretched arms, but by the LG females with arms to the sides dominate the female figurine assemblage. These female figurines have no clear LBA precedents, nor do they appear in number until the eighth century. This type is a Geometric innovation, created to meet new cult requirements. Unlike female figurines with arms held out, which appear early in goddess sanctuaries and might have functioned as idols of the goddess, female figurines with their arms to their sides appear suddenly and in great numbers only in the LG. Both types of female figurines wear elaborate dress and jewelry. The pose of a standing woman with arms held at the sides seems intentionally vague, lacking the distinctive gesture. The great number and their relatively quick manufacture suggest that these figurines were created as votive offerings.

Bronze figurines of this type differ from their terracotta counterparts in their nudity. Susan Langdon suggests that these figurines, dedicated at the Polis Cave, the Athenian Acropolis, Delphi, Samos, and Rhodes, can be identified as divine by their nudity and strict icon-like frontality.⁴⁹ There are no figurines, either bronze or terracotta, of standing women found in graves or domestic contexts, highlighting the specifically religious significance of the type.

The identity of these figurines is unclear. Eighth- and later seventh-century female figurines seem to depict the same figure: an elaborately robed, belted, and bejeweled woman. Are these women, are these goddesses, and if so, which one? These questions obscure the intentionally generic image presented, one that depicts an ideal woman, whether mortal or divine. They could represent an ideal worshipper, a priestess, both of which might make use of divine imagery to link the devout with the goddess. Social ideals were projected onto the divine realm and deities could serve as a model of social behaviors. The ambiguity of pose and lack of

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attributes prohibit specifying whom exactly these figurines represent. The multivalent and flexible iconography of this type, which could suit the votive needs of many groups and cults, takes over Type IA in popularity. Indeed, it is Type IB, so suited to the demands of polis religion, that dominates the coroplastic votive assemblage of Archaic goddess cults.

Cultic Dancers and Ring Groups (Type II)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 21

Lindos: 6 (4 Cypriot imports)

Samos: 15 (4 Cypriot imports)

Ring dancer terracotta figurine groups have a limited distribution in the Geometric period despite the old pedigree of the type and the importance of dance imagery in Greek religion. The type consists of several handmade dancers joining hands, standing in a circle on a flat base (**R11-12, S40, Figs. 19-20, 22**). Usually there is a male musician in the center of the female dancers (**R12, Fig. 20**). The type is characteristic of Cypriot votives and is brought first to Samos, where four fragments from Cypriot ring dancer groups were dedicated at the Hera sanctuary sometime in the tenth century (**S38-40, Fig. 22**). These examples were quickly imitated locally (**S36-37, Fig. 21**). In the eighth century, the type is found at the Athena sanctuary at Lindos; again Cypriot imports were copied (**R11-12, Figs. 19-20**). Terracotta dancer groups do not become popular in the Geometric period outside Samos or Rhodes, although examples of dancers appear in vase paintings and in bronze.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

The ring dancer motif dates back to the Minoan period. Terracotta groups of women in a circular dance have been found at many sites on Crete, including Palaikastro and in the tholos

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tomb at Kamilari.⁵⁰ On Cyprus, music and dance were important aspects of many early cults and religious iconography. There are several early depictions of dancers or musicians. Ring dance terracotta groups are dedicated at many Cypro-Geometric sanctuaries beginning in the eleventh century, and the type continues for centuries with little stylistic change.⁵¹ A series of Cypriot-made dancing groups with musicians were dedicated at the Samian Heraion and Lindos, between the tenth and eighth century. They were likely dedicated as votive offerings that depicted cultic musicians and religious dances.

Despite the importance of music and dance in Greek cult, this type of votive offering did not become popular in the Geometric period in terracotta, but is found in bronze figurine groups beginning in the ninth and eighth centuries. No fewer than nine bronze ring dancer groups were dedicated at Olympia and an unusual theriomorphic male dancing group was dedicated at Petrovouni.⁵² The bronze groups from Olympia depict nude women dancing in a circle. The group from Petrovouni presents zoocephalic or masked dancers in a square pattern. These groups differ from the dance groups from Cyprus and East Greece, which depicted robed female dancers surrounded by male musicians. Although the bronze ring dancers are of local style and are related to Peloponnesian cults, the importance of the ring dance perhaps applies to both groups. Ring dancers in terracotta appear later at Corinth and Argos.

In several societies, including those of the ancient Mediterranean, dance and music serve as ordering forces that reaffirm social and sometimes metaphysical roles and at the same time can create states of ecstatic chaos in ritual settings.⁵³ The prevalence of dancing on Geometric pottery, where scenes are translated into organized compositions and serve as a metaphor for order, indicates that in LG Greece dance also functioned as an ordering force.⁵⁴ Steven Lonsdale's study of the role of dance in ancient Greece illustrates that dance was performed in emulation of divine prototypes and that choral dances of the gods "assured that communal harmony and stability

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reigned.”⁵⁵ In literature, dance is associated with young female beauty and is closely associated with ideal communities, such as those of the nymphs, the Muses, the Hyperboreans, and the Phaeacians.⁵⁶ Dance creates and symbolizes a beautiful and harmonious social order. All Olympian gods dance, but it is Artemis who becomes the most famous leader of the ring dance. The young girls in her choruses are beautiful, graceful, and of marriageable age: they are models of grace, youthful beauty, erotic charm, and rhythmic harmony.⁵⁷ The dance on vase scenes and in cult is thus linked to courtship rites and perhaps initiation of girls entering marriageable ages.⁵⁸

As a source of delight and performed in emulation of the gods, dance was an integral part of worship in many cults. Several vase paintings from Athens, Boeotia, the Argolid plain, Lakonia, Tegea, Delos, and Crete illustrate the ritual role of dance.⁵⁹ In Cyprus and perhaps in Greece, dance is performed in the context of ritual feasting and music in the service of a goddess.⁶⁰ Since the earliest dancing figurines in East Greece are Cypriot imports, it is likely that at Samos and Lindos dance was used in similar rituals enacted for goddesses. Despite the role of music and dance in cult, figurines representing its performance (both in bronze and terracotta) do not become standard votive figurines, perhaps because of the difficulty in executing the group motif.

The Enthroned Goddess (Type III)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 8

Lindos: 2

Samos: 6

This type does not begin until the end of the LG period, c. 700, appearing in limited numbers at the goddess sanctuaries of East Greece. Seated females and throne fragments have been discovered from the Samian Heraion as well as the Athena sanctuary at Lindos (R13, S41-43,

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Figs. 23-24). These female figures are distinguished by their seated poses on thrones or benches; some only preserve the throne and it is unclear whether there was originally a seated female included. These are handmade and display a variety of styles. Despite its limited popularity in the Geometric period, this type of enthroned figure becomes popular at many goddess sanctuaries in the Archaic period.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Figurines of enthroned women occur in the Minoan and Mycenaean coroplastic repertoire. The Mycenaean examples are handmade and depict a seated female (of the traditional phi, psi, or tau type) seated on a throne, a type ultimately derived from Near Eastern terracottas.⁶¹ Some enthroned figures carry infants, identifying them as kourotrophic figures. Because these enthroned women follow the canonical female types, they can be interpreted as representing either goddesses or votaries.⁶² Other figurines are empty thrones without a figure, perhaps implying the presence of the divinity.⁶³

Enthroned females appear in the LM IIIC and Subminoan periods on Crete, illustrated by a well-preserved figurine from Kaphala Vasiliki, and continue into the PG period, as illustrated by the female enthroned within the Archanes hut model.⁶⁴ The enthroned type also exists in LBA Cyprus, likely influenced by Syrian examples, some of which are also kourotrophic.⁶⁵

In his study of this type, Peter Kranz has noticed a significant gap in the production of enthroned goddesses. Despite their popularity in the LBA, enthroned figurines do not reappear until the eighth century and they do not become popular on the mainland and Crete until the seventh century.⁶⁶ Terracotta seated female figurines are found in Attic graves as well as in sanctuaries.⁶⁷ The back of an Attic terracotta throne is adorned with a Mycenaean-style mourning female. These Attic examples continue the Mycenaean custom of mourning women who raise

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their hands to pull their hair in a typical gesture of grief.⁶⁸ This Attic tradition differs from the re-introduction of the enthroned goddess type from the Near East that occurred later.

When the type reappears, it is especially associated with goddess sanctuaries. The specialized pose and the elaboration of these females with thrones along with their context within goddess sanctuaries make it likely that these figurines represent a seated goddess. Some LBA and EIA vase paintings depict an enthroned female approached by worshippers, likely a depiction of a goddess.⁶⁹

Pudica Figures & Nude Women (Type IV)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 13

Samos: 7

Olympia: 6

This type in terracotta begins in the last quarter of the eighth century and is limited to two sites that are likely related in their worship of Hera. Terracotta figurines of nude women are not found exclusively in East Greece, as other female types, but are divided between Olympia and Samos. This type consists of females in pudica poses, females holding both breasts, and nude figures. Although various postures are included in this type, they share an emphasis on gender and sexuality.

From Samos both wheelmade and handmade figurines occur in these poses (**S44-47, Fig. 25**); these females are dressed, but gesture towards their sex and/or breasts. At Olympia, the figurines are small and handmade and are explicitly nude: both their breasts and sex are clearly defined (**O1-2, Figs. 26-27**). Their pose, which mimics the spread arm and leg pose of many of the nude male figurines from the sanctuary, further accentuates their nudity.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

The appearance of figurines holding their hands under or on their breasts in the LG period revives a common LBA type. Several of the Mycenaean wheelmade female statuettes hold their hands under their breasts and this gesture is found on Minoan statuettes.⁷⁰ Ultimately, this type derives from Near Eastern goddess iconography, especially prevalent the cults of Astarte and other fertility goddesses in Syro-Palestine.⁷¹ From Syria, this imagery is transmitted to LBA Cyprus, where a series of Base Ring Ware figurines depict bejeweled women with hands under their breasts.⁷² In the Near East, several scholars have cautioned against a unified identify for these female figures, some even arguing that the figurines do not represent a deity, but worshippers; more recently some scholars have questioned their fertility connotations, arguing for their role in girls' initiation ceremonies.⁷³ In the Near East and Cyprus, the association of these figures with cults of fertility goddesses is based largely on their gestures. In the Aegean world the figurines in these poses are similarly found in many contexts and likely had multiple meanings, but wheelmade statuettes are confined to religious shrines where female imagery predominates.⁷⁴ The Aegean examples also differ from their eastern counterparts in their elaborate dress, which departs from the nudity or partial nudity of the Near Eastern and Cypriot examples.⁷⁵ Both cultures carefully depict these women, both nude and clothed, with elaborate jewelry, both symbols of their power.⁷⁶

The popularity of this type in terracotta does not survive the twelfth century; unlike the women with upraised arms, it does not continue on Crete or Cyprus. Terracotta figurines of females accentuating their sex are not revived in the Aegean until the end of the eighth century, but after this these depictions become widespread. This terracotta trend differs from the bronze figurine tradition, in which nude females were popular in the Geometric period. Several bronze nude females dating from the end of the LBA and into the EIA have been found on Crete and

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nude bronze females are found at a staggering number of Greek sites: Kameiros, Lindos, Samos, Olympia, Asine, Delphi, Athens, Mavriki, Tegea, Lusoi, and the Polis Cave.⁷⁷ The bronze nude females are depicted in a variety of poses, including upraised arms, arms held by the side, and pudica poses. None of the bronze figurines depicts the hands-to-breasts pose with the exception of a leaded bronze figurine from Tegea, which is perhaps imported.⁷⁸

At Samos, Hera received female figurines in pudica poses, both the traditional as well as placing both hands over the abdomen. Later depictions of Hera partially undressed, especially with her partner Zeus and in *hieros gamos* depictions, help to interpret these early figurines. Hera, the goddess of marriage, could be depicted in sexual poses and nude figurines represent this aspect of the goddess. Female nudity, even partial nudity, was not accepted for ordinary Greek women and the explicit sexuality of these images, inspired from Near Eastern goddess iconography, was adapted to depict Hera, not mortal women.

The presence of nude female figurines at Olympia in the LG is more difficult to interpret. The later presence of multiple cults at the site, including that of Hera and other goddesses, and the impossibility of assigning figurines to a specific cult makes interpreting the Olympia nude females difficult. The early terracotta and other votive evidence is consistent with contemporary terracottas dedicated to male deities. For the tenth through early eighth century, it is reasonable to conclude that Zeus was the main deity worshipped. Even in the LG, the overwhelming majority of the figurines (male warriors, nude males, and chariot groups) is consistent with gifts given to male deities in the later eighth century.

The cult of Zeus' consort Hera, however, was popular at the site by the Archaic period, making it likely that a Hera cult existed earlier. The presence of explicitly nude female figures is not paralleled in the terracotta dedications at any other sanctuary in the Geometric period, although this iconography does appear in the LG in other media at other goddess sanctuaries.⁷⁹

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The nudity of these female figurines stands apart from the usual Geometric tradition and has been interpreted as a sign of antiquity.⁸⁰ The proliferation of nude women in the eighth century, however, is more appropriately linked to an increased influence from Near Eastern cultures where female nudity was prevalent.⁸¹ In the Archaic period nude female imagery becomes popular at many goddess sanctuaries and indeed the recurring theme of female nudity can be firmly connected with the worship of various goddesses.⁸²

The Olympia nude female figurines also wear a decorated headdress, which together with their nudity, suggests a divine identity. The Geometric association of female figurines with female cults together with the later link between nude females and goddess sanctuaries argues strongly that the Olympia females should be associated with the cult of Hera. The bronze and terracotta female figurines, which cannot be dated before the eighth century, are the first votives that can be securely linked with a goddess cult, indicating the introduction of the cult occurred no earlier than the eighth century. Catherine Morgan has noted the increase in jewelry dedications at Olympia in the later eighth century, providing further evidence for the increasing popularity of female participation in cult.⁸³ The small number of female figurines, both in terracotta and bronze, makes sense if they were associated with a relatively new cult.

Emile Kunze first identified these figurines as goddesses, specifically representations of one of the early female deities at Olympia, such as Gaia or Eilytheia.⁸⁴ This interpretation is problematic due to the lack of later depictions of these goddesses at the site.⁸⁵ Wolf-Dieter Heilmeyer first identified the figurines as Hera based on their nudity and presence of zigzag decorated diadems, or poloi.⁸⁶ Despite their gesture of outstretched arms and legs, which parallels the pose of the male votaries at Olympia and on Crete, these females should be identified as divine.⁸⁷ Hera, a goddess concerned with marriage and fertility, is a likely candidate due to the popularity of her cult at the site in the Archaic period and due to the close link between nude

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female iconography and Hera in later periods. The only other nude or pudica figurines found in the Geometric period occur at another Hera sanctuary on Samos.

The motif of female nudity was not common in early Greek art, and this imagery is commonly found on imported objects, or objects influenced by Near Eastern or Egyptian motifs. The sporadic appearance of nude females and females in pudica poses suggests that this iconography was not an institutionalized aspect of Greek cult, but perhaps the result of external influences at Hera cults. Indeed, the exotic imagery of the female nude with its clear associations with the east might have added additional meaning to the pudica and nude terracottas. Their “foreignness” might have enhanced their appeal and perhaps also embodied Near Eastern cultic associations.

A Kourotrophos (Type V)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 1

Lindos: 1

In the Geometric period, there is one example of a kourotrophos figure: a handmade figurine from the Athena sanctuary at Lindos dated to the end of the eighth century. This figurine (**R14, Fig. 28**) depicts a female wearing a polos and decorated robe cradling an infant in the left arm. This is perhaps one of the earliest examples of the type in terracotta after the LBA, and prefigures the popularity of the kourotrophic theme in the Archaic period.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Kourotrophic figurines are found among the Mycenaean handmade figurines and have a variety of poses, including standing, seated, and group compositions with three or three figures.⁸⁸ The Mycenaean figurines, along with one wheelmade example, are found in the same contexts as

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other figurines: in settlements, graves, and sanctuaries. A large deposit of the type, however, was excavated at the Aphaia sanctuary, strengthening the assertion that these are related to goddess cults.⁸⁹ The type is not common in Minoan iconography, but there is a rare example from Knossos.⁹⁰ Kourotrophic figures enjoy a much longer history and greater popularity on Cyprus, perhaps due to the nature of the goddess cults on the island and influence from the Near East.⁹¹

To my knowledge, there are no representations of kourotrophic images on vase paintings or in the bronze figurine assemblage; the type did not survive the LBA in the Aegean. The Rhodian figurine is an early forerunner of a motif popular in later Greek art and religion. The kourotrophic type in later Greek religion was widespread, associated with many cults including those of virgin goddesses and gods.⁹² The early appearance of this type on Rhodes is likely the result of influence from Cyprus, where the type enjoyed immense popularity. Beyond this, it is difficult to speculate on the role of the kourotrophic in the EIA based on a single example.

The Male Role in Early Cult: Robed Men (Type VI)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 40

Lindos: 7 (7 Cypriot imports)

Samos: 33 (8 Cypriot imports)

Imported robed male figurines appear in East Greek goddess sanctuaries in the LG and SG/EA periods. These figures were produced and dedicated at the Hera sanctuary on Samos and Cypriot examples of this type were dedicated to Athena at Lindos (S48-60, Figs. 29-33). These males are not armed and do not depict warriors. Their long robes and static poses emphasize their non-martial identity. The LG robed males have upturned faces and pronounced features with bulging eyes and wear close-fitting skullcaps (S49-50, Figs. 29-30) or conical caps (S58, Fig. 33). They wear long cylindrical robes, sometimes decorated, that reach to their ankles and typically

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hold both arms at their sides (S49, S54, Figs. 29, 31). Others hold their arms in gestures of prayer (S50, S57-58, Figs. 30, 32-33). They are unique to goddess sanctuaries and are the only male type found in numbers at these shrines.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

Male figurines were not a consistent aspect of Aegean or Near Eastern art and their appearance coincides with periods of radical social change.⁹³ At the end of the second millennium, bronze male figurines depicting warriors and robed men appear in the Levant and terracotta male figures appear in the Aegean world.⁹⁴ Unarmed, robed standing males were not part of the Mycenaean handmade or wheelmade coroplastic tradition and are a new element that appears at the end of the eighth century in Greek cult. Robed male terracotta figurines, both seated and standing, were produced during the LBA and EIA in Syria in terracotta and bronze.⁹⁵ Although the Syrian female terracotta type was readily adopted in Cyprus during the LBA, the male types were not. Robed males wearing conical headdress do appear in Cypriot CAI sanctuaries and this type was exported to Lindos and Samos.

The figurines are decidedly not warriors: they do not carry weapons or wear armor. Moreover, they stand rigidly with their arms held by their sides in a non-aggressive pose; some from Samos hold their arms in gestures of adoration. Their most distinctive traits are their tight skullcaps, or perhaps shaved heads, as well as their long, ankle-length robes. Some wear pointed caps. These are depictions of votaries, and their skullcaps or shaven heads might indicate their role as priests. Similar dedications in Cyprus, both figurines and limestone sculpture, are convincingly identified as priests, temple personnel, and votaries, thus it seems likely that this identification was transferred with the type to East Greece.⁹⁶ The variety of this type argues

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against a unified identity, each figurine could serve to indicate priest, a pious donor, or other temple personnel.

The Male Role in Early Cult: Warriors (Type VII)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 45

Lindos: 3 (2 Cypriot)

Amyklai: 1

Olympia: 40

Kombothekra: 1

Male warriors are among the earliest of Geometric figural images, occurring in terracotta and bronze, and dominate the Peloponnesian assemblage. The prevalence of warrior imagery in Geometric Greece is the subject of numerous studies, yet many scholars do not differentiate between the different types of armed men, nor do they include the unarmed male figures also present at many Geometric sites. Past studies focused on the bronze warriors, passing over the terracotta examples. My research clearly differentiates between types of warriors, studying each as a separate type: standing warriors, horse riders, and charioteers. Thus, Type VII includes only standing male figurines that are adorned with belts, helmets, sword straps, or weapons. It does not include riders, unarmed standing males, or chariot drivers, some of whom are armed.

Armed male figurines in bronze and terracotta excavated in the nineteenth century at Olympia were among the earliest three-dimensional examples of Geometric art discovered and early scholars, lacking comparanda, debated their chronology and place in Greek art (**O3-10, Figs. 37-41**). Adolf Furtwängler first developed a chronology for the Geometric figurines through astute visual examination of the internal development of the figurines.⁹⁷ Later Heilmeyer isolated the terracotta figurines, again creating a detailed chronology based on close stylistic analysis, and controversially argued for tenth-century “Zeus” figurines, the earliest at the site.⁹⁸ The more

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recent excavations under Helmut Kyrieleis have brought to light early pottery (from both new excavations and storerooms) that provides supporting evidence for a tenth-century cult at Olympia (see Chapter II).⁹⁹

The nearby cult at Kombothekra, which began in the eighth century, has yielded figurines similar to the Olympia LG warriors, including one male warrior (**K1, Fig. 43**). Outside the sphere of Olympia, which has yielded the overwhelming majority of terracotta and bronze warrior figurines, the Athena sanctuary on Lindos received handmade terracotta warrior dedications of different technique and style entirely (**R15-16, Figs. 34, 36**). The limited distribution of terracotta warriors stands in sharp contrast to the widespread distribution of bronze warrior figurines.

The tenth-century warriors from Olympia are handmade, distinguished by their elongated torsos and necks, shortened legs and arms, pinched, upturned faces, protruding buttocks, spread legs, and arms held forward, most likely holding a spear or weapon (**O3-5, Figs. 37-38**). The figurines have prominently modeled genitalia with painted belts or helmets visible on some. Most of the arms are unfortunately missing, but one figurine (**O5, Fig. 38**) has a defined groove in the left hand that held a cylindrical object, most likely a spear.

The EG figurines from Olympia are more elaborate (**O6, Fig. 39**) with plastically added belts, sword belts, small conical helmets with chin straps. The faces are detailed with slits and gouged eyes, and both arms are held forward. By the LG, however, the style changes and there is now a stylistic homogeneity among the figurines (**O7-10, Figs. 40-41**). The figurines are small and handmade, with legs spread apart and both arms held out to the sides. The genitals are modeled and the nipples and navels are outlined with incised circles. The faces are upturned with prominent noses, slit mouths, incised eyes and the figurines wear conical helmets. This is the style also found at LG Kombothekra, suggesting a common workshop (**K1, Fig. 43**).

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Since their discovery, a local origin has been claimed for both the style and iconography of the Olympia figurines. Indeed, many have even claimed an Olympic origin for the warrior motif in general as well the beginning of Geometric sculpture. Michael Byrne's study of Geometric warrior iconography, however, posits a Cretan origin for the warrior motif, noting that several features of the earliest figurines, both bronze and terracotta, are found on earlier Cretan figurines.¹⁰⁰ The Olympia coroplastic tradition is a combination of local developments and external influences from votives dedicated at Zeus sanctuaries on Crete.

By contrast, the warriors dedicated to the goddess Athena at Lindos were Cypriot-made (**R15-16, Figs. 34, 36**). One of the Cypriot figurines is a distinctive "wheeled warrior" type, discussed in Chapter II, and was produced in a workshop in the kingdom of Salamis (**R15, Fig. 35-36**). The other Cypriot import (**R16, Fig. 36**) has a bell-shaped base and cylindrical torso and the right arm holds a spear aloft. The figurine wears a conical helmet and also has close parallels with Cypriot figurines.¹⁰¹ No local imitations have yet been found. It is likely Cypriots dedicated these in accordance with their local customs.

In addition to handmade warrior votives, a unique handmade male head with helmet from a larger statuette was found together with a unique female head at the sanctuary of Apollo Hyakinthos at Amyklai (**A1-2, Figs. 42, 74**). These heads were attached to large wheelmade statuettes, approximately 0.500m in reconstructed height, closest to LH IIIC wheelmade statuettes in manufacture technique. The form of the statuette, a male warrior with conical helmet, however, has no exact parallels in the Mycenaean or Geometric statuette tradition. The combination of wheelmade technique with the warrior form has caused confusion regarding the date of this figure: some scholars date it to the LBA based on manufacture, while more recently, most scholars agree that the decoration is purely LG.¹⁰² It is significant that another statuette was used at this shrine in its Late Mycenaean phase: fragments of a polos headdress and a hand holding a

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kylix from one or two wheelmade statuettes were found.¹⁰³ Although it is possible that the wheelmade tradition continued, it is more likely that the technique was re-introduced in the eighth century.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

The abundance of armed male figures in Geometric art is a well-known phenomenon that is often contrasted with the predominance of female imagery in the preceding period. Warrior iconography has been associated in early scholarship with the “Dorian invasion” and the new cult of war-like Olympian deities that continue into the historic period, a theory dismissed on archaeological and textual grounds.¹⁰⁴ Linear B has confirmed the continuity of worship of several Olympian deities since the LBA, including the male deities Zeus, Poseidon, and possibly Apollo and Ares.¹⁰⁵ Thus, the appearance of armed males in vase painting as well as in bronze and terracotta can no longer be linked with a new pantheon, although we should not assume that the nature of the deities and their rituals remained unchanged.

The ubiquity of war iconography has more recently been associated with a drastically changed society beginning in the post-palatial LH IIIC and the realities of an unstable Greek world in which warfare and defense were a reality. Already in LH IIIC images of male warriors and war become more common and they differ from earlier ceremonial and heroic scenes of chariot processions and hunting. Accompanying these scenes is an increasing number of handmade and wheelmade male terracottas. The unstable conditions of the Late Mycenaean and SM world are likely related to the rise in war iconography.¹⁰⁶

New archaeological evidence has dramatically altered our view of the PG period since the seminal publications by Snodgrass and Desborough, who described the tenth century as bleak, troubled, a “Dark Age.”¹⁰⁷ In contrast to the late ninth and eighth centuries, which were seen as a

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time of “awakening” from the Dark Age, a “renaissance” period, the era of Homer and the polis, the earlier EIA remained shrouded in darkness.¹⁰⁸ Recent excavations have brought to light evidence that better informs our view of PG Greece: there are a number of sizable settlements, no major movements or destructions occurred, and contacts within Greece and with the larger Eastern Mediterranean network existed.¹⁰⁹ In terms of social and political organization, many scholars have moved beyond using Homer to reconstruct EIA systems, which entail a complicated “deciphering” of the historical layers assumed to exist within the poems.¹¹⁰ Although regional diversity existed, there is evidence for “big-man” societies, which are inherently unstable, that shifted to rule by aristocratic elites.¹¹¹ Evidence for the rise of an elite ruling class is tenuous, but the appearance of social differentiation in the graves from several sites supports this theory.¹¹² Despite the lack of warfare and the generally stable conditions of the tenth century, elite males defined themselves through weapons and arms, which functioned as symbols of their martial prowess, access to material goods, and right to rule. It is in this context that armed warrior figurines found at several Greek sanctuaries should be interpreted.

The elaborate bronze warrior figurines have been the focus of several studies because they provide important evidence for early metallurgy, exchange of artistic motifs throughout the Mediterranean related to the bronze trade network, and the use of bronze figurines in early cult.¹¹³ The terracotta warriors are fewer in number, more limited in distribution, and are often less “accomplished” artistically. For these reasons they have not received the same amount of scholarly attention.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, they provide evidence for the origin of the type since they begin earlier than their bronze counterparts. Moreover, since terracotta production and use were predominantly local in the Geometric period, the clay figurines, unlike bronze examples that often traveled great distances, speak to local traditions and practices. Although they might have

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been influenced from external sources, their local production and use indicates a cultic significance that is often ambiguous with bronze figurines.

Throughout the Geometric period, terracotta warriors were dedicated at Peloponnesian sanctuaries and later at the Lindian shrine and at Amyklai. The overwhelming number found at Olympia together with a great number of bronze warriors freestanding and attached to tripod points to Olympia as the source for this type. The Kombothekra examples are clearly influenced by the Olympic figurines, but the Amyklai head and the Lindian warrior represent different traditions. Olympia must have been the dominant producer of terracotta standing male imagery in the Peloponnesos.

The standing or smiting warrior motif originated in the Near East, where divine and royal potency was expressed primarily through masculine displays of military strength. Male gods of weather and war, such as the Hittite Teshub, and the Semitic Baal and Reshef, were depicted as smiting warriors. This motif was likely transmitted to the Aegean world in the LBA through imported bronze “Reshef” figurines depicting a smiting warrior, which have been discovered on Crete, the mainland, the Aegean islands, and Cyprus.¹¹⁵ While these smiting warriors are found in many Aegean contexts, only a few can be firmly associated with Aegean male gods. The transmission of a Near Eastern meaning with the type is unclear. Reshef bronzes occur mainly in fourteenth- to eleventh-century contexts and cannot be chronologically related to the majority of Geometric and later warriors.¹¹⁶ There are no bronze smiting figures found in EIA contexts, yet this pose was later adopted for Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo iconography.¹¹⁷ Whether this motif survived the LBA via heirlooms or was re-introduced from the Near East or Crete, a link between this type and a war god must have been maintained in the Archaic period since the type is applied to depictions of Greek gods of weather and war.

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In the Near East, warrior gods were closely associated with fertility goddesses. The gods were often depicted artistically as *potnios theron* figures through their domination of various animals and by their appropriation of bovine features.¹¹⁸ This iconography, especially that of Baal at Ras Shamra, was exported to Cyprus in the twelfth century. In Cyprus, this imagery was consciously adopted in cults of urban war gods paired with a goddess, typified at the sanctuary at Enkomi.¹¹⁹ Thus, specific iconography was intentionally adopted and adapted by the Cypriots for cults similar to their Near Eastern counterparts. In the Aegean, it is not a coincidence that two imported Reshef figurines were found at Phylakopi on Melos, where a divine pair were also worshipped in twin shrines.¹²⁰

Greek examples of bronze warriors do not begin until the ninth century, and most date to the eighth century.¹²¹ The tenth-century terracottas from Olympia, therefore, are the among the earliest EIA examples of the type and provide important evidence for the origin of the warrior motif in Greece. The chronological gap between the terracotta warriors and imported Reshef figurines, the stylistic differences, and the absence of Near Eastern influence at early Olympia indicate that the warrior motif was not introduced from the Near East to Olympia directly.

Later Greek bronze warriors represent elaborately armed warriors with large helmets of various types, sometimes elaborate and large shields, and elaborate belts.¹²² Kunze first associated the Olympic bronzes with the Phidian cult statue of Zeus, later described by Pausanias (5.17.1) as helmeted, bearded, and armed.¹²³ Kunze did not differentiate, however, between armed horse-leaders decorating tripods, which are best interpreted as heroes or generic warriors and not originating at Olympia, and individual armed warriors.¹²⁴ Moreover, there is no evidence that the Zeus cult statue, or any for that matter, existed prior to the seventh century.¹²⁵

The terracotta warriors, in contrast with bronze examples, have simple, painted belts and small conical helmets. Heilmeyer, followed by Byrne, identified the terracotta warriors at

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Olympia as representations of Zeus.¹²⁶ The presence of almost identical “Zeus” images at the Artemis sanctuary at Kombothekra was explained as an instance of votive drift, a process by which votive types from a dominant sanctuary influence votives dedicated at nearby shrines regardless of deity worshipped. Alternatively, the male figurines at the Artemis sanctuary were identified as dedications of a visiting deity. Both phenomena are known from Archaic and Classical assemblages.¹²⁷ A close analysis of the terracotta warriors from Olympia, however, reveals that their identification as Zeus is not plausible.

Even a brief examination of Geometric art reveals that warrior imagery is ubiquitous: armed men people vase paintings, adorn tripods, decorate fibulae, and appear independently as bronze and terracotta figurines. It is inconceivable that these warriors, found in many regions on diverse media in many contexts, represent a single deity. The warrior is a generic Geometric type, an image used to connote the heroic, elite, and later the divine.¹²⁸ In East Greece, Athena and Hera received male figurines, as did Artemis at Kombothekra.¹²⁹ The warrior figurines from Olympia, Kombothekra, and East Greece are all small and handmade, none displays any features, attributes, or gestures that separate them from the multitude of warriors that populate Geometric art. No Geometric warrior figurine has been found in a unique context that would suggest a specialized function within the sanctuary. In other words, there is nothing about these figurines to suggest that they depict a deity or served as cult idols.

Some scholars have suggested that the pose of the warriors from Olympia, with both arms and legs spread, is related to the epiphany gesture of MGUA figures from the LBA, which continued into the Geometric period on Crete. Byrne asserts that this gesture and stylistic similarities identify both the Cretan and Olympic male figurines as Zeus.¹³⁰ Byrne’s hypothesis that Cretan male figurines from Zeus sanctuaries influence the earliest Olympic warriors relies on formal characteristics, but he does not adequately distinguish between the different traditions

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evident in the bronze and terracotta dedications. The formal similarities between the terracotta males from Cretan sanctuaries and the Olympia bronze warriors are convincing, but the earliest terracotta Olympia figurines (**O3-5, Figs. 37-38**), with their elongated torsos and necks, short legs, arms stretched forward, and forward-bending position, closely recall bronze figurines from the Dictaeon cave on Crete and a bronze from Phaneromeni.¹³¹ Moreover, the exact mode of stylistic transmission between Crete and southern Greece based on the bronze figurines is tentative, since the dating of the bronze figurines from Crete and the mainland is unclear.¹³²

Despite close similarities to bronze figurines, the formal traits of the Cretan and Olympia terracotta figurines share only general features. Many of Byrne's distinguishing characteristics, such as pinched or upturned faces, are general features of nascent coroplastic industries and need not imply direct influence. Some of the most typical characteristics of the Olympian coroplastic workshop, such as use of incised circles to detail navels, nipples, and eyes, are not found on the Cretan terracottas from Zeus sanctuaries. Many of the distinguishing features of the Cretan and Olympia bronzes, such as multiple ringed belts, striding poses, and the *petasos* headdress, are not found among terracotta figurines from either region. There are, however, Cretan terracotta figurines from other sanctuaries, not dedicated to Zeus, that also received male figurines. Terracotta figurines from Haghia Triada display some more specific stylistic affinities to the Olympic terracottas: they have a similar posture and the details are often executed with incised circles.¹³³ The presence of stylistically similar male terracotta figurines at other sanctuaries presents a problem in using the Cretan examples to strengthen the identification of the Olympia figurines as Zeus.

The identification of the Cretan figurines as deities is problematic for other reasons as well. Crete maintained a tradition of armed male votary figurines from the Bronze Age in the EIA. This tradition continues into the PG and G period, especially figurines dedicated at the

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Dictaeon Cave and Phaneromeni and the transitional male figurines are generally agreed to represent armed votaries, not deities. Byrne's assumption that the Cretan males represent Zeus is not widely accepted.¹³⁴

There is no evidence for a direct mode of transmission of artistic styles between Crete and Olympia; there is no material evidence for contact between these sanctuaries. Although many of these types are found at Zeus sanctuaries, the presence of similar figurines at Haghia Triada is significant. The stylistic affinities might be related to a general stylistic evolution that began in the LH IIIC period. At Phylakopi, a new approach to depicting the human body begins: the nude, belted male figurines stand in a static, frontal pose and their bodies are bent over with protruding buttocks. The body consists of an elongated neck and torso with truncated arms and legs.¹³⁵ Shortly after the Phylakopi figures, transitional male figurines dedicated at Haghia Triada and cave sanctuaries on Crete display a similar conception of the male form.¹³⁶ This new style is perhaps a natural outcome from LBA styles and need not imply uniform identities; the Phylakopi terracottas stand out in their size and location and are perhaps cult idols, while the Cretan figurines are small and found in numbers, indicating they are votives of male worshippers.

Stylistic similarity does not necessarily imply similar identities. The earliest figurines at Olympia (**O3-6, Figs. 37-39**) depict standing males with both arms held out in front, not in the upraised epiphany gesture, to hold a spear or weapon. Their weapons and stance are those of a warrior, not of a specific divinity. The epiphany gesture does not appear on terracotta figurines from Olympia until the LG, yet these figurines follow a continuous tradition of warrior offerings and presumably these figurines continue the same meaning as earlier warriors. The simplicity of armor and gesture for both Cretan and Olympia figurines is better interpreted as an attribute of elite male warrior worshippers whose iconography is conspicuous in Zeus sanctuaries.

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The funerary evidence confirms the presence of a male elite who defined themselves primarily through their prowess in war as well as their connections to other elites. As early as the tenth century, the inclusion of weapons in male graves from Tiryns, Athens, Lefkandi, Atalanti, and Knossos defines them as members of the elite.¹³⁷ In a study of bronze belts in Homer and the archaeological record, Michael Bennett argues the *zoster*, a metal defensive belt, functions as the most conspicuous sign of rank and status among the elite and that this piece of armor legitimizes their right to rule.¹³⁸ In a period of socio-political change, the oral and visual systems were used to encode and maintain the elite status quo and the warrior figurines must be related to the creation and maintenance of elite control, which extended beyond public life to the grave and into the sanctuary.¹³⁹

At Olympia first, elite participation in cult is apparent in the dedication of warrior figurines. Although the elite can separate themselves and maintain power by controlling a variety of images, in the Peloponnesos this was primarily achieved through the use of aristocratic war images, including the warrior and the horse. The figurines are representations of their dedicators, who wished to emphasize their association with the heroic past as well as their present status. It is significant that these figurines are not in “active” or aggressive poses, as earlier smiting figurines, but serve as icons to illustrate elite participation in cult. Although some carry weapons, it is the belt above all that distinguishes the earliest figurines as elites. By the eighth century, many of the male figurines no longer carry weapons or wear belts, but are nude with only conical helmets. These later “warriors” do not have the same demeanor or weapons as earlier figurines and many are simply nude with no arms or armor at all. These warriors have the general appearance of youth and their smaller size and style seem different from the earlier warriors. It is possible that these are depictions of young men or boys, perhaps dedicated in association with initiation ceremonies upon entering military service.

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Olympia is not the only sanctuary to receive warriors. Many Geometric cults, including Zeus, Apollo, Athena, Artemis, and Hera, were concerned with warfare and the warrior class. Warrior figurines were also dedicated at East Greek goddess sanctuaries. These include Cypriot imports and local figurines that are also related to their elite dedicators. Divine patronage of warriors is not the domain of Zeus alone, but many goddess cults were concerned with protection and war.¹⁴⁰ The presence of identical warrior and nude male figurines at Kombothekra is also related to divine protection of warriors and elite boys entering military service. These figurines are not evidence of simple votive drift, nor are they evidence that the same deities were worshipped at both sanctuaries. Rather, Artemis, as Zeus, is a close patron and protector of warriors and male initiation ceremonies.¹⁴¹

The helmeted male head from Amyklai represents a different but related tradition (**A1, Fig. 42**). Amyklai received no Geometric terracotta figurines: offerings took the form of ceramics, weapons, bronzes, and jewelry. The technique and reconstructed size of the statuette (c. 0.400m high) does not fit the usual votive pattern of handmade male figurines, since it is large, handmade, and unique at the site. Its size and form indicate an alternate use, perhaps as a cult idol along with its female counterpart, perhaps forming a divine pair.¹⁴² The female head wears a polos headdress, a possible indicator of her divine identity, but the warrior head lacks any distinctly divine features. The fact that this sanctuary was dedicated to a Mycenaean goddess and later to a fertility god, Hyakinthos, and the finding of extremely large male and female heads supports the hypothesis that these did not function as ordinary votive offerings. The grouping of a warrior male with a female consort is found in the Near East and Cyprus, and many aspects of the Amyklaian cult reflect Near Eastern and Cypriot trends.¹⁴³ The Amyklai statuettes thus stand outside the Olympian tradition and perhaps reflect external influence as well as Bronze Age traditions in cult imagery.

The Male Role in Early Cult: Nude Men
(Type VIII)

THE DISTRIBUTION

Total: 41

Samos: 8

Olympia: 23

Kombothekra: 10

Figurines of nude men, or men with emphasized genitalia, were offered at sanctuaries of male and female gods in the Peloponnesos and East Greece beginning in the LG period. There are significant differences in the style and pose of these nude men, however. In East Greece, the sanctuary of Hera at Samos received handmade men with arms in various positions and in various styles (**S61-64, Figs. 44-45**): some of the men hold their arms slightly away from their bodies or by their sides, while one figure (**S62, Fig. 44**) holds his right arm by his side while the left is outstretched. All the figurines have emphasized modeled genitalia, and some have traces of painted decoration that perhaps represents clothing. Some figurines are bearded (**S62, Fig. 44**), while others have stylized beak-faces. The stylistic variety suggests that rather than representing a single figure, these men depict a variety of subjects.

The nude male figurines from Olympia follow the standard LG style: they are handmade, small, and have spread legs and arms (**O11-12, Fig. 46**). Details are articulated with incised circles and the genitals are added in clay. The Kombothekra males also follow the Olympian style closely (**K2, Fig. 47**).

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE

The East Greek males from Samos represent a variety of men: young and old, stylized and more naturalistic. They are united only by their nudity and emphasis on their genitalia.

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Unlike the warriors, the virility is expressed not through military accoutrements, but through emphasized genitalia. One figure (**S64, Fig. 45**), whose head is unfortunately missing, has long added rolls of clay that extend from his head to wrap around his ankles. These could represent snakes, or perhaps fillets, which would identify this figure as a priest or cult official. Indeed, the East Greek figures most likely represent pious male votaries or priests, approaching the deity nude to perhaps express their humbleness. There is no indication that these figures represent warriors or deities.

The nude male figurines from Olympia and Kombothekra must be examined alongside their warrior counterparts since their style and pose relate the two groups. There seems to be a distinction between males with armor and males without. At Olympia and Kombothekra the nude figurines are beardless and appear young. It is likely that in contrast to the helmeted warriors, these are depictions of boys, the counterpart to men already in military service. These figurines might be related to Zeus as a patron of boys' initiation ceremonies before and after they enter military service.

Although the East Greek goddess were also concerned with war and warriors, the nude male figurines at these sanctuaries are not as common or standardized, nor were there warrior figurines of similar style that stood in contrast to youthful nudes. There is no reason to assume, therefore, that the nude males from these sanctuaries served the same purpose. It is possible that at these sanctuaries, nudity communicated service to the goddess. In the Near East and on Crete there existed a strong tradition of nude votaries: approaching the deity nude was a sign of piety. A different social ideal was enacted by East Greek male figurines.

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¹ Benson 1970; Coldstream 1983; Whitley 1991.

² These criteria are adapted from those developed by Michael Byrne (Byrne 1991, 18-20).

³ Many studies have addressed gestures from various time periods and cultures. For the upraised arm gesture, see Alexiou 1958; Iakovides 1966; Karageorghis 1977. For the smiting pose, see Smith 1962; Negbi 1979; Seeden 1980; Renfrew 1985.

⁴ For some studies that elucidate the importance of gesture in religion, see Brandt 1965; Gombrich 1982; Weede 1999; Morris 2001; Morris and Peatfield 2002.

⁵ Morris 2001, 247.

⁶ Morris 2001, 247.

⁷ Several scholars have emphasized the importance of using attributes to understand images in the Greek world. See Nicholls 1991; Byrne 1991; Bennett 1997.

⁸ For paired male-female deities in the Mycenaean tablets from Pylos and Knossos, see Chadwick and Ventris 1973, 127; Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 141. Recent studies on the Linear B evidence for Mycenaean religion argue against a unified Mycenaean pantheon, seeing different, sometimes related, pantheons for each region. New tablets from Thebes have provided evidence for new deities. See Gérard-Rousseau 1968; Baumbach 1979; Chadwick 1985; Melena and Olivier 1991; Shelmerdine 2001, 355-62.

⁹ Renfrew 1985, 327, 223-30; Konsolaki 1991; MacGillivray, Driessen, and Sackett 2000; Konsolaki 2002. For a male figurine from Athenian acropolis and a penis from a large terracotta statuette at Tiryns, see French 1971, 148; French 1985, fig. 6.10. The shrines at Methana, Phylakopi, Tiryns, and the transitional shrines at Ayia Triada and several caves on Crete provide important evidence for male iconography beginning in the twelfth century. For a discussion of male iconography in Aegean cult, see Renfrew 1985, 420-25, 437-38; Byrne 1991, 21-108.

¹⁰ Picard 1948, 80; Renfrew 1985, 420-21; Pilafidis Williams 1998, 140-41.

¹¹ Alexiou 1958, 276, no. 390; Kourou 2002, 25; Prent 2005, 401.

¹² Prent convincingly argues that the majority represents male votaries, with only a few exceptions. (Prent 2005, 391-92). *Contra* Byrne 1991, who admits that warrior iconography could serve to represent both human and divine subjects. Nevertheless, there are no clearly divine images of male gods.

¹³ Karageorghis 1977; Kourou 2002; Prent 2005, 181-84, 399-403.

¹⁴ For a seventh-century Attic examples, see Nicholls 1991; Nicholls 1995; *LIMC* s.v. "Athena," no. 27. For a remarkable wheelmade statuettes from the sanctuary at Kastro on Siphnos, see Kourou 2000; Kourou 2002, 29. Other examples from Paros and Thasos, see Weill 1985, pls. 16-23, figs. 21-22.

¹⁵ A term coined by Alexiou 1958.

¹⁶ French 1971, 174; Dickinson 1994, 177; Catling 1995, 189.

¹⁷ Demakopoulou 1999, 199.

¹⁸ They have been found at Mycenae, Tiryns, Midea, Aegina, and Phylakopi. See Taylour 1970; Taylour 1971; Kilian 1981; Renfrew 1985; Kilian 1988; Moore 1988; Kilian 1990; 1992; Pilafidis-Williams 1998; Moore and Taylour 1999; Demakopoulou 1999. For up to date lists, see Demakopoulou 1999, 198-99; Catling 1995, 190-93. For continuation of wheelmade females on Crete, see Gesell 1983, 57-60; Prent 2005, 399-400.

¹⁹ Wright 1994, 75-76.

²⁰ Renfrew 1985, 415; Catling 1995, 189; *contra* Moore 1988. For Cretan examples, see Alexiou 1958; Gesell 1983; Prent 2005, 399-400.

²¹ Demakopoulou 1999, 202; see also Renfrew 1985, 372-73.

²² Demakopoulou 1999, 202.

²³ Kilian 1981; 1990; 1992.

²⁴ Demakopoulou 1999, 203.

²⁵ Prent 2005, 181-84, 399-400.

²⁶ Gesell 1985, 41-53; Prent 2005, 181-84, 399-400.

²⁷ Kourou 2002, 11-22.

²⁸ Karageorghis 1977.

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²⁹ Karageorghis 1977, 15; Prent 2005, 399-400.

³⁰ As goddesses, Alexiou 1958; Renfrew 1985, 372-73; Demakopoulou 1999. As votaries, Moore 1988. The handmade figurines likely reflect the same figure as the wheelmade statuettes, but they are found in many contexts and likely had multiple uses and meanings based on their context, see French 1971, 173.

³¹ Artistic and textual evidence from Mesopotamia and the Near East indicates that typological variety does not preclude divine representation; rather, different aspects of a single deity or separate deities may be represented. See French 1971, 108.

³² This use is based on the popularity of offering processions in general and specifically two frescoes from Mycenae and Tiryns reconstructed as women carrying terracotta idols. See Rodenwaldt 1912, 87, no. 103, pl. X.7; Mylonas 1972, pl. XIV; Kilian 1981, 49, 136; Kritseli-Providi 1982, 41-42, pl. 6a; Renfrew 1985, 373; Immerwahr 1990, 202 T1 no. 4, fig. 33b; Hägg 2001. There is also evidence from Linear B tablets from Knossos for a *Te-o-po-ri-ja*, “carrying of the gods,” ceremony that might refer to terracotta idols carried in processions, see Chadwick and Ventris 1973, 284-89, 458-62; Hiller 1984, 139-50.

³³ Schliemann 1878, 10-12.

³⁴ For a review of previous interpretations, see French 1971, 107-08.

³⁵ French 1971, 173; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 227-40, 295-303.

³⁶ J. Karageorghis 1977; Karageorghis 1977; 1996; Kourou 2002.

³⁷ Alexiou 1958; Gesell 1985, 43-46, 47-50; Prent 2005, 181-83, 399-402, 424-41.

³⁸ Kourou 2002, 27.

³⁹ Kourou (2002, 25-27) incorrectly identifies these Chian statuettes as from the Athena sanctuary; they were found in the Harbour Shrine.

⁴⁰ Kourou 2002, 27.

⁴¹ Kourou 2002, 26-28. A seventh-century female figure from Lemnos provides the closest parallel to Mycenaean models, but the late date precludes the possibility of Mycenaean continuity. It is no coincidence that Lemnos, with strong ties to Cyprus, produced such a conservative statuette under Cypriot influence.

⁴² Schmidt 1968; Sørensen 1991; Hermary 1998.

⁴³ Karageorghis 1993, 61, 82-86.

⁴⁴ Renfrew 1985, 22.

⁴⁵ Kourou 2002, 26.

⁴⁶ Langdon 1984, 183-87.

⁴⁷ The divine identity of these figurines is plausible, but which goddess they represent is less clear. Kunze (1946, 100) interpreted these bronze figurines as depictions of an earlier fertility goddess such as Gaia, but Hera must remain a candidate, as Heilmeyer interprets the terracotta nude females (1972, 61). Langdon (1984, 187) suggests that deities with no later figural tradition were likely never represented. She suggests that the female bronzes represent Hera, an Olympian deity with a later tradition of artistic representation.

⁴⁸ Pulleyn 1997, 12-13.

⁴⁹ Langdon 1984, 172-71.

⁵⁰ Rethemiotakis 2001, 112-113, fig. 126.

⁵¹ Karageorghis 1993, 13-14, 53-54, 64-65; 2006, 101-05, 144-51. Musicians and dancers were an important part of Cypriot cult and are well represented among the votives from most Cypriot sanctuaries, including the Geometric sanctuaries at Lapithos, Ayios Iakovos, and Ayia Irini. See discussion in Sørensen 1991, 227; see also Gjerstad 1934, pl. LXVIII, 13 and 16, Cesnola 1884-1903 II, 279, Gjerstad 1963, fig. 16.

⁵² Furtwängler 1897, no. 263, pl. 16; Schweitzer 1971, 155-56, pl. 193; Langdon 1984, 188-91.

⁵³ Lonsdale 1993, 48; Kolotourou 2005, esp. 183-84.

⁵⁴ Hurwit 1985, 93-106. For examples of LG dancing men and women, see Tölle-Kastenbein 1964; Schweitzer 1971, 47, 50-51, 60, 62-63, figs. 21-22, 66-67, fig. 28, 72, fig. 34, 134, pls. 47-48, 52-55, 63, 66; see also Boardman 1998, figs. 84, 99, 131, 188.

⁵⁵ Lonsdale 1993, 48.

- ⁵⁶ *Od.* 250-65; *Hymn.Hom.Ven.* 259-61; *Hes.Theog.* 2-8; *Pind.Pyth.* 10.38-44; *Alcm. Partheneion*; *Bacchyl.* 17.103-08. See Lonsdale 1993, 49-50.
- ⁵⁷ Lonsdale 1993, 57-59. See also Calame 2001.
- ⁵⁸ Lonsdale 1993, 72.
- ⁵⁹ See examples in Tölle-Kastenbein 1964.
- ⁶⁰ Karageorghis and des Gagniers 1974, 8-9; Karageorghis 2006, 108-1. Ring dancers on Cypriot vases hold boughs in their hands just as dancers on Greek Geometric vase scenes. The motif of dancers performing in the service of a goddess is ultimately of Near Eastern origin and occurs on several Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls (Markoe 1985, 171-72). A famous scene of dancers and votaries worshipping an enthroned goddess drinking from a straw from a vase takes place in a sanctuary as indicated by the bull protome. Another scene of dancers approaching an enthroned goddess is represented on a LG bowl from the Kerameikos (Schweitzer 1971, pl. 65).
- ⁶¹ French 1971, 105-06.
- ⁶² Kranz 1972.
- ⁶³ French 1971, 167-72; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 39.
- ⁶⁴ Prent 2005, 418-19; Higgins 1967, 17-18, pl. 6C.
- ⁶⁵ Karageorghis 1993, 13-14, 53-54.
- ⁶⁶ Kranz 1972, 51-52.
- ⁶⁷ See Young 1939, 63-65, figs. 40-41; Friis Johansen 1958, 66-67, 181, fig. 136; Higgins 1967, 22, pl. 7A; Xagorari 1996.
- ⁶⁸ Iakovides 1966.
- ⁶⁹ A Cypriot bichrome amphora (CGIII) depicts an enthroned female figure drinking opium (?) from a jar approached by female dancers and male musicians. A Black-on-Red jug similarly depicts a seated female drinking opium. Next to both females are winged sphinxes, a sign of their divine status. (Karageorghis 2006, 108-11, no. 82-83). The “homage krater” from Aradipphou, Cyprus, depicts a seated female approached by armed warriors, another likely depiction of an enthroned goddess (Byrne 1991, pl. XX, no. 4). Although these examples are Cypriot, the motif of enthroned goddesses is widespread in the Near East and Cyprus, making it possible that this motif existed in contemporary Greece.
- ⁷⁰ For a review of Mycenaean statuettes in this pose, see Demakopoulou 1999. The type is less common in Crete, the most famous example is a statuette from the Shrine of the Double Ax at Knossos, see Rethemiotakis 2001, 80-81, no. 97, 132, no. 140.
- ⁷¹ In Syro-Palestine, females also occur in several poses that accentuate the gender and sexuality of the figure. See Pritchard 1955, 87; Böhm 1990; Mettinger 1995; Marinatos 2000; Moorey 2003, Ch. 2; for Iron Age examples, Mettinger 1995; Kletter 1996; Uehlinger 1997; Moorey 2003, Ch. 3. For Mycenaean adaptation of Near Eastern types, see French 1971, 105-06, 176.
- ⁷² Karageorghis 1993, 3-13, and LCII-III examples, 26-29. For transmission from Syria, see Bolger 2003, 91-93.
- ⁷³ Pritchard 1955, 85; Mettinger 1995; Uehlinger 1998, 59.
- ⁷⁴ French 1971, 176; for wheelmade contexts, see Pilafidis-Williams 1998.
- ⁷⁵ French 1971, 176.
- ⁷⁶ For the apotropaic power of female nudity in early Greece, see Marinatos 2000, 18-24; for importance of jewelry, see Nicholls 1991; Marinatos 2000, 24-29; Lubsen-Admiraal 2002.
- ⁷⁷ For Cretan examples, see Verlinden 1984, no. 215; for Greek female bronzes, see Langdon 1984, 171-87; see also Voyatzis 1985.
- ⁷⁸ Dugas 1921, 357, no. 56; Voyatzis 1985, 158-60, pl. XX.
- ⁷⁹ With the possible exception of nude figurines with spread legs dedicated at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia (Sparta Archaeological Museum inv. 2392/4, 2392/17), see Böhm 1990, 148, T4-5, pl. 3c-d. Böhm dates many figurines unjustifiably early; she dates the Orthia figurines to the ninth or eighth century without explanation. The size and style of the Orthia females seem more like Archaic “primitive” figurines, common at many Greek sanctuaries in the sixth century. Indeed, the lack of other Geometric votives at this

shrine argues against dating these nude females any earlier. Nude female iconography is found at other sanctuaries in other media, including ivory figures and reliefs at the Artemision at Ephesos, nude females on eastern imports found at the Samian Heraion, and a bronze nude female holding both breasts from the Athena Alea shrine in Tegea (see Ammerman 1991, 220-21, for references and for later examples.)

⁸⁰ Byrne 1991, 23.

⁸¹ Böhm 1990, 23, 134-35, 140.

⁸² Böhm 1990, 23, 134-35, 140; see also Karageorghis 1977, 206-07. Böhm notes that the theme of female sexuality is Near Eastern and foreign to Geometric art. She asserts that female nudity was prevalent in more obscure Greek goddess cults, including those of the nymphs, Eilytheia, and Demeter. In her study of West Greek goddess cults, however, Rebecca Ammerman (1991, 208, 220-21, 226) concludes that nude female iconography is above all associated with sanctuaries of Aphrodite and Hera. Langdon (1984, 187) brings up the lack of votive tradition in regards to Gaia, Eilytheia, and the nymphs at Olympia, arguing that the female figurines from Olympia are associated with Hera.

⁸³ Morgan 1993, 24-25.

⁸⁴ Kunze 1946, 100.

⁸⁵ Langdon 1984, 187.

⁸⁶ Heilmeyer 1972, 77-78.

⁸⁷ Although male nudity was an acceptable form for votaries or worshippers in the Mediterranean and Near East, in Greece nudity for ordinary women was not acceptable in general.

⁸⁸ Olsen 1998, 384-88; see also Mylonas 1956.

⁸⁹ Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 135, 142.

⁹⁰ Rethemiotakis 2001, 10, figs. 15-16.

⁹¹ For a review of the type, see Merrilees 1988; see also Karageorghis 1991, 170; 1993, 5-10; 2006, 44-48, 80-81, 170-72. For general discussion on reconstructing children and family constructions in prehistoric Cyprus, see Bolger 2003, Ch. 5.

⁹² A useful review of the significance of this type in Greek religion, see Price 1978.

⁹³ Moorey 2003, 25; see also Bolger 2003, 195-96.

⁹⁴ Negbi 1979; Moorey and Fleming 1984; Moorey 2003, 14-15, 38, 42-43, 62. Male figurines in Canaan were only made of metal, while terracotta males, mostly horse riders, only appear in the eighth and seventh centuries. For increasing use of male images in the Aegean, including imported metal smiting figurines and terracotta males, see Renfrew 1985, 420-25; Byrne 1991, 200-02; Prent 2005, 389-92.

⁹⁵ For Syrian robed male figurines, see Frankfort 1970, 258-59; Badre 1980, pls. XXXIX, XLI, XLIX, XLIV.

⁹⁶ Karageorghis 1995, pls. I-V.

⁹⁷ Furtwängler 1897.

⁹⁸ Heilmeyer 1972, 65-72. Scholars against Heilmeyer's high chronology include Mallwitz (1988, 96, n. 82) and Nicholls (1975).

⁹⁹ Eder 2001.

¹⁰⁰ Byrne 1991, Ch. 3.

¹⁰¹ Karageorghis 1993, 78-82, pls. XXXIII-IV.

¹⁰² For discussion of the dating of these heads, see Chapter II.

¹⁰³ Demakopoulou 1982, 40, 43-78; Wright 1994, 65.

¹⁰⁴ The scholarship on the Dorian invasion problem is now vast. For summaries of the debate, see Desborough 1964; Snodgrass 1971, 304-13, 386-94; Desborough 1972; Drews 1988, 203-25; Eder 1998, 9-23; Lemos 2002, 191-93; Dickinson 2006, 43-57.

¹⁰⁵ Chadwick and Ventris 1973, 125-27.

¹⁰⁶ Drews 1993; Dickinson 2006, 69-72.

¹⁰⁷ Desborough 1972; Snodgrass 1971.

¹⁰⁸ A few important works on the eighth century renaissance include Coldstream 2003, 1.2 "The Awakening in the Mid-Ninth Century" and II. "The Greek Renaissance;" Hägg 1983; Langdon 1997.

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¹⁰⁹ Lemos 2002, esp. 191-216 for summary.

¹¹⁰ For problems with using Homer to reconstruct EIA culture, see Morris 1986; Sherratt 1990. Scholars that have employed archaeological evidence to advance our knowledge of Geometric Greece include Snodgrass 1971; Morris 1985; Whitley 1991; Mazarakis Ainian 1997; Snodgrass 1999; Lemos 2002; Coldstream 2003.

¹¹¹ Donlan 1985; van Wees 1992; Lemos 2002, 217-21.

¹¹² Lemos 2002, 218-29.

¹¹³ Most recently, see Langdon 1984; Verlinden 1984; Byrne 1991. The majority of warriors are from Delphi (freestanding), followed by Philia and Olympia (most were tripod ornaments), see Langdon 1984, 102-14. Langdon (1984, 107) notes that for bronze warriors, "having both a significant number of existing examples and an apparent line of development, this figure can be most accurately described as an established 'type,' produced in quantity for a fixed context."

¹¹⁴ Many studies regard terracotta warriors as "cheaper" imitations of more expensive and accomplished bronze counterparts, and fail to take into consideration their independent development and local differences.

¹¹⁵ Negbi 1974; Burkert 1975; Negbi 1979; Seeden 1980; Moorey and Fleming 1984.

¹¹⁶ de Santerre 1987.

¹¹⁷ Müller 1929, 112-17, 167-76; Smith 1962; Burkert 1975, 60-64 (type transmitted through heirlooms); de Santerre 1987; Byrne 1991, 46-47 (asserts that the type was re-introduced via Crete).

¹¹⁸ Byrne 1991, 184-91.

¹¹⁹ Webb 2001.

¹²⁰ Renfrew 1985, 424-25.

¹²¹ Langdon 1984, 77.

¹²² Langdon 1984, 108-09; Byrne 1991, 113-116.

¹²³ Kunze 1946, 100; 1967, 213, 221. His theory has been generally accepted, most recently by Byrne 1991, 27-28, 32-33, 122.

¹²⁴ For a critique of Kunze's theory, see Langdon 1984, 110-11.

¹²⁵ Romano 1988.

¹²⁶ Heilmeyer 1972, 65-77; Byrne 1991, 27-28.

¹²⁷ Alroth 1987; Sinn 1981.

¹²⁸ Byrne (1991, 40) admits that the warrior type is generic and was used to represent both gods and men. The emphasis with warrior gods and warrior worshippers is on virility and martial prowess.

¹²⁹ Byrne (1991, 164-69) interprets the presence of male figurines at the Athena sanctuary on Lindos and the Samian Heraion as evidence for the worship of Zeus and his female consort. However, the fact that the male figurines dedicated at East Greek goddess sanctuaries are either imports or better identified as worshippers fails to support his theory.

¹³⁰ Byrne 1991, 116-24.

¹³¹ Boardman 1961, pl. III no. 18; Verlinden 1984, no. 212.

¹³² Langdon 1984, 63-77.

¹³³ D'Agata 1999, pl. LXXXVI.

¹³⁴ Prent 2005, 391-92.

¹³⁵ Renfrew 1985, 327, 420-24, figs. 6.12-14.

¹³⁶ Verlinden 1984, 218-19.

¹³⁷ For a regional summary of burial goods with references, see Lemos 2002, Ch. 5.

¹³⁸ Bennett 1997, 67-79.

¹³⁹ For the use of oral poetry to promote social values, see Finnegan 1977, 242; Lemos 2000, 16-18.

¹⁴⁰ Marinatos 2000, Chs. 4-5.

¹⁴¹ Marinatos 2000, 97-109.

¹⁴² Langdon 1998.

¹⁴³ Burkert 1975.

CHAPTER V

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES IN GEOMETRIC CULT & SOCIETY

PRODUCERS & USERS

Terracotta figurines are among the few examples of Geometric figural, non-utilitarian products and provide insight into contemporary religious and social systems. Understanding who made figurines and why would greatly add to their meaning. No contemporary texts illuminate this issue. Homer is silent on the topics of figurines and votive dedication. There are isolated references in Homer to anthropomorphic cult images, usually associated with a temple, but these passages refer to the new phenomenon of cult statues that begins at the end of the eighth century.¹ Archaeological and art historical evidence for the manufacture of terracotta figurines is also lacking: there are no kilns or artistic depictions of coroplastic production. Despite the absence of direct evidence for the producers and dedicators of terracotta figurines in the EIA, certain conclusions can be drawn from the figurines themselves.

My original interest in studying terracotta figurines was to explore the possible role of women in the production and use of religious images, with the goal of finding evidence for non-male or non-elite worshippers. My preliminary collection of figurines made it apparent that the terracotta figurines reflect the same concerns found in other Geometric elite objects, with an emphasis on male activities and social status. There is no evidence that figurines were produced at the household level and they do not seem particularly associated with the *oikos*. Terracotta

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figurines, despite their material, seem to be used in elite ritual and funerary displays just as other more valuable objects. They were not used in household cult, nor do they reflect concerns of women or the family.

The distribution pattern of EIA terracottas differs from Mycenaean Greece, where handmade figurines appear at every site and in almost every context, from garbage pits to houses to shrines. Mycenaean handmade figurines were used by a broad range of the population for a variety of purposes, likely embodying different symbolic meanings for different users based on personal beliefs.² Many Mycenaean handmade figurines show signs of multiple use, indicating a complicated and multivalent use-life.³ Although the subjects, dominated by standardized depictions of women, reflect official religious symbols, the figurines themselves were used in a variety of ways by much of the population. It likely that they were used in official shrines, in household cult, and also for personal superstitious/magical reasons. The LBA wheelmade statuettes, however, were used exclusively for official religious use, created by potters specifically for display in bench shrines and use in official religious processions.⁴ This religious use of terracotta statuettes likely continues in the EIA.

The use of figurines in the Near East also differs from the EIA Greek tradition. As in the prehistoric Aegean, standardized female types dominate the figurine assemblage in Mesopotamia and the Levant. New studies suggest that these depictions of nude, often sexual and passive, females are not depictions of a major goddess, but represent subsidiary deities who served as intermediary figures.⁵ Figurines and plaques were not associated with official cult, but were used for a variety of purposes, including personal and household religion as well as for magical/amuletic purposes. In the EIA Levant, there are no freestanding figurines until the eighth and seventh centuries, only plaques that continue to be used for personal religious and magical purposes. When three-dimensional figurines re-emerge in Syro-Palestine, they are produced in

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households for non-official use and communicate the concerns of women and the family.⁶ Metal figurines, almost all male, and bull statuettes in the Near East were reserved for official shrines.

The context of EIA Greek terracotta figurines and figures stands in contrast to these neighboring figurine cultures. Greek terracottas, both handmade and wheelmade, were not a regular household item and do not communicate the concerns of women or families.⁷ They have a limited distribution in wealthier graves and in select major religious centers. Figurines were public objects that communicated the concerns of the male elite. No kilns or production sites have been found, but we can envision some figurine manufacture occurring at a male-dominated occasion. A festival setting for the creation and use of votive figurines within a sanctuary is plausible. Evidence for production of bronze votives exists at sanctuaries, usually in the form of debris, and in later Greece traveling craftsmen produced votives at certain sanctuaries during major festivals.⁸ The lack of wear on Geometric figurines and their limited distribution suggest that they were produced specifically for local dedication.

Mycenaean and Near Eastern figurines were executed in a remarkably uniform style and are highly standardized with a limited repertoire of types with a widespread distribution. This standardization indicates control over religious imagery and production, even for objects produced and used on a popular or household level. EIA Greek figurines exhibit much more stylistic variation, even among figurines from the same site. The variation in figurines from the same sanctuary perhaps indicates several small coroplastic workshops producing certain types in distinctive styles. These workshops, which were likely small and informal, produced consistent and repeated types, which were likely dictated by the nature of the cult, social norms, and perhaps determined by local cultic administrators. The variety of figurines suggests that there was no centralized control over terracotta religious imagery in EIA Greece, but traveling craftsman and pilgrims were responsible for the spread of religious images and ideas.

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Greek EIA votive figurines do not exhibit the same complex levels of use as their LBA predecessors. I have found no votive figurine from the EIA that exhibits signs of prior use, which suggests that the figurines were made explicitly for dedication. We can reasonably reconstruct a short use-life for Geometric terracotta votive figurines: they were manufactured at sanctuaries or nearby, acquired by pilgrims at festivals, and dedicated shortly afterwards. The figurines likely remained on display around the altar before they were finally gathered up with other votives and ritually buried within the temenos.⁹

A missing aspect of the reconstructed life of EIA figurines presented above is the users themselves. It is a common assumption that in many cultures clay figurines were used by the lower levels of the population because of the intrinsic cheapness of the material or crude quality of execution.¹⁰ This view leads to the interpretation of many figurine types as cheap substitutes for expensive offerings, such as a monumental statue or bull sacrifice. The link between material and craftsmanship and the social status of the dedicator is fraught with problems. This correlation between object value and donor assumes that the intrinsic value of the material was significant to the dedicator or cult. The wheelmade terracotta figures found in both sanctuaries and graves are among the most accomplished objects from the period and the time and effort involved in crafting these statuettes suggest that these were valuable objects despite their humble material. Additionally, ancient societies commonly assigned symbolic or social values to material not related to their economic value. Certain metals were prized for their magical or numinous qualities and it is possible that clay, drawn from the earth, had religious significance in some instances as well.

Simon Pulleyn's study of the nature of Greek prayer provides valuable insight for understanding the use of terracotta figurines. Pulleyn asserts that there is no direct correlation between the value of a votive and the magnitude of the request or prayer, and that assumptions of

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this kind are misunderstandings of the nature of reciprocity in Greek religion.¹¹ Instead, a gift must be pleasing to the deity and serve as a reminder of the dedicatory act. What is important is that worshippers enter a “relationship of *charis*” with the deity, and once this has been established, there is no reason to offer a gift or sacrifice with every prayer.¹² In a reciprocal religion, there is no fundamental difference between giving a terracotta figurine or a monumental statue. The elite subject matter of the terracotta figurines supports their religious and social link to aristocratic concerns, despite their material.

My study has gathered evidence for consistent elite subjects among Geometric figurine types, including elaborately dressed women, chariot groups, horses, horse riders, and cattle. The social status of the owner or giver of a figurine should not be linked to the material value of the gift. This is further corroborated by the absence of figurines that speak to the concerns of the “common man.” Scenes of daily life, such as bread making, do not occur until the Archaic period, when extremely simple terracotta figurines, often termed “primitives,” appear at many sanctuaries. Although certain valuable votives, like bronze tripod cauldrons, can be securely associated with aristocratic gift giving, many other votives could be given by elite and poor alike.¹³

There is also no reason to link figurines with children in a sanctuary setting. Many scholars have identified figurines as toys, noting their occurrence in child graves. The contexts, the expense of production, and the subject matter of many funerary figurines and statuettes do not support this conclusion for LBA or EIA Greece.¹⁴ Moreover, the slightly higher occurrence of figurines in the graves of women and children need not imply that they used the figurines in life. Martin Guggisberg speculates that figures are found in graves of women and children because these groups were in particular need of special protection in the afterlife due to their untimely

deaths.¹⁵ We should be cautious in assigning a gender or age to users of figurines in sanctuaries as well.

FIGURINES IN GEOMETRIC CULT: DIVINE IMAGES & IDEAL WORSHIPPERS

The presence of anthropomorphic images in sanctuaries raises the issue of divine representation and the function of such imagery in Geometric cult. My study has explored the possibility that some terracottas might represent a deity. This analysis of the anthropomorphic types emphasizes the absence of any attributes or traits that securely identify most figurines as gods. Exceptions include the elaborately garbed and bejeweled female figurines found in East Greek sanctuaries, which seem to revive and continue a tradition of goddess imagery from the LBA. In the earlier EIA, these figurines certainly represented the goddess and there is some evidence that certain figures functioned as cult idols, sacred images set up to mark sacred space. If these functioned as cult idols instead of as offerings, we would expect a different treatment of the object compared to other votives. Colin Renfrew has commented on the need to define criteria for identifying cult images, including the presence of large size, elaboration, uniqueness, and specialized locations.¹⁶

Certain wheelmade images from Geometric sanctuaries fit Renfrew's criteria for cult images. Unlike handmade figurines, wheelmade statuettes are larger, often more elaborately painted, and exhibit special gestures. These were not quickly manufactured, but were likely made in specialized potters' workshops. The time and expense needed to create these images perhaps indicate that some were commissioned. These statuettes are large for the period and some stood half a meter high. Moreover, these larger statuettes are not found in large numbers, and some are unique. Several early figures on Samos, Rhodes, and at Amyklai are candidates for divine images. The exact use and display of these images, however, cannot be reconstructed because of their

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secondary depositional contexts. Perhaps they were displayed at the altar, perhaps under temporary shelter. Alternatively, they could have been stored elsewhere and carried in processions like Mycenaean statuettes.¹⁷

The production of wheelmade figures changes in the eighth century, when these figures were produced in quantity. These later examples are smaller and lack the distinguishing gesture. I suggest that these figures no longer functioned as cult images, but were dedicated as votive offerings. As offerings, they can depict the deity, an ideal worshipper, or a priestess. Their identity is intentionally vague and serves to link the ideal worshipper with the divine.¹⁸

It is possible that by the eighth century, potters' workshops turned to votive production to meet the increasing demands of votive cult, demands later met by mass-produced mould-made terracottas in the Archaic period. In addition to these female cult idols, several wheelmade cattle were found at Geometric sanctuaries. These cattle were also produced in ceramic workshops. The identity of the animals likely had several meanings. I suggest that the bull might have served as a symbol for the male deity worshipped, but not represented artistically. The association between god and animal is expressed also in the rite of animal sacrifice, and thus these cattle perhaps also served as mementos of sacrificial acts.

In the eighth century, there is no evidence for the use of specialized cult images with the exception of the Amyklai heads. The Amyklai heads are unusual in their combination of Mycenaean forms with Geometric decoration. Moreover, they are the only terracotta objects found at the Amyklai sanctuary in the Geometric period. Their size, elaboration, and uniqueness suggest that they functioned as cult symbols, perhaps representations of a god and consort goddess. Elsewhere in the eighth century, votive offerings of terracotta abound and their imagery blurs the line between divine and idealized mortals. This intentional conflation emphasizes the emulation of the order and ideals of the divine world by pious worshippers. Deities and their

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rituals often provided models of behavior and social roles, and it is logical that worshippers physically emulate them as well. If the Amyklai heads are not from a divine pair, they perhaps reflect idealized worshippers of extremely high status. The early evidence from this sanctuary is murky and the interpretation of the function of these important statuettes must unfortunately remain tentative.

FIGURINES IN GEOMETRIC CULT: CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY

In 1912, the French sociologist Emile Durkheim published his findings on the social phenomena behind religion, in which he asserts that belief, ritual, and myth inform and reflect society's worldview, individual behaviors, and method of social organization.¹⁹ By emphasizing that religion was fundamentally social, Durkheim and his followers set a trend that continues to the present. Although most scholars today agree that religion is informed to some extent by social constructs, they also recognize the difficulties in reconstructing one from the other. Using figurines to reconstruct social realities is an approach fraught with methodological problems.²⁰ Developing a methodological framework for interpreting the use and meanings of figurines in prehistoric societies is especially challenging due to the absence of texts and other historical information. Although Geometric Greece was pre-literate, we are fortunate to have material and textual evidence for the two periods that frame it as well as an oral tradition formulated at the end of the period. Using the Direct Historical Method to push Archaic beliefs and meanings back into the EIA is appropriate if checked by the recognition that aspects of the preceding period continued and changed throughout the EIA.

There are several factors that simplify interpreting the broader social meanings of EIA figurines. Unlike many other pre-modern cultures, these figurines do not exhibit complex uses and meanings.²¹ Figurines in Greek sanctuaries were most likely produced specifically for

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sanctuary use, mainly as votive offerings. After being displayed for varying amounts of time, figurines were gathered with other sacred material and ritually buried within the sanctuary. We are on firm ground in suggesting a public and religious function for non-funerary EIA figurines.

Anthropological and ethnographic studies indicate that the representation of the human body is deliberate and does not necessarily reflect reality, but encodes the stereotypical social constructs of the makers and users of figurines.²² What is and is not depicted on anthropomorphic figurines reveals important information about the society that created them, especially constructions of personal identity, gender, and status. Mary Douglas asserts that “the social body constrains the way the physical body is perceived.”²³ The potential of the human body to create and maintain these conceptions is immense and EIA figurines, which stood out in an essentially image-less period in their three-dimensionality and lively naturalism, were certainly powerful actors and ideological symbols.

Religion reflects contemporary socio-political institutions; it legitimizes and strengthens them through the use of repetitious and “time-defying” symbols and actions that emphasize a universal message.²⁴ The sacred setting of these messages makes them less susceptible to challenge or critique.²⁵ Catherine Morgan argues that although religious developments are not necessarily the direct result of political developments, there is certainly a relationship between ritual and political power, “a link between a community’s worldview and its rituals,” which often varies through time and by region.²⁶ Ritual closely reflects social values, sometimes by confirming them and or by intentionally inverting them, and creates smooth social transitions through points of potential crisis and social ambiguity through rituals such as rites of passage.²⁷

If religion serves to create, legitimize, and maintain social values and systems, we can certainly use figurines to reconstruct certain aspects of contemporary society. Extrapolations from votive to social reality are necessarily tentative, yet some trends emerge from a diachronic and

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regional investigation of figurine patterns in Geometric sanctuaries. Prehistoric archaeologists in the Mediterranean have employed this approach, but its full potential for analyzing Greek culture has not been reached.²⁸ An exception to this is Susan Langdon's gendered approach to Geometric bronze figurines, which serves as a useful point of comparison for Geometric terracotta figurines.²⁹

The terracotta distribution chart (Appendix Va) reveals a clear increase in figurine usage throughout the EIA, which can be divided into two broad phases. Phase I of terracotta dedication includes the eleventh and tenth centuries, when only a few terracotta figurines, mostly holdovers of LBA traditions, are found. Wheelmade cattle continue directly from the LBA and are quickly imitated with handmade examples, while females with upraised arms are re-introduced to East Greece from Cyprus. At Olympia, the tradition of warrior dedications begins likely under the indirect influence from the cults that flourished at Phylakopi and on Crete. The types of animals used in Phase I cults underscore the importance of communal activities in this phase (Appendix Va). In the eleventh through ninth centuries, agricultural animals dominate the zoomorphic figurines. 65 % (85) are agricultural animals, mainly cattle but also sheep and rams, while only 32% (42) are horses, including riders and chariot groups. This ratio of roughly 2:1 highlights the importance of agricultural wealth and sacrificial feasting. Although aristocratic symbols existed in the Peloponnesos, they are mitigated by community symbols.

The dominant iconography for Phase I consists of wheelmade cult idols of goddesses in East Greece and wheelmade cattle, perhaps symbols of male deities, a counterpart to the goddess idols. In the Peloponnesos, there are votive handmade figurines of warriors and cattle, both linked to aristocratic control and participation in cult. The cattle are perhaps associated with a male deity and are a main symbol of sacrifice to this deity.

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Phase II of figurine usage witnesses a steady increase in dedication and types, with a dramatic spike in dedication at the end of the eighth century. Animal figurines continue to be a conspicuous aspect of cult, but the agricultural animals are outnumbered by horse and chariot groups (Appendix Vc). In the eighth century 32% (338) of animals dedicated were agricultural, while 64% (669) were horses, a reversal from the Phase I pattern, with a 1:2 ratio of agricultural animals to horses. Horses have surpassed the cow as a cultic symbol, but domesticated animals in general outnumber wild animals, with only 2% (24) wild animals (snakes and birds) dedicated. The use of domesticated animals served as a metaphor for human control over the natural world, including mastery over the earth in the form of agriculture and over animals, domesticated for agriculture, status, and war.

A regional distribution of animals highlights regional preferences as well (Appendix Vc). In the Peloponnesos, throughout the EIA 325 agricultural animal figurines were discovered (30%), but these were outnumbered by 716 horses and horse groups (68%). In East Greece, the horse is not as dominant: while 57% (222) of animals were agricultural, only 39% (152) of animals were horses.

In Phase II anthropomorphic types become an equally visible part of cult imagery. The trend towards anthropomorphism is apparent in other aspects of Greek religion.³⁰ It is this phase of terracotta use that coincides with the production and dedication of bronze figurines and it is useful to compare these two traditions. Two significant differences are immediately noticeable between these two figurine traditions. Langdon's collection of bronze anthropomorphic figurines included 275 human figurines distributed among 32 sanctuaries. The total number of terracotta anthropomorphic figurines is 1004 (632 if we exclude figurines that perhaps date to the beginning of the seventh century), which were dispersed among only ten sanctuaries. Terracotta figurines were produced in greater numbers, almost three times the number of bronze figurines, but were

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more limited in sanctuary distribution. Two sanctuaries, Samos and Olympia, receive much higher percentages of the total figurine dedications. The other significant difference is the general lack of explicitly nude terracottas. Like the bronze figurines, most terracottas are clearly gendered, with only a handful of asexual or nongendered figurines, but they depart from the bronzes in their emphasis on clothing or costume. Exceptions to this rule include the nude males and females from Olympia and Kombothekra.

Langdon's gendered approach to the bronze figurines examined asymmetries in male-female figurine production, typology, and iconographic sources. Of the 210 provenanced figurines, Langdon noticed a sharp gender asymmetry in the types: 81% represent males, while only 19% represent females.³¹ This dramatic difference is not paralleled in most other figurine cultures, both New World and Old World. Of the 910 sexed terracotta figurines, 60% depict males (546) and 40% represent females (364). This is a male-dominated assemblage, but not nearly as drastic as bronze figurine gender ratios (Appendix Vb).

This breakdown, however, is not an accurate reflection of Geometric trends. The gender distribution of terracotta figurines is not evenly distributed among sanctuaries, but is determined by region and likely cult. A more accurate breakdown of gender takes into account strong regional preferences. On the Aegean islands, where goddess cults dominated, 76% (347) of figurines are female and 24% (111) are male, out of 458 sexed figurines (Appendix Vb). The Samian assemblage provides the majority of these figurines, but other island cults show a preference for female imagery as well. This regional distribution reveals a much different ratio of male-to-female figurine dedication. The Peloponnesian cults, which are dominated by male deities, reveal an even more extreme ratio than the bronze figurines. Of the 443 Peloponnesian sexed figurines, 98% (435) are male, while only 2% (8) are female! Clearly, there is something dramatically different happening on the Aegean islands than in the Peloponnesos. I believe that

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this is due to the regional preferences in the Geometric period for cults of female and male divinities that will be explored below.

The subjects of bronze figurines also reveal gender differences. Langdon notes not only more types of male bronzes, but the masculine types are dynamic and depict physical activities, including charioteering, riding, fighting, archery, herding, offering libations, and metalworking.³² By contrast, female types are fewer and are distinguished by their passive, hieratic poses. The few activities performed by female bronzes, carrying jugs or dancing, are confined to cultic activities. Langdon concludes that male figurine types reflect the various roles that men played in society and in ritual, and most likely represent mortals, while female activities are marginalized and confined to ritual acts or divine depictions.³³

Terracotta types reflect the same general gender roles, but also diverge from the bronzes. The female terracotta types, like their bronze counterparts, are passive and iconic, and some likely represent a divinity. Most stand frontally with arms either held by their sides or outstretched. In contrast to bronze females, the terracotta females are not only dressed, but are garbed in elaborate robes, jewelry, and many wear headdresses. At the end of the LG, enthroned goddess types also appear. Unlike bronzes, these ornately adorned, standing and enthroned, females are related to Mycenaean terracottas. The nude females from Olympia are unique, while the pudica figures from Samos are more similar to gestures found on bronze figurines. In terms of active female types, the assemblage includes only ring dancers and, at the very end of the LG, a single kourotrophos.

The number of male types is roughly equivalent to female types. Some male terracottas, like the bronze figurines, depict physical activity. These active figurines consist mostly of charioteers from Olympia and it is only at the end of the eighth century in East Greece that horse riders appear. Most terracotta males stand in rather static poses. There are standing robed and

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nude males, likely depictions of priests or pious worshippers, but even the warrior figurines lack the dynamic smiting pose of their Near Eastern predecessors. The warriors stand rigidly; their weapons and armor are not in active use, but serve as attributes or identifiers.

Langdon's last category of analysis, iconographic sources, can also be compared to Geometric terracottas. Langdon notes that male bronzes generally reflect Geometric innovations, while the female types tend to be static reproductions of Near Eastern types, which lent these figurines an aura of exoticism that also removed them as a source of power for Greek women.³⁴ My analysis of the terracotta types has revealed complex and multiple sources of iconographic influence for both male and female types. The earliest female figures reflect Cypriot influence, which I argue was intentionally adopted because of its Mycenaean background, but also because of the prestige and antiquity of the goddess cults on Cyprus. This goddess imagery became a powerful tool for expressing the East Greek islands' contacts with the east as well as their link to the heroic past. The charioteers in the Peloponnesos similarly reflect revivals of Mycenaean types, although executed in a new local style. The proliferation of other male types in the Peloponnesos, the warriors and nude males, is part of a complex network of male imagery that began at Phylakopi in the twelfth century and continued in EIA Crete. Although the exact mode of transmission remains elusive, these new male types are linked to cults of male deities. Thus, both male and female types reflect Mycenaean, Cypriot, and Cretan influence, often with a local flair. It does not appear to me that the terracotta male types reflect purely local innovations.

The typological pattern of terracotta figurine distribution underscores the processes of change that occurred throughout Greece in the Geometric period. The earliest phase of sanctuary use reflects the role of sanctuaries and religion as cohesive forces, a stabilizing force in the transitional periods of the twelfth through tenth centuries.³⁵ In her study of transitional shrines, Morgan uses the archaeological evidence to conclude that sanctuaries were places of gathering,

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likely during festivals, where animal sacrifice, feasting, and libations occurred.³⁶ The symbols used to sanctify these events communicated the social values embodied in the rituals. Statuettes of cattle can be related to sacrificial rites and perhaps served as a symbol of a male deity, while the goddess statuettes invoked the presence of the divine. The main rituals were communal in nature, perhaps venues for the elite from surrounding areas to come and solidify and maintain social ties. In such rituals, there is no explicit need for a cult image or votive offerings, which perhaps accounts for the limited number of sanctuaries that utilized these symbols. There are only 79 terracottas from this phase. The sanctuaries that did make use of terracotta imagery were in direct or indirect contact with centers of coroplastic production, namely Crete and Cyprus. Other sanctuaries did not employ this imagery, but relied on the altar, the ambience of the feast, and perhaps perishable symbols.

Phase I sanctuaries were not defined physically by architecture, but through communal rituals such as animal sacrifice, feasting and drinking, and by the display of terracotta figurines, the material remains of individual prayer. These rituals were experienced physically by individuals through sight, smell, touch, and taste, and this sensory process resulted in communal memories shared by all participants.³⁷ Although many scholars have commented upon the role of sacrifice and feasting in creating shared memories, the role of sight is especially important in the creation of memory in preliterate cultures. The display of religious figurines was an important component in creating a common visual vocabulary.

The figurine pattern dramatically changes in the ninth and eighth centuries, when new types appear in greater quantities. In these two centuries, at least 1630 terracotta figurines were dedicated, the overwhelming majority (1194) in the late eighth century. Votive offering becomes a conspicuous part of sanctuary culture and sanctuaries became the primary venue for symbolic display.³⁸ It is in this second phase that bronze figurines flourish along with terracotta figurines,

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and other imagery appears on fibulae and pottery throughout Greece. While depictions of goddesses and cattle continue, new types include nude men, clothed men, clothed women, warriors, riders, and charioteers. The dramatic increase in number perhaps reflects the need for votives affordable to a broader spectrum of the population in response to the greater and more inclusive role of cult at the end of the eighth century. These figurines functioned as powerful symbols that reflected social values and hierarchies; at the same time they helped to impose the ideologies of new ruling classes during a period of changing social systems and gender roles.

In the EIA new political structures replaced the collapsed palatial and post-palatial structures, some eventually evolving into city-states or loose confederations. Figurines and other art from Mycenaean times reflect the social roles of women in cult and family constructions.³⁹ During the Geometric period, likely intensifying in the ninth and eighth centuries, the processes of state formation began, which often results in asymmetrical gender roles that lead to the marginalization of women.⁴⁰ State creation is frequently accompanied by a shift from kinship-based political and economic organization to a structure based on class and rank. This separation of production and reproduction commonly results in devalued female status.⁴¹ In pre-modern cultures, female subjects usually dominate coroplastic types, but during periods of state formation and other points of dramatic social change, male types accompany female figurines.⁴² Some scholars have also documented a “masculization” of pantheons during these periods that mirror the establishment of a political male elite.⁴³ In Greece, new male figures appear in the twelfth century and spread rapidly until the final formation of the polis system in the eighth century. Unlike female figurines, which remain remarkably unchanged in many ways in the LBA and EIA Mediterranean, the male types reflect new masculine public and social roles, with an emphasis on war.

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In a period of changing social and gender roles, sanctuaries and ritual provided a powerful mechanism to mediate socio-political change by supplying paradigms of social norms. Figurines, whether terracotta or bronze, had a controlled and limited circulation, and their ritual setting underscores the manipulation of religion by male elites to legitimize and maintain authority. Alongside sacrifice and feasting, which reaffirm hierarchical structures, and initiation rites, which help transition people through difficult life-stages and re-enforce social roles, figurines communicated and affirmed gender and social roles. Figurines functioned as visual accompaniments, dedications given in coordination with sacrifice, prayer, feasting, and initiation. The subject of figurines is decidedly not narrative or mythic. Their function was not to communicate myth, which accounts for the lack of mythological creatures and beings, but to serve as paradigms for human behavior and worship.

New masculine figurines of warriors accompanied by their animal, the horse, and their vehicle, the chariot, begin in the Peloponnesos at Olympia. These new types are related to an elite male class who defined themselves through their prowess in war as a means to link themselves with their ancestral heroic past. The earliest terracotta figurines depict warriors wearing belts and helmets, often carrying weapons, standing in static poses or riding in chariots. In his study of war-belts in Homer, Michael Bennett concludes that political power in the epics is gained through seniority, inherited wealth, and personal connections, but this power is legitimized through visible displays of prowess in war. Bennett suggests that this posturing and emphasis on military ability, symbolized by the military belt, is an ideological tool used to disguise the realities of political control.⁴⁴ Material expressions of military prestige, with its heroic and ancestral connotations, were accompanied by oral poetry, which Bennett and others interpret as another ideological tool.⁴⁵ David Tandy similarly suggests that with new economic systems in eighth-century Greece, which included aristocracies based on wealth and land ownership, the elite developed “tools of

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exclusion” to establish and maintain their positions. Tandy includes gift giving, feasts, hero cults, warrior burials, oral poetry, and the panhellenic sanctuary culture as tools of exclusion, all of which de-emphasize the role of wealth and create a heroic, ancestral legitimization of status.⁴⁶

In southern Greece, aristocratic “warriors” employed a complex system of oral and visual symbols to encode social roles and mediate social anxieties. It is tempting to interpret the appearance of beardless and younger male figurines at Olympia, some completely nude, others wearing a conical helmet, as evidence for elite initiation rites for boys entering into this exclusive warrior class. The use of athletic competitions as training for war provided another venue for aristocratic display of their physical prowess related to their military abilities.⁴⁷ It is possible that early initiation ceremonies consisted of athletic feats for young men.

In the Aegean, the island cultures were also going through state formation and social changes, but at the same time they were in close contact with other cultures of the eastern Mediterranean. The East Greek sanctuaries received a multitude of imports. At Samos an unprecedented number of foreign objects was dedicated, and to my knowledge this is the only region of Greece that imported foreign terracotta figurines. Unlike Peloponnesian cults, which were influenced indirectly by developments in Cretan cults, the coroplasts in East Greece were heavily and directly influenced by the older figurine traditions of Cyprus and the Near East.

East Greece was not the only region of Greece to look to Cyprus for coroplastic inspiration, but the import of figurines in the Geometric period is unique and indicates a special relationship with Cyprus. The dedication of Cypriot terracottas increases even more in the Archaic period, when both figurines and monumental terracotta statuary were dedicated at the Samian Heraion.⁴⁸ Cypriot traditions and types influenced other coroplasts in Greece, but the mechanism by which these craftsmen adapted the Cypriot style and motifs is elusive since no imports have been found on the mainland. Grotesque and idealized anthropomorphic masks used

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in the rituals of Artemis Orthia at Sparta are close copies of Cypro-Phoenician masks.⁴⁹ The bothros on the Tiryns acropolis contained objects associated with an early Hera cult, including at least four helmet-style monster masks and terracotta shields decorated with lively figurative scenes. The monster masks seem to be loose adaptations of Cypro-Phoenician grotesque masks, while the shield designs must have been inspired by Cypro-Phoenician metal bowls.⁵⁰ Nearby, Argos also adapted Cypriot motifs: several terracotta warrior figurines found in mixed deposits are executed in a style that betrays Cypriot influence.⁵¹ The Cypriot impact on Greek religion itself as well as the physical manifestations of ritual is especially evident in the cults of Arcadia, a region with many affinities with Cyprus, as well as at Amyklai.⁵²

Turning to Cyprus as a stylistic model for terracotta production would have been natural for EIA Greeks. Cyprus is distinguished from other Near Eastern and Aegean cultures in the innovative and lively coroplastic works created on the island since at least the Chalcolithic period. This long tradition continued without break on the island into the Archaic period and beyond. In EIA Cyprus, figurines were used primarily as sanctuary dedications and funerary gifts. The East Greeks were in close contact with the island and it is natural that they adopted and adapted many Cypriot figurine types. Cyprus was famous at least since Homer for the cult of Aphrodite, who was assimilated to the Greek goddess as well as to Near Eastern goddesses, lending Greek cults an aura of exoticism and antiquity.⁵³ It is possible that adopting a Cypriot style for goddess imagery lent sanctity and venerability to Greek cults.

The presence of Cypriot imports in East Greek sanctuaries, however, is unusual. The cult at Samos especially was flooded with Cypriot figurines. Ohly estimates that one Cypriot figurine was dedicated for every local figurine in the Geometric and Archaic periods.⁵⁴ The presence of Cypriot imports in graves together with the unusual amount of Cypriot influence and imports in votives suggest that Cypriot participation in these communities was more than casual trade.

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Understanding where these figurines were made, how they ended up in these sanctuaries, who made and dedicated the figurines, and why foreign dedications were left at these sanctuaries are important questions for understanding the Cypriot impact on these cults. There is a range of potential answers. The figurines could have been made on Cyprus or Greece with imported clay, a scenario presented in ethnographic examples.⁵⁵ The direct Cypriot style suggests that Cypriots made these figurines, either on Cyprus or in Greece. It is plausible that Cypriots, Greeks, or even middlemen dedicated these figurines. Cypriots could have made the figurines on Cyprus and brought the votives with them on their journeys to East Greece. Alternatively, other traders or pilgrims could have purchased the figurines on Cyprus and carried them to other sanctuaries. Finally, Greeks themselves could have acquired the figurines on Cyprus and brought them back to their local sanctuaries. Another possible scenario is the presence of Cypriot workshops on the islands, where local or foreign pilgrims could purchase Cypriot votives at the site for dedication.

Unfortunately, the figurines themselves cannot be used to answer these questions. The presence of Cypriot imports in graves together with the quantity of Cypriot imports and influences strongly suggests to me that there was direct interaction between Cypriots and locals, and perhaps there was even a local community of Cypriots on some of these islands. Regardless of the makers and users of these Cypriot imports and Cypriot-influenced votives, the continuity of dedication and local adaptation of Cypriot types speak to an established tradition, not random dedications. These votives display a knowledge of local cult and formed a visible aspect of these goddess sanctuaries. Whoever dedicated them perceived that these were appropriate gifts, related to the local cult and local deity, who might have been assimilated with Cypriot goddesses. The amount of exotica at the Samian Heraion indicates that Samians encouraged foreign participation and syncretization of their goddess with eastern deities.⁵⁶

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The earliest Cypriot influences in these cults were not imports, but local copies of goddesses with upraised arms. I suggest that this type was intentionally adopted from Cyprus as a means to link these new cults with older ones. In unstable times, older and venerable imagery can be adopted to counter-balance the innovation and uncertainty of the changing socio-political situation. Memory alone cannot account for the preservation of manufacturing technique or styles. We must assume that in the eighth century, Greeks looked to Crete and Cyprus as preservers of an ancient shared heritage.⁵⁷ Unlike the Peloponnesian elites, the East Greeks did not develop a heroic warrior culture to link themselves with their heroic past, but used older religious imagery to connect their goddess cults with earlier ones. This regional approach to the adoption of images to create the appearance of strength and stability is perhaps related to the general worship of male versus female deities.

The adoption of cult icons in the earlier phase of East Greek cults is replaced by quantities of a variety of female terracotta figurines by the eighth century, which I argue are votive offerings, not cult idols. These females are executed in an array of styles and were both wheelmade and handmade; the mass production is related to a growing demand for votive figurines. The women are elaborately robed, bejeweled, and some have headdresses. The debate regarding their identity, whether Hera, Athena, mortals or priestesses, misses the point. These are representations of the ideal Greek female, who is embodied in various goddesses and emulated by priestesses and worshippers. The flexible vocabulary of these figurines could be adapted for a variety of uses and likely had multiple meanings to multiple users.

Bennett's study of female belts in Homer and in the archaeological record provides useful information on the Geometric view of women. Just as gods and warriors girded themselves for war, Greek goddesses and women adorned themselves as a sign of power. Bennett compiles evidence from Homer that female belts, along with robes and veils, were a source of divine power

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and feminine beauty.⁵⁸ Hera, Calypso, Aphrodite, and Circe gird themselves in scenes where their power derives from their sexual appeal.⁵⁹ Bennett suggests that the belts are powerful talismans, objects of power and prestige equivalent to male war-belts when used by goddesses who are successful seductresses.⁶⁰ Although the belt was a symbol of divine power, female sexuality in the Greek mind was a source of tremendous anxiety. Greek women lacked *sophrosyne*, and unchecked female sexuality had the potential to disrupt forces of order and civilization, to invert the patriarchal social norms.⁶¹ Bennett relates the concept of female beauty to the general unease with which Greek men regarded sexual females, asserting that feminine beauty was defined by domesticity and submission to male control. The female belt, the *zone*, served as a “visible emblem of male-dominated society’s interest in containing by subordination the imagined danger posed by the likelihood of female sexual transgression and its destructive implications.”⁶² Anxieties over female power and sexuality were thus mitigated by emphasizing the ideal Greek woman as one who is controlled and domesticated, literally restrained. Representations of ideal women in art and poetry include the physical symbols of domesticity, chastity, and purity: the veil and the belt, which arouse male attention because they denote a controlled and therefore “safe” form of feminine sexuality.

Female figurines in bronze and terracotta can be related to the Greek anxiety over women’s role in society and cult. In the Geometric period, women’s roles were marginalized, even their biological roles as mothers were de-emphasized in Geometric art as status alone became important for women. Unlike male aristocrats, who defined themselves through physical strength and military ability, female status was exemplified by expensive dress and a distinctive lack of occupation. Depictions of women, both divine and mortal, were largely confined to static emblems of female beauty. Figurines of women do not depict women’s social roles, which would lend them importance, but illustrate only the concept of aristocratic beauty. The figurines depict

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robed, crowned, and belted women who represent idealized goddess or their worshippers.

Figurines encode and transmit gender stereotypes for Greek women and can be related to female initiation ceremonies.

Bennett interprets the actual LG belts found at many Ionian sanctuaries, including Ephesos, Chios, and Samos, as dedications made by women, perhaps before their marriage.⁶³ Belts were also dedicated at Olympia in the ninth through seventh centuries, which is also suggestive of initiation rites for girls as well as boys at this sanctuary. The presence of ring dancers at East Greek sanctuaries in terracotta and in bronze at Olympia is another dedication related to female initiation rites before marriage. The ring dance provided a model for unmarried girls, while figurines of robed women provided paradigms for married women.

This broad interpretation of the function of terracotta figurines as ideological tools for expression of social values and roles places figurines within the larger context of elite control. Based on Mycenaean and Near Eastern traditions, it is not surprising to find wheelmade statuettes of terracotta in official sanctuaries, but the exclusive use of even simple handmade figurines in sanctuary and mortuary contexts is unexpected. The prolific use of handmade figurines in the Near East and Aegean for a variety of purposes by many different groups is not paralleled in EIA Greece, where there was no place for such figurines. Instead, control was exercised in the production, use, and deposition of bronze and terracotta figurines. Personal expressions of piety were shifted to controlled sanctuaries, where there arose a new emphasis on gift giving throughout the EIA. Geometric coroplasts began producing handmade figurines in increasing numbers to accommodate the demands of an evolving reciprocal religion. As Greek cults centered on this prayer-gift exchange, new types of figurines were produced to express aristocratic values

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and were dedicated most likely in elite-controlled scenarios such as sacrifice, festivals, or initiation rituals.

As noted in Chapter I, not all sanctuaries received terracotta figurines. When figurines are contextualized within the larger developments of the EIA, it becomes clear that these objects are one of many ways that the developing aristocratic class legitimized and maintained its new social identity. A regional preference can be discerned, with some areas preferring oral poetry, others bronze figurines, others exotica, others elaborate mortuary rituals, and others a rigid geometric pottery style.⁶⁴ Sanctuaries that received figurine dedications tend to be open-air religious centers not closely tied to any one community. These regional centers perhaps had festivals where sacrifice and other rituals were enacted and pilgrims, local, regional, and sometimes even international, came to celebrate.

The votives from Geometric sanctuaries reveal little differentiation among Geometric deities, who were likely more general and universal. As each region developed politically and religion was codified, deities adopted specific names, epithets, and domains. The figurine types confirm this view, with little difference in dedication to individual deities. Rather, regional circumstances as well as the gender of deity worshipped determined the type of figurines dedicated. Figurines were offered to Hera, Athena, Artemis, Zeus, Poseidon, and Apollo, but it is unlikely that these deities had personalized identities in the Geometric period. The highly individualized deities of later Greek religion did not exist in the EIA. The offerings indicate a deity and population concerned with agriculture, protection, and fertility of the home, crops, and animals. Specialized figurines, such as birds and snakes, appear to be given in accordance with individual cultic demands and reflect a unique deity or ritual. Within these *temenoi*, the altar and images displayed around it served as unifying symbols that marked sacred areas and united the visitors through common beliefs and common social values. Terracotta figurines were among the

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most visible, and in some cases, only figural symbols and their display served as a material manifestation of the relationship between the divine and the worshippers and between members of the community. These symbols brought together worshippers through ritual with an emphasis on social cohesion through defined social roles. Even in the eighth century, a period of competition for status and space driven by the formation of city-states, many sanctuaries lack obvious signs of competition, but instead focus on informing social behavior and maintaining the status quo.⁶⁵

The motivations that determine the votive pattern are a subject of much debate. Scholars argue whether dedications were determined by the nature of the divinity, the cult or belief system, or whether the concerns of the worshippers themselves dictated the gift.⁶⁶ This debate rarely allows for multiple mechanisms operating in this votive system. In fact, the reciprocal nature of votive religion requires a personal motivation as well as the giving of an appropriate gift to a deity able to accommodate the request. Some gifts would also have been given to commemorate a specific ritual or event and would presumably reflect the personal, social, and religious significance of these rites. Thus, it is likely that all of the factors (deity, cult, and worshippers) are reflected in the votive assemblage. My review of EIA figurine patterns reveals that figurines were not dedicated randomly, but selected types were dedicated over generations at each shrine. These patterns indicate that figurine types communicate the concerns of the society, the deity, and the cult.

This study has brought together a large body of figurines in order to detect EIA patterns of figurine dedication and lays the groundwork for future work in a number of different directions. An in-depth analysis of the EIA votive assemblages from each sanctuary would shed more light on the nature of individual deities and cults. An integrated approach that combines the recent studies of several specific types of votive offerings to understand early cult would greatly

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increase our current understanding of Geometric religion. The coroplastic traditions on Crete and Cyprus, the subject of several studies, can be further explored, especially in relation to the Greek use of figurines. Although several important studies have addressed terracotta figurines found in EIA graves, an in-depth comparison of the funerary and votives types from several regions of the Greek world would greatly add to our knowledge of funerary as well as votive religion. This project has highlighted the unique information available from a wide-ranging study of one type of votive offering and will prove useful as a point of comparison for future studies.

¹ The only statue in Homer that seems to function as a cult statue is the Palladion (*Il.* VI, 302-11); the portable cult images that Aeneas takes when he escapes Troy do not fit into the typical function of Greek cult statues. In general, Homer does not clearly differentiate between the deity and the cult image. See Romano 1988; Burkert 1991, 81-87.

² Several scholars have associated the contexts of handmade figurines with popular cult, see Hägg 1981; Kilian 1990. For problems with associating handmade figurines with popular cult, see French 1971; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 72. Tzonou-Herbst (2002, 101, 301) stresses the importance of non-primary contexts in her research on Mycenaean figurines, finding that the figurines went through various use-life cycles. Tzonou-Herbst (2002, 96) notes, “in the past, scholars have essentialized the figurines. They have reduced a complex object like Mycenaean figurines, with their many types, representational forms, and find-contexts, to simplistic characteristics and simple theories. By simplifying the object they have denied the possibility of diversity and multiple meanings and interpretations of the figurines.” Susan Langdon (1984, 57) likewise notes for Geometric bronze figurines, “No single explanation holds good for all examples, and considering the great range of possible motivations for dedication at a sanctuary, we can only expect the offerings to reflect this variety.”

³ French 1961; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 101.

⁴ Kilian 1981; Hiller 1984; Hägg 1995; 2001.

⁵ Willet 1999; Marinatos 2000, Ch. 1; Moorey 2003, 14-15, Ch. II.

⁶ Kletter 1996; Willet 1999; Moorey 2003, 58-67.

⁷ It is entirely possible that figurines were produced for other uses, but these no longer survive. There is a lack of experimental archaeology concerning the technology of handmade terracotta figurines. Future experiments would prove useful in determining the time and technology needed to produce simple to more complicated figurines. The fact that many terracotta figurines from sanctuaries are painted with an overall slip or decorated with motifs found on pottery indicates that they were produced by specialized craftsmen.

⁸ Heilmeyer 1969; 1972, 2, 10-16; Rostoker and Gebhard 1980; Langdon 1984, 280-84; Morgan 1990, 39-43, 89-92; Risberg 1992; 1997.

⁹ The term use-life is used to discuss the cycle of creation, consumption, and disposal of objects. The EIA use-life differs significantly from Mycenaean figurines not only in the control of production, but also in their final deposition. Mycenaean figurines, once used for a variety of purposes, were considered no longer functional and were discarded in a number of ways. The EIA figurines conform to the Near Eastern and Greek practice of keeping sanctified objects (usually any object used in a ritual setting) within the sacred area.

¹⁰ As Kyrieleis does in his interpretation of offerings of the “common man,” (1988, 215).

¹¹ Pulleyn 1997, 12-13.

¹² Pulleyn 1997, 13.

¹³ A modern analogy is the lighting of votive candles or giving of inexpensive *tamata*, small rectangular metal plaques with reliefs depicting the object of the prayer, in Orthodox churches. These votives are relatively inexpensive, but are given by the wealthy and poor alike. Mexican milagros are a similar New World tradition. See Kritseli-Providi 1982; Kriss-Rettenbeck 1972.

¹⁴ See Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 200-04, for the fallacy of this argument for Mycenaean figurines.

¹⁵ Guggisberg 1996, 294-95, 299-303.

¹⁶ Renfrew 1985, 22-24.

¹⁷ As reconstructed by Kilian 1981; Hiller 1984; Hägg 1995; Hägg 2001.

¹⁸ Langdon (1998, 269) remarks that, “The essential ambiguity of the Geometric style, rather than hindering our efforts at understanding the imagery, offers a key: the lack of specificity allowed for powerfully multivalent symbolism.”

¹⁹ Durkheim 1995; see also Durkheim and Mauss 1963. Durkheim developed his theory of “Collective Effervescence,” the energy created by gatherings of people on special events, a force that influenced social actions.

- ²⁰ This has long been recognized by anthropologists, see Hamilton et al. 1996; Bailey 1996; Kuijt and Chesson 2005.
- ²¹ The extremely complicated use of figurines has been noted by many figurine scholars, including Joyce 1993; Bailey 1996. Luijt and Chesson (Kuijt and Chesson 2005, 155) state, “The figurine may change hands several times over its life history, be used in many different and differently charged contexts, and embody multiple significances to different people.”
- ²² Joyce 1993; Bolger 2003, Ch. 4; see also Douglas 1982, 63; Butler 1990.
- ²³ Douglas 1982, 63.
- ²⁴ The view that religion is inherently “conservative” has been questioned by scholars emphasizing the artificial construction and manipulation of time-defying elements in many religions. See Bloch 1989a; 1989b; Torrence and Leeuw 1989.
- ²⁵ Bloch 1989a, 14-15.
- ²⁶ Morgan 1999, 372; see also 1990, 57-58.
- ²⁷ van Gennep 1960; see also Morgan 1990, 58.
- ²⁸ Ucko 1968; Talalay 1993; Bolger 1994; 1996; 2003.
- ²⁹ Langdon 1999; 2000.
- ³⁰ Burkert 1991; Prent 2005, 180.
- ³¹ Langdon 1999, 24.
- ³² Langdon 1984; 1999, 24.
- ³³ Langdon 1999, 24.
- ³⁴ Langdon 1999, 24.
- ³⁵ For early sanctuaries and ritual as a unifying force see Morgan 1996; Gadolou 2002. *Contra de Polignac* 1995.
- ³⁶ Morgan 1996.
- ³⁷ Hamilakis 2003, 25.
- ³⁸ Langdon (1999, 25) notes that the “increasing use of images, foremost among these were figurines, added a greater symbolic value to the new ‘sanctuary culture.’”
- ³⁹ Fantham et al. 1994; Blundell 1995; Olsen 1998.
- ⁴⁰ Rapp 1977; Silverblatt 1988; Nelson 1997; Langdon 1999; see also Bolger 2003, esp. 194-96; Kuijt and Chesson 2005.
- ⁴¹ Gailey 1987; Bolger 2003, 196.
- ⁴² For example, male figurines appear with the rise of urban centers and state formation in third-millennium Mesopotamia and Syria and later they appear in Iron Age Palestine. Moorey 2003, 15, 19-21.
- ⁴³ Steinkeller 1999, 113-14.
- ⁴⁴ Bennett 1997, 91.
- ⁴⁵ Finnegan 1977; Bennett 1997, 91; Tandy 1997, 165.
- ⁴⁶ Tandy 1997, 141-65.
- ⁴⁷ Bennett 1997, 103-14.
- ⁴⁸ Schmidt 1968; Sørensen 1991.
- ⁴⁹ Carter 1987; 1988; see also Jameson 1990.
- ⁵⁰ Karo 1934; Lorimer 1950, 170-74, pls. IX-X; Jameson 1990. Lorimer suggests that the shield type represented by the votive shield found at Tiryns and Samos was transmitted from Cyprus as well. The terracotta pomegranate models, found at the Argive and Samian Heraion, are perhaps also influenced by Cypriot examples.
- ⁵¹ Sarian 1969.
- ⁵² Schweitzer 1971, 157-58; Burkert 1975; Voyatzis 1985; Burkert 1985, 153; Voyatzis 1992.
- ⁵³ Aphrodite’s epithet *Kypris* becomes famous after the *Iliad*, and her Cypriot origins are also referenced in *Od.* 8.363; Hes. *Theog.* 176-200; *Hymn.Hom.Ven.* 59.
- ⁵⁴ Ohly 1940, 58; Schmidt 1968; see also Schweitzer 1971, 157.

⁵⁵ Wriedt Sørensen (Sørensen 1991, 236) discusses the ethnographic parallels for itinerant coroplasts bringing their own clay, or using local clay, to produce objects in their local styles!

⁵⁶ See discussion of foreign participation in Ionian cults in Simon 1986, esp. 84-85; see also Burkert 1983. Not only did Samians accept votive offerings, but also depictions of foreign deities such as Syrian metal statuettes, Egyptian deities, and perhaps even a figurine of the Babylonian goddess Gula with her dog.

⁵⁷ *Contra* theories of direct survival (Herrmann 1982; Hiller 1983). Amandry (1986) prefers to see Mycenaean traits in the eighth century as part of the general trend of revival of Bronze Age traditions in pottery, art, and religion. In his article, Amandry focuses on the similarities between Dipylon amphora scenes and Tanagra larnakes, the deposition of offerings in Mycenaean tombs, the beginnings of cults to Trojan heroes, and the ritual placement of Mycenaean figurines in the sanctuary of Athena at Delphi.

⁵⁸ Bennett 1997, 125-50.

⁵⁹ *Il.* 14.161-88; *Od.* 5.230-32; *Od.* 6.99-109; *Od.* 10.543-45. Bennett (1997, 125-37) highlights that female sexual power is based on beguilement, deception, and dominance over men.

⁶⁰ Bennett 1997, 126-28.

⁶¹ Winkler 1990; Carson 1990; Bennett 1997, 129-30.

⁶² Bennett 1997, 139.

⁶³ Bennett 1997, Ch. 3.

⁶⁴ Whitley 1991; Lemos 2000.

⁶⁵ For the increase of display of wealth in sanctuaries at the end of the eighth century, see Morgan 2002.

⁶⁶ Those who argue for votives reflecting the deity include Bevan 1986. Those who argue that votives reveal more about the concerns of the dedicator include Rouse 1902, 373-84; Simon 1986, 410-20; Morgan 1993, 22-23.

A SELECTED CATALOGUE

This catalogue is organized regionally by site. Each entry is numbered with a site-specific letter followed by a number. The first line provides the type and technique of manufacture, the second line provides the inventory number followed by the approximate height or length (given in meters) and date. The third line lists relevant bibliography for each figurine. If illustrated, a figure number is listed to the right of each entry. All figures have been drawn from photographs.

EAST GREECE

Rhodes, Lindos: Sanctuary of Athena

The figurines from Lindos are housed in the Collection of Near Eastern and Classical Antiquities of the Danish National Museum in Copenhagen and in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

- | | | |
|-----------|---|-----------------|
| R1 | Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade
no. 1879, H: 0.134, MG
Blinkenberg 1931, 466, no. 1879, pl. 83; Kourou 2002, 26. | Figure 1 |
| R2 | Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade
no. 1878, H: 0.132, MG-LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 466, no. 1878, pl. 83; Kourou 2002, 26. | Figure 2 |
| R3 | Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade, Cypriot
Copenhagen inv. 10485, H: 0.151, EG
Blinkenberg 1931, 480, no. 1958, pl. 87; Schmidt 1968, 116, pl. 123; J. Karageorghis 1977, 119;
Karageorghis and Demas 1985, pl. CXLIX, 589, pl. CLXII, 3879; Demetriou 1989, 54; Sørensen
1991, 226-27. | Figure 3 |
| R4 | Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade
no. 1883, H: 0.060, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 466, no. 1883, pl. 83; Kourou 2002, 26. | Figure 4 |
| R5 | Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, handmade
no. 1862, H: 0.113, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 459, no. 1862, pl. 80. | |
| R6 | Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, handmade
no. 1885, H: 0.073, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 467, no. 1885, pl. 83. | |
| R7 | Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, handmade
no. 1884, H: 0.123, LG-SG
Blinkenberg 1931, 467, no. 1884, pl. 83. | |

Selected Catalogue

- R8** Female with arms to side, Type IB, wheelmade
no. 1877, H: 0.210, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 465, no. 1877, pl. 82. **Figure 14**
- R9** Female with arms to side, Type IB, wheelmade
no. 1870, H: 0.087, LG-EA
Blinkenberg 1931, 463, no. 1870, pl. 81.
- R10** Female with arms to side, Type IB, handmade
no. 1889, H: 0.053, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 468, no. 1889, pl. 84.
- R11** Ring dancer/Musician, Type II, handmade, Cypriot
no. 1955, H: 0.105, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 478, no. 1955, pl. 87; Sørensen 1991, 227. **Figure 19**
- R12** Ring dancer/Musician, Type II, handmade
no. 1956, H: 0.067, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 478-79, pl. 87. **Figure 20**
- R13** Enthroned female, Type III, handmade
no. 1894, H: 0.085, LG-EA
Blinkenberg 1931, 469, no. 1894, pl. 84. **Figure 23**
- R14** Female holding baby, Type V, handmade
no. 1864, H: 0.073, LG-EA
Blinkenberg 1931, 459, no. 1864, pl. 80. **Figure 28**
- R15** Wheeled Warrior, Type VII, handmade, Cypriot
no. 1945, H: 0.064, CAI
Blinkenberg 1931, 477, no. 1945, pl. 86. **Figure 34**
- R16** Standing Warrior, Type VII, handmade, Cypriot
no. 1946, H: 0.126, CAI
Blinkenberg 1931, 477, no. 1946, pl. 86. **Figure 36**
- R17** Horse Rider, Type IX, handmade
Istanbul Archaeological Museum, H: 0.127, LG
Mendel 1908, no. 1, pl. 1; Blinkenberg 1931, 450, no. 1860, pl. 80; Schweitzer 1971, 99, fig. 68. **Figure 48**
- R18** Horse Rider, Type IX, handmade, Cypriot import
no. 1941, H: 0.093, CAI
Blinkenberg 1931, 476, pl. 86. **Figure 49**
- R19** Head, Type XIC, handmade
no. 1887, H: 0.047, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 467, no. 1887, pl. 83. **Figure 64**
- R20** Head, Type XIC, handmade
no. 1888, H: 0.072, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 468, no. 1888, pl. 83.

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- R21** Head, Type XI, wheelmade
no. 1886, H: 0.084, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 467, no. 1886, pl. 83; D'Agata 1998, 22, fig. 1.4; Kourou 2002, 26-27.
- R22** Male head, Type XIB, handmade **Figure 65**
British Museum, no. 1861, H: 0.045, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 459, no. 1861, pl. 80; Coldstream 2003, 249-50, fig.79h, j; Higgins 1967, 20.
- R23** Male head, Type XIB, handmade, Cypriot **Figure 66**
no. 1992, H: 0.059, CAI
Blinkenberg 1931, 484, pl. 88.
- R24** Cow, Type XII, handmade **Figure 77**
no. 1897, L: 0.081, LG (perhaps earlier)
Blinkenberg 1931, 470, no. 1897, pl. 84; Kourou 2002, 23.
- R25** Cow, Type XII, wheelmade
no. 1966, H: 0.073, PG
Blinkenberg 1931, 480, no. 1966, pl. 87; Kourou 2002, 23.
- R26** Horse, Type XIV, wheelmade **Figure 105**
no. 1867, H: 0.116, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 461, no. 1867, pl. 81; Kourou 2002, 23.
- R27** Horse, Type XIV, wheelmade **Figure 106**
no. 1866, H: 0.073, LG
Blinkenberg 1931, 461, no. 1866, pl. 80.
- R28** Bird, Type XVII, handmade, Cypriot **Figure 130**
no. 1971, L: 0.072, CGIII
Blinkenberg 1931, 480, no. 1971, pl. 88.
- R29** Bird, Type XVII, handmade, Cypriot **Figure 131**
no. 1973, L: 0.063, CGIII
Blinkenberg 1931, 480, no. 1973, pl. 88.
- R30** Dog, Type XVIII, handmade, Cypriot **Figure 136**
no. 1964, H: 0.108, CAI
Blinkenberg 1931: 480, no. 1964, pl. 87.

Emporio, Chios **Harbour Sanctuary**

The following figurines are housed in the Chios Archaeological Museum, catalogue numbers from Boardman 1967.

- C1** Raised arm from female figure, Type IA, wheelmade **Figure 12**
no. 48, L: 0.111, fill, LG
Boardman 1967, 189, 196, pl. 74; Kourou 2002, 25.

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- C2** Foot of female figure, Type IC, handmade/wheelmade
no. 83, L: 0.077, Period IV, LG
Boardman 1967, 98, 191, 198, pl. 77. **Figure 18**
- C3** Female head, Type XI, handmade
no. 49, H: 0.028, Period IV, LG
Boardman 1967, 190, 197, pl. 74. **Figure 135**
- C4** Bovine head, Type XII, wheelmade
no. 33, inv. 260/33, L: 0.091, Period II, LG
Boardman 1967, 189, 196, pl. 73; Guggisberg 1996, 98, no. 308.
- C5** Bovine head, Type XII, wheelmade
no. 31, inv. E26.265/31, L: 0.085, Period IV, LG
Boardman 1967, 189, 196, pl. 73; Guggisberg 1996, 98, no. 306. **Figure 78**
- C6** Bovine leg, Type XII, wheelmade
no. 36, inv. 36E, H: 0.058, Period IV, LG
Boardman 1967, 189, 196, pl. 74; Guggisberg 1996, 98, no. 311.
- C7** Bovine leg, Type XII, handmade
no. 35, inv. E35, H: 0.096, Period III, LG
Boardman 1967, 189, 196, pl. 74; Guggisberg 1996, 98, no. 310.
- C8** Bovine body, Type XII, handmade
no. 43, L: 0.071, Period IV, LG
Boardman 1967, 189, 196, pl. 74.
- C9** Bovine head, Type XII, handmade
no. 40, L: 0.034, Period IV, LG
Boardman 1967, 189, 196, pl. 74
- C10** Cow or horse hindquarters, Type XII, wheelmade
no. 25, inv. E256/73, H: 0.122, Period I, SM
Boardman 1967, 188, 195, pl. 73; Guggisberg 1996, 97-98, no. 302, pl. 22.5; Kourou 2002, 23. **Figure 107**
- C11** Horse lid attachment, Type XIV, wheelmade
no. 26, inv. 199/26, L: 0.168, fill, SM
Boardman 1967, 188-89, pl. 73; Guggisberg 1996, 98, no. 303, pl. 22.6-8; Kourou 2002, 23. **Figure 108**

Athena Sanctuary

- C12** Female figure with arms at sides, Type IB, wheelmade
no. 56, H: 0.130, Period I, LG
Boardman 1967, 190, 197, pl. 75
- C13** Standing female, Type IC, handmade
no. 65, H: 0.108, Period I, LG
Boardman 1967, 191, 198, fig. 131, pl. 76.
- C14** Head, Type XI, handmade

Selected Catalogue

no. 50, W: 0.045, Period I, LG
Boardman 1967, 190, 197, fig. 131, pl. 74.

- C15** Head, Type XI, wheelmade
no. 51, W: 0.045, Period I, LG
Boardman 1967, 190, 197, fig. 131, pl. 74.
- C16** Equine carrying vases, Type XV, wheelmade
no. 30, H: 0.06, Period II, PG
Boardman 1967, 189, 196, fig. 131, pl. 74.

Figure 126

Samos: Sanctuary of Hera

The figurines from Samos are located in the Samos Archaeological Museum unless otherwise noted.

- S1** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade
T 1238, H: 0.260 (intact figure over 0.060 high), Deposit XXI (Fundgruppe G), PG
Ohly 1940, 87; Ohly 1941, 1, 5-10, pl. 1,2; Matz 1958, pl. 34; Walter 1965, 16, pl. 9; Brandt 1965, 44, n. 30; Jarosch 1994, 131, no. 485, pl. 34; Kourou 2002, 25-26 fig. 7. **Figure 5**
- S2** Hand from female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade
T 2508, H: 0.065, Deposit V, PG
Jarosch 1994: 131, no. 486, pl. 34.
- S3** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade, Cypriot
T 1084, H: 0.129, CGI
Ohly 1940, 57-58; Schmidt 1968, 4, 6, 96 pl. 1; Vierneisel 1961, 34; Higgins 1967, 18; Demetriou 1989, 54, pl. 183. **Figure 6**
- S4** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, handmade
T 1972, H: 0.050, LG
Jarosch 1994, 150, no. 749, pl. 40. **Figure 7**
- S5** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, handmade
T 2409, H: 0.140, Deposit XL, LG
Jarosch 1994, 134, no. 532, pl. 37.
- S6** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, handmade
T 2788, H: 0.120, LG
Kopcke 1968, 298, no. 148, pl. 131, 5; Jarosch 1994, 134, no. 531, pl. 37.
- S7** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade
T 1205, H: 0.082, Deposit XL, LG
Jarosch 1994, 151, no. 771, pl. 43. **Figure 8**
- S8** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, handmade
T 316, H: 0.113, LG
Ohly 1940, 73; Ohly 1941, 6, 14, pl. 7; Brandt 1965, 45; Jarsoch 1994, 134, no. 533, pl. 38.
- S9** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, handmade
T 2570, H: 0.125, Deposit XL, LG **Figure 9**

Selected Catalogue

Jarosch 1994, 134, no. 530, pl. 37.

- S10** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade
T 2249, H: 0.090, Deposit XXXI, LG
Jarosch 1994, 133, no. 512, pl. 36.
- S11** Female with outstretched Arms, Type IA, wheelmade **Figure 10**
T 873, H: 0.186, LG
Ohly 1941, 5, 7, 11-16, pl. 3; Jarosch 1994, 131, no. 489, pl. 36; Brize 1997, 126, fig. 3; Kourou 2002, 26, n. 119, 120.
- S12** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade
T 1000, H: 0.110, LG
Ohly 1941, 6-15, 24, pl. 5; Brandt 1965, 44; Jarosch 1994, 133, no. 520, pl. 37.
- S13** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, handmade, Cypriot **Figure 16**
T 1354, H: 0.048, CGI
Schmidt 1968, 4, pl. 1.
- S14** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade
T 2772, H: 0.115, Deposit XL, SG (700-690)
Jarosch 1994, 138, no. 583, pl. 39.
- S15** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade
T 1747, H: 0.120, LG-EA (710-675)
Jarosch 1994, 138, no. 574, pl. 50.
- S16** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, wheelmade
T 2402, H: 0.080, Deposit XL, EA (c. 690)
Jarosch 1994, 137, no. 564, pl. 52.
- S17** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, handmade **Figure 11**
T 2135a, H: 0.105, EG
Jarosch 1994, 147, no. 712, pl. 35.
- S18** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, handmade **Figure 15**
T 1012, H: 0.100, EG
Jarosch 1994, 147, no. 711, pl. 35.
- S19** Female with upraised arms, Type IB, wheelmade
T 1375, H: 0.116, LG
Vierneisel 1961, 35, fig. 11; Jarosch 1994, 134, no. 527, pl. 41; Kourou 2002, 26, n. 119, 120.
- S20** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, wheelmade
T 727, H: 0.127, Deposit XLII, LG
Ohly 1940, 71; Ohly 1941, 6, 10-14, 24, pl. 3; Jarosch 1994, 132, no. 496, pl. 36.
- S21** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, wheelmade
n/a, H: 0.143, Deposit XVII, LG
Walter-Vierneisel 1959, 23, fig. 56, 1; Jarosch 1994, 134, no. 529, pl. 39.

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- S22** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, wheelmade **Figure 17**
T 1404, H: 0.159, LG
Vierneisel 1961, 35, fig. 11; Jarosch 1994, 134, no. 526, pl. 39; Kourou 2002, 26, n. 119.
- S23** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, handmade
T 304, H: 0.100, LG
Jarosch 1994, 152, no. 781, pl. 46.
- S24** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, handmade
T 2781, H: 0.150, LG
Jarosch 1994, 152, no. 785, pl. 45.
- S25** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, handmade
T 172, H: 0.105, LG
Ohly 1941, 6, 14-16, pl. 8; Matz 1950, 85, pl. 35; Jarosch 1994, 147-48, no. 714, pl. 41.
- S26** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, handmade
T 2584, H: 0.078, LG
Jarosch 1994, 153, no. 791, pl. 46.
- S27** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, handmade
T 191, H: 0.116, LG
Vierneisel 1961, 38, fig. 13; Jarosch 1994, 153, no. 795, pl. 42.
- S28** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, handmade
T 2441, H: 0.105, Deposit XL, LG
Jarosch 1994, 151, no. 772, pl. 46.
- S29** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, handmade
T 798, H: 0.105, Deposit XLI, LG
Vierneisel 1961, 38, fig. 13; Jarosch 1994, 153, no. 797, pl. 41.
- S30** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, handmade
T 168, H: 0.075, EA (c. 690)
Jarosch 1994, 155, no. 825, pl. 45.
- S31** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, handmade
T 1008, H: 0.065, LG
Jarosch 1994, 154, no. 818, pl. 44.
- S32** Female with arms at sides, Type IB, handmade
T 781, H: 0.100, EA (700-675)
Ohly 1941, 20, pl. 18; Jarosch 1994, 155, no. 830, pl. 44.
- S33** Standing female, Type IC, wheelmade
T 37, H: 0.235, LG
Jarosch 1994, 135, no. 543, pl. 40.
- S34** Standing female, Type IC, handmade
T 783, H: 0.061, LG
Vierneisel 1961, 35, fig. 11; Jarosch 1994, 134, no. 528, pl. 40.

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- S35** Female with arms to sides, Type IB, handmade
T 2373, H: 0.10, Deposit XL, EA (before 690)
Jarosch 1994, 135-36, no. 547, pl. 48.
- S36** Ring dancer/Musician, Type II, handmade **Figure 21**
T 1836, H: 0.064, PG
Jarosch 1994, 147, no. 702, pl. 35.
- S37** Ring dancer/Musician, Type II, handmade
T 296, H: 0.068, PG
Jarosch 1994, 147, no. 701, pl. 35.
- S38** Ring dancer/Musician, Type II, handmade, Cypriot
T 1985, H: 0.095, CGI
Schmidt 1968, 4, pl. 1; Karageorghis 1993, 65.
- S39** Ring dancer/Musician, Type II, handmade, Cypriot
T 2452, H: 0.078, CGI
Schmidt 1968, 4, pl. 2; Karageorghis 1993, 65.
- S40** Ring dancer/Musician, Type II, handmade, Cypriot **Figure 22**
T 1489+2708, H: 0.078, CGI
Schmidt 1968, 4, pl. 2; Karageorghis 1993, 65, no. 5.
- S41** Enthroned female, Type III, handmade **Figure 24**
n/a, H: 0.070, EA (700-675)
Jarosch 1994, 135, no. 544, pl. 71.
- S42** Enthroned female, Type III, handmade
T 2358, H: 0.072, LG
Jarosch 1994, 178, no. 1163, pl. 71.
- S43** Enthroned female, Type III, handmade
T 526, H: 0.089, EA (before 690)
Ohly 1941, 3, 6, n. 4, pl. 16; Alroth 1989, 23, pl. 6; *LIMC* IV, no. 80 s.v. Hera; Jarosch 1994, 136, no. 557, pl. 50.
- S44** Pudica figure, Type IV, handmade **Figure 25**
T 269, H: 0.140, LG
Ohly 1941, 6, pl. 10; Brandt 1965, 45; Jarosch 1994, 154, no. 816, pl. 44.
- S45** Female holding both breasts, Type IV, handmade
T 716, H: 0.150, Deposit XLII, EA (c. 690)
Ohly 1941, 6-7, pl. 13; Jarosch 1994, 136, no. 548, pl. 49.
- S46** Female with arm under breasts, Type IV, handmade
T 1243, H: 0.115, Deposit XLII, EA (c. 690)
Ohly 1941, 6, 22-23, pl. 15; Brandt 1965, 45; Jarosch 1994, 137, no. 560, pl. 53.
- S47** Pudica figure, Type IV, handmade

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- T 2783, H: 0.310, SG (before 690)
Kopcke 1968, 298, no. 143, pl. 130, 1.2; Jarosch 1994, 136, no. 558, pl. 49, fig. 7.
- S48** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade
T 2659, H: 0.069, Deposit XXXIX, EA (c. 690)
Jarosch 1994, 138, no. 698, pl. 54.
- S49** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade **Figure 29**
T 277, H: 0.173, Deposit XXII (J), EA (c. 690)
Ohly 1940, 89; Ohly 1941, 7, 17, n. 2; 20, pl. 12; Jarosch 1994, 138, no. 697, pl. 55.
- S50** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade **Figure 30**
T 2493, H: 0.110, LG
Jarosch 1994, 158, no. 870, pl. 43.
- S51** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade
T 1437, H: 0.080, LG
Ohly 1940, 71; Ohly 1941, 6, 8, 16, n. 3, pl. 9; Brandt 1965, 45; Jarosch 1994, 158, no. 875, pl. 55.
- S52** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade
T 724, H: 0.096, Deposit XLII, LG
Ohly 1941, 6, 14, 16, pl. 7; Brandt 1965, 44; Jarosch 1994, 158, no. 869, pl. 42.
- S53** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade
T 2611, H: 0.075, Deposit XL, EA (690-680)
Jarosch 1994, 158, no. 883, pl. 54.
- S54** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade **Figure 31**
T 2067, H: 0.085, EA (c. 690-680)
Jarosch 1994, 158, no. 880, pl. 56.
- S55** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade
T 63, H: 0.052, SG (700-690)
Jarosch 1994, 158, no. 885, pl. 71.
- S56** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade
T 846, H: 0.078, SG (c. 690)
Ohly 1941, 6, 8, 21, pl. 13; Brandt 1965, 44; Jarosch 1994, 158, no. 878, pl. 56.
- S57** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade **Figure 32**
T 353, H: 0.098, Deposit XX (H), LG
Ohly 1940, 70, 88; Ohly 1941, 6-14, pl. 9; Brandt 1965, 45; Jarosch 1994, 158, no. 868, pl. 42.
- S58** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade, Cypriot **Figure 33**
T 2152, H: 0.095, CAI
Schmidt 1968, 4, pl. 1.
- S59** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade, Cypriot
T 750, H: 0.108, CAI
Schmidt 1968, 4, pl. 2.

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- S60** Standing clothed male, Type VI, handmade, Cypriot
T 782, H: 0.085, CAI
Schmidt 1968, 4, pl. 4.
- S61** Standing nude male, Type VIII, handmade
T 57, H: 0.080, Deposit XLII, LG
Ohly 1940, 70; Ohly 1941, 5-8, 16, 28, pl. 9; Jarosch 1994, 157, no. 860, pl. 42.
- S62** Standing nude male, Type VIII, handmade **Figure 44**
T 417, H: 0.125, LG
Ohly 1941, 5-8, 24, pl. 10; Jarosch 1994, 158, no. 866, pl. 43; Brize 1997, 127, fig. 7.
- S63** Standing nude male, Type VIII, handmade
T 2255, H: 0.080, Deposit XLII, EA (700-675)
Jarosch 1994: 158, no. 881, pl. 55.
- S64** Standing nude male, Type VIII, handmade **Figure 45**
T 722, H: 0.146, Deposit XLII, EA (c. 680)
Ohly 1941, 5-6, n. 4, 8, pl. 11; Vierneisel 1961, 38, fig. 17; Jarosch 1994, 158, no. 882, pl. 55.
- S65** Horse Rider, Type IX, handmade **Figure 50**
T 980, H: 0.053, EA (700-675)
Jarosch 1994, 160, no. 893, pl. 71.
- S66** Horse Rider, Type IX, handmade **Figure 51**
T 201, H: 0.050, LG-EA
Jarosch 1994, 160, no. 889, pl. 71.
- S67** Ithyphallic Horse Rider, Type IX, wheelmade **Figure 52**
T 2683, H: 0.115, Deposit XL, LG
Jarosch 1994, 129, no. 469, pl. 22.
- S68** Horse Rider, Type IX, handmade, Cypriot
T 1890+1934, H: 0.075, CAI
Schmidt 1968, 4-5, pl. 4.
- S69** Horse Rider, Type IX, handmade, Cypriot **Figure 53**
T 2345, H: 0.048, CAI
Schmidt 1968, 4-5, pl. 4.
- S70** Chariot/Cart wheels, Type X, handmade **Figure 59**
T 1616, 1616a, 2136, D: 0.060-0.078, ninth-eighth century
Jarosch 1994, 175-76, nos. 1131-1133, pl. 33.
- S71** Chariot/cart yoke fragment, Type X, handmade
T 813, L: 0.050, EA
Jarosch 1994, 176, no. 1135, pl. 32, fig. 6.
- S72** Head, Type XIC, handmade **Figure 67**
T 2749, H: 0.065, Deposit XL, PG

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- Jarosch 1994, 164, no. 950, pl. 34.
- S73** Female Head, Type XIA, handmade **Figure 68**
T 1999, H: 0.054, PG
Jarosch 1994, 164, no. 951, pl. 34.
- S74** Head, Type XIC, handmade
T 2569, H: 0.045, Deposit V, EG
Jarosch 1994, 164, no. 952, pl. 34.
- S75** Head, Type XIC, handmade
T 2405, H: 0.034, Deposit XL, LG
Jarosch 1994, 166, no. 987, pl. 46.
- S76** Male head, Type XIB, handmade
T 2664, H: 0.0260, Deposit XXXIX, LG
Jarosch 1994, 167, no. 989, pl. 43.
- S77** Male head, Type XIB, handmade
T 780, H: 0.052, LG
Buschor 1951, 35, pl. 9b; Jarosch 1994, 161, no. 899, pl. 47.
- S78** Male head, Type XIB, handmade
T 230, H: 0.070, EA (c. 690)
Ohly 1940, 71; Ohly 1941, 7, 17-20, 23, pl. 17; Ohly 1953, 85-87, fig. 38; Jarosch 1994, 161, no. 910, pl. 57.
- S79** Male head, Type XIB, handmade
T 1831, H: 0.060, EA (700-675)
Vierneisel 1961, 36, 41, fig. 14; Jarosch 1994, 167, no. 1000, pl. 46.
- S80** Female head, Type XIA, handmade
T 738, H: 0.037, Deposit XLII, EA (690-80)
Ohly 1941, 22, pl. 15; Jarosch 1994, 168, no. 1009, pl. 53.
- S81** Female head, Type XIA, handmade **Figure 69**
T 901, H: 0.081, LG
Ohly 1940, 71; Ohly 1941, 12-18, 23, pl. 5; Matz 1950, pl. 75a; Homann-Wedeking 1964, 22, fig. 6.7; Brandt 1965, 44, pl. 8; Jarosch 1994, 160, no. 896, pl. 46.
- S82** Female head, Type XIA, handmade
T 2480, H: 0.050, Deposit XL, LG
Jarosch 1994, 165, no. 969, pl. 47.
- S83** Head, Type XIC, handmade
T 2063, H: 0.050, LG
Vierneisel 1961, 41, fig. 14; Jarosch 1994, 166, no. 984, pl. 47.
- S84** Female head, Type XIA, handmade **Figure 71**
T 740, H: 0.490, Deposit XLII, LG (c. 700)
Jarosch 1994, 167, no. 991, pl. 58.

Selected Catalogue

- S85** Head, Type XIC, handmade
T 1741, H: 0.480, EA (690-80)
Jarosch 1994, 168, no. 1007, pl. 58.
- S86** Male head, Type XIB, handmade **Figure 70**
T 1730, H: 0.060, Deposit XXVII, EA (700-675)
Jarosch 1994, 167, no. 1003, pl. 47.
- S87** Head, Type XIC, handmade
T 2556, H: 0.065, EA (c. 690)
Jarosch 1994, 162, no. 918, pl. 53.
- S88** Female head, Type XIA, handmade **Figure 72**
T 1897, H: 0.049, Deposit XXXV, LG
Vierneisel 1961, 42, fig. 14; Jarosch 1994, 167, no. 992, pl. 47.
- S89** Male Head, Type XIB, handmade
T 36, H: 0.062, EA (680)
Ohly 1940, 77; Ohly 1953, 85, 87, Fig. 38; Jarosch 1994, 161, no. 903, pl. 57.
- S90** Male head, Type XIB, handmade
T 1786, H: 0.041, Deposit XXII, LG
Jarosch 1994, 166, no. 986, pl. 47.
- S91** Head with helmet, Type XIC, handmade
T 62, H: 0.060, EA (690-80)
Ohly 1941, 5-6, n. 4, 21, pl. 12; Jarosch 1994, 161, no. 912, pl. 58.
- S92** Helmeted head, Type XIC, handmade
T 1145, H: 0.090, EA (c. 690)
Ohly 1940, 77; Ohly 1953, 85, 87, Fig. 38; Jarosch 1994, 161, no. 904, pl. 56.
- S93** Head, Type XIC, handmade **Figure 73**
T 1244, H: 0.060, Deposit XLII, EA (700-675)
Ohly 1941, 24, pl. 15; Jarosch 1994, 167, no. 1001, pl. 1244.
- S94** Female head, Type XIA, handmade, Cypriot
T 481, H: 0.050, CAI
Schmidt 1968, 5, pl. 4.
- S95** Male head with conical cap, Type XIB, handmade, Cypriot **Figure 75**
Berlin Sa. 112, H: 0.730, CAI
Schmidt 1968, 5, pl. 3.
- S96** Bovine head, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 79**
T 1178, H: 0.083, Deposit XLII, SM
Ohly 1940, 93-94, 101, pl. 47; Jarosch 1994, 97, no. 1, pl. 1; Guggisberg 1996, 104, no. 344, pl. 24, 6.7; Brize 1997, 125, fig. 1.

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- S97** Bovine body, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 81**
 T 982, H: 0.123, SM
 Ohly 1940, 76, n. 2, 78, 95-98, pl. 52; Jarosch 1994, 103, no. 65, pl. 6; Guggisberg 1996, 105, no. 357, pl. 26.1.
- S98** Bovine body, Type XII, wheelmade
 T 258, H: 0.073, PG/EG
 Ohly 1940, 78, 92-95, pl. 53; Jarosch 1994, 103, no. 63, pl. 5; Guggisberg 1994, 104, no. 358.
- S99** Bovine leg, Type XII, wheelmade
 T 2512, H: 0.060, Deposit V, PG-EG
 Jarosch 1994, 129, no. 134, pl. 13.
- S100** Cow, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 82**
 T 2447, L: 0.173, Deposit VI, LPG-EG
 Jarosch 1994, 97-98, no. 5, pl. 2; Guggisberg 1996, 104, no. 348, pl. 25, 4.5.
- S101** Bovine head, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 80**
 T 401, H: 0.082, Deposit VI (D), EG
 Ohly 1940, 86, 93-94, 101, pl. 46; Ohly 1941, 10-14, n. 1; Buschor 1936, fig. 5; Heilmeyer 1972, 14, pl. 1.1; Jarosch 1994, 98, no. 9, pl. 3; Guggisberg 1996, 101, no. 321, pl. 23, 4.5.
- S102** Bovine hindquarters, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 83**
 T 424, H: 0.170, Deposit XXI (G), EG
 Ohly 1940, 78, 85, 95-98, pl. 53; Ohly 1941, 10; Jarosch 1994, 104, no. 79, pl. 5; Guggisberg 1996, 100, no. 316, pl. 23.3.
- S103** Bovine leg, Type XII, wheelmade
 T 1277, H: 0.102, Deposit XXI (G), EG
 Ohly 1940, 87, 96, pl. 55; Jarosch 1994, 109, no. 148, pl. 13; Guggisberg 1996, 103, no. 337.
- S104** Bovine leg, Type XII, wheelmade
 T 2495, H: 0.110, Deposit V, EG
 Jarosch 1994, 108, no. 133, pl. 7.
- S105** Bovine leg, Type XII, wheelmade
 T 420, H: 0.049, Deposit E, EG-MG
 Ohly 1940, 86, 97-98, pl. 56; Jarosch 1994, 112, no. 199, pl. 14; Guggisberg 1996, 101, no. 322.
- S106** Bovine head, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 84**
 T 340, H: 0.070, Deposit VIII, EG
 Ohly 1940, 88, 101; Jarosch 1994, 99, no. 20, pl. 6.
- S107** Cow, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 85**
 T 1239+1272, H: 0.270, Deposit XXI (G), EG
 Ohly 1940, 71-72, n. 2, 77, 86, 93-94, n. 2, 95-98, 101, pl. 49; Ohly 1941, 12; Walter 1965, 31, fig. 29; Walter 1976, 37-38, fig. 40; Jarosch 1994, 99, no. 22, pl. 7, fig. 2; Guggisberg 1996, 102, no. 331, pl. 24, 3.4.
- S108** Bovine body, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 86**
 T 962, H: 0.085, LG

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Ohly 1940, 92; Jarosch 1994, 114, no. 232, pl. 16.

- S109** Bovine body, Type XII, wheelmade
T 2492, H: 0.115, MG
Jarosch 1994, 99-100, no. 28, pl. 8.
- S110** Cow, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 87**
T 255, H: 0.155, MG
Ohly 1940, 70, 78, 94, n. 2, 95, 101, pl. 48; Jarosch 1994, 99, no. 27, pl. 8; Guggisberg 1996, 105, no. 353, pl. 25, 6.7.
- S111** Bovine head, Type XII, wheelmade
T 879, L: 0.071, MG
Ohly 1940, 93-94, n. 2, 101, pl. 47; Kyrieleis 1981, 14-16, fig. 4; Jarosch 1994, 100, no. 30, pl. 9; Guggisberg 1996, 104, no. 350.
- S112** Cow, Type XII, wheelmade
T 1240+1284, L: 0.190, Deposit XXI (G), MG
Ohly 1940, 71-72, n. 4, 87, 94-95 n. 3, 101, pl. 51; Ohly 1941, 14, n. 1; Kyrieleis 1981, 14-16, fig. 4; Jarosch 1994, 100, no. 33, pl. 9, 11; Guggisberg 1996, no. 328, pl. 24.2.
- S113** Bovine leg, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 89**
T 1271, H: 0.080, Deposit XLII, MG
Ohly 1940, 96, 98, pl. 55; Jarosch 1994, 113, no. 209, pl. 10; Guggisberg 1996, 105, no. 361.
- S114** Bovine foot, Type XII, wheelmade
T 2301, H: 0.050, Deposit XIV, MG
Jarosch 1994, 129, no. 455, pl. 12.
- S115** Bovine, Type XII, handmade **Figure 88**
T 77, H: 0.200, MG
Jarosch 1994, 115, no. 237, pl. 11.
- S116** Bovine body, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 90**
T 1745, H: 0.245, Deposit XII, MG
Jarosch 1994, 100, no. 32, pl. 11; Guggisberg 1996, 101, no. 324, pl. 23, 6.7; Brize 1997, 125, fig. 2, pl. 331c.
- S117** Bovine forequarters, Type XII, wheelmade
T 2121, L: 0.071, LG
Walter-Vierneisel 1959, 15, fig. 25, 1; Jarosch 1994, 107, no. 127, pl. 23;.
- S118** Bovine leg, Type XII, wheelmade
T 352, H: 0.091, Deposit XX (H), LG
Ohly 1940: 71, 78, 88, 97, pl. 56; Jarosch 1994: 110, no. 160, pl. 14; Guggisberg 1996, 103, no. 340.
- S119** Bovine head, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 91**
T 2082, L: 0.090, Deposit XIX, LG
Jarosch 1994, 101, no. 43, pl. 12; Guggisberg 1996, 101, no. 323.

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- S120** Bovine leg, Type XII, wheelmade
T 2113, L: 0.076, LG
Jarosch 1994, 101, no. 48, pl. 9.
- S121** Bovine head, Type XII, handmade
T 447, H: 0.043, Deposit XX (H), LG
Ohly 1940, 88, 101, pl. 60; Jarosch 1994, 121, no. 322, pl. 22.
- S122** Cow, Type XII, handmade
T 73, L: 0.078, LG
Jarosch 1994, 117, no. 269, pl. 19; Ohly 1940, 102.
- S123** Cow, Type XII, handmade
T 1982, L: 0.10, LG-SG
Jarosch 1994, 120, no. 315, pl. 22.
- S124** Bovine head, Type XII, handmade
T 403, L: 0.084, Deposit XXI (G), LG
Ohly 1940, 71, 86, 93, 100, pl. 51; Jarosch 1994, 102, no. 56, pl. 23; Guggisberg 1996, 102, no. 332, pl. 24, 5.
- S125** Bovine leg, Type XII, wheelmade
T 784, H: 0.086, EA (700-650)
Ohly 1940, 97, pl. 56; Jarosch 1994, 113, no. 222, pl. 15; Guggisberg 1996, 106, no. 365.
- S126** Cow, Type XII, handmade
T 2729, L: 0.085, Deposit XXVII, EA (700-675)
Jarosch 1994, 124, no. 374, pl. 30.
- S127** Horse head and neck, Type XIV, wheelmade
T 2507, H: 0.125, Deposit V, PG
Jarosch 1994, 97, no. 3, pl. 1; Guggisberg 1996, 104, no. 351.
- S128** Horse head, Type XIV, wheelmade **Figure 203**
T 2505, H: 0.075, Deposit V, PG
Jarosch 1994, 97, no. 2, pl. 1; Guggisberg 1996, 104-05, no. 352.
- S129** Horse head, Type XIV, wheelmade **Figure 204**
T 402, H: 0.095, Deposit IX (B), LPG
Ohly 1940, 70, 85, 93,-94, n. 2, 3, 98, 102, pl. 48; Ohly 1941, 10, 12; Jarosch 1994, 98, no. 13, pl. 4; Guggisberg 1996, 100, no. 315, pl. 23, 2.
- S130** Horse, Type XIV, wheelmade **Figure 111**
T 3890, L: 0.090, LPG
Jarosch 1994, 114, no. 228, pl. 16.
- S131** Horse head, Type XIV, wheelmade
T 2215, H: 0.113, Deposit VI, EG
Jarosch 1994, 98, no. 12, pl. 3, 4; Guggisberg 1996, 104, no. 346, pl. 25, 1.2.

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- S132** Horse head, Type XIV, wheelmade **Figure 110**
T 2322, L: 0.09, Deposit V, EG
Walter 1965, 34, fig. 31; Walter 1976, 34, fig. 25; Jarosch 1994, 98, no. 11, pl. 3, 4; Guggisberg 1996, 104, no. 345, pl. 24, 8.9.
- S133** Hindquarters of two horses, Type XIV, wheelmade **Figure 113**
T 426+2241, H: 0.129, Deposit V, EG
Ohly 1940, 72, n. 2, 78, 85, 91-98, pl. 54; Jarosch 1994, 103, no. 71, pl. 5; Guggisberg 1996, 100, no. 314, pl. 23, 1.
- S134** Horse leg, Type XIV, wheelmade
T2266, H: 0.170, Deposit VI, EG
Jarosch 1994, 108, no. 136, pl. 7.
- S135** Horse, Type XIV, handmade **Figure 114**
T 907, H: 0.130, Deposit XLII, MG-LG
Ohly 1940, 100-02, pl. 57; Ohly 1941, 14; Jarosch 1994, 117, no. 274, pl. 17.
- S136** Horse, Type XIV, handmade
T 1218, L: 0.094, Deposit XL, LG
Ohly 1940, 101, n. 2, pl. 58; Jarosch 1994, 118, no. 281, pl. 19.
- S137** Horse, Type XIV, handmade **Figure 112**
T 912, H: 0.065, Deposit XLII, LG
Ohly 1940, 101, n. 2, pl. 58; Jarosch 1994, 119, no. 302, pl. 20.
- S138** Horse, Type XIV, handmade
T 2122, H: 0.055, Deposit XVI, LG
Walter-Vierneisel 1959, 15, fig. 25, 3; Jarosch 1994, 118, no. 292, pl. 21.
- S139** Horse, Type XIV, handmade
T 910, H: 0.066, Deposit XLII, LG
Ohly 1940, 102, pl. 58; Jarosch 1994, 118, no. 287, pl. 21.
- S140** Horse, Type XIV, handmade
T 909, H: 0.090, Deposit XLII, EA (700-680)
Ohly 1940, 92, 100-02, pl. 57; Jarosch 1994, 122, no. 338, pl. 25.
- S141** Horse, Type XIV, handmade
T 819+2742, H: 0.160, Deposit XL, EA (c. 675)
Ohly 1940, 101, n. 2, pl. 59; Jarosch 1994, 123, no. 361, pl. 28.
- S142** Quadruped leg, Type XVI, wheelmade
T 421, H: 0.114, Deposit IX (B), LPG
Ohly 1940, 85, 96-98, pl. 56; Jarosch 1994, 108, no. 139, pl. 8; Guggisberg 1996, 101, no. 318.
- S143** Quadruped fragments, Type XVI, wheelmade
T 2679, H: n/a, Deposit VI, EG
Jarosch 1994, 103-04, no. 73, pl. 4.

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- S144** Quadruped foreleg, Type XVI, wheelmade
T 1226, H: 0.175, MG
Ohly 1940, 78, 96-98, pl. 56; Jarosch 1994, 109, no. 150, pl. 9; Guggisberg 1996, 106, no. 366.
- S145** Quadruped body, Type XVI, handmade
T 961, L: 0.110, MG
Ohly 1940, 101, n. 2; Jarosch 1994, 117, no. 267, pl. 17.
- S146** Quadruped foreleg, Type XVI, wheelmade
T 1177, H: 0.094, Deposit XLII, LG
Jarosch 1994, 111, no. 185, pl. 14.
- S147** Quadruped leg, Type XVI, wheelmade
T 2115, H: 0.120, LG
Jarosch 1994, 110, no. 172, pl. 14.
- S148** Quadruped leg, Type XVI, wheelmade
T 1349, H: 0.095, Deposit XXI, LG
Ohly 1940, 87, 96, pl. 55; Jarosch 1994, 113, no. 211, pl. 15; Guggisberg 1996, 103, no. 334.
- S149** Quadruped body, Type XVI, handmade
T 1889, L: 0.055, Deposit XXXII, LG
Jarosch 1994, 118, no. 279, pl. 19.
- S150** Quadruped body, Type XVI, handmade
T 59, L: 0.105, EA (700-675)
Jarosch 1994, 122, no. 347, pl. 27.
- S151** Leg from wheeled horse, Type XV, wheelmade
T 1222, n/a, EIA
Guggisberg 1996, 106, no. 368, pl. 26, 2.
- S152** Bird head, Type XVII, handmade
T 945, L: 0.070, MG
Ohly 1940, 90, n. 1, pl. 62; Jarosch 1994, 100, no. 31, pl. 24. **Figure 132**
- S153** Bird head, Type XVII, handmade
T 988, H: 0.065, MG
Jarosch 1994, 170, no. 1040, pl. 74

Kalymnos: Sanctuary of Apollo Pythios

- K1** 50 cattle, Type XII, wheelmade
Kalymnos Mag., n/a, EIA
Himmelmann 1968, 320; Kantzia 1988, 175, n. 11; Guggisberg 1996, 120, no. 416; Kourou 2002, 23-24.

Hephaisteia, Lemnos: The Sanctuary of Artemis

- L1** Three females with raised arms, Type IA, wheelmade
Athens National Museum no. 19242, 26867, 0.240, LG
Myrina Museum inv. no. 1196.
Kourou 2002, 27; *LIMC* VIII, Suppl., 771 (Lemnos) no. 2.

CYCLADES

Iria, Naxos: Sanctuary of Dionysos

- N1** Two bovine legs, Type XII, wheelmade
n/a, ca. 0.300 reconstructed length, LG
Kourou 2002, 24.

PELOPONESSOS

LAKONIA

Amyklai: Sanctuary of Apollo Hyakinthos

- A1** Warrior head, Type VII, wheelmade **Figure 42**
National Museum, Athens, no. 4381, H: 0.115, LG
Tsountas 1892, 13, pl. 4.4; Kunze 1930, 155, pls. 42-43; Hampe 1936, 32-8; Higgins 1967, 24, pl. 9B; Nicholls 1970, 17; Schweitzer 1971, 142, pls. 162, 63; Hampe and Simon 1981, no. 397-399; Demakopoulou 1982, 139, no. 73; Sweeney et al. 1987, 86-89, no. 17; Calligas 1992, 34; Peterson 1998, 86, fig. 13; Langdon 1998, 252-56, figs. 1-2, 5.
- A2** Female head, Type XIA, wheelmade **Figure 74**
National Museum, Athens, no. 4382, H: 0.080, fill, LG
Tsountas 1892, 13, pl. 4.5; Kunze 1930, 155, pls. 42-43; Higgins 1967, 24, pl. 9A; Nicholls 1970, 17; Hampe and Simon 1981, no. 400-401; Demakopoulou 1982, 139, no. 73; Sweeney et al. 1987, 86-87, no. 16; Byrne 1991, 96, n. 65; Calligas 1992, 34; Langdon 1998, 252-56, figs. 2, 3, 5.
- A3** Cow, Type XII, wheelmade **Figure 96**
National Museum, Athens, no. 15123, H: ca. 0.230, L: 0.145, SM
Buschow and von Massow 1927, 38f, Fig. 6, 15.15; Ohly 1940, 95, pl. 52; Nicholls 1970, 10, pl. 2D; Demakopoulou 1982, 58, 60, no. 70a, b, pl. 29; Misch 1992, 147, fig. 124; Guggisberg 1996, 56, no. 169, pl. 11.2.
- A4** Cow, Type XII, wheelmade
National Museum, Athens, no. 6259, L: 0.104, SM
Demakopoulou 1982, 58, 60, no. 70, pl. 29; Guggisberg 1996, 56, no. 170, pl. 11, 3.4.
- A5** Cow, Type XII, wheelmade
Sparta Archaeological Museum, n/a, H: 0.051, SM
Demakopoulou 1982, no. 88, pl. 38; Guggisberg 1996, 57, no. 176, pl. 12, 1.2.

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ELIS

Olympia: Sanctuary of Zeus

All figurines in the Olympia Archaeological Museum unless otherwise noted.

- O1** Nude female, Type IV, handmade **Figure 26**
Tc. 2285, H: 0.164, west pteron of Heraion, LG
Müller 1929, 71 no. 283, pl. 21; Kunze 1944, no. 290, pl. 17; Zervos 1969, fig. 144; Heilmeyer 1972, 116, no. 205, pl. 35; Herrmann 1972, pl. 11a, b; *LIMC* IV, no. 41 s.v. Hera; Byrne 1991, 229, no. 60, pl. X; Böhm 1990, 148, T1.
- O2** Nude female, Type IV, handmade **Figure 27**
Tc. 2762, H: 0.079; south of Heraion, SG
Kunze 1944, S. 45 no. 291, pl. 17; Heilmeyer 1972, 116, no. 208, pl. 35; Böhm 1990, 148, pl. 3b.
- O3** Warrior, Type VII, handmade **Figure 37**
n/a, H: 0.091, PG
Heilmeyer 1972, 113, no. 176, pl. 29; Byrne 1991, 225, no. 8.
- O4** Warrior, Type VII, handmade
Tc. 2480, Staatliche Museen, Berlin, H: 0.112, Heraion opisthodomos, PG
Kunze 1944, S. 44 no. 279, pl. 17; Herrmann 1962, 29 Fig. 2, 3; Herrmann 1972, 59, fig. 28; Heilmeyer 1972, 113, no. 175, pl. 29; Byrne 1991, 25, 225, no. 1, pl. X.1.
- O5** Warrior, Type VII, handmade **Figure 38**
(Found in Tsountas' excavations, now missing), H: 0.100, apsidal house west of Metroön, PG
Weege 1911, 185-86, pl. 6, 1.2; Müller 1929, 71; Kunze 1946, 100 n. 10; Herrmann 1962, 26, pl. 28; Heilmeyer 1972, 113, no. 174, pl. 28; Morgan 1990, 91, fig. 16; Byrne 1991, 25-26, 225, no. 2, pl. X.2.
- O6** Warrior, Type VII, handmade **Figure 39**
Tc. 531, H: 0.083; south of Heraion, EG
Kunze 1944, S. 45 no. 288, pl. 17; Kunze 1946, 103; Heilmeyer 1972, 113, no. 172, pl. 28; Mallwitz 1988, fig. 9; Byrne 1991, 225, no. 3, pl. X.
- O7** Warrior, Type VII, handmade **Figure 40**
Tc. 1999 (K 158), H: 0.104, SE of Heraion, LG
Kunze 1944, S. 44 no. 280, pl. 17; Kunze 1946, 98, fig. 1; Zervos 1969, pl. 143; Heilmeyer 1972, 114, no. 182, pl. 30; Byrne 1991, 225, no. 4, pl. X.
- O8** Warrior, Type VII, handmade **Figure 41**
n/a, H: 0.128, LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 113, no. 178, pl. 30.
- O9** Warrior head, Type VII, handmade
n/a, (found in 1875), H: 0.050, LG
Kunze 1944, S. 45 no. 287, pl. 17; Herrmann 1962, 27; Heilmeyer 1972, 114, no. 188, pl. 31.
- O10** Warrior, Type VII, handmade
n/a, H: 0.120, SG
Heilmeyer 1972, 115, no. 192, pl. 33.

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- O11** Standing nude male, Type VIII, handmade
n/a, H: 0.113, LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 112, no. 165, pl. 26. **Figure 46**
- O12** Standing nude male, Type VIII, handmade
Tc. 2286, H: 0.143, west pteron of Heraion, LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 112, no. 169, pl. 27.
- O13** Chariot/Cart driver, Type X, handmade
Tc. 2612, H: 0.061, Heraion opisthodomos, PG
Heilmeyer 1972, 109, no. 133, pl. 23. **Figure 54**
- O14** Chariot/Cart driver, Type X, handmade
Tc. 2295, H: 0.102, West pteron of Heraion, EG
Heilmeyer 1972, 109, no. 136, pl. 23.
- O15** Chariot/Cart driver, Type X, handmade
n/a, H: 0.082, NE of Pelopion, MG
Heilmeyer 1972, 109, no. 135, pl. 23, 28. **Figure 55**
- O16** Chariot/Cart driver, Type X, handmade
Tc. 1958, H: 0.096, SW of Metroön, MG
Kunze 1944, S. 45, no. 284, pl. 17; Heilmeyer 1972, 109, no. 137, pl. 23. **Figure 56**
- O17** Chariot/Cart driver, Type X, handmade
n/a, H: 0.091, LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 112, no. 162, pl. 26. **Figure 57**
- O18** Chariot/Cart driver, Type X, handmade
Tc. 2634, H: 0.0775, Heraion opisthodomos, LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 111, no. 159, pl. 25.
- O19** Chariot group reconstruction, Type X, handmade
n/a, LG
Valavanis 2004, 35, fig. 24. **Figure 62**
- O20** Horse chariot team fragment, Type X, handmade
n/a, L: no. 108: 0.105, no. 109: 0.069; L: .069 (109), LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 106, no. 108, 109, pl. 20. **Figure 60**
- O21** Yoke and axle chariot fragment, Type X, handmade
n/a, L: 0.064 (112); H: 0.070 (113), LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 106, no. 112, 113, pl. 20.
- O22** Chariot driver and box, Type X, handmade
Tc. 2359, Pergamon Museum, Berlin, West pteron of Heraion, H: 0.063, LG
Kunze 1944, S. 45, no. 285, pl. 17; Heilmeyer 1972: 107, no. 117, pl. 20; Crowel 1992, pl. 5.1. **Figure 61**
- O23** Chariot axle fragment, Type X, handmade
Tc. 606, L: 0.126, south of Heraion, LG
Kunze 1944, S. 45, no. 285; Heilmeyer 1972, 107, no. 118, pl. 21.

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- O24** Chariot wheel, Type X, handmade
n/a, D: 0.107, LG
Weege 1911, 186, fig. 23; Heilmeyer 1972, 107, no. 122, pl. 21.
- O25** Cow, Type XII, handmade **Figure 92**
n/a, L: 0.1025, PG
Heilmeyer 1972, 97, no. 3, pl. 2.
- O26** Cow, Type XII, handmade
n/a, L: 0.102, PG
Heilmeyer 1972: 97, no. 5, pl. 2.
- O27** Cow, Type XII, handmade **Figure 94**
Tc. 2953, L: 0.112, S of Heraion, EG
Heilmeyer 1972, 97, no. 11, pl. 3.
- O28** Cow, Type XII, handmade **Figure 93**
Tc. 2386, H: 0.094, Heraion west pteron, MG
Heilmeyer 1972, 98, no. 20, pl. 5.
- O29** Cow, Type XII, handmade
n/a, H: 0.061, MG
Heilmeyer 1972, 98, no. 27, pl. 5.
- O30** Cow, Type XII, handmade
n/a, L: .082, LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 99, no. 29, pl. 6.
- O31** Cow, Type XII, handmade **Figure 95**
n/a, L: 0.132, LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 99, no. 31, pl. 6.
- O32** Ram, Type XIII, handmade **Figure 102**
T 434, H: 0.045, South Bath, PG
Heilmeyer 1972, 97, no. 8, pl. 3.
- O33** Ram, Type XIII, handmade **Figure 103**
Tc. 2816, L: 0.100, S of Heraion, EG
Heilmeyer 1972, 98, no. 15, pl. 4.
- O34** Horse, Type XIV, handmade **Figure 115**
n/a (perhaps in the National Museum, Athens), n/a, PG
Heilmeyer 1972, 101, no. 54, pl. 10.
- O35** Horse, Type XIV, handmade
Tc. 2529, H: 0.128, Heraion opisthodomos, EG
Heilmeyer 1972, 101, no. 58, pl. 10.
- O36** Horse, Type XIV, handmade
Tc. 2932, L: 0.095, S of Heraion, EG

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Heilmeyer 1972, 101, no. 61, pl. 11.

- O37** Horse head, Type XIV, handmade **Figure 116**
n/a, H: 0.087, MG
Heilmeyer 1972, 102, no. 72, pl. 12.
- O38** Horse, Type XIV, handmade **Figure 117**
n/a, L: 0.12, West pteron or opisthodomos of Heraion, LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 103, no. 82, pl. 14.
- O39** Horse, Type XIV, handmade
n/a, H: 0.076, LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 103, no. 79, pl. 14.
- O40** Horse, Type XIV, handmade **Figure 118**
Tc. 2935, L: 0.137, south of Heraion, LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 104, no. 87, pl. 15.
- O41** Dog, Type XVIII, handmade **Figure 137**
n/a, L: 0.096, EG
Heilmeyer 1972, 117, no. 211, pl. 36.
- O42** Dog, Type XVIII, handmade **Figure 138**
n/a, H: 0.148, MG
Heilmeyer 1972, 117, no. 215, pl. 36.
- O43** Dog, Type XVIII, handmade **Figure 139**
n/a, L: 0.078, LG
Heilmeyer 1972, 117, pl. 37.

Kombothekra: Sanctuary of Artemis

Figurines stored in the Olympia Archaeological Museum.

- K1** Warrior, Type VII, handmade **Figure 43**
Π 2381, H: n/a, LG
Sinn 1981, 69, no. 72, pl. 7.4.
- K2** Standing nude male, Type VIII, handmade **Figure 47**
n/a, H: n/a, LG
Sinn 1981, 69, no. 64, pl. 7.3.
- K3** Chariot/Cart driver, Type X, handmade **Figure 58**
Π 2382, H: n/a, MG
Sinn 1981, 68, no. 33, pl. 7.1.
- K4** Chariot/Cart driver, Type X, handmade
Π 2607, H: n/a, LG
Sinn 1981, 68, no. 34, pl. 7.2.

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- K5** Chariot spoked wheel fragments, Type X, handmade
Π n/a, D: n/a, G
Sinn 1981, 68, no. 56, 51, pl. 10.6, 11.
- K6** Bovine head, Type XII, handmade
Π 2282, H: n/a, EG
Sinn 1981, 67, no. 9, pl. 9.1.
- K7** Bovine head, Type XII, handmade
Π 2299, H: n/a, EG
Sinn 1981, 67, no. 10, pl. 9.2.
- K8** Bovine body, Type XII, handmade
Π 2285, H: n/a, MG
Sinn 1981, 67, no. 11, pl. 9.5.
- K9** Bovine body, Type XII, handmade
Π 2297, H: n/a, LG
Sinn 1981, 67, no. 12, pl. 9.4.
- K10** Cow, Type XII, handmade **Figure 97**
Π 2290, H: n/a, LG
Sinn 1981, 67, no. 14, pl. 9.6.
- K11** Sheep, Type XIII, handmade **Figure 104**
Π 2300, H: n/a, MG
Sinn 1981, 67, no. 19, pl. 9.8.
- K12** Horse, Type XIV, handmade **Figure 119**
Π 2281, H: n/a, MG
Sinn 1981, 67, no. 3, pl. 8.4.
- K13** Horse head, Type XIV, handmade **Figure 121**
Π 2314, H: n/a, MG
Sinn 1981, 67, no. 4, pl. 8.6.
- K14** Horse head, Type XIV, handmade
Π 2610, H: n/a, LG
Sinn 1981, 67, no. 8, pl. 8.7.
- K15** Horse head, Type XIV, handmade **Figure 120**
n/a, H: n/a, EG
Sinn 1981, 68, no. 35, pl. 8.1.
- K16** Horse body, Type XIV, handmade
Π 2309, H: n/a, MG
Sinn 1981, 68, no. 37 pl. 8.2.
- K17** Snakes, Type XVIII, handmade **Figure 135**
Π 2391, H: n/a, LG
Sinn 1981, 69, no. 73, pl. 10.1.

Selected Catalogue

- K18** Snakes, Type XVIII, handmade **Figure 135**
Π 2327c, e, f, H: n/a, LG
Sinn 1981, 69, nos. 77, 79, 80, pl. 10.
- K19** Dog, Type XVIII, handmade **Figure 140**
Π 2304, H: n/a, LG
Sinn 1981, 67, no. 20, pl. 9.9.

ARCADIA

Tegea: Sanctuary of Athena Alea

All figurines in stored in the Archaeological Museum at Tegea.

- T1** Female with outstretched arms, Type IA, handmade **Figure 13**
n/a, LG
Voyatzis 1990, 274-75, fig. 11.
- T2** Horse body, Type XIV, handmade **Figure 122**
T4 (358), H: 0.080, MG
Dugas 1924, 426, no. 358, fig. 63; Voyatzis 1990, 241, T4, 346, pl. 175.
- T3** Horse body, Type XIV, handmade **Figure 123**
T5 (357), H: 0.060, MG/LG
Dugas 1924, 426, no. 360, fig. 59; Voyatzis 1990, 241, T5, 346, pl. 176.
- T4** Horse head, Type XIV, handmade **Figure 124**
T6 (360), H: 0.120, MG/LG
Dugas 1924, 426, no. 360, fig. 59; Voyatzis 1990, 241, T6, 346, pl. 177.
- T5** Horse, Type XIV, handmade
T7 (355), H: 0.060, MG/LG
Dugas 1924, 426, no. 355, fig. 52; Voyatzis 1990, 241-42, T7, 346-47, pl. 177.
- T6** Horse, Type XIV, handmade
T8 (356), H: 0.056, MG/LG
Dugas 1924, 426, no. 356, fig. 52; Voyatzis 1990, 241-42, T8, 346-47, pl. 177.
- T7** Horse, Type XIV, handmade
T9 (X), H: 0.058, MG/LG
Voyatzis 1990, 241-42, T9, 346-47, pl. 178.
- T8** Bird head, Type XVII, handmade **Figure 133**
T3 (362), H: 0.045, MG/LG
Dugas 1924, 426, no. 362, fig. 61; Voyatzis 1990, 240-41, T3, 345, pl. 173.

CORINTHIA

Isthmia: Sanctuary of Poseidon

The following figurines are stored in the Isthmia Museum.

- | | | |
|------------|---|-------------------|
| I1 | Human figure, Type XIC, handmade, Corinthian (?)
IM 2702, H: 0.057, eighth century
Morgan 1999, 168, F8, pl. 70. | Figure 76 |
| I2 | Spoked wheel fragment, Type X, handmade, Corinthian
IM 3471, W: 0.043, East temenos, LG-SG
Morgan 1999, 174, F35, pl. 74. | Figure 63 |
| I3 | Bovine body, Type XII, handmade, Corinthian
IM 157, L: 0.095, Temple, LPG
Morgan 1999, 169, F9, pl. 70; Morgan 2002, 257, fig. 8a. | Figure 98 |
| I4 | Bovine leg, Type XII, handmade from wheelmade bull
IM 1078, H: 0.085, Early Stadium, LPG-EG (950-850)
Morgan 1999, 173, F32, pl. 73; Morgan 2002, 257, fig. 9. | Figure 99 |
| I5 | Bovine hindquarters, Type XII, handmade, Corinthian
IM 3060, H: 0.043, NE temenos, EG
Morgan 1999, 170, F12, pl. 70. | |
| I6 | Bovine body, Type XII, handmade, Corinthian
IM 172, L: 0.063, NW Temenos, MG
Morgan 1999, 170, F13, pl. 70. | |
| I7 | Bovine hindquarters, Type XII, handmade, Attic (?)
IM 2463bis, H: 0.042, East temenos, MG
Morgan 1999, 170, F14, pl. 70. | Figure 100 |
| I8 | Bovine body, Type XII, handmade, Corinthian
IM 1194, L: 0.125, East temenos, MG/LG
Morgan 1999, 170, F15, pl. 71. | |
| I9 | Bovine hindquarters, Type XII, handmade
IM 1193, L: 0.077, East temenos, MG/LG
Morgan 1999, 170, F17, pl. 71. | |
| I10 | Bovine forequarters with incised saddle, Type XII, handmade, Corinthian
IM 1255, L: 0.047, SE Propylon, MG/LG
Morgan 1999, 171, F18, pl. 71; Morgan 2002, 257, fig. 10, | |
| I11 | Cow, Type XII, handmade, Corinthian (?)
IM 1104, L: 0.146, East temenos, LG/EPC
Morgan 1999, 171, F21, pl. 72. | Figure 101 |
| I12 | Horse forequarters, Type XIV, handmade, Attic or Argive
IM 1224, L: 0.075, East temenos, LG/EA (ca. 700)
Morgan 1999, 172, F27, pl. 73. | Figure 125 |

Selected Catalogue

- | | | |
|------------|---|-------------------|
| I13 | Hindquarter of equid carrying jars, Type XV, wheelmade, Attic
IM 3079, H: 0.075, MG/LG, NE temenos
Morgan 1999, 173, F33, pl. 74. | Figure 127 |
| I14 | Pierced leg from wheeled horse, Type XV, wheelmade, Corinthian
IM 1187, H: 0.048, East temenos, MG/LG (or earlier)
Morgan 1999, 173, F31, pl. 73. | Figure 128 |
| I15 | Pierced leg from wheeled horse, Type XV, wheelmade, Attic (?)
IM 1172, H: 0.060, East temenos, LG/SG
Morgan 1999, 172-73, F29, pl. 73. | |
| I16 | Pierced leg from wheeled horse, Type XV, wheelmade, Attic
IM 5612, H: .063, East temenos, EIA
Morgan 1999, 172, F28, pl. 73. | Figure 129 |

APPENDIX I

THE TYPES

ANTHROPOMORPHIC TYPES

FEMALES

- Type I: a. Females with outstretched arms
 b. Females with arms at sides
 c. Females with unknown gesture

Type II: Ring dancers/musicians

Type III: Enthroned females

Type IV: Pudica figures & nude women

Type V: Kourotrophos

MALES

Type VI: Standing clothed males

Type VII: Standing warriors

Type VIII: Standing nude males

Type IX: Horse riders

Type X: Chariot/war groups

FRAGMENTS:

- Type XI: a. Female heads
 b. Male heads
 c. Fragments of uncertain sex

ZOOMORPHIC TYPES

Type XII: Cattle

Type XIII: Sheep/Rams

Type XIV: Horses

Type XV: Wheeled Equines/Mules Carrying Jars

Type XVI: Quadrupeds

Type XVII: Birds

Type XVIII: Other animals: dogs & snakes

APPENDIX II

REGIONAL CHRONOLOGIES

SAMOS

PG	Protogeometrisch (PG)	10 th C	
LPG	Spätprotogeometrisch (SPG)	950-900	
EGI	Frühgeometrisch I (FGI)	900-850	Altar II
EGII	Frühgeometrisch II (FGII)	850-800	Altar III
MG	Mittelgeometrisch (MG)	800-760	
LG	Spätgeometrisch (SG)	760-710	Altar IV
SG/EA		710-675	

RHODES

PG/EG	900-850
MG	850-750
LG	750-680
SG	680-ca. 600

CHIOS

Harbour Sanctuary:

Period I	900-690
Period II	690-660
Period III	660-630
Period IV	630-600
Period V	600-550
Period VI	550-500

Athena Temple:

Period I	690-550
Period II	550-325
Period III	325-

APPENDIX II

LAKONIA

LH IIIC ends	ca. 1050
Gap	1050-950
PG (Dark Age)	950-800
Transition to MG	800-775
MGII	800-750
LG	750-690

OLYMPIA & KOMBOTHEKRA

PG	1000-900
EG	900-800
MG	800-750
LG	750-700
SG	700-680

NICHORIA

DAI	1075-975
DAII	975-850
DAII/III	850-800
DAIII	800-750 (?)

CYPRUS

LCH	1450-1200
LCHII	1200-1050
CGI	1050-950
CGII	950-850
CGIII	850-750
CAI	750-600

Appendix III

Geometric Sanctuaries with Terracotta Dedications

EAST GREECE

Lindos, Rhodes: Sanctuary of Athena
Emporio, Chios: Harbour Shrine
Emporio, Chios: Sanctuary of Athena
Samos: Sanctuary of Hera
Kalymnos: Sanctuary of Apollo Pythios
Hephaisteia, Lemnos: Sanctuary of Artemis

CYCLADES

Iria, Naxos: Sanctuary of Dionysos

PELOPONNESOS

LAKONIA

Amyklai: Sanctuary of Apollo Hyakinthos

ELIS

Olympia: Sanctuary of Zeus
Kombothekra: Sanctuary of Artemis

ARCADIA

Tegea: Sanctuary of Athena Alea

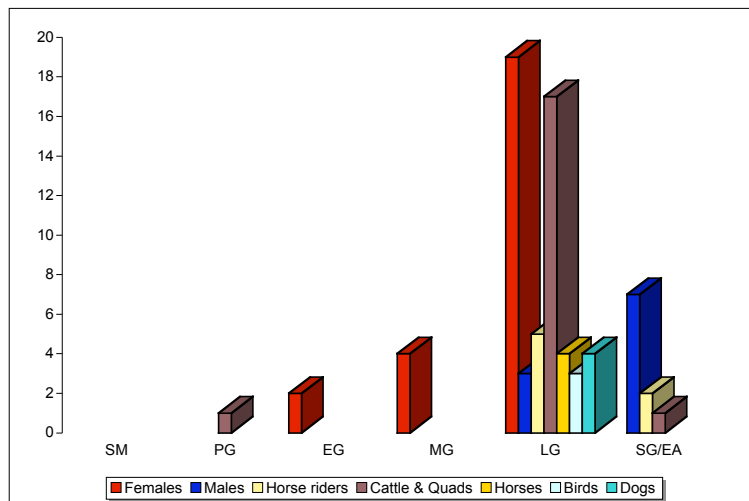
CORINTHIA

Isthmia: Sanctuary of Poseidon

Appendix IV

Lindos, Rhodes: Sanctuary of Athena¹

	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	SG/EA	EIA	TOTAL	Imports	
ANTHROPOMORPHIC										
Females										
IA: Females w/ outstretched arms			2	3	5			10	2 Cypriot	
IB: Females w/ arms at sides					3			3		
IC: Females, arm position unclear					1			1		
II: Ring dancers/musicians				1	5			6		
III: Enthroned females					1	1		2		
V: Females holding objects					1			1	4 Cypriot	
Males										
VI: Standing clothed males					1	6		7		7 Cypriot
VII: Standing warriors					2	1		3		2 Cypriot
IX: Horse riders					5	2		7		4 Cypriot
Fragments										
XIA: Female heads					6			6	2 Cypriot	
XIB: Male heads					4			4	3 Cypriot	
XIC: Fragments of uncertain sex					2			2	2 Cypriot	
ZOOMORPHIC										
XII: Cattle		1			7	1		9	1 Cypriot	
XIV: Horses					4			4		
XVI: Quadrupeds					10			10	8 Cypriot	
XVII: Birds					3			3	3 Cypriot	
XVIII: Dogs					4			4	4 Cypriot	
TOTALS:	0	1	2	4	64	11	0	82		
Total Human	52									
Total Animal	30									

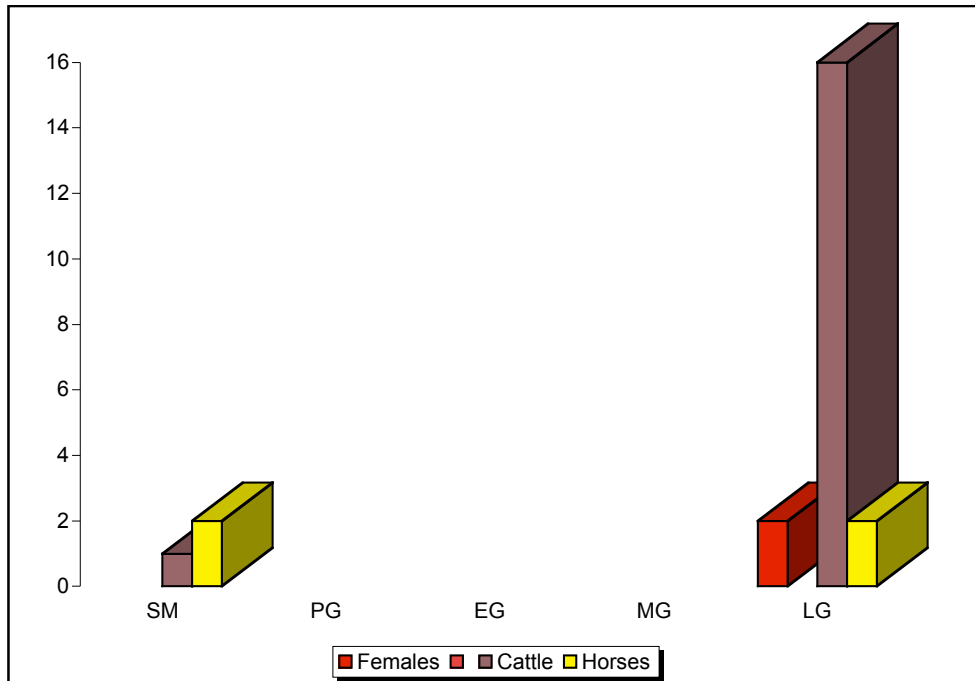


¹ Figurines collected from Blinkenberg 1931.

Appendix IV

Chios: Harbour Sanctuary²

	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	SG/EA	EIA	TOTAL
ANTHROPOMOPRHIC								
Females								
IA: Females w/ outstretched arms					1			1
IC: Females, arm position unclear					1			1
Fragments								
XIC: Frags of uncertain sex		1						1
ZOOMORPHIC								
XII: Cattle	1				16			17
XIV: Horses	2				2			4
TOTALS:	3	1	0	0	20	0	0	24
Total Human	3							
Total Animal	21							

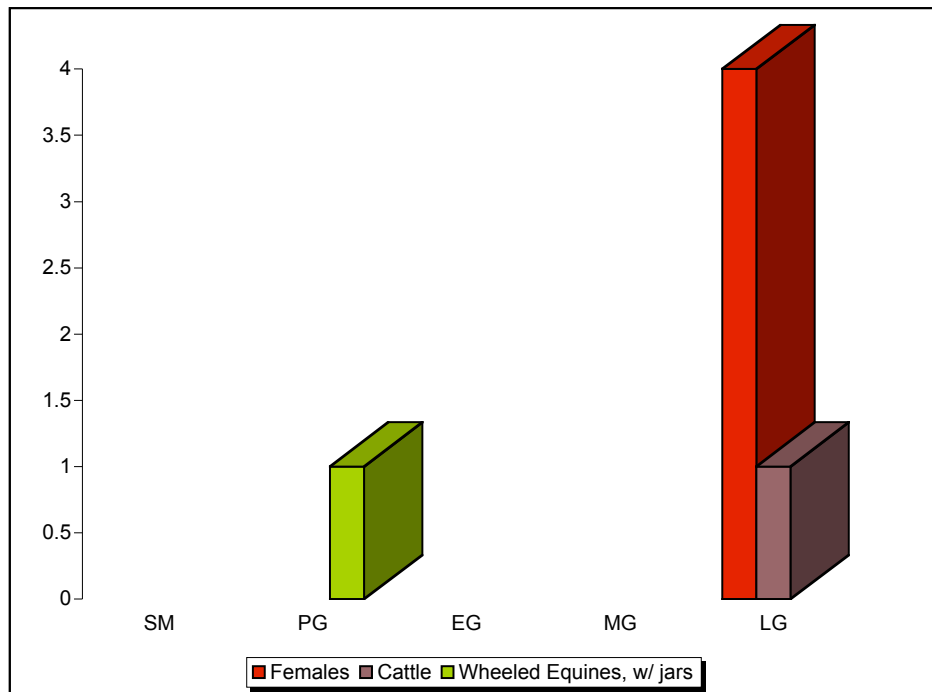


² Figurine count collected from Boardman 1967.

Appendix IV

Chios: Sanctuary of Athena³

	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	SG/EA	EIA	TOTAL	
ANTHROPOMORPHIC									
Females									
IB: Females w/ arms at sides					2			2	
IC: Females, arms position unclear					2			2	
Fragments									
XIC: Frags of unknown sex					2			2	
ZOOMORPHIC									
XII: Cattle					1			1	
XV: Wheeled Equines, w/ jars		1						1	
TOTALS:	0	1	0	0	7	0	0	8	
Total Human	6								
Total Animal	2								

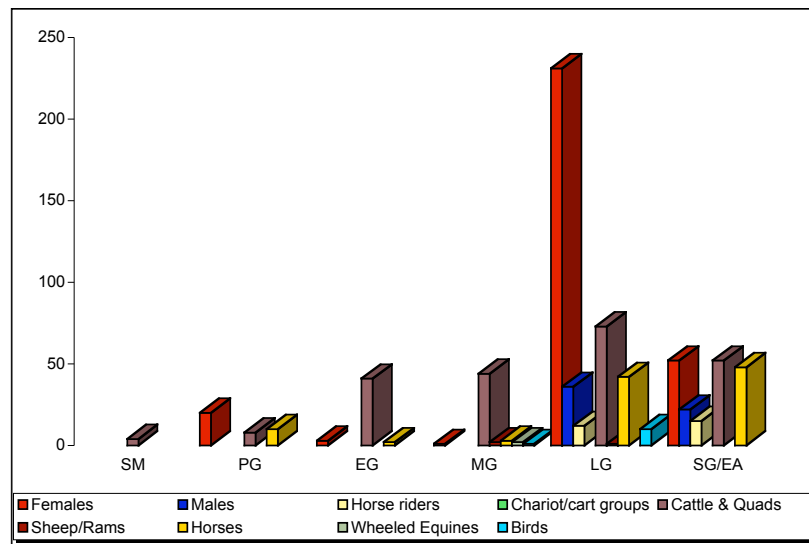


³ Figurine count collected from Boardman 1967; Kourou 2002.

Appendix IV

Samos: Sanctuary of Hera⁴

	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	SG/EA	EIA	TOTAL	Imports
ANTHROPOMORPHIC									
Females									
IA: Females w/ outstretched arms		5	2	1	44	6	1	59	3 Cypriot
IB: Females w/ arms at sides			1		173	34		208	1 Cypriot
IC: Females, arm position unclear					9	3	1	13	
II: Ring dancers/musicians		15						15	4 Cypriot
III: Enthroned females					2	4		6	
IV: Pudica figures/nude women					2	5		7	
Males									
VI: Standing clothed males					19	14		33	8 Cypriot
VIII: Standing nude males					4	4		8	
IX: Horse riders					12	15		27	4 Cypriot
X: Chariot/cart groups							5	5	
Fragments									
XIA: Female heads					1			1	1 Cypriot
XIB: Male heads					13	4		17	6 Cypriot
XIC: Unknown sex heads		2	1		44	36	1	84	1 Cypriot
ZOOMORPHIC									
XII: Cattle	4		26	31	28	26	26	141	
XIII: Sheep/Rams				2	1			3	
XIV: Horses		10	2	3	42	48		105	2 Attic
XV: Wheeled Equines				2				2	
XVI: Quadrupeds		8	15	13	45	26	88	195	
XVII: Birds				1	10			11	
TOTALS:	4	40	47	53	449	225	122	940	
Total Human		483							
Total Animal		457							

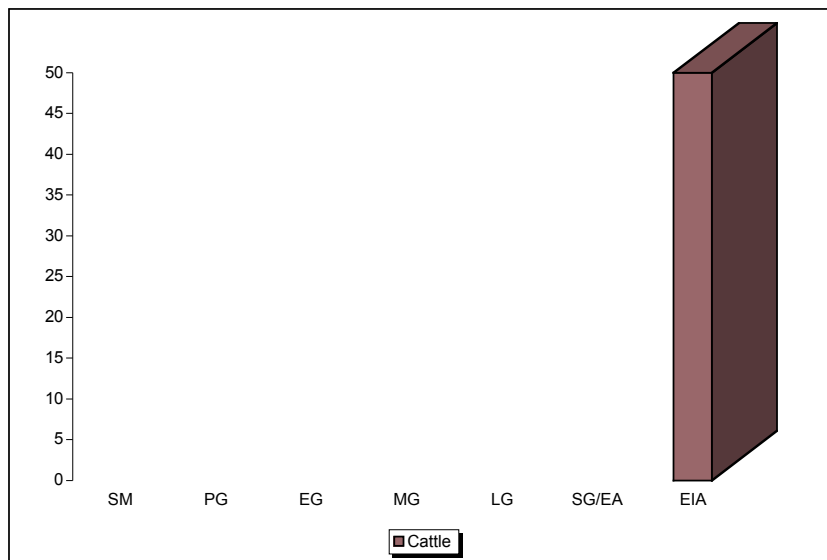


⁴ Figurine count collected from Schmidt 1968; Jarosch 1994; Guggisberg 1996.

Appendix IV

Kalymnos: Sanctuary of Apollo Pythios⁵

	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	SG/EA	EIA	TOTAL
ZOOMORPHIC								
XII: Cattle							50	50
TOTALS:	0	0	0	0	0	0	50	50
Total Human	0							
Total Animal	50							

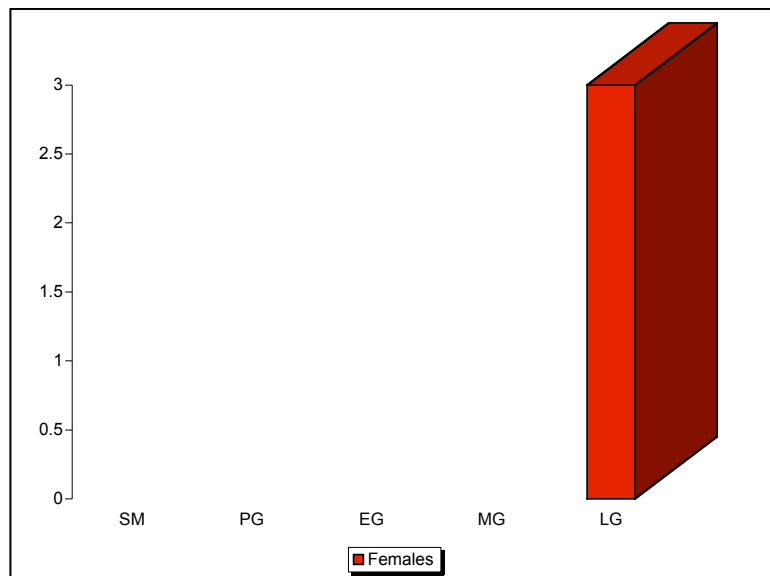


⁵ Figurine count from Guggisberg 1996; Kourou 2002.

Appendix IV

Hephaisteia, Lemnos: Sanctuary of Artemis⁶

	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	SG/EA	EIA	TOTAL	
ANTHROPOMORPHIC									
IA: Females with outstretched arms					3			3	
TOTALS:	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	3	
Total Human	3								
Total Animal	0								

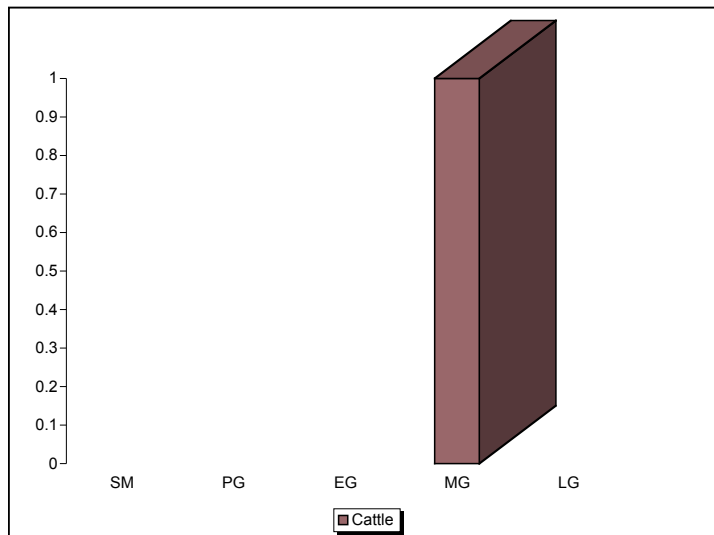


⁶ Figurine count based on Beschi 1985; Kourou 2002.

Appendix IV

Iria, Naxos: Sanctuary of Dionysos⁷

ZOOMORPHIC	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	SG/EA	EIA	TOTAL
XII: Cattle				1				1
TOTALS:	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total Human	0							
Total Animal	1							

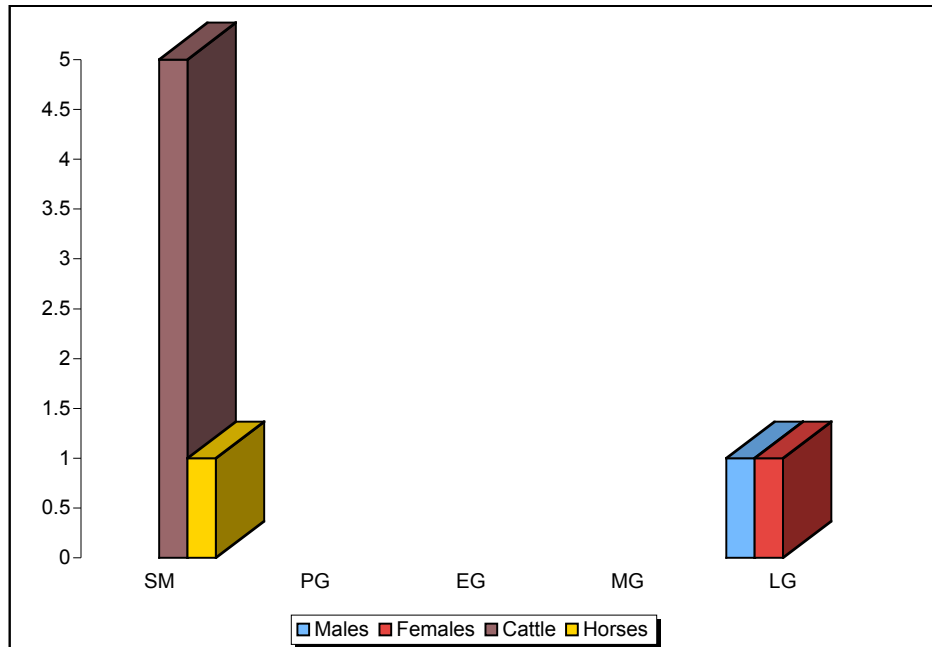


⁷ Figurine count based on Lambrinouidakis 1992; Kourou 2002.

Appendix IV

Amyklai: Sanctuary of Apollo Hyakinthos⁸

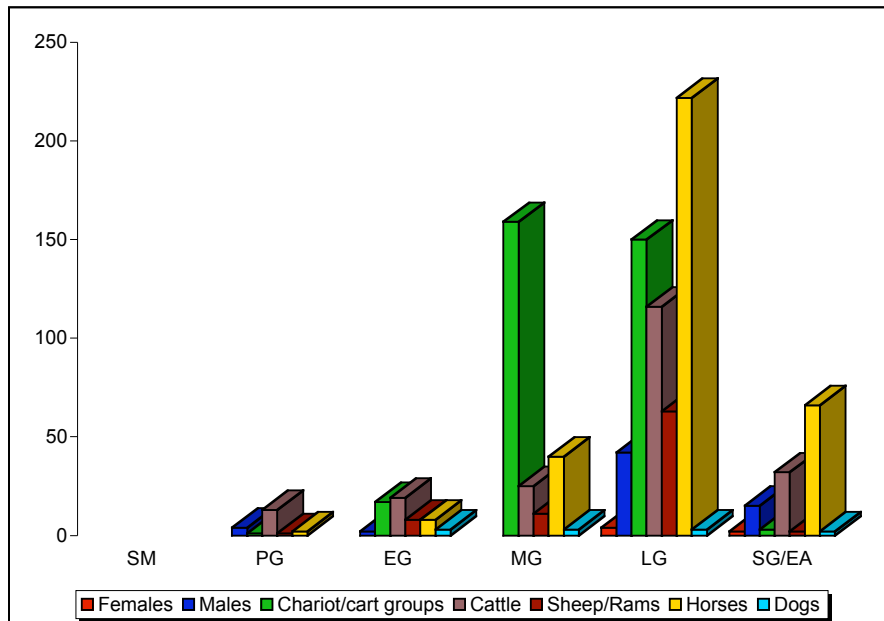
	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	SG/EA	EIA	TOTAL	
ANTHROPOMORPHIC									
Males									
VII: Standing warriors					1			1	
Fragments									
XIA: Female heads					1			1	
ZOOMORPHIC									
XII: Cattle	5							5	
XIV: Horses	1							1	
TOTALS:	6	0	0	0	2	0	0	8	
Total Human	2								
Total Animal	6								



⁸ Figurine count based on Demakopoulou 1982.

Appendix IV
Olympia: Sanctuary of Zeus⁹

	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	SG/EA	EIA	TOTAL
ANTHROPOMORPHIC								
Females								
IV: Pudica figures/nude females					4	2		6
Males								
VII: Standing warriors		4	2		21	13		40
VIII: Standing nude males					21	2		23
X: Chariot/cart groups		1	17	159	150	3		330
ZOOMORPHIC								
XII: Cattle		13	19	25	116	32		205
XIII: Sheep/Rams		1	8	11	63	2		85
XIV: Horses		2	8	40	222	66		338
XVIII: Dogs			3	3	3	2		11
TOTALS:	0	21	57	238	600	122	0	1038
Total Human	399							
Total Animal	639							

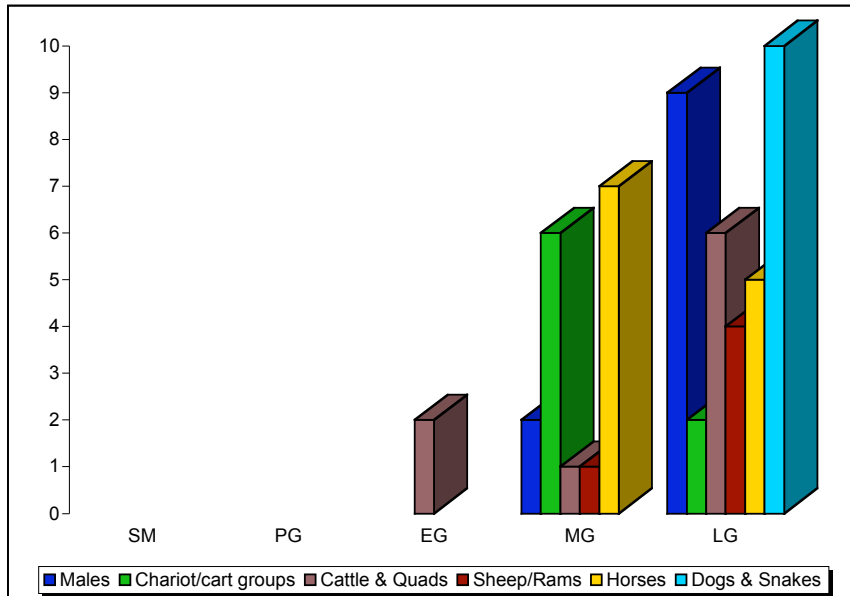


⁹ Figurine count based on Heilmeyer 1972.

Appendix IV

Kombothekra: Sanctuary of Artemis¹⁰

	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	SG/EA	EIA	TOTAL
ANTHROPOMORHIC								
Males								
VII: Standing warriors					1			1
VIII: Standing nude males				2	8			10
X: Chariot/cart groups				6	2		20	28
ZOOMORPHIC								
XII: Cattle			2	1	3			6
XIII: Sheep/Rams				1	4			5
XIV: Horses				7	5			12
XVI: Quadrupeds					3		3	6
XVIII: Other Animals: Dogs, Snakes					10			10
TOTALS:	0	0	2	17	36	0	23	78
Total Human		39						
Total Animal		39						

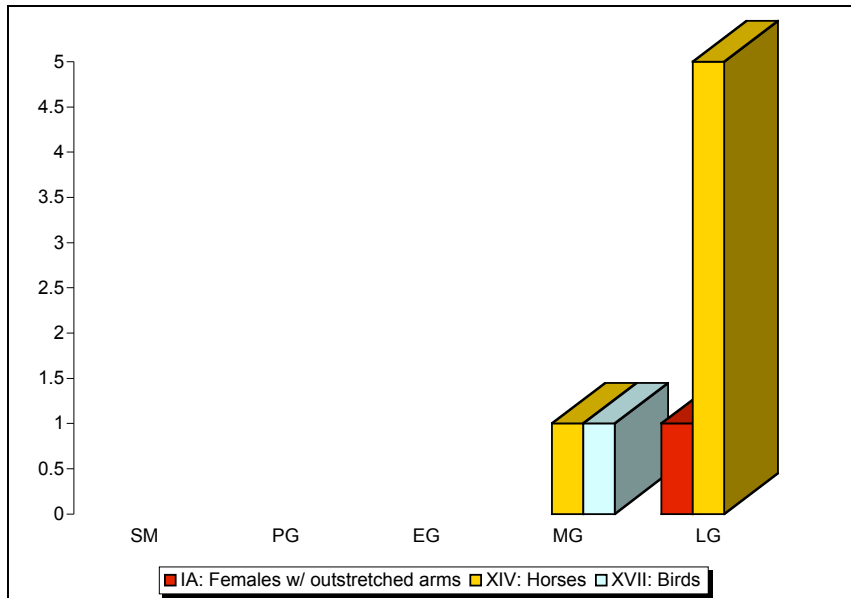


¹⁰ Figurine count based on Sinn 1981.

Appendix IV

Tegea: Sanctuary of Athena Alea¹¹

	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	SG/EA	EIA	TOTAL
ANTHROPOMORPHIC								
Females								
IA: Females w/ outstretched arms					1			1
ZOOMORPHIC								
XIV: Horses				1	5			6
XVII: Birds				1				1
TOTALS:	0	0	0	2	6	0	0	8
Total Human	1							
Total Animal	7							

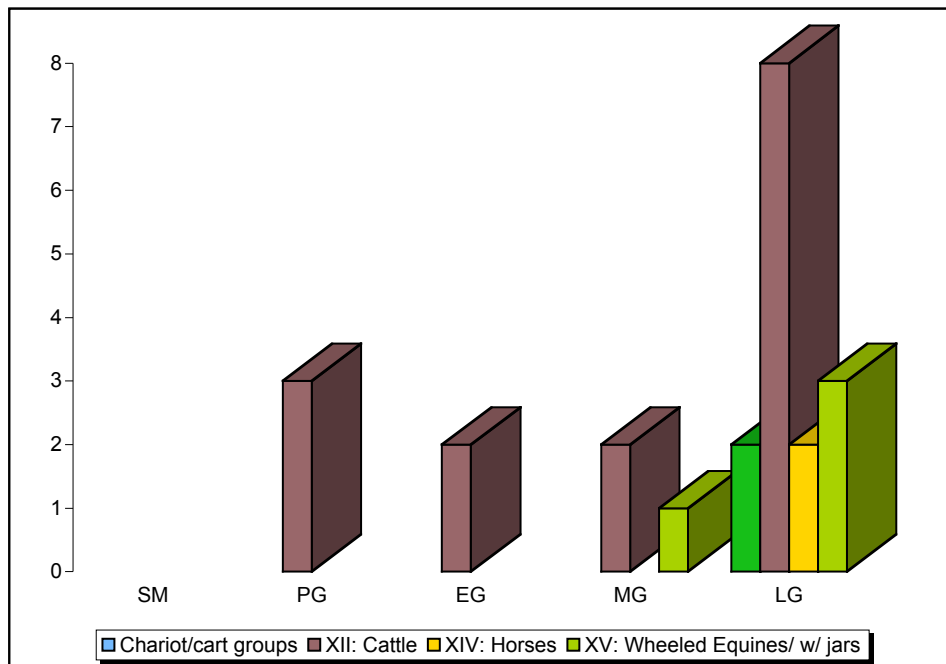


¹¹ Figurine count based on Voyatzis 1990; 1995; 2002.

Appendix IV

Isthmia: Sanctuary of Poseidon¹²

	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	SG/EA	EIA	TOTAL #	
ANTHROPOMORPHIC									
Males									
X: Chariot/cart groups					2			2	
Fragments									
XIC: Frag of uncertain sex					1			1	2 Attic
ZOOMORPHIC									
XII: Cattle		3	2	2	8		3	18	
XIV: Horses					2			2	1 Attic
XV: Wheeled Equines/ w/ jars				1	3			4	3 Attic
TOTALS:	0	3	2	3	16	0	3	27	
Total Human	3								
Total Animal	24								



¹² Figurine count based on Morgan 1999.

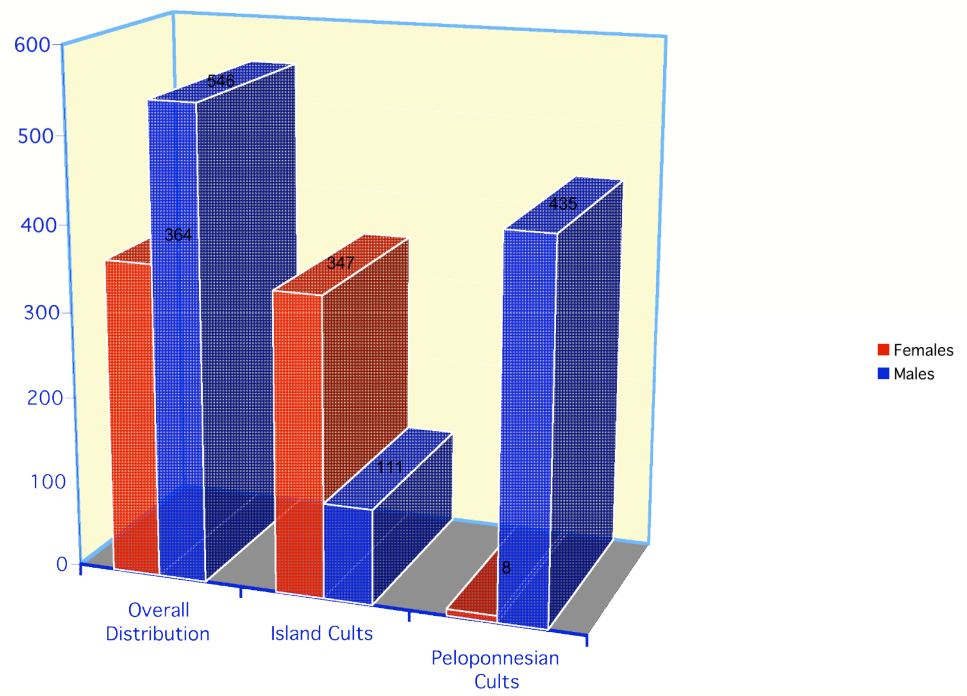
Appendix V

Va **EIA FIGURINE DISTRIBUTION**

	1100-1000	1000-900	900-800	800-750	750-700	700-675	1000-700	TOTAL
ANTHROPOMORPHIC								
Females								
IA: Females w/ outstretched arms		5	4	4	54	6	1	74
IB: Females w/ arms at side			3	3	183	34		223
IC: Females, arm position unclear					16		1	17
II: Ring dancers/musicians		15		1	5			21
III: Enthroned females					3	5		8
IV: Pudica figures/nude females					6	7		13
VI: Kourotrophos					1	0		1
Males								
VI: Standing clothed males					20	20		40
VII: Standing warriors		4	2		25	14		45
VIII: Standing nude males				2	33	6		41
IX: Horse riders					17	17		34
X: Chariot/cart groups		1	17	165	154	3	25	365
Fragments								
XIA: Female heads					7			7
XIB: Male heads					17	4		21
XIC: Frags of unknown sex		3	4		50	36	1	94
ZOOMORPHIC								
XII: Cattle	10	17	49	59	162	76	79	452
XIII: Sheep/Rams		1	8	14	68	2		93
XIV: Horses	2	12	10	51	282	114		471
XV: Wheeled Equines/ w/ jars		1		4	3			8
XVI: Quadrupeds		8	15	13	58	26	91	211
XVIII: Birds				2	13			15
XVIII: Dogs			3	3	8	2		16
XVIII: Snakes					9			9
TOTALS:	12	67	115	321	1194	372	198	2279
Total Human		1004						
Total Animal		1275						

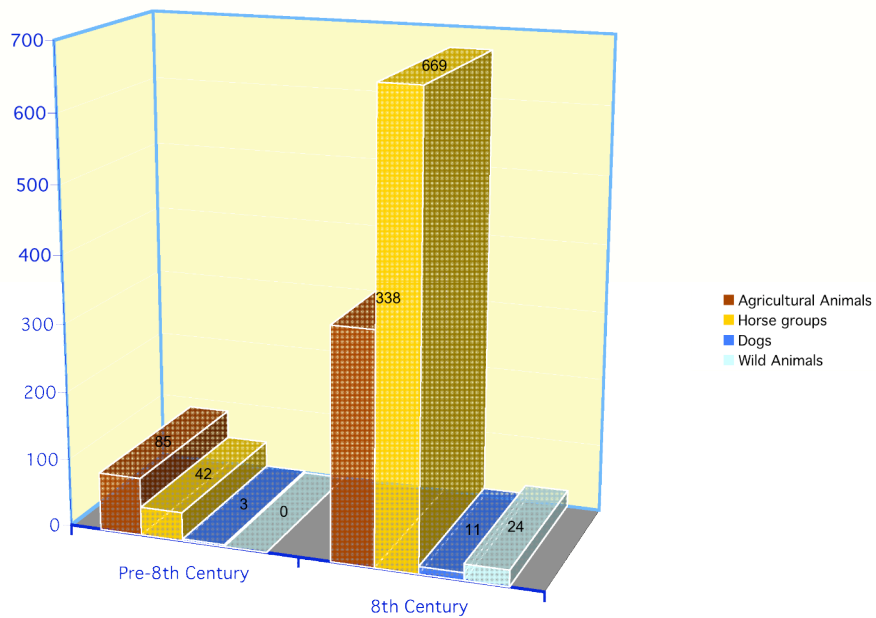
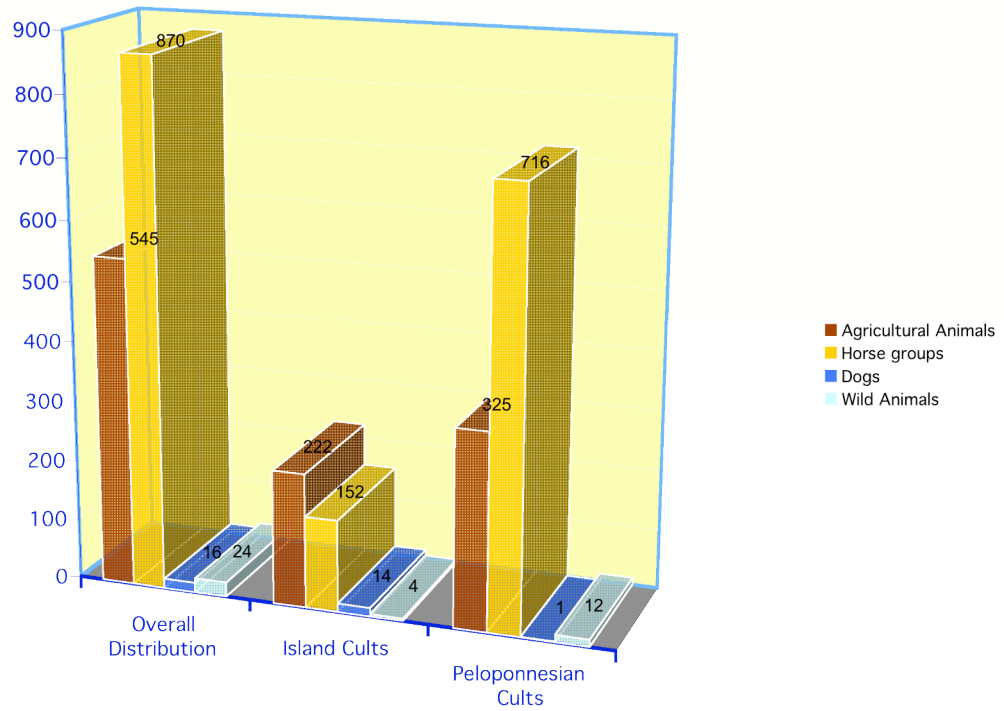
Appendix V

Vb GENDER RATIOS



Appendix V

Vc DISTRIBUTION PATTERNS OF ANIMAL FIGURINES



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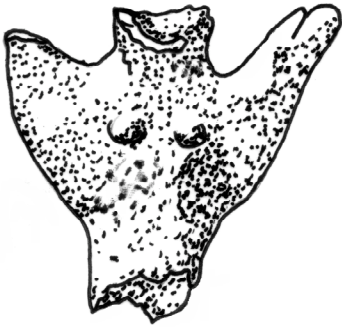


Figure 1 R1 (PG/EG)



Figure 2 R2 (MG/LG)

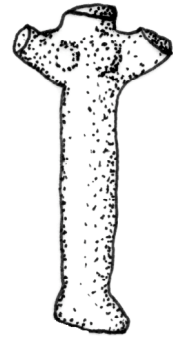


Figure 3 R3 (EG)

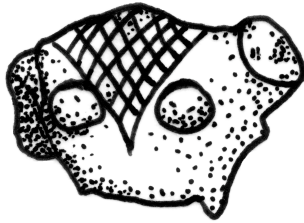


Figure 4 R4 (LG)

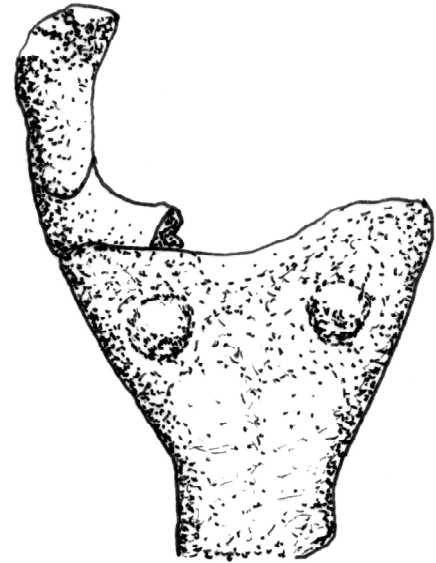


Figure 5 S1 (PG)

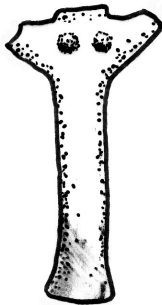


Figure 6 S3 (CGI)

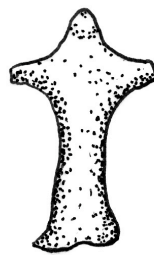


Figure 7 S4 (LG)

TYPE IA

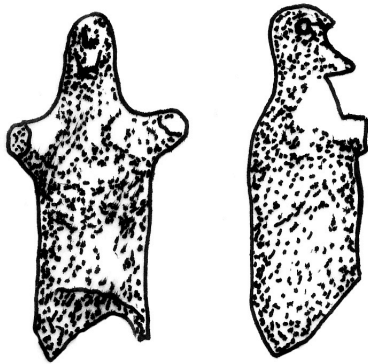


Figure 8 S7 (LG)

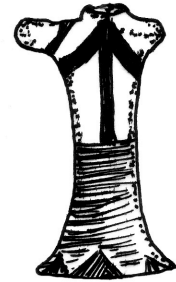


Figure 9 S9 (LG)

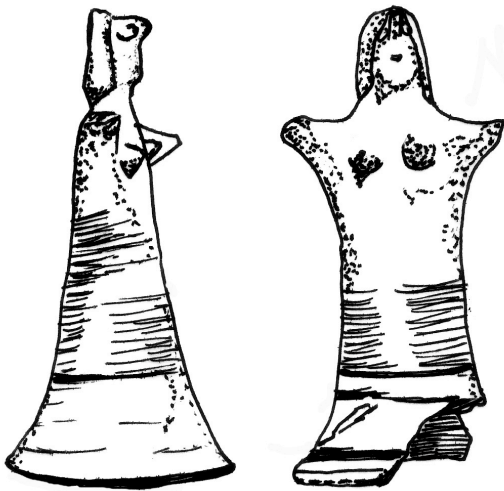


Figure 10 S11 (LG)

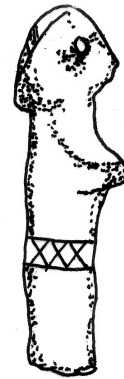


Figure 11 S17 (EG)



Figure 12 C1 (LG)

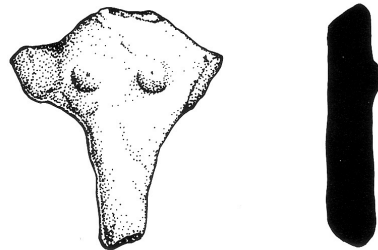


Figure 13 T1 (LG)

TYPE IA



Figure 14 R8 (LG)



Figure 15 S18 (EG)

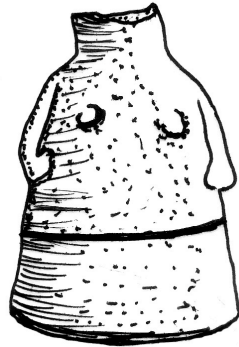


Figure 16 S21 (LG)

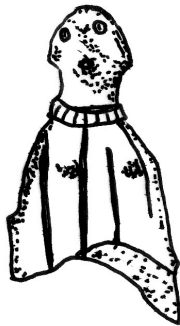


Figure 17 S22 (LG)

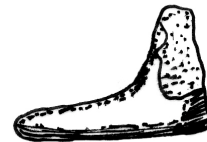


Figure 18 C2 (LG)

TYPE IB-C



Figure 19 R11 (LG)



Figure 20 R12 (LG)

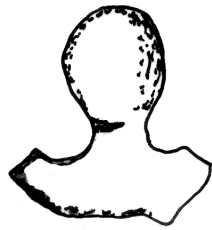


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Figure 22 S40 (CGI)

TYPE II

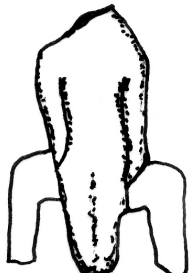


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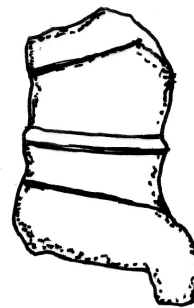


Figure 24 S41 (EA)

TYPE III



Figure 25 S44 (LG)



Figure 26 O1 (LG)

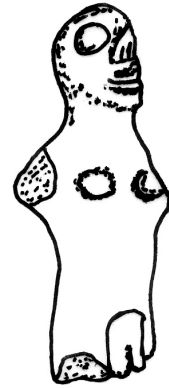


Figure 27 O2 (SG)

TYPE IV



Figure 28 R14 (LG)

TYPE V

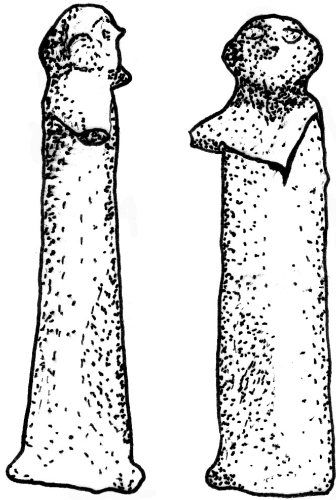


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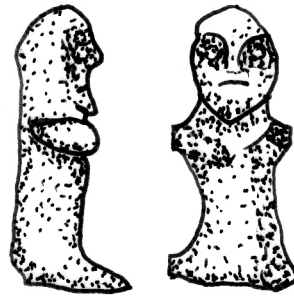


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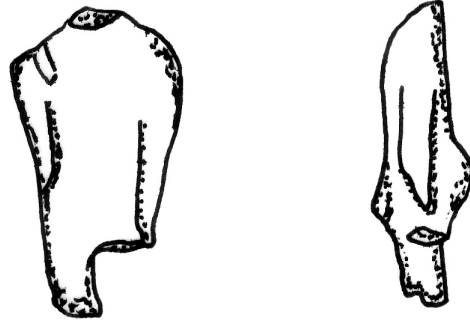


Figure 31 S54 (LG)



Figure 32 S57 (LG)

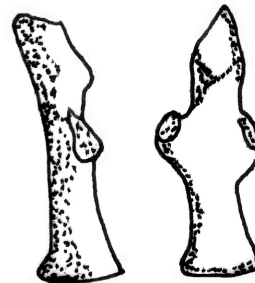


Figure 33 S58 (CAI)

TYPE VI



Figure 34 R15 (CAI)

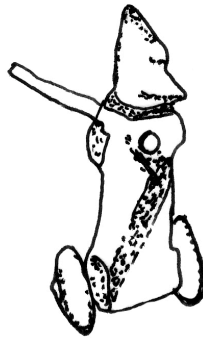


Figure 35



Figure 36 R16 (CAI)

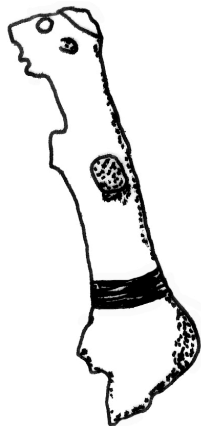


Figure 37 O3 (PG)

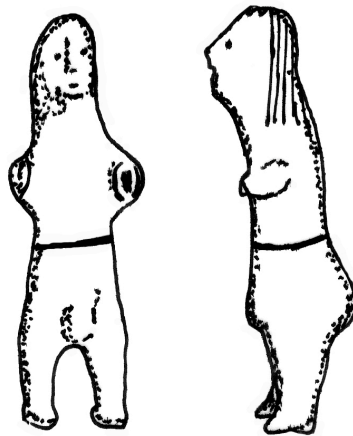


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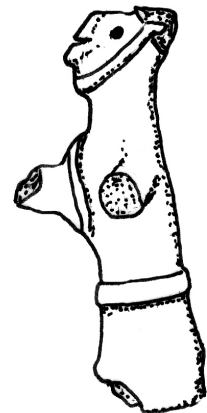


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TYPE VII

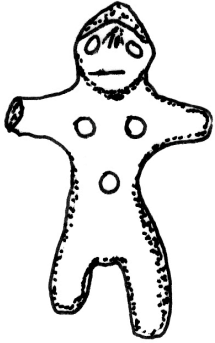


Figure 40 O7 (LG)



Figure 41 O8 (LG)



Figure 43 K1 (LG)



Figure 42 A1 (LG)

TYPE VII

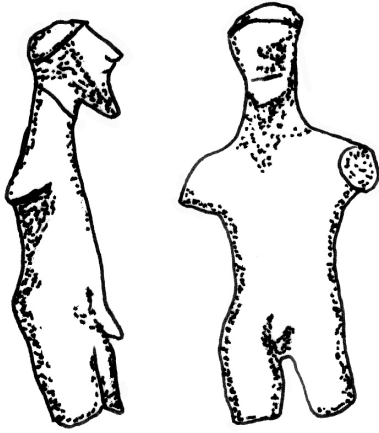


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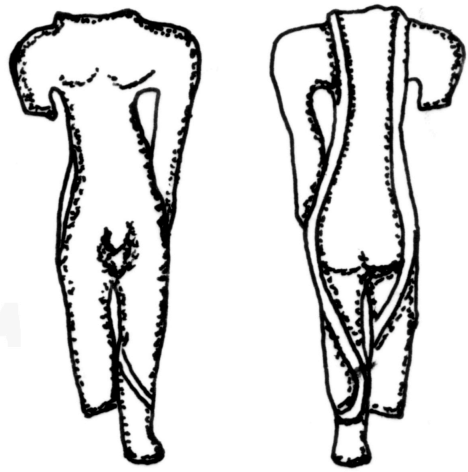


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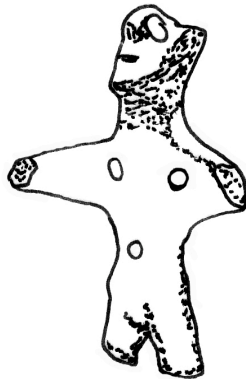


Figure 46 O11 (LG)



Figure 47 K2 (LG)

TYPE VIII



Figure 48 R17 (LG)



Figure 49 R18 (LG)

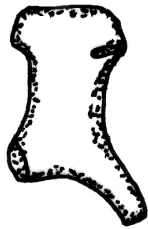


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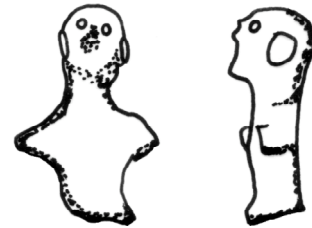


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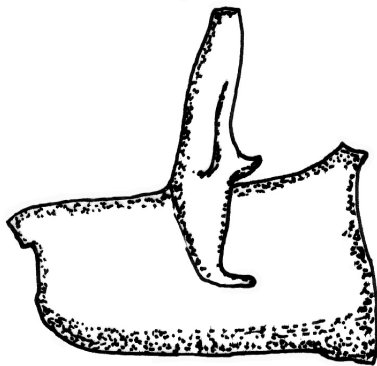


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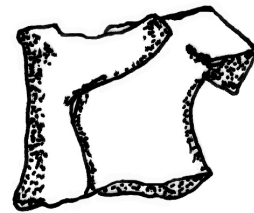


Figure 53 S69 (CAI)

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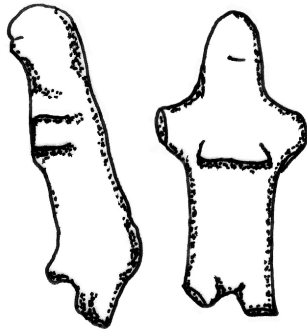


Figure 54 O13 (PG)



Figure 55 O15 (MG)



Figure 56 O16 (MG)



Figure 57 O17 (LG)

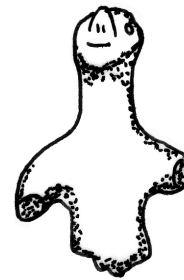


Figure 58 K3 (MG)



Figure 59 S70 (G)



Figure 60 O20 (LG)



Figure 61 O22 (LG)

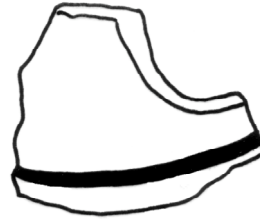


Figure 63 I2 (G)

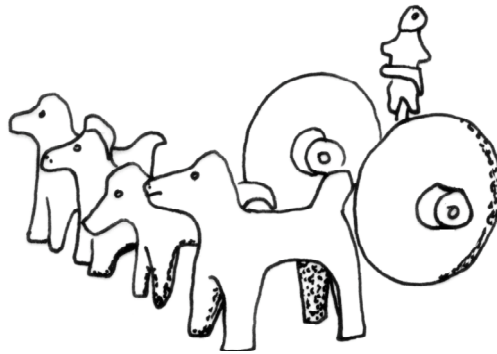


Figure 62 O19 (LG)

TYPE X



Figure 64 R19 (LG)



Figure 65 R22 (LG)



Figure 66 R23 (CAI)

TYPE XI



Figure 67 S72 (PG)



Figure 68 S73 (PG)



Figure 69 S81 (LG)



Figure 70 S86 (EA)



Figure 71 S84 (LG)



Figure 72 S88 (LG)



Figure 73 S93 (EA)



Figure 74 A2 (LG)



Figure 75 S95 (CAI)



Figure 76 I1 (MG/LG)

TYPE XI



Figure 77 R24 (LG)



Figure 78 C5 (LG)



Figure 79 S96 (SM)



Figure 80 S101 (EG)

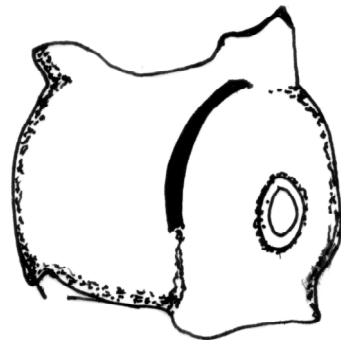


Figure 81 S97 (SM)

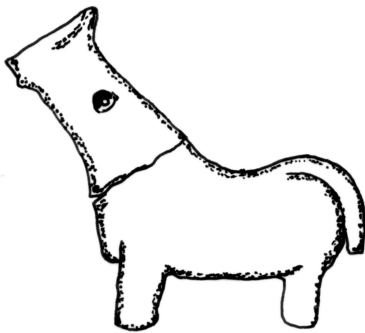


Figure 82 S100 (LPG/EG)

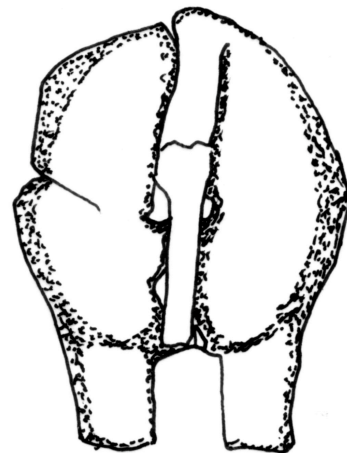
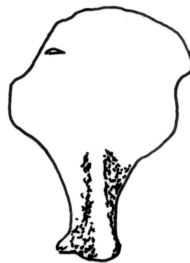


Figure 83 S102 (EG)

TYPE XII

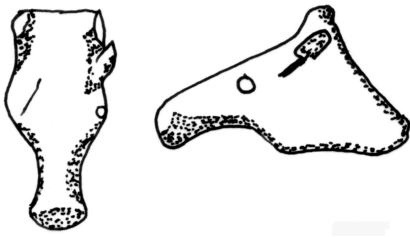


Figure 84 S106 (EG)



Figure 85 S107 (EG)



Figure 86 S108 (LG)

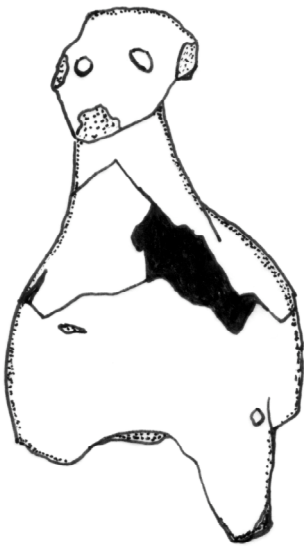


Figure 87 S110 (MG)



Figure 88 S115 (MG)



Figure 89 S113 (MG)



Figure 91 S119 (LG)

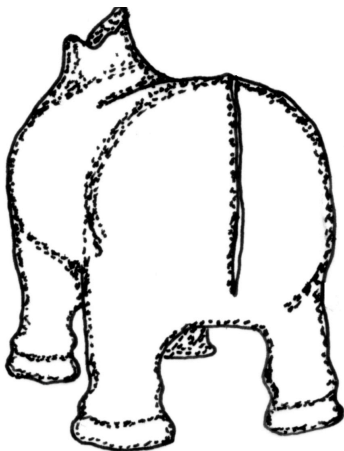


Figure 90 S116 (MG)



Figure 92 O25 (PG)

TYPE XII



Figure 93 O28 (MG)



Figure 94 O27 (EG)

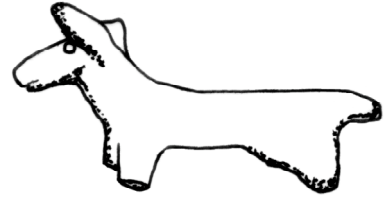


Figure 95 O31 (LG)



Figure 96 A3 (SM)



Figure 97 K10 (LG)



Figure 98 I3 (LPG)



Figure 99 I4 (LPG/EG)

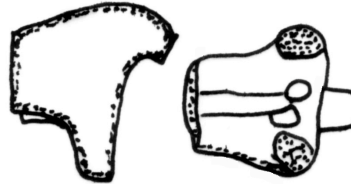


Figure 100 I7 (MG)



Figure 101 I11 (LG/EA)

TYPE XII



Figure 102 O32 (PG)



Figure 103 O33 (EG)



Figure 104 K11 (MG)

TYPE XIII



Figure 105 R26 (LG)



Figure 106 R27 (LG)

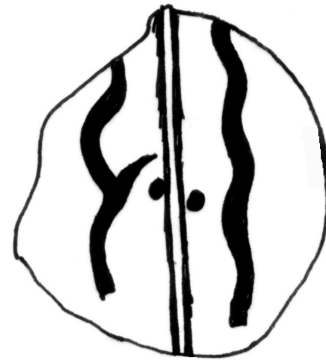


Figure 107 C10 (SM)



Figure 108 C11 (SM)



Figure 109 S128 (PG)



Figure 110 S132 (EG)

TYPE XIV



Figure 111 S130 (LPG)



Figure 112 S137 (LG)



Figure 113 S133 (EG)



Figure 114 S135 (MG/LG)



Figure 115 O34 (PG)



Figure 116 O37 (MG)



Figure 117 O38 (LG)



Figure 118 O40 (LG)

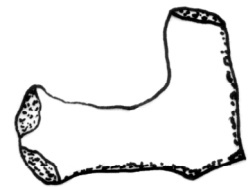


Figure 119 K12 (MG)

TYPE XIV



Figure 120 K15 (EG)



Figure 121 K13 (MG)

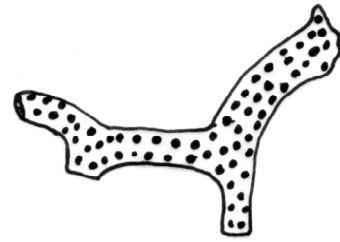


Figure 122 T2 (MG)

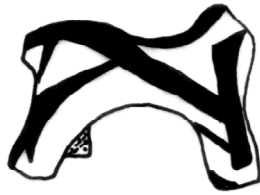


Figure 123 T3 (MG/LG)



Figure 124 T4 (MG/LG)

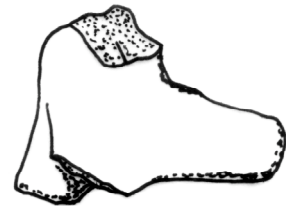


Figure 125 I12 (LG/EA)

TYPE XIV



Figure 128 I14 (MG/LG)



Figure 126 C16 (PG)



Figure 127 I13 (MG/LG)



Figure 129 I16 (G)

TYPE XV



Figure 130 R28 (CGIII)



Figure 131 R29 (CGIII)



Figure 132 S152 (MG)



Figure 133 T8 (MG/LG)



Figure 134

TYPE XVII



Figure 135 K17-18 (LG)



Figure 136 R30 (CAI)



Figure 137 O41 (EG)

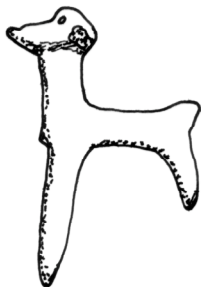


Figure 138 O42 (MG)



Figure 139 O43 (LG)



Figure 140 K19 (LG)

TYPE XVIII

VITA

Erin Walcek Averett was born on 3 August 1975 in Atlanta, Georgia. After attending Milton High School in Alpharetta, Georgia, she received a B.A. in Latin and Classical Culture with an emphasis on Archaeology from the University of Georgia at Athens in 1998. She entered the Art History and Archaeology graduate program at the University of Missouri-Columbia in the fall of 1998, where she earned an M.A. in Greek Archeology in 2000. After completing her coursework, she attended the American School of Classical Studies at Athens in Greece from 2002-2004. She has participated in the excavations at Corinth and at Athienou on the island of Cyprus, where she is currently the Assistant Director of the Athienou Archaeological Project. She earned her Ph.D. in 2007 from the University of Missouri-Columbia.