

The Cultic Significance of Wheelmade Terracotta Figures in Late Helladic III C
Eleon, Greece

by

Alix G.R. Galumbeck

A.B., Bryn Mawr College, 2021

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

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Abstract

Without written records, the evolution of religious practices can only be ascertained from the evaluation of cultic objects. During the Late Bronze Age (1700-1050 BCE) in mainland Greece, a significant shift in ritual practice occurred. With the decentralization of Greek society after the so-called collapse near the end of the Late Bronze Age, it appears that rites previously restricted to palatial centers were now executed at non-palatial areas. Recently discovered artifacts consisting of wheelmade terracotta figures excavated at Eleon, a non-palatial site extant during this period, were evaluated to determine not only their cultic significance but also if distinct cultic spaces were located at this site. The findings were categorized using a novel schema including ritual framing and semiotic analysis. Additionally, the objects were correlated with comparanda from similar sites throughout Mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete to categorize both their typology and ritual significance. Analysis of the data was performed through the lenses of cultic continuity, cultic progression, and regional variation. The results reveal that ritual practices were similar between Eleon and other sites, suggesting that this Post Palatial center had both cultic objects and shrines.

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction and Framework

Introduction

This thesis examines the significance of cultic material remains found on mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete during the Late Bronze Age. In prehistoric societies it is difficult to understand social customs, especially religious rituals. Without a written record, archaeologists use material remains from which to develop an analytical structure to determine how people in ancient societies interacted with supernatural forces. Utilizing a combination of theoretical frameworks based on cognitive-processual and semiotic analyses, the research presented here will attempt to discern the significance of cultic figures, specifically the wheelmade terracotta female and bovid figures recently discovered at Mycenaean Eleon. This study analyzes the terracotta wheelmade female and bovid figures as well as the sanctuaries at primary and secondary sites found throughout the Palatial and Post-Palatial periods of Bronze Age Greece. Comparing these with the findings at Eleon, I hope to elucidate cult continuity, cult progression as well as regional variations within sites on mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete, and to determine the nature of cultic practices at ancient Eleon.

Cultic practices in the prehistoric world attempted to create a cohesive society through shared beliefs and ideals.¹ In ancient religions, both female and male forces exist. In Mycenaean religion, the symbolic representation of the female deity has been referred to as Potnia. The Indo-European root describes a sovereign or mistress of the house and corresponds to the Sanskrit masculine *posīs*.² Linear B texts record several *po-ti-ni-ja* in religious contexts, who may

¹ Durkheim 1915, 44.

² Kopaka 2001, 16.

represent multiple aspects of a single goddess or multiple, unique goddesses. According to the prevailing views, Aegean Potnia forms a relatively important part of the Bronze Age religious universe, conceived in the belief of a female deity involved with fertility and the regeneration cycle.³

Pairing with the female force, the male deity, often depicted as a bull, represents strength as well as fecundity.⁴ Prehistoric Greece, the eastern Aegean, and the Near East are replete with archaeological evidence of the bull. The animal was not only present in art, such as frescoes or funerary decoration, but was extensively rendered as figures, figurines, and vessels both in clay and precious metals.⁵ Prehistoric societies worshipped the bull as evinced by the archaeological findings at Çatal Höyük.⁶ In the Sumerian civilization in Mesopotamia, the bull may be associated with power, authority, and fertility. Gods could become a bull, assume the qualities of a bull, or be affiliated with cattle. The Akkadian storm god, Adad, was often depicted with or as a bull, most likely representing his strength, power, and fertility. In textual and iconographic depictions of the Old Babylonian moon god, Sin, the moon crescent, represented by bull horns, was linked to cattle herds and fertility. Moreover, these societies recognized the connection between the full moon and river tides, which supplied water for crops and animals, thus linking the moon, and the bull, with fertility.⁷ While bull worship remained prevalent throughout the eastern Aegean, Minoan and Mycenaean iconography was distinct from other contemporary civilizations. Unlike other societies, Crete and mainland Greece mostly lacked monumental art for the public.⁸ Nevertheless, based on textual and iconographic evidence, the bull was central to

³ Evans 1930; Chadwick 1957; Boëlle 2001; Kopaka 2001; Marinatos 2007.

⁴ McInerney 2010, 40; Van Dijk-Coombes 2018, 1.

⁵ Guggisberg 1996, 277; Knox 2012. See, e.g., the Pylos vestibule fresco and the Agia Triada sarcophagus.

⁶ Mellaart 1963, 79.

⁷ Guggisberg 1996, 333-4; Ornan 2001, 3-5; Van Dijk-Coombes 2018, 1-8.

⁸ Blakolmer 2009, 23. An exception is the Lion Gate at Mycenae.

Late Bronze Age Mycenaean religious practices.

In what follows, I will first briefly examine Mycenaean society during the Late Bronze Age. Subsequently, I will discuss the scope of work and salient terms used within this paper. Finally, I will present a brief introduction to the site of Eleon in Boeotia, which forms the central case study of this thesis.

Mycenaean Society

During the 14th century BCE, Mycenaean palatial society was organized into a series of independent polities. Large palaces, with complex architecture and overseen by a *wanax*, served as regional centers, governing religious, political, military, and economic administration.⁹ These primary centers interacted with a network of smaller, regional secondary centers, responsible for collecting commodities from surrounding locations.¹⁰ In the Mycenaean redistributive economy, palaces relied on a relatively large network beyond direct control. The palatial elite, however, restricted the distribution of luxury goods and exotica, allowing them to maintain and protect their authority. The (over)extension of these palatial systems most likely contributed to their collapse.¹¹

After the destruction of the palaces in the 12th century BCE, during the Post-Palatial period, some primary centers were still inhabited but there is no evidence that they maintained control over secondary centers. Most megara ceased to perform centralized administrative and religious functions. Instead, these duties disseminated to the secondary sites.¹²

⁹ Wright 1994, 49-58; Shelmerdine 1997, 558-9; Arena 2015, 1-2; Knodell 2021, 73.

¹⁰ Arena 2015, 11; Aravantinos et al. 2016, 309.

¹¹ McInerney 2010, 53; Kramer-Hajós 2016, 144; Knodell 2021, 100-2, 108.

¹² Knodell 2021, 117-9.

Absolute Chronology

This study covers the Palatial and Post-Palatial periods in Mycenaean Greece. **Table 1.1** presents the absolute chronology for the periods under discussion. There are currently two competing absolute chronologies for the Aegean Late Bronze Age: the so-called high and low chronologies.¹³ For the purposes of the present study, the absolute calendar dates do not affect the conclusions since these deal primarily with observed changes in the relative chronology between LH III B and LH III C. I have chosen to follow the absolute dates provided by Sturt Manning because the high chronology is based on a more exact radiocarbon dating. The duration of the Mycenaean culture on mainland Greece and the surrounding Aegean extended from approximately 1700 BCE until 1050 BCE. This chronology was separated into three subdivisions, with each further subclassified by ceramic dating. These include early Mycenaean (Late Helladic (LH) I-LH III A1), Palatial (LH III A2-LH III B2), and Post-Palatial (LH III C). While similar, Cretan chronology has divisions of late Neo-Palatial (Late Minoan (LM) I A-LM I B), Final Palatial (LM II-LM III A2), and Post-Palatial (LM III B-LM III C). Most important for the present study is the LH III C period, which conventionally represents the period after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces.

Scope of Work

The areas examined include primary and secondary settlements from central Greece, the Argolid, and the southern Peloponnese (**Figure 1.1**). These locations were selected in order to compare and contrast the material with that of Eleon and to determine similarities as well as possible regional variation in Mycenaean cultic practices on mainland Greece. Additionally, I

¹³ Manning 2022. See Manning et al. 2014 for an overview of the debate.

evaluated Phylakopi on the island of Melos and Agia Triada and the Patsos cave from Crete. Phylakopi was chosen for its abundance of bovid figures, which have been extensively assessed for form, function, and meaning. Crete was included in order to examine established practices of bull worship and how those practices relate to the different centers in mainland Greece to see if a difference existed between primary and secondary centers in either the manner or timeline of worship.

Terms and Definitions

To correctly identify cult centers in prehistoric societies, certain terms need to be defined in order to standardize meaning and function. Encompassing all subsequent terms is religion. According to Émile Durkheim, *religion* is “all sorts of things which surpass the limits of our knowledge; the supernatural is the world of the mysterious, of the unknowable, of the un-understandable.”¹⁴ Moreover, he has two criteria to define religion. The first is the separation of two opposing concepts: the sacred and the profane. The sacred, that which is venerated, provides protection and isolation from the profane, that which is debased. The second criterion concerns the members of the group. They are united by their common understanding of the sacred and the profane.¹⁵ Thus, religion is a belief system which transcends the everyday material world; while it is an individual experience, it is also shared.

Utilized in religion, a *symbol* is an image familiar in daily life that possesses specific connotations in addition to its conventional and obvious meanings.¹⁶ The subcategories of a symbol relevant to this paper are the dominant symbol and the religious symbol. While a symbol

¹⁴ Durkheim 1915, 24.

¹⁵ Durkheim 1915, 40-1, 44-5.

¹⁶ Jung 1964, 20; Sperber 1977, 5.

focuses on its action, a *dominant symbol* focuses on the symbol's interactions with its user.¹⁷

Another subset of symbol is the religious symbol. A religious symbol must have a metaphysical quality, transcend its obvious meaning, have inherent power, and be accepted as such by all members of the community.¹⁸

While symbols may be viewed as the bedrock of social cohesiveness, ritual utilizes symbols to create a collectively bound society. In practice, ritual acts can be secular or religious. *Ritual* is a pattern of redirection to serve as communication consisting of distinct gestures and utilizing specific symbols and requires active participation.¹⁹ A subset of ritual is religious ritual. A religious ritual includes the worship of a transcendental being, creates a sense of reverence, and occurs at a hallowed location where a liminal zone exists to connect the spheres of the mundane and the sacred.²⁰ Specifically patterned religious rituals within a community create a cult. A *cult* is a system of recurring observances that serve to maintain the relationship between the believer and the deity.²¹ As an overarching structure to standardize religious practices, *ritual framing* employs the determinants of the place where, the time when, and the objects utilized to compare ritual acts across discrete communities.²²

Figure versus Figurine

Mycenaean terracottas previously have been categorized as either *figures* or *figurines*.²³ According to Elizabeth French's classification system, figures have coil or wheelmade bodies or stems and measure 15-70 cm. Figurines, however, are handmade and vary between 5 and 30

¹⁷ Turner 1967, 22.

¹⁸ Tillich 1958, 3-4. An example of a dominant symbol is the cross in Christianity.

¹⁹ Levy 1981, 174; Burkert 1983, 41; Bell 1997, 42, 73; Firth 2004, 222.

²⁰ Burkert 1983, 2; Renfrew 1985, 16.

²¹ Durkheim 1915, 63.

²² Verhoeven 2002, 236.

²³ French 1981a.

cm.²⁴ Figures and figurines can represent humans and animals, generally interpreted as bovids.²⁵ The objects selected for this study include female and quadruped figures made on the potter's wheel. Figurines are excluded. With the exception of the horse head rhyton, none of the figures from Eleon has a primary purpose as a vessel.

Ancient Eleon

Ancient Eleon, located in Boeotia, Greece, near the modern town of Arma, has been investigated by the Eastern Boeotia Archaeological Project since 2007, first as a regional survey and, more recently, targeted excavation.²⁶ According to Linear B tablets from Thebes, Eleon was a secondary site associated with the palatial site at Thebes.²⁷ In the Post-Palatial period, Eleon thrived, and contact with Lefkandi on the island of Euboea increased.²⁸ This study will examine Post-Palatial terracotta wheelmade female and bovid figures found during the excavation at Eleon from 2011 to 2014.

Structure and Summary

This study begins by establishing a framework to analyze the data obtained from excavations at Eleon. Chapter 1 discusses the theoretical and methodological approaches that are used to discern the significance of the built structures as well as the ritual assemblages. Further it characterizes the ritual and cult practices of the Minoan and Mycenaean societies during the Late Helladic period. Textual and iconographic evidence, such as Linear B tablets and frescoes,

²⁴ Kardamaki 2013, 48 n. 7; Thurston 2015, n. 6.

²⁵ The term 'bovid' (rather than 'bull' or 'cow') indicates that the animal figure's sex attributes were not preserved or not clearly indicated.

²⁶ Aravantinos et al. 2016, 294.

²⁷ Aravantinos et al. 2016, 309; Knodell 2021, 78-9.

²⁸ Knodell 2021, 121; Lis et al. 2023, 988.

respectively, are examined to establish the significance of female and bovid figures and how they fit into the religious practices of this period, including the significance of the female figure, the propensity of bull tithing as well as bull sacrifice.

Chapter 2 categorizes wheelmade terracotta figures of the Late Bronze Age. Production techniques, form, and decoration are reviewed and employed to classify and organize the figures to compare the assemblages found at different sites.

Chapter 3 surveys the findspots in mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete. The design and structure of the cult centers are delineated and the wheelmade terracotta figures found there are catalogued. Chapter 4 examines the buildings and wheelmade terracotta female and bovid figures discovered at ancient Eleon.

Chapter 5 concludes this study by relating the assemblages as well as the built structures throughout mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete to the findings at ancient Eleon. Through this comparison, I intend to discern the significance of the terracotta wheelmade female and bovid figures and their findspots at Eleon during the Late Bronze Age.

Research Questions

Martin Guggisberg and Alex Knodell suggest that, not only did secondary sites take on many of the primary religious duties of the now defunct centralized megaron, but hypaethral sanctuaries became more popular, too.²⁹ Moreover, well-developed cultic spaces were present in non-palatial areas as well as the old palatial centers during the Post-Palatial period.³⁰

Recent findings at Eleon suggest the possibility of a similar occurrence during this period. This study investigates the presence and character of cult spaces at Post-Palatial Eleon.

²⁹ Guggisberg 2009; Knodell 2021, 134-7.

³⁰ Kilian 1992, 21-4.

This thesis addresses two questions in particular relating to the significance of newly unearthed wheelmade figures at Eleon.

1. What is the ritual significance of wheelmade female and bovid figures discovered at ancient Eleon?

Ritual objects in similar spaces should convey related meaning. Evaluating the form, production techniques, and decoration as well as examining the location of wheelmade bovid figures along with the colocation of wheelmade female figures, this study will determine the ritual significance of the wheelmade figures discovered at Late Bronze Age Eleon.

2. Does Eleon have distinct cultic spaces during LH III C Early until LH III C Middle?

Cult structures during a specific time period in a specific geographical location, whether natural or built, should be comparable based on ritual framing. Analyzing location, architectural design, inventory, and functionality, I will compare the established corpus of cultic places in mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete with similar structures at Eleon to determine the likelihood that these are indeed sacred spaces.

Creating a Framework to Analyze Religious Symbols in the Late Bronze Age

In the remainder of this chapter, I present a framework of religious symbols to standardize the syntax of ritual in order to analyze and compare the female and bovid figures at Eleon with those excavated at sites in mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete. Examining the scholarship of Renfrew, Verhoeven, and others, I will review previous approaches to recognizing

ritual in the prehistoric archaeological record. Subsequently, I will utilize semiotic analysis to discern the importance of religious symbols. Further, I will evaluate the similarities and differences between the Minoan and Mycenaean social structures, how, over time, the Mycenaeans adopted and adapted Minoan cultic practices, and the significance of the female and bovid figure in ritual. Finally, I will present my framework to evaluate religious symbols in mainland Greece, Melos and Crete.

Recognizing Ritual in the Archaeological Record

Colin Renfrew set out to develop a set of criteria, a checklist, outlining basic features of religious practices which could be inferred from the archaeological remains.³¹ Renfrew defines a religious ritual as having three components. First, it creates a reverence among the participants through frenzied movement or mind-altering substances. In addition, participants must express adoration towards a deity, recognizing its power. Finally, the act occurs at a particular site. This location creates a transitional site that bridges the natural and supernatural worlds, a liminal zone.³²

In order to speculate about the significance of presumed cult artifacts offered to the deity, including votives, animal sacrifices, and other cult paraphernalia, Renfrew creates a schema of four requirements to identify religious ritual in the archaeological record. First, religious rituals require the focused attention of the participants. This is achieved by the act occurring at a specific place, at a specific time, with a specific ritual order. Moreover, all the senses of the participants must be engaged by utilizing special foods for smell and taste, distinct music for hearing, and precise movement for sight and touch. Renfrew suggests “attention focusing

³¹ Renfrew 1985, 1994.

³² Renfrew 1985, 16.

devices,” such as altars or benches, are also present. Additionally, the location where the sacred action is performed reflects a threshold between the earthly and celestial realms. The participants should acknowledge that this area is both inscrutable and menacing. Third, the deity must be in attendance during the ritual observance, usually through the presence of a ritual symbol. Finally, it requires participation of the celebrant, through specific actions, including providing offerings. Rituals often occur in archaeologically significant sites, either in a place in nature that is associated with a cave, spring, or a grove or within a specific building with special architectural modifications, including platforms, basins, and hearths.³³

While structurally sound, Renfrew’s “checklist approach” has been cited for being static and rigid. One such critic, Marc Verhoeven, proposes a different, more holistic model of prehistoric ritual, consisting of five tenets: ritual framing, syntax, symbolism, dimensions, and analogy.³⁴ Framing allows archaeologists to study ritual in its original context in order to interpret prehistoric ritual. Verhoeven defines the framing of rituals separated by mundane activities, as they occur in a special place at a specific time, utilizing uncommon objects. Syntax refers to the construction of the rite, including where it is performed, when it is performed, objects utilized during the act, the type of ritual enacted and who were the participants. In addition, rituals contain a complex use of symbols, objects consistently employed for the ritual practice and may include metaphors and dominant symbols. As previously mentioned, ritual is multi-dimensional; thus, various approaches should be studied to create a comprehensive understanding of the ritual. Finally, analogy can be integrated to understand the past by using current parallels.³⁵

³³ Renfrew 1985, 18-20; 1994, 51-2.

³⁴ Verhoeven 2002.

³⁵ Verhoeven 2002, 235.

Moreover, based on ethnographic studies and her own examination of societies in prehistoric Denmark, Janet Levy outlines four principles for detecting ritual remains.³⁶ These include finding them in a special location with limited access, having specific material remains that are consistently found in the sites, having them arranged in a specific pattern, and having them associated with a ritual meal including evidence of food or feasting.³⁷

Evaluation of the Analytic Framework

Despite based in different chronological, geographic, and cultural backgrounds, two common elements emerge from the above frameworks, including significant location and ritual framing. While Levy considers location crucial when recognizing ritual, Renfrew and Verhoeven include characteristics of the location as indicators of ritual within more general categories, that is, focusing of attention or boundary zone and properties of framing, respectively. For Levy, the location of ritual must be explicitly forbidden to or restricted from the general population. Renfrew and Verhoeven, however, do not include this aspect of location in their frameworks. Nevertheless, the degree of access to a particular location can be useful when identifying ritual in the material remains.

In addition, all three frameworks feature some form of ritual framing. Levy does not consider the presence of attention focusing devices, such as benches, altars, or platforms, to be necessary for the ritual framing of objects. Since her primary data are hoards, accompanying architecture does not exist. The ritual remains are usually placed in specific patterns, which are repeated throughout many of these hoards.³⁸ This arrangement of objects is a form of ritual

³⁶ Levy 1981.

³⁷ Levy 1981, 176.

³⁸ Levy 1981, 177.

framing, one which does not rely on architectural or structural remains to recognize ritual. In contrast, Renfrew, whose correlates concentrates on methods to focus the attention of participants, requires the presence of attention focusing devices.³⁹ A cluster of objects found on attention focusing devices can be regarded as ritually framed. However, according to Verhoeven's properties of framing, objects which are set apart for ritual use can be defined by attention focusing devices or their relation to other objects within the same deposit.⁴⁰ In summary, the frameworks of Levy, Renfrew, and Verhoeven emphasize different aspects of ritual that appear in the archaeological record; thus, a combination of their frameworks allows for a more holistic approach to prehistoric religious ritual.

Symbols and Semiotic Analysis

With a dearth of textual evidence, Renfrew believes that in order to understand prehistoric belief systems, an analysis of "symbolic systems" must be performed.⁴¹ We must rely on semiotic analysis to determine the meaning of symbols. Semiotics, the study of symbols, should be employed to ascertain the interpretation or expression of a sacred object. Semiotics consists of three components. According to Victor Turner, these three branches are syntactics, the relationship of symbols to one another apart from their users, semantics, the referential meaning of the symbol, and pragmatics, the relationship of the symbol with its user.⁴²

Furthermore, all symbols produce action; however, a dominant symbol is the focus of the interaction. According to Turner, a dominant symbol functions not only as a means to fulfill the purpose of the ritual but, moreover, refers to the axiomatic values of the ritual. Groups mobilize

³⁹ Renfrew 1985, 19; 1994, 51.

⁴⁰ Verhoeven 2002, 235.

⁴¹ Renfrew 1985, 13-4; 1994, 53-4.

⁴² Turner 1974, 53.

around them, perform symbolic activities around them, worship before them, and add other symbolic objects to them to create composite shrines.⁴³ In his paper on the archaeology of Mycenaean religion, James Wright asserts: “In so far as the figurine became a universal symbol of Mycenaean religion it meets Turner’s definition of a dominant symbol—one, like a crescent or a cross, that embraces a host of religious associations.”⁴⁴ He believes that the smaller female figurines symbolized the large female figures found at the palatial cult centers during LH III A-B. Over time, the figurines gained a symbolic meaning independent of one tied to palatial cults, outlasting their existence.⁴⁵ However, based on Turner’s definition, I believe that Wright equates ‘dominant’ with ‘pervasive.’ In general, a dominant symbol, according to Turner’s definition, would be able to be identified without a context because it would be so recognizable. Mycenaean figurines depend on their context to determine their meaning.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Mycenaean female figures are not dominant symbols either. Although the jewelry and other ornaments with which they may have been adorned could have been offerings, most interpretations agree that the ornamentations characterized the figures and were not offerings.⁴⁷ Therefore, according to Turner’s definition, it appears that the female figures are not dominant symbols. In addition, while bovid figures are ubiquitous during LH III C, they also do not fulfill the qualifications enumerated by Turner. By incorporating the framework of semiotic analysis, however, I hope to determine the ritual significance of the female and bovid figures discovered at Eleon.

⁴³ Turner 1967, 22-6.

⁴⁴ Wright 1994, 75.

⁴⁵ Wright 1994, 76.

⁴⁶ French 1981a, 173.

⁴⁷ Taylour 1969, 1970; French 1981a; Renfrew 1985, 433.

Approaches to Mycenaean Religion

The study of Mycenaean religion can be separated into two phases, pre- and post-decipherment of Linear B in 1952 by Michael Ventris. Prior to the decipherment, Martin Nilsson surveyed the available archaeological and iconographic sources, which culminated in *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion*, published in 1927. In this work and his subsequent publication, *A History of Greek Religion*, Nilsson argued for a unified Minoan-Mycenaean religion, in which he searched for the origins of Archaic and Classical Greek religion and myth.⁴⁸ After the decipherment of Linear B, not only were scholars able to recognize Mycenaean religion as a precursor to Archaic and Classical Greek religion, but also to study Minoan and Mycenaean religions as two distinct belief systems. It became clear that LH III A-LH III C Mycenaean religion originates from earlier Helladic religious customs, while adopting certain rituals and iconography from Crete.⁴⁹ Iconographic evidence suggests initially Minoan and Mycenaean societies had distinct practices. The Minoans were a heterarchical community where court buildings served as communal religious centers.⁵⁰ Contrasted to Minoan society, the Mycenaeans had a hierarchical structure with a *wanax* on the throne, who served both as a political and religious leader.⁵¹ With constant interaction a diffusive process occurred, whereby the Mycenaeans adopted Minoan religious practices to reinforce their own.⁵²

While Minoan and Mycenaean religions have been compared to Anatolian, Near Eastern, Western Semitic, and Egyptian religions, Nilsson argued that the religions should be analyzed based on their own archaeological and iconographic sources and their study should not rely on

⁴⁸ Nilsson 1927, 7; 1949.

⁴⁹ Wright 1994, 43-54, 76; Lupack 2023, 70-81.

⁵⁰ Lupack 2023, 72.

⁵¹ Kilian 1988a.

⁵² Lupack 2023, 81.

foreign religious analogies.⁵³ Since no evidence of a typological bridge exists, at least between zoomorphic ceramics from the two regions as Guggisberg has asserted, a religious connection should not be assumed.⁵⁴ In the following discussion of Mycenaean religion, I will focus on the role and significance of the female deity, in particular Potnia (*po-ti-ni-ja*), the bull, and sacrifice within Mycenaean religion. However, since there is a scarcity of evidence for the Helladic origins of these features, the importance of the female deity, the bull, and sacrifice to the greater region, including Crete and the Cycladic Islands, will be touched upon to demonstrate the pervasiveness of these features.

The Female Deity

Much of the previous scholarship on prehistoric and early religions in the Eastern Mediterranean has emphasized the importance of the anthropomorphic, primarily female, figurines found at contemporary sites. In his article on the interpretation of prehistoric anthropomorphic figurines from Crete, Peter Ucko claims that, prior to his study, the figurines were interpreted according to the existence of a prehistoric Mother Goddess, who was associated with the veneration of the Earth and fertility.⁵⁵ Since the female figurines appeared to transcend time, space, and culture, the ‘universal’ Mother Goddess was viewed as a foreshadowing of an historical counterpart in the separate regions of the Eastern Mediterranean.⁵⁶ Eventually, however, archaeologists realized that figurines take their meaning and function from their contexts.⁵⁷

⁵³ Nilsson 1949, 11.

⁵⁴ Guggisberg 1996, 334.

⁵⁵ See Nilsson (1927, 334-338) for criticisms of the ‘Mother Goddess.’

⁵⁶ Ucko 1962, 43.

⁵⁷ Ucko 1962, 38, 47-8; French 1981a, 173.

One of the female deities encountered in the Linear B tablets, and the most prominent in the Pylos tablets, is *po-ti-ni-ja*, or Potnia (PY Cc 665, Fn 187, Vn 48).⁵⁸ She is also featured on tablets from Knossos, Mycenae, and Thebes (KN V 52, MY Oi 701, TH Of 36). There are two ways to interpret Potnia: as an all-powerful goddess or as an omnipresent force pervading the natural world. The first hypothesis is based on the above-mentioned ideology regarding the existence of a universal, omnipotent Mother Goddess as well as Arthur Evans' conception of the Minoan Mother Goddess, whose domains are the earth, sky, and underworld and responsibilities are fertility, decay, and everything in between.⁵⁹ Its Indo-European root, *poti-*, means 'lord; husband.'⁶⁰ The feminine variant, therefore, would be 'lady, mistress; wife.' In addition, when *poti-* is the root of a verbal form, the verb can have the connotation of 'power,' for example, the Latin verb *possum* ('to be able, can; to have power'). These verbal forms developed much later than the noun forms. Since the noun root is earlier and synchronic with Mycenaean religion, the meaning of 'wife' or 'mistress' appears most appropriate for an approximate translation of the name of the goddess. Furthermore, *po-ti-ni-ja* appears either with a locative or genitive relating to a location or domain of governance, or on its own (PY An 1281.1, 1281.9, MY Oi 704.1).⁶¹ Because of the number of epithets associated with the goddess, some, including Michael Jameson and Cécile Boëlle, have interpreted *po-ti-ni-ja* to be a title or class of female goddesses.⁶² This interpretation supports the meaning of its root, *poti-*.

While textual documentation suggests a pantheon of male and female deities (PY Tn 316, KN Fp 1), iconographic and archaeological evidence predominantly depicts female deities.

⁵⁸ Chadwick 1957.

⁵⁹ Evans 1930, 463-8; Boëlle 2001, 403-4; Marinatos 2007, 350.

⁶⁰ Pokorny, *poti-s* 842. Susan Lupack (2023, 79) states that the root *poti-* "simply means 'power.'"

⁶¹ Jameson 1960, 38; Lupack 2023, 79.

⁶² Jameson 1960, 38-9. On the plurality of *potnia*: Boëlle 2001, Kopaka 2001.

Despite their comparative rarity, male deities are found.⁶³ Some have also suggested a theriomorphic representation, like the bull, have been of a male god, but this is not widely accepted.⁶⁴ Certainly, the Mycenaean pantheon should not be understood as the same as the Classical Greek pantheon. The opportunity to make such comparisons may be clouded by a representativeness heuristic or anachronistic projection of later values onto earlier cultures.⁶⁵ In any case, the numerous Mycenaean female figures dating to LH III A-C have been interpreted as representations of the variations of Potnia. According to Renfrew, “the form would indicate a *class* of divine personage, whose individual identity would have to be signified by other means.”⁶⁶ For instance, the figure might hold jewelry or other props to signify her identity, or ritual action, like prayers or offerings, might reveal her character.⁶⁷

The Bull

Among the zoomorphic ceramics from Mycenaean sanctuaries in LH III B-C, bull and bovid figures dominated.⁶⁸ As one of the oldest and most prevalent animal icons, the bull symbolizes strength and fertility. Dating back to the Paleolithic, images of wild bulls were painted on cave walls, most likely to ensure a successful hunt against the dangerous animals.⁶⁹ Millennia later, the bull, as a domesticated plow-animal, was essential to the success of agricultural activities and, thus, was crucial to human survival.⁷⁰ For example, in a comparative

⁶³ Evidence for male figures from Phylakopi (Renfrew 1985), Mycenae (Taylour 1969, 1970), Tiryns (Vetters and Weilhartner 2016/2017) and Kontopigado (Kardamaki 2013).

⁶⁴ Rousioti 2001.

⁶⁵ “A strategy for making categorical judgments about a given person or target based on how closely the exemplar matches the typical or average member of the category.” (*APA Dictionary of Psychology*, s.v. “representativeness heuristic.”)

⁶⁶ Renfrew 1985, 433 (original emphasis).

⁶⁷ For further discussion on figures holding jewelry, see Taylour (1970, 277-8) and French (1981b).

⁶⁸ Guggisberg 1996, 319.

⁶⁹ For example, the Lascaux Caves (Maier et al. 2019).

⁷⁰ Guggisberg 1996, 342.

study of five early Neolithic settlements in the central Levant and southeast Anatolia, Verhoeven argues that four basic principles exist in Pre-Pottery Neolithic B period (PPNB, dated ca. 8600-7000 BCE) ritual: communality, dominant symbolism, vitality, and human-animal linkage. In particular, vitality demonstrates the importance of the bull in Neolithic ideology. Verhoeven explains that vitality refers to three related concepts, domestication, fecundity, and life-force.⁷¹ The notions of domestication and fecundity are most significant to the current discussion of the bull in Mycenaean religion. Domestication, the taming of the feral, serves as a metaphor for the control of society. Moreover, fecundity refers specifically to the fertility of the soil.⁷² Verhoeven interprets aurochs' horns at PPNB ritual contexts as an invocation of his concept of vitality.⁷³ Furthermore, he argues that the bull, in general, represents masculine prowess and power.⁷⁴ The many male deities with which the bull is associated supports Verhoeven's claim that the bull symbolizes the masculine force. Since the bull has been identified with both the destructive and generative forces of nature, the animal has relations with weather, fertility, and chthonic deities, including the Sumerian moon god Sin, the Egyptian sun god Apis, the Hurrian weather god Teshub, the Canaanite fertility god Ba'al, and the Greek sea god Poseidon and vegetation god Dionysus, as well as the river gods.⁷⁵

Furthermore, the bull was so prevalent in iconography on Minoan Crete that archaeologists have considered the existence of a bull cult on Crete.⁷⁶ The multiple seals depicting composite bull-man figures, such as those found on the clay seals from Knossos, have supported the theory of a bull cult.⁷⁷ In addition, Arthur Evans interpreted the frescoes from

⁷¹ Verhoeven 2002, 249.

⁷² Verhoeven 2002, 248-9.

⁷³ Aurochs is an extinct cattle species thought to be the wild ancestor of modern-day domesticated cattle.

⁷⁴ Verhoeven 2002, 251.

⁷⁵ Guggisberg 1996, 342-3, n. 1641; McInerney 2010, 46-7.

⁷⁶ Evans 1935, 19-47; Nilsson 1949, 21.

⁷⁷ Evans 1901, Figs. 7a-c; Nilsson 1927, 322.

Knossos as depicting various bull games, which would have been dedicated to the Great Mother Goddess of Crete. Evans argued for a new aspect of the Minoan Mother Goddess, one as the patron of bull sports.⁷⁸ Nilsson, however, was not convinced and argued that the bull sports were just popular secular events.⁷⁹

Just as on Crete, prominent iconography in Mycenaean palaces demonstrates the prestige of the bull in Mycenaean religion and ritual. For example, the frescoes in the vestibule (Room 5) and the megaron (Room 6) at Pylos feature bulls (**Figure 1.1**). In the outer room, the scene depicts a procession, with a larger-than-life-sized bull surrounded by men in long robes and kilts, as well as an occasional female. The figures face the throne room, perhaps representing actual events of leading a bull to sacrifice in the throne room. In the lower right-hand part of the northeast wall in the throne room, the fresco depicts a banquet scene, the aftermath of the sacrifice from the procession in the vestibule fresco. A lyre player entertains at least four men, most likely more. The different reconstructions of fresco fragment 19C6 has provided a variety of scenes. Mabel Lang, while not entirely convinced, did interpret the fragment as a bull. To the banqueter's right is a giant bull, lion, and griffin. The regal lion and griffin would have flanked the throne, just as at Knossos. The bull, a bridge between the sacred and mundane, appears to serve as a link between the banqueting scene and the fantastical animal composition.⁸⁰ Nearly two decades later, Lucinda McCallum reexamined the throne room fresco. McCallum does not disagree that a lion and griffin guarded the throne but believes that fragment 19C6 belongs to the left of the lyre-playing bard. Fragment 19C6 is a bull strapped to a table, or sacrificial altar.⁸¹ More recently, Sharon Stocker and Jack Davis dismiss the identification of fragment 19C6 as a

⁷⁸ Evans 1935, 19-24, 39-40.

⁷⁹ Nilsson 1927, 322.

⁸⁰ Lang 1969, 99, 192-6.

⁸¹ McCallum 1987, 296; Wright 1994, 56; 2004, 161-2.

bull or any other sacrificial animal.⁸² Whether or not a bull was featured in the megaron frescoes, the animal was included in the procession fresco in the vestibule, indicating its prestige in Mycenaean iconography.

Sacrifice

The fresco program at Pylos mentioned above indicates the importance of sacrifice in Mycenaean religion. Ritual animal sacrifice resembles, and seems to have evolved from, the practices and customs surrounding the preparation of the dead animal after a successful hunt in hunting and herding societies.⁸³ In these societies, killing is necessary for survival. The act of killing highlights and reinforces the sanctity of life, which alternates with death in a continuous cycle. Death, thus, gives way to new life. Nevertheless, hunters still express feelings of guilt after murdering animals. To release the guilt connected with this, ritual acts are performed, providing forgiveness and restoration.⁸⁴ The paradoxical nature of sacrifice creates a bond between the participants while also segregating them from the outside world. Moreover, the role each person performed in the sacrifice and following meal reinforced social hierarchies found outside of the ritual space.⁸⁵

Not only is the social function of ritual sacrifice important to its continuity over the millennia, but also its adaptability. Since ritual is a patterned activity, which often functions as a communication system, alterations over time or location can occur, a phenomenon known as ‘symbolization.’ The substitute symbols create a continuity in the ritual practice. An example of symbolization occurred at the Neolithic site Çatal Höyük, where the inhabitants would

⁸² Stocker and Davis 2004, 190.

⁸³ Burkert 1983, 16.

⁸⁴ Burkert 1983, 38-40; Guggisberg 1996, 335-6; McInerney 2010, 35-7.

⁸⁵ Burkert 1983, 36-8; Isaakidou et al. 2002, 90.

participate in ritual hunts of wild bulls. However, as the population of wild cattle declined, domesticated bulls were used for sacrifice. To adjust for the differences in circumstance, the domestic bull had to become ‘wild,’ or sacred. Therefore, the inhabitants would adorn the bull in festive garments and lead it in a procession. Sometimes, the bull would be set free, and a sacred hunt would ensue. In this scenario, the domesticated bull replaces the wild bull as the subject, and symbol, of sacrifice in order to continue and maintain the traditional ritual of the hunt.⁸⁶

Eventually, sacrifice becomes closely linked with feasting. During the Palatial period in Mycenaean Greece, feasting proved to be a powerful tool to establish and uphold social, political, and economic authority. General participation in these feasts, however, signifies their unifying aspect.⁸⁷ The Linear B tablets reveal the extensive preparations that went into organizing Mycenaean feasting events. Transactional vocabulary, including *qe-te-o* and *o-pa*, and related terms, such as *sa-pa-ke-te-ri-ja*, describe the different ways those in charge obtained resources for sacrificial feasting. The term *qe-te-o* and its related forms designate various animals, including bulls, “to be paid (as part of a religious obligation, penalty, or fine)” (PY Un 138, TH Wu 63).⁸⁸ The word *o-pa*, when applied specifically to animal husbandry, refers to the “fattening” or “finishing” of the animals, that is, preparing them for slaughter (TH Wu 46, Wu 56, Wu 76).⁸⁹ On tablets from Knossos, *sa-pa-ke-te-ri-ja* denotes animals destined “for ritual slaughter” (KN X 9191, Cf 941).⁹⁰ The intense animal husbandry utilized to raise, slaughter, and repopulate the herd suggests the ceremonies were prestigious as they required vast amounts of economic resources to organize.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Burkert 1983, 41-3.

⁸⁷ Palaima 2004, 218, 220; Wright 2004, 154, 172; McInerney 2010, 60; Nakassis 2012, 23.

⁸⁸ Hutton 1990/1991; Palaima 2004, 228.

⁸⁹ Palaima 2004, 227.

⁹⁰ Palaima 2004, 225.

⁹¹ McInerney 2010, 50-3.

Although the Linear B tablets and faunal remains record a variety of animals sacrificed, iconography highlights the preeminence of cattle as a sacrifice.⁹² At the administrative center of Pylos, faunal remains in Room 7 indicate that cattle were the primary offering of burnt bone sacrifices at the palatial center. The deposits suggest the sacrifices of between five and eleven animals, the meat of which was consumed in a communal feast.⁹³ The provincial site of Tsoungiza near Nemea confirms the preference for cattle.⁹⁴ In an LH III A2 feasting deposit, half of the faunal remains consists of cattle, with much of the remainder comprising of pig, sheep, and goat. Moreover, while the remains of the pig and sheep/goat include most of the carcass, those of the cattle include mainly the head and feet, indicating deliberate selection. Overall, the remains represent waste from food preparation and consumption. Most likely, some feasting occurred on-site, but most meat was distributed to participants from other settlements.⁹⁵ The consumption of large amount of cattle, which numbered at least six individuals, at such a small settlement suggests that the feast was provided by a wealthy sponsor or a small number of sponsors. The feasting at Tsoungiza can be interpreted as an act of conspicuous generosity by the sponsor(s). In addition, the missing cattle remains indicate a regional feast, involving participants from nearby settlements. By including outside participants, the sponsor would have strengthened relationships and his own authority within the area.⁹⁶

Other provincial locations, such as Ayios Konstantinos on the Methana peninsula, preferred other animals, commonly pigs. Moreover, a large number of handmade bovid figurines were found with the faunal remains. Hamilakis and Konsolaki believe that pigs are also an

⁹² See Chadwick (1973, Fig. 10) for the full list of animal ideograms in Linear B. For examples of iconography, see the Pylos vestibule fresco, the Pylos megaron fresco, and the Agia Triada sarcophagus.

⁹³ Isaakidou et al. 2002, 88-9; Stocker and Davis 2004, 182-3.

⁹⁴ Dabney et al. 2004.

⁹⁵ Dabney et al. 2004, 199-201; McInerney 2010, 62-3.

⁹⁶ Dabney et al. 2004, 213.

acceptable sacrificial animal and the difference in animal species could indicate a divergence in regional religious practices.⁹⁷ However, I believe that the difference arises primarily from an economic basis. The palatial centers either had the resources to designate cattle specifically for sacrifice or tithed cattle from outlying localities as sacrificial contributions.⁹⁸ Provincial localities would not have the luxury to offer resource limited bulls as regular sacrifices. Thus, during the Palatial period, bovid figurines were most likely offered as substitutes for cattle sacrifice.⁹⁹ Symbolization seems to have occurred during the Palatial period in the form of bovid figurines and continued into the Post-Palatial period, although the substitute form, wheelmade bovid figures, were more elaborate.

Ritual Breakage

In some instances, terracotta figures are found whole. More often, however, they are found broken. Besides inadvertent damage during excavation, fragmented figures may be the result of a number of occurrences. When found in fill areas, they may have been destroyed and then disposed of or thrown out and in the process broken. However, broken figures may also be the product of deliberate fragmentation. John Chapman and Bisserka Gaydarska summarize the many expressions of deliberate fragmentation in their ‘Fragmentation Premise,’ in which “objects were regularly deliberately fragmented and the resulting fragments were often re-used in an extended use-life ‘after the break.’”¹⁰⁰ In the context of cult, deliberate fragmentation manifests as ritualized destruction, which can be subdivided into ritual killing and ritual smashing. Ritual killing entails the intentional removal of a portion of the object essential to its

⁹⁷ Hamilakis and Konsolaki 2004, 147.

⁹⁸ McInerney 2010, 63-5.

⁹⁹ Guggisberg 1996, 340; Rousioti 2001, 309; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016, 49-50.

¹⁰⁰ Chapman 2015, 26; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, 8-10.

function while ritual smashing leaves much of the object broken into small pieces.¹⁰¹

Additionally, ‘killed’ objects can no longer be used, as in the case of the ceramic vessels in Tomb 15 at Mochlos.¹⁰²

According to Chapman and Gaydarska, a desired result of the ‘fragmentation premise’ would have been enchainment, the creating and sustaining of a social relationship by the intentional fragmentation of an object.¹⁰³ Enchained items may be classified as either heirlooms, relics, or tokens. Heirlooms are objects shared over time between a specific family or closely related group. Relics have a more widespread context in a community through a common ritual veneration. Further, tokens are ritual objects exchanged throughout different communities to create a broad understanding of the enchained relic. Additionally, the defacement of a relic offers another aspect to understand enchainment. Defacing magnifies the significance of a relic as it links to a mimetic component of sympathetic magic.¹⁰⁴

The deliberate fragmentation of Minoan stone bull’s head rhyta serve as prime examples of symbolization, defacement, relics, and tokens. Paul Rehak has argued that the resemblance of the stone bull’s head rhyta to a beheaded bull suggests a ritual association between the rhyton, the smashing of the rhyton, and bull sacrifice.¹⁰⁵ These rhyta would have been broken at the end of the sacrifice, and the participants would be able to bring home a relic or token of the event. There appears to be two stages of rhyton fragmentation consisting of an initial blow to the muzzle and a secondary destruction. The first stage, an act of defacement, most likely occurred as part of a communal aspect of the ritual. Moreover, the deliberate smashing of prestige goods

¹⁰¹ Soles 1999, 787; Morrison and Park 2008, 208.

¹⁰² Soles 1999, 789-91; Morrison and Park 2008.

¹⁰³ Chapman 2000, 6, 23; Chapman and Gaydarska 2007, 4; Chapman 2015, 26.

¹⁰⁴ Chapman 2015, 33-4.

¹⁰⁵ Rehak 1995.

may have been an act of conspicuous consumption, increasing the reputation and prominence of the sponsors of the event.¹⁰⁶ In the second stage, the rhyton fragments are broken into even smaller pieces, serving as reminders of the ceremony. In addition, these relics would have been exchanged to create a ritual link among the participants. Furthermore, Rehak hypothesizes that the mainland findspots of the stone bull rhyta are tokens taken back from Minoan ceremonies. These fragments indicate strong cultic, as well as political, connections between the elites of the Mainland and Crete at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.¹⁰⁷

Location and Form of Mycenaean Sanctuaries

The reconstruction of ritual practice depends on the analysis of patterns in the material remains, which often begins by categorizing the places at which such rituals took place.¹⁰⁸ Some scholars, like Wright and Veters, maintain that the ritual space is defined by the type of ritual that occurs within that space.¹⁰⁹ Others, like van Leuven and Guggisberg, believe that the ritual space is defined by the type of location of the sanctuary. They distinguish the various sacred locations between ‘natural’ and ‘built’ sanctuaries, defined primarily by its close relationship to the landscape or by special architecture.¹¹⁰

Natural sanctuaries, including hypaethral (open-air) sanctuaries and cult caves, are characterized by the association between their location and the surrounding landscape. Lacking built architecture, hypaethral sanctuaries are generally centralized around a hearth or ash altar,

¹⁰⁶ Rehak 1995, 451-2; Chapman 2015, 41.

¹⁰⁷ Rehak 1995, 453-4.

¹⁰⁸ van Leuven 1981, 11; Guggisberg 1996, 322; Veters 2015, 70.

¹⁰⁹ Wright 1994, 37; Veters 2015, 70-1.

¹¹⁰ van Leuven 1981, 12; Guggisberg 1996, 323.

with the majority located outside settlements in association with prominent geographic features, whether on mountain peaks, slopes, passes or valleys.¹¹¹

Any place associated with architecture where ritual occurs can be considered a built sanctuary, such as palace cults, settlement sanctuaries, and household cults. The importance of palace or state cults, the rituals of which were carried out in the throne room by the *wanax*, has been determined from the textual and iconographic evidence of sacrifice and feasts. The most important manifestation of palace cults, or ‘*wanax* ideology,’ was the architectural and spatial layout of the megaron, with the painted central hearth surrounded by four columns.¹¹² The palace cult was particular to the megaron. Once the megaron lost its status, the palace cult did, too. The cult paraphernalia used, however, indicates a continuity in cult between the Palatial and Post-Palatial periods.¹¹³ Contrary to the opulence of palace cults, areas of household or domestic cults are integrated into daily life, as small niches or rooms located in living or working complexes.¹¹⁴ Because cult objects are interpreted based on their context, household cults can often go undetected. Unlike palace and domestic cults, settlement sanctuaries are removed, both architecturally and spatially, from other buildings in the settlement. During the Palatial period, they were associated with the palace cult to some degree. Settlement sanctuaries in the Post-Palatial period were independent and appeared to function as cult centers in their own right.¹¹⁵ These theories of location and form of Mycenaean sanctuaries create a framework to interpret religious ritual.

¹¹¹ van Leuven 1981, 13-4.

¹¹² Wright 1994, 57-60; Veters 2015, 70 n. 52. For further information on the manifestation of *wanax* ideology, see Kilian 1988a.

¹¹³ See ‘Variations in the Interpretation of Mycenaean Religion,’ below.

¹¹⁴ Guggisberg 1996, 324.

¹¹⁵ Albers 2004, 112-4.

Variations in the Interpretation of Mycenaean Religion

While the location and form of where ritual takes place is an important factor in its identification in the archaeological record, it is only the beginning of understanding ritual practices. Additionally, the purpose and interpretation of the ritual must be ascertained.¹¹⁶ In his paper entitled “Official and popular cults in Mycenaean Greece” presented at a conference at the Swedish Institute in Athens in 1980, Robin Hägg argued a two-tiered system of Mycenaean religion, called the ‘official’ and ‘popular’ levels. Cults of the official level, which Hägg also calls cults of the state or palatial level, were performed at the large cult centers of the Mycenaean world. They may have also been performed at secondary centers but less elaborately. Official religion, as the religion of the elites, is thought to have been affected by direct contact with Minoan culture and religion on Crete at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. Cults of the popular level were practiced by those living outside the palatial centers, who would not have had interaction with Minoan civilization.¹¹⁷ Although Hägg admits that his framework most likely over-simplifies Mycenaean cultic practice, he believes that these two levels are easiest to identify and characterize based on the archaeological evidence. More importantly, he employs his framework to determine the extent of Minoan influence on Mycenaean religion. Since the majority of material remains belong to the upper classes and only the elite were thought to have been influenced by Minoan culture, the desire to determine the Minoan elements of Mycenaean religion may have contributed to such a limited conception of a framework.¹¹⁸

It has been assumed that all cult worship practiced outside of the palace fell under popular religion; however, the archaeological remains defy such a rigid binary.¹¹⁹ In her case

¹¹⁶ Verhoeven 2002, 236.

¹¹⁷ Hägg 1981, 36-9; Vettters 2015, 72; Whittaker 2019, 55.

¹¹⁸ Hägg 1981, 36.

¹¹⁹ Wright 1994, 63; Vettters 2015, 73; Whittaker 2019, 55-8.

study examining Mycenaean terracotta figurines to interpret ritual action at Post-Palatial Tiryns, Melissa Veters dismisses the categories of official and popular religion in favor of ‘private’ and ‘communal’.¹²⁰ These terms emphasize the location and total number of participants, both of which can be identified in the archaeological record, rather than the social rank of those participating, which essentially leaves no trace archaeologically.¹²¹ Private ritual occurs at locations that have some level of restrictions to the general population and are associated with objects found in locations not related to their context. Communal ritual can occur in a variety of places, both natural and built, in which evidence of repeated use or large amounts of ritual objects are found. In addition, the term ‘communal’ does not imply that participation is open to all. The separation between communal and private is not always clear. Instead, the terms indicate a sliding scale of participation.¹²²

In her paper entitled “Approaches to popular religion in Late Bronze Age Greece,” Helène Whittaker also criticizes the dichotomy between official and popular religious practices. Unlike Veters, Whittaker stresses the “integrative” role of religion in Mycenaean society.¹²³ As mentioned, during the Palatial period, socio-political power was maintained and legitimized by religious rituals, including processions, such as the *te-o-po-ri-ja*, during which cult images were paraded.¹²⁴ In addition, these state-sponsored processions and ceremonies played a unifying role, connecting secondary centers with the palace as well as minimizing the boundary between participant and observer. Any meaningful distinction between official and popular religion would cease to exist.¹²⁵ The terms private and communal, however, can be used to describe different

¹²⁰ Veters 2015.

¹²¹ Veters 2015, 74-5, 95.

¹²² Renfrew 1985, 21-2; Guggisberg 1996, 324; Veters 2015, 75.

¹²³ Whittaker 2019, 55.

¹²⁴ Weihartner 2013, 155.

¹²⁵ Whittaker 2019, 58.

aspects of these processions and ceremonies identified in the archaeological record. In addition, the variations in social practices and political conditions over time produce new associations between the participants and the ritual objects.¹²⁶ According to Vettters, the anthropomorphic figures and figurines lose their *Sitz im Leben* (literally, ‘seat in life’) over the course of the Post-Palatial period as a result of the dissolution of the centralized political and ritual authority at the end of LH III B.¹²⁷

Discussion

With the beginnings of Mycenaean religion during the Palatial period, elites utilized prestige goods during communal rituals in order to communicate their political control and social standing.¹²⁸ Evaluating the various approaches to religious ritual discussed, I have created a model to assess the findings at Eleon by comparing them to the ritual material culture at sites on mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete. Commonalities of the approaches to religious ritual that can be attested to the material finds in this paper include specific locations ritually framed with connected symbols that have distinct referential meanings and may be ritually broken (**Table 1.2**).

The location can be natural or built but appears to be used for a definitive purpose, separating the sacred from the banal. Moreover, the space has limited access. The space is attention focusing, having specific installations, including altars, benches, or libation cavities. It should contain material that can be identified as ritual symbols whose characteristics include

¹²⁶ Vettters 2015, 74.

¹²⁷ Vettters 2015, 95-6. According to Martin Buss (1978, 150), the term *Sitz im Leben* “refers to the social usage in which a genre originates, to be distinguished from the contexts in which individual instances or applications of the genre may occur.”

¹²⁸ Wright 1994, 71.

being an uncommon object that does not have a utilitarian purpose in the location it is found. Further, similar symbols are found consistently in these locations and disparate symbols identified are related to each other. Additionally, evidence of (ritual) feasting or offering should be evident (**Table 1.3**).

Chapter Summary

Without written records, determining the relevance of cult and religious symbols is difficult. A framework must be created to understand the significance of these objects. In this chapter, I have discussed the current theories utilized to discern the meaning of rituals in prehistoric Greece, as well as examining ethnographic parallels. Synthesizing these approaches, I have created an outline to structurally evaluate cultic rituals, specifically looking at cultic structures and paraphernalia. In the next chapter, I will address the composition and design of wheelmade terracotta figures to complete the analytical framework established here in order to determine their significance.

CHAPTER TWO

Production, Form, and Decoration of Mycenaean Wheelmade Figures

Chapter 1 created a framework by which to analyze the religious symbols of Late Bronze Age Greece. In this chapter, I reassess previous typologies for wheelmade anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures. Evaluating and distilling previous work, I create a framework to systematically evaluate the form and function of these objects. Further, form will be subdivided into production techniques and function. These are important in defining the nature and characteristics needed to classify and organize the figures. Subsequently, I will review the typology of wheelmade figures, placing specific emphasis on form and decoration.

An Introduction to Typology: Morphology

Typology, a systematic classification, creates an orderly way to relate similar objects. In the late 19th century, Christos Tsountas recognized the need to classify the female figurines, grouping them into three distinct types, which correspond to the Psi, Phi, and Tau types later defined by Arne Furumark.¹²⁹ He based his typology solely on the physical form of the figurines.¹³⁰ Over forty years later, Alan Wace again attempted to create a definitive typology for the female figurines, also using body shape.¹³¹ Carl Blegen was able to identify the relative dating of these figurines based on his excavations of tombs.¹³² In his comprehensive survey of Late Helladic pottery, Arne Furumark analyzed and classified Mycenaean ceramics, emphasizing technique and morphology. Technical characteristics refer to the quality of the raw material and

¹²⁹ Thurston 2015, 16.

¹³⁰ Tsountas 1888, 167-9.

¹³¹ Wace 1932, 215-7.

¹³² Blegen 1928, 205-6; 1937, 355-67.

any methods of purification or mixing prior to the creation of the final form, and the actual process of production. Morphological characteristics refer to the form and decoration. Form is considered the dominant element, whereas decoration plays a minor role in determining morphology. The analysis of production technique, form, and decoration creates the foundation for a typological system.¹³³ Moreover, Furumark based his classification on the assumption that Mycenaean pottery is characterized by uniformity and standardization, which allowed for the categorization of the objects into several discrete styles. Therefore, typology can provide an accurate relative chronology.¹³⁴ Furumark, however, acknowledged the chronological significance of the figurines. He believed, further, that Mycenaean terracotta figurine typology is so distinct that it can be dated even if not found in context. Furthermore, his typology has been utilized to describe the forms of the figurines with the Greek letters Phi (Φ), Tau (Τ), and Psi (Ψ).¹³⁵ In her dissertation on Mycenaean terracotta figurines, Elizabeth French, heavily influenced by Blegen and Furumark, developed a classification system for terracotta figurines based on the principle of the Mycenaean tendency towards stylization. She was able to use her stylistic format to date the figurines.¹³⁶

Unlike handmade figurines, wheelmade terracotta figures have proven more difficult in establishing a discrete typology, primarily owing to the individuality of form.¹³⁷ While having an overall similar appearance, these figures can differ significantly depending on whether the individual parts were wheelmade or handmade, as well as how they were assembled. For example, one of the bovid vessels from Phylakopi, dating to LH III C Middle, features three

¹³³ Furumark 1941a, 1-2.

¹³⁴ Furumark 1941a, 4-8.

¹³⁵ Furumark 1941b, 86-9.

¹³⁶ French 1971, 108-9. In 1961, French submitted her dissertation, "The Development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines with Special Reference to Unpublished Material from Mycenae," to the University of London. An updated and expanded version of her dissertation was published in *BSA* in 1971.

¹³⁷ Guggisberg 1996, 205; Thurston 2015, 181.

different construction techniques for legs: solid, solid with a vertical perforation, and hollow.¹³⁸

Although their typology is diverse, Mycenaean wheelmade terracotta figures and handmade figurines do have a similar progression from a more naturalistic form to a more stylized one.¹³⁹

Along with form, decoration is a key component of morphology. Furumark developed the classification for Mycenaean decorative motifs found on pottery. Many of these patterns are found on both female and bovid figures. The Mycenaean phenomenon of stylization is also prevalent in the decoration of animal ceramics. Among Mycenaean zoomorphic figures, there appears to be two principles of decoration. One consists of the linear patterns of handmade figurines, while the other is based on the decorative motifs of wheelmade pottery.¹⁴⁰ French created the classification for the decoration of handmade bovid figurines based on stylistic and chronological development. She defined three main groups: ‘Wavy,’ ‘Linear,’ and ‘Spine.’ In Wavy and Linear, the decoration runs lengthwise, while in Spine there is a band along the spine with short lines running perpendicular to it. Another group is ‘Ladder,’ which consists of lines across the back, typically with framing lines.¹⁴¹ When comparing the decorative motifs of Mycenaean pottery and the decoration of contemporaneous zoomorphic figures, Guggisberg discovered that simple, area-covering motif combinations are preferred for adorning the wheelmade figures, with the most popular motif being the wavy line (FM 53).¹⁴² Guggisberg offers two hypotheses for the two traditions. He believes that either the repeating pattern signified the surface structure of the animal, or it was a continuation of the earlier linear

¹³⁸ Guggisberg 1996, 21; Plaka Museum 604.

¹³⁹ French 1971, 108, 153; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 63.

¹⁴⁰ Guggisberg 1996, 285-6.

¹⁴¹ French 1971, 151.

¹⁴² Guggisberg 1996, Tab. 1.

decoration of handmade figurines, which played a role in the creation of Mycenaean animal ceramics.¹⁴³

The main issue with previous typologies is the assumption that figurines and figures could be directly related. In fact, the standard typology of wheelmade terracotta figures created by Elizabeth French derives directly from her typology of handmade terracotta figurines.¹⁴⁴ While figurines are consistent in their production technique, hollow figures can serve multiple functions depending on their production technique.¹⁴⁵ Although figurines were used to create a systematic approach to figures, it is not sufficient because the function of hollow figures is determined by their production technique, as well. Thus, a more nuanced approach needs to be applied when discussing the typology of hollow figures.

An Introduction to Typology: Production Techniques

In addition to morphology, production techniques can be used to determine typology. Mycenaean terracotta figures and ceramics were both produced in specialized potter's workshops.¹⁴⁶ There were two prevalent methods for the production of hollow, terracotta figures, coilmade and wheelmade. Typically, the bodies of the figures were made using one of the two techniques while the head and appendages, including the tail and horns for quadrupeds, were attached separately and either handmade or wheelmade.¹⁴⁷ Regarding female figures, sometimes the head and arms were applied to actual pieces of pots.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ Guggisberg 1996, 285.

¹⁴⁴ French 1981a.

¹⁴⁵ Guggisberg 1996, 205.

¹⁴⁶ Guggisberg 1996, 16-9; Vettters 2011, 31.

¹⁴⁷ French 1985, 209; Guggisberg 1996, 7; Thurston 2015, 182.

¹⁴⁸ French 1985, 211; Thurston 2015, 185.

Guggisberg outlines the ten most common methods of production for hollow figures, characterized by function as either vessels, sculptures, or indeterminate hybrid forms, in his comprehensive study of wheelmade zoomorphic figures from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age.¹⁴⁹ Methods 1 through 4 cover handmade production techniques for larger, hollow figures. Method 5 is the only coilmade production technique, in which the body is constructed from individual clay ribbons. Method 6 deals with matrix technology, which was primarily used on Crete during the Neo-Palatial period. Methods 7 through 10 are different wheelmade production techniques. Method 7 describes a technique creating an elongated body that was used for the creation of bird and hedgehog rhyta. There is only one example of an ungulated quadruped, from the LH III B context of the House of the Shields at Mycenae, created using this manufacturing method. Methods 8 and 9, adopted during the Sub-Mycenaean through Geometric periods, were only used to create bird ceramics because hemispherical and round-bottomed vessels, respectively, formed the body of the animal. The final method, the combination of wheelmade cylinders, was used most frequently to create quadruped figures. The head and appendages, which are often wheelmade in Method 10, are attached to the wheelmade torso. Most of the cylinders contained a firing hole which could be sealed with clay secondarily. While it is not known when this technique began, one of the oldest examples of Method 10 from this study comes from Phylakopi (**CAT 191**), dating to LH III A2-B. On the Greek mainland this technique is attested from LH III B and continues on Melos, Crete, and the Aegean until the Geometric period.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁹ Guggisberg 1996, 205.

¹⁵⁰ Guggisberg 1996, 7-15.

Additionally, Guggisberg noticed that Late Bronze and Early Iron Age zoomorphic pottery is comprised of two distinct functional groups: vessels and sculptures.¹⁵¹ Zoomorphic vessels can easily be identified by an inlet and outlet, as well as a possible handle. Zoomorphic figures, however, are more difficult to recognize. These figures have perforations so moisture can evaporate during the firing process. These openings can be confused with inlet and outlet openings, which makes it challenging to distinguish figures from vessels. In order to differentiate between animal vessels and sculpture, Guggisberg declares funnel-shaped inlets and spouts and handles as a prerequisite to be considered as a vessel.

Typology: Female Figures

French briefly describes three types of female figures found at Phylakopi.¹⁵² The first group, the ‘Cretan’ Type, where a triangular body is placed on top of a cylindrical base, the ‘bell-skirt’ (cf. **Figure 2.1**). Second is the ‘Vessel’ Type, in which a head, neck, and arms are attached to a pot, with the human neck replacing the neck of the pot (e.g. **Figure 2.2**). The third group is the ‘Mainland’ Type. Prior to her report at Phylakopi, French discussed the distinction between figures and figurines as well as characterized what is now known as the ‘Mainland’ Type.¹⁵³ The figures belonging to Type A, which French referred to as the ‘Mainland’ Type in her Phylakopi report, are elaborately decorated and measure between 15 and 45 cm. The torso and ‘skirt’ are wheelmade, while the head, neck, and limbs are either wheelmade or handmade. However, no uniformity exists with respect to arm position or head angle. Since there is little standardization

¹⁵¹ What Guggisberg calls ‘sculpture’ is referred to as ‘figure’ in this paper.

¹⁵² French 1985, 211.

¹⁵³ Analysis of wheelmade female figures on the Mainland started after they were first unearthed at the Cult Center at Mycenae. William Taylour (1970) first divided these figures into two classes based on size and function, with French (1981b) refining the two classes into a Type A and Type B.

among Type A figures, except for production techniques, they are comparable to handmade figurines in this sense.¹⁵⁴ The second group, Type B, are figures with monochrome bodies up to 70 cm tall (e.g., **Figure 2.3**). The bodies are coilmade, while the heads and necks are wheelmade. Thus far, Type B figures have only been found at the Cult Center at Mycenae, while Type A are known from several Aegean sites, including Phylakopi, Mycenae and Tiryns.¹⁵⁵ Excluding the occasional experiment or innovation, the general form of Mycenaean figures remained consistent. While the initial form was based on a Cretan style, the Mycenaean style became completely unique and distinct from the Minoan form.¹⁵⁶ Most notable, they were more stylized and sometimes lacked evidence of female sexual characteristics in contrast to the more life-like female figures from Ayia Irini on Kea (**Figure 2.4**). Furthermore, characteristics attributable to the female included a height of 15-70 cm as well as various hand positions (Phi, Psi, or Tau).¹⁵⁷

Over time stylistic changes occurred in the female figures. While these objects are known for their individuality and diversity, distinct changes to the face, particularly in the eye area, are most remarkable. Originally almond shaped in LM/LH III A-B, the eyes become round in LM/LH III C. Typically, the periorbital decoration is minimal to none during the LM/LH III A period, whereas during LM/LH III B-C, a fringe pattern above the eyeball, suggestive of eyelashes, is common.¹⁵⁸

Typology: Bovid Figures

In her dissertation examining the co-occurrence of terracotta wheelmade figures and

¹⁵⁴ Although French originally classified the 'Vessel' Type as belonging to 'Mainland' Type A, and while some scholars still follow this typology today, I will be following French (1985) and categorize heads attached to vessels in a different category to Type A figures.

¹⁵⁵ Taylour 1970, 270; French 1981a; Thurston 2015, 28-9.

¹⁵⁶ French 1971, 174; Tamvaki 1973, 258.

¹⁵⁷ French 1985, 216; Thurston 2015, 28-9.

¹⁵⁸ Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 158-9.

handmade figurines in mainland Greece and nearby islands, Caroline Thurston claims that no typological similarities exist for zoomorphic figures in LH III C.¹⁵⁹ However, studying a wider area of the eastern Mediterranean, Guggisberg has attempted to create a classification for these figures. For example, the orientation of the horns as a distinct criterion has been considered by French and Guggisberg. French hypothesizes that location determines the angle, as Cretan-Minoan bovid figures tend to have forward pointed horns and those from the Mainland have upright horns. She also suggests that the orientation could be determined by chronology and not origin.¹⁶⁰ Guggisberg, however, argues that the orientation of the horns has no chronological or geographic significance.¹⁶¹

Instead, Guggisberg categorizes the animal pottery based on function. He divides these figures into three functional categories, Tiergefäße ('animal vessels'), Tierplastiken ('animal sculptures'), and unbestimmbare Mischformen ('uncertain hybrid forms'), labeled with the letters A, B, and C, respectively. Generally, only the first category (Type A) can be subdivided into individual types, dependent on the position, number, and shape of the inflow and outflow openings.¹⁶² The category most relevant to this study is Bovid Type B.

The majority of Bovid Type B figures analyzed in Guggisberg's study belong to Type B-1. Figures belonging to this subtype have one or more small firing holes that are more or less integrated into the bovid's appearance, generally located in the muzzle, crown, chest or rear plate, or legs. The earlier examples tried to maintain a more life-like appearance for the figures. Therefore, the most common location for this perforation is the rear plate under the tail, resembling the anus of a real bull. As the zoomorphic figures became more stylized, the

¹⁵⁹ Thurston 2015, 186.

¹⁶⁰ French 1981a, 174; 1985, 240.

¹⁶¹ Guggisberg 1996, n. 862.

¹⁶² Guggisberg 1996, 205-6.

placement of the openings became less rigid.¹⁶³ The oldest preserved example, allegedly from Heraklion, is dated to LM I-LM III A (**Figure 2.5**). However, the oldest examples from secure contexts date to LH III A2-B from Phylakopi (**CATs 192-193**). This type survives for as long as bovid figures do, with preserved examples dating to the Late Geometric (**Figure 2.6**).

Figures of the second subtype have at least one large perforation, generally on the chest or rear plate, placed with no regard to the natural appearance of the animal. The origin of these larger openings is still debated. Some scholars, such as Brinna Otto and Peter Blome, argue that the figures are a combination of vessel and sculpture.¹⁶⁴ They interpret the enlarged perforations as inlet or outlet openings. Guggisberg, however, maintains that they serve a purely technical function as firing holes and, thus, are distinct from Type A vessels.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, the Type B-2 figure can be differentiated from the Type B-1 figure by its short, stocky torso, to which stubby legs are attached at an oblique angle.¹⁶⁶ The oldest example of Type B-2 comes from Phylakopi, dating to LH III A2-B1 (**CAT 196**). Just like Type B-1, this type continues into the Late Geometric, with a potential example dating to the Early Archaic (**Figure 2.7**). Further, bovid figures can be classified by size, either small (12-15 cm in length), medium (20-30 cm in length) or large (over 30 cm in length). The medium size figures are the most common.¹⁶⁷

While bull ceramics are ubiquitous, the bulls from Crete and mainland Greece are stylistically distinct from those of Mesopotamian and other Near Eastern figures. Although hollow and wheelmade quadruped figures existed in Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and Cyprus as early as the third millennium BCE, they did not appear on the Mainland until LH III B. Moreover, no

¹⁶³ Guggisberg 1996, 216-7.

¹⁶⁴ Otto 1980; Blome 1987.

¹⁶⁵ Guggisberg 1996, 217-8.

¹⁶⁶ Guggisberg 1996, n. 862.

¹⁶⁷ Kourou and Karetsou 1997, 109.

typological or stylistic connection currently exists between the quadruped figures from the Near East and those from the Mainland. While the bull symbol is common throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Near East, the wheelmade zoomorphic figures from the Aegean appear to have emerged from a distinct cultic need, and their origin seems to derive from Cretan zoomorphic vessels.¹⁶⁸ The discovery of zoomorphic wheelmade figures at Phylakopi confirmed the typological connection between the older, more naturalistic Cretan bull rhyta and the younger, stylized bovid figures from the Mainland. Belonging to the Mycenaean type, the Phylakopi bovinds appear to be some of the oldest examples, dating to LH III A2/B.

French has hypothesized that the evolution from naturalistic bulls on Crete to more stylized bovid figures on the Mainland is affected from both regional and chronological variation. Moreover, the transition of these stylistic changes can be seen in the Cyclades, especially in Melos.¹⁶⁹ The epitome of naturalism occurs in the bull rhyton from Pseira, dating to LM I B (**Figure 2.8**). Although wheelmade terracotta bull/bovid figures are not widely found on Crete prior to LM III B, which suggests that the hollow figure may have been an import from the Mainland, the Mycenaean phenomenon toward schematization was not generally adopted on Crete; the Minoan tradition of naturalism prevailed. Bull figures were still depicted with dewlaps, spinal ridges, muscular chests, and indication of gender. Minoan stylization only went as far as depicting the hooves as a simple torus-shape.¹⁷⁰ Meanwhile, on the Mainland, over the course of LH III B-C, the physical appearance of bovinds is reduced to its basic three-dimensional structure, with a focus on the features that are absolutely necessary for the identification of the figure, such as the horns and muzzle.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Nicholls 1970, 8-9; Guggisberg 1996, 215-6.

¹⁶⁹ French 1981a; 1985, 238; Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 160; Guggisberg 1996, 271-2.

¹⁷⁰ Renfrew 1985, 425-7; Kourou and Karetsou 1997, 107-8, 110.

¹⁷¹ Guggisberg 1996, 277-9.

Discussion

Creating these intricate wheelmade figures suggest a high degree of craftsman expertise. The technical skill required to produce such objects implies artisan specialization as well as a highly organized workshop.¹⁷² During the Palatial period, pottery workshops dedicated to the creation of certain classes of fineware may have been under the direct control of the palaces, or were at least highly regulated.¹⁷³ After the collapse of the palaces, artisans appear to disperse and begin to produce ceramics on a more local to regional scale, as evidenced by the variation in style.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, the wheelmade figures in this study should reflect this trend of increasing variation, since they were made in the same workshops.

Chapter Summary

This chapter has developed a framework to analyze the typology of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic wheelmade figures during the LM/LH period. Incorporating these stylistic determinants, I will assess typology based on the morphology, including form and decoration, of the wheelmade terracotta figures discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. The form and decoration of the female figures utilizes the schema defined by French. This study exclusively examines Mainland Type A. To identify the form and decoration of the zoomorphic figures, I will follow the classification system by Guggisberg; however, all quadrupeds examined in this study are exclusively those he describes as functional Type B and production Method 10. Based on these classifications, I will assess the anatomic, stylistic, and decorative elements of these anthropomorphic and zoomorphic wheelmade figures. I will utilize this data to determine cult

¹⁷² Kourou and Karetso 1997, 112.

¹⁷³ Shelton 2009, 57-60; Weiberg 2009: 61; Vettors 2011, 31-3. In contrast to independent, private, or domestic pottery production: Galaty and Parkinson 2007: 6-7; Galaty 2007.

¹⁷⁴ Mountjoy 1986, 134; Knodell 2021, 102, 137-8.

continuity, cult progression, and regional differences throughout mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete. Furthermore, I will attempt to determine the significance of the wheelmade figures in Eleon.

CHAPTER THREE

A Survey of Mycenaean Cultic Sites

In Chapters 1 and 2, I have created a framework to analyze cultic figures and spaces in Late Bronze Age Greece. This chapter presents a detailed analysis of select Bronze Age cult sites from mainland Greece, the Cyclades, and Crete, specifically during the period of LH III A-C (LM III A-C on Crete). The areas discussed include sites in central Greece: *Kalapodi* and *Alimos: Kontopigado*, in the Argolid: *Mycenae*, *Tiryns*, and *Epidaurus*, and in the southern Peloponnese: *Pylos*, *Amyklai*, and *Agios Vasileios (Laconia)*. Additionally, I will examine *Phylakopi* on the island of Melos and the sites of the *Patsos Cave Sanctuary* and *Agia Triada* on Crete. Using extant excavation reports, I examine the cultic areas of the sites, as well as the location, colocation, and context of wheelmade terracotta quadrupeds, primarily bovid figures, as well as wheelmade terracotta female figures. These data establish typical features of Mycenaean cult sites, which can be used to determine the significance and function of the finds and spaces from Eleon.

Central Greece

Kalapodi

The sanctuary complex near Kalapodi of the modern-day prefecture Phthiotis, ancient Phocis, has long been associated with the worship of Apollo.¹⁷⁵ The first series of excavations between 1973 and 1982 conducted by Rainer Felsch revealed evidence of an earlier cultic center dating to LH III C Early (**Figure 3.1**). Felsch characterized the site as hypaethral based on the

¹⁷⁵ Guggisberg 1996, 86.

lack of settlement remains and abundance of small finds, in particular the terracotta wheelmade bovid figures. However, the excavations conducted between 2004 and 2013 under the direction of Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier, which focused on the layers beneath the Archaic temple to the west of the previous excavations, revealed that the site history extends to as early as 2000 BCE.¹⁷⁶

The remains of three sequential Mycenaean sanctuaries are preserved under the Archaic South Temple, where Felsch hypothesized the center of the Mycenaean cult would be found.¹⁷⁷ Various installations, including altars, benches, and special cavities for libations, and deposits, both ceramic and faunal, suggest a continuous cultic character. Dating to LH III A1, South Temple 1, measuring approximately 9 x 4.5 m, was oriented east to west. Its successor, South Temple 2, which was destroyed at the end of LH III B, produced fragments of a wheelmade female terracotta figure (**CAT 75**). South Temple 3 was built on the foundations of its predecessors. In the destruction debris of South Temple 3 and to the east, fragments of one bovid figure were discovered (**CAT 76, Figure 3.2**).¹⁷⁸ In what is now considered the forecourt of the South Temple, Felsch uncovered seventeen consecutive Mycenaean strata, with at least three ceramic phases associated with South Temple 3. Approximately 18 m to the east of the sanctuary, the foundations of an altar were discovered. The bovid figures found in the 1970s and 1980s were concentrated in layers 4 through 7, which date to LH III C Middle to Advanced. In total, seven fragments were found, as well as a head belonging to a female figure. Layer 4 produced a head and a body fragment of two bovinds. Two more body fragments from separate figures were found in layer 6. A horn was found in layer 7 (**CATs 77-79, Figures 3.3-4**).¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Felsch 1981; Niemeier 2017, 323.

¹⁷⁷ Felsch 1981, 84-6; Guggisberg 1996, 87; Niemeier 2017, 323.

¹⁷⁸ Niemeier 2017, 324-6.

¹⁷⁹ Felsch 1981, 86-8. Thus far, only three bovid figures have been published. Moreover, it is unclear whether the fragments from different layers join.

Alimos: Kontopigado

A series of rescue excavations conducted over the last thirty years by the 26th Ephorate of Antiquities uncovered the remains of the non-palatial Mycenaean settlement located 5 km south of the Athenian Acropolis.¹⁸⁰ Three building structures have been identified, with Building Complex I and III being excavated the most completely. The former yielded evidence for domestic and cult activities, whereas the latter has been identified as a workshop installation. In the domestic complexes, pottery evidence indicates that the lowest floor level was in use during LH III B, although sherds dating to LH III A2 suggest that building activities began earlier. The two higher floor levels date to Transitional LH III B2/C Early. Situated approximately in the center of Building Complex I, the courtyard occupies an area of over 20 sq m. Due to the unfavorable excavation circumstances, evidence for the courtyard comes primarily from the southern sector, outside Rooms H and I' (**Figure 3.5**). Near the threshold of Room I', the rear fragment of a bovid figure was found in a cluster of sherds of banquet vessels (**CAT 85, Figure 3.6**). The solid neck of the figure was found in a different vessel assemblage across the courtyard, near Wall 30.¹⁸¹

300 m to the south of the domestic area lies Building Complex III, which encompasses a known area of 3000 sq m (**Figure 3.7**). The workshop installation consists of a system of at least five parallel channels carved into the bedrock. While the exact function of the installation is unknown, it appears to have served many uses, including the treatment of flax. Within the limits of Building Complex III, numerous wells and pits were discovered with fill, which produced evidence of specialized pottery production.¹⁸² Within this complex, anthropomorphic and

¹⁸⁰ Kardamaki 2013, 48-50.

¹⁸¹ Kardamaki 2013, 59; Kaza-Papageorgiou and Kardamaki 2014, 73-8.

¹⁸² Kardamaki 2013, 51-5.

zoomorphic figures and figurines were deposited in two wells, Well 6 and 7 (**CATs 86-89, Figure 3.8**). Well 6, measuring 4.9 m deep, contained the head of a possible female figure at the very bottom of the shaft. In Well 7, which has a diameter of 1.2-1.3 m and a depth of 4.1 m, fragments from two separate bovid figures, as well as the hollow body of a female, were found. The smaller bovid fragment was found 2 m below the mouth of the well, while the other, larger fragment was found at the bottom of the fill. The female figure was approximately 3.4-3.7 m below the opening of the well.¹⁸³

The Argolid

Mycenae

Located less than 20 km inland from the Gulf of Argolis, the acropolis settlement at Mycenae yields evidence of a well-organized cultic area dating to LH III A2-B2.¹⁸⁴ During the Palatial period, outside of the palace, ritual activity at Mycenae occurred in the area that is now known as the Cult Center, which consisted of the Megaron, the Temple Complex, the Room with the Fresco Complex, and Tsountas' House with Shrine Gamma (**Figure 3.9**). Just south of Grave Circle A on the west slope, the Cult Center was revealed over the course of nearly a century through four different excavations led by Christos Tsountas in 1886, Alan Wace in 1950, William Taylour from 1959 to 1969, and George Mylonas from 1966 to 1975. The first and earliest structure discovered was Tsountas' House and its shrine, dating to LH III A2. Later, during LH III B1, the Megaron, the Temple Complex, and the Room with the Fresco Complex were built. Rooms xxiv and 32 were added in mid-LH III B.¹⁸⁵ The palatial megaron at the peak

¹⁸³ Kardamaki 2013, 57-8, 66.

¹⁸⁴ French 1981b; Lupack 2008, 138.

¹⁸⁵ Taylour 1970, 278-9; French 1981b, 41; Lupack 2008, 139; French et al. 2009, Table 3.

of the acropolis was connected to the Cult Center through the Processional Way. The portion of the path closest to the Cult Center was a platform, at the northern end of which was the entrance to Room 4, providing access to the Lion's Gate. Two possibilities existed to access the lower shrines.¹⁸⁶ However, in mid-LH III B, a retaining wall blocked access to one of these routes, along with access to the upper shrine in Tsountas' House. Each of the buildings had distinct installations and cult equipment, suggesting that they all served different, albeit related, sacred functions.¹⁸⁷ For example, the Temple Complex is well-known for the large deposit of thirty wheelmade female figures, mostly belonging to Type B. In addition, seventeen terracotta figures of coilmade snakes, but no bovid figures, were found. Only one other female figure, belonging to Type A, was found in Room 32, the storeroom or perhaps an adyton of the Room with the Fresco Complex (CATs 90-91).¹⁸⁸

Multiple destruction events devastated the site from LH III B2-C Early 1 (Architectural Phases VIII-IX). During Phase VIII, while the Alcove and Room 19 were walled up, the Temple Complex was still in partial use. The Room with the Fresco Complex, however, was not. Phase VIII ended in a fire, causing the collapse of the mud brick structures, including the Temple and the Room with the Fresco Complexes. The debris from the destruction was used to form terraces.¹⁸⁹ Despite the collapse of the structures of the former Cult Center, cultic activities, albeit on a reduced scale, apparently continued until the end of LH III C Middle.¹⁹⁰ In Phase IX, dating to LH III C Early 1, the South and West Complexes, separated by a courtyard, were constructed using the walls and foundations of the underlying buildings (**Figure 3.10**). The

¹⁸⁶ French 1981b, 42-5; Morgan 2005, 162-3; Lupack 2008, 138-40.

¹⁸⁷ French 1981b, 47; Albers 2004, 123; Morgan 2005, 164. *Contra* related sacred functions, see Taylour (1970, 279). For information about industrial activities occurring at the Cult Center, see Lupack (2008, 143-50).

¹⁸⁸ Taylour 1969, 93; 1970, 272, 278; Guggisberg 1996, 32-4; Albers 2004, 124. Two other fragments of Type A female figures have been identified; however, the figure from Room 19 is the most complete.

¹⁸⁹ French 1981b, 47; 2011, 1-4, Table 1.

¹⁹⁰ Tamvaki 1973, 227; Guggisberg 1996, 35; Albers 2004, 114.

South Complex was built above the Temple Complex, whereas the West Complex was built over the service areas to the north and west of the Room with the Fresco Complex. The Room with the Fresco lay underneath the courtyard. Based on the architecture and ceramic assemblage, the South Complex appears to have a domestic nature. Meanwhile, some of the rooms in the West Complex seem to have cultic functions based on the installations and pottery found, though no idols can be connected to these rooms. Phase IX ended in a violent destruction, with some of the rooms being filled in and never cleared out for re-use. Phase X, dating to LH III C Early 2, is characterized by the construction of the so-called ‘Tower,’ which gives its name to the pottery of this phase (**Figure 3.11**). Located in the west of the courtyard, this round stone construction is positioned approximately above the threshold between the Room with the Fresco and Room 32. The ‘Tower’ has been compared to a similarly shaped altar, the ‘Round Altar,’ in the courtyard near the threshold of Room xxiv. The two, however, are of different materials, dimensions, and periods. In addition, at the eastern edge of the courtyard, two hearths were discovered.¹⁹¹ Some further wheelmade bovid figures were also found in various leveling and fill layers dating to LH III B2 or LH III C in the courtyard of the Citadel House (**CATs 92-100**).¹⁹² These figures are not securely linked with the architecture in the same area.

Tiryns

Approximately 15 km south of the acropolis at Mycenae, the three-tiered citadel at Tiryns contains remains of a Mycenaean palace at the top of the acropolis and a sprawling lower town. From 1976 to 1985, Klaus Kilian led a series of large-scale excavations in the North-Western Lower Town and Lower and Upper Citadels, producing an abundance of Palatial and Post-

¹⁹¹ French 1981b, 48; 2011, 11-21.

¹⁹² Tamvaki 1973, 227-9.

Palatial material remains. A Cyclopean wall secured the Lower Citadel, access to which include entrances on the north, southwest, and southeast (**Figure 3.12**). Furthermore, the Lower Citadel has produced clear evidence of cultic activity before and after the region-wide LH III B2 destruction event.¹⁹³ In a cut directly in front of Casemate Kw 7 in the western wall, deposits dating to LH III B were found containing 239 anthropomorphic figurines, at least two hollow female figures, and multiple zoomorphic figures, including five bovids (**Figure 3.13**). Two more bovids were found in the general vicinity of the casemate while three others come outside of citadel wall, to the west of the casemate (**CATs 101-103, Figure 3.14**). After the destruction at the end of LH III B2, the casemate was closed up during the repairs of the citadel wall. Cultic worship was moved approximately 7 m north to Room 119, constructed into the remains of Room 120, a rectangular room belonging to Building VII. Although a terracotta bovid leg fragment (**CAT 104**) was found in the south of Room 120, the rest of the assemblage was interpreted by Kilian as *Wohnraum typisch* ('typical house').¹⁹⁴ The area did not take on a cultic function until Room 119 was erected. Dating to the transition from LH III B to C, the provisional structure contained nearly twenty anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures and figurines, including fragments of a large female with upraised arms (**CAT 105**).¹⁹⁵ Although Kilian believed Room 119 to be a cultic space, a subsequent re-evaluation refutes this claim. The stratigraphy indicates that Rooms 119 and 117 existed simultaneously; therefore, it is doubtful that Room 119 was a "provisional cult room" while Room 117 was in use.¹⁹⁶ Since the significance of Room 119 is in dispute, I have excluded it from the subsequent analysis.

¹⁹³ Guggisberg 1996, 47-8; French et al. 2009, 180; Mühlenbruch 2015, 131-2; Veters 2015, 75.

¹⁹⁴ Kilian 1981a, 174-5; 1981b, 53; 1988b, 144; Damm 1997, 216-7.

¹⁹⁵ Kilian 1981a, 162-4; 1981b, 53; 1982, 399. In addition, the finding of a hollow bovid figure in the southeast is debated (Guggisberg 1996, n. 173; Damm 1997, 217).

¹⁹⁶ Veters 2009, unpublished diss. (*non vidi* – as cited in Mühlenbruch 2013, 44); Mühlenbruch 2013, 44-6.

During LH III C Early, the Lower Citadel underwent a total reconstruction, in which cult activity moved back to the vicinity of Casemate Kw 7. A series of cult rooms, including Room 117 and Room 110a, were built in succession (**Figure 3.15**). By the time Room 117 was built, Room 119 was already in ruins, reinforcing its temporary nature. The structure was left in disrepair until it was leveled during LH III C Developed.¹⁹⁷ Room 117, a nearly square building measuring 2.92 x 2.80 m, was an elaborate structure, despite its tiny size. It had three successive stucco floors and plastered exterior walls, unique for the Post-Palatial buildings in the Lower Citadel. On the western wall, there was a cult bench, in which originally was a carved niche but subsequently filled so that the bench would be continuous. In addition, certain architectural elements indicate a gabled roof as well as a tri-partite façade. Immediately in front of the structure to the north was the foundation of an altar. In its vicinity was a concentration of cattle, ovicaprid, and pig bones. The function of Room 117 was solidified as a cult room by small finds, including miniature vessels, rhyta, and terracotta figures and figurines. An impressive wheelmade bovid figure, decorated with fish and ithyphallic goats, was found in the vicinity of Room 117. The room also produced fragments of two wheelmade female figures with upraised arms, one of which, along with the leg of a bovid, were found between the altar and structure (**CATs 106-109, Figures 3.16-17**).¹⁹⁸

At the beginning of LH III C Developed, Room 117 was leveled and rebuilt as Room 110.¹⁹⁹ This next cult room was slightly narrower than the previous one, measuring 3 x 1.28 m. Although no terracotta wheelmade bovid figures were able to be associated with Room 110 or the later cult rooms, there was an abundance of female figures, including four wheelmade female

¹⁹⁷ Mühlenbruch 2015, 136; Veters 2015, 87-8.

¹⁹⁸ Kilian 1979, 389-94; 1981a, 150; 1981b, 53; Damm 1997, 217-8; Mühlenbruch 2015, 137.

¹⁹⁹ Kilian 1981b, 53.

figures with raised arms and two wheelmade Psi-figures (**CATs 110-113, Figure 3.18**). During LH III C Advanced, the long, rectangular Room 115 was built immediately north of shrine Room 110. A stone slab was found in the southeast corner of the room. Two beads and a wheelmade Psi-figure (**CAT 114**) were found on the stone slab, suggesting it functioned as a platform. Nevertheless, it is unclear whether Room 115 also served as a cult room.²⁰⁰ The destruction event at the end of LH III C Advanced devastated the Lower Citadel. Therefore, in the beginning of LH III C Late, the megaron-shaped Room 110a was built using the foundations of Room 110. As with the other cult buildings, the room opens to the east. A stone-paved hearth was located to the south of the room in Courtyard 1. Among the cultic paraphernalia was a female figure (**CAT 115**), found in front of the rear cult bench.²⁰¹

Epidaurus

On a small terrace rise on the western slope of Mount Kynortion are the remains of an Archaic sanctuary to Apollo Maleatas, approximately 500 m east of the Classical Asklepeia.²⁰² The excavations conducted by Vasileios Lambrinudakis during the 1970s uncovered the foundations of the Mycenaean-era cult directly underneath the Archaic remains, suggesting a break in worship at the site (**Figure 3.19**). In addition to evidence for Mycenaean ash altars beneath the Archaic ash altars, the Mycenaean remains consist of a stone terrace in the shape of the Greek letter Π, preserved to a length of 10.5 m. According to the pottery evidence, in particular sherds of early types of Vapheio cups, construction of the terrace dates to the early Mycenaean period. The small area of original terrace floor that was preserved was covered by a

²⁰⁰ Kilian 1978, 463-5; 1981b, 53-4; Mühlenbruch 2015, 136.

²⁰¹ Kilian 1978, 460; 1981b, 55.

²⁰² Susmann 2021, 18.

hard, burnt crust of rock chips, ashes, and sherds, which Lambrinudakis interpreted as evidence for an open-air Brandopferaltar ('burnt sacrifice altar').²⁰³ To the west of the altar complex, underneath the Classical temple, parts of three rooms dating to the Mycenaean period were excavated. While only one was paved, all three are thought to belong to a cult complex, since fragments of Vapheio and stemmed cups, similar to those from the altar, were found in the other two rooms.²⁰⁴ Most of the votive offerings were found in a layer of ash on the northern slope of the hill, having been pushed off the altar as a result of regular and periodic cleaning practices.²⁰⁵ Only one head fragment of a Mainland Type A female figure has been found; however, 29 wheelmade quadruped figures were discovered (**CATs 118-147**).

The Southern Peloponnese

Pylos

Located in Messenia in the southwest of the Peloponnesian peninsula, the ancient site of Pylos was an important administrative center in Mycenaean Greece. The so-called 'Palace of Nestor,' discovered and excavated by Carl Blegen and Konstantinos Kourouniotis throughout the early to mid-20th century, yielded objects dating from the latest stage of the LH III B period.²⁰⁶ The complex itself consists of four separate buildings and several smaller structures (**Figure 3.20**). The core elements of the Main Building include a series of porticos, vestibules, and the megaron. The walls are elaborately decorated with a program of frescoes, discussed briefly in Chapter 1. Also, the two small rooms (Rooms 7 and 8), located on the left upon entering the outer portico of the propylon, are known as the archives. Room 7 has been designated as the

²⁰³ Lambrinudakis 1981, 59; Susmann 2021, 12.

²⁰⁴ Lambrinudakis 1981, 62.

²⁰⁵ Guggisberg 1996, 30.

²⁰⁶ Blegen and Rawson 1966, 4-5, 421; Mountjoy 1997, 135.

office of the tax collector because of the amount of Linear B tablets found here and in the adjoining room. In addition to the more than 200 tablets stored in Room 7 around the time of the destruction, burnt faunal remains along with over 20 miniature kylikes were found.²⁰⁷

In terms of terracotta figures and figurines, a handful of poorly preserved anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines were found throughout the complex. No wheelmade female figures have been identified; however, the original excavators did identify two large terracotta animal horns found outside the northwestern exterior wall of the Southwestern Building.²⁰⁸ So far, evidence for bodies connected to these horns is lacking. In a recent re-examination of the Pylos ceramic assemblage, Emily Egan identified four fragments, which she believes belong to a single figure (**CATs 148-149**). Three joining body fragments were found in the court and the megaron of the Main Building, while a horn fragment was found in Room 72 of the Southwestern Building. Two of the body fragments were discovered in the southeast area of the court in a deposit of black earth. Although the depth of the deposit was not recorded, Egan's interpretation of the field notes suggests that the fragments were found above the court's floor. In the megaron, a large circular hearth was situated in approximately the center of the room. The third body fragment was found in a brick fill, approximately 1.7 m above the floor level, to the northeast of the central hearth.²⁰⁹ Room 72 of the Southwestern Building was so badly damaged by the fire destruction and later disturbances that the original excavators could not hypothesize the room's function. The horn was found in a clay stratum extending 0.4 m from the floor.²¹⁰ Ultimately, Egan hypothesizes that the bovid figure was kept in a luxury storeroom on the upper

²⁰⁷ Blegen and Rawson 1966, 92-3; Isaakidou et al. 2002, 88-9; Stocker and Davis 2004, 182-3.

²⁰⁸ Blegen and Rawson 1966, nos. 4-5.

²⁰⁹ Blegen and Rawson 1966, 63-4, 85; Egan 2019, 424-5.

²¹⁰ Blegen and Rawson 1966, 268; Egan 2019, 426.

floor of the Main Building prior to the fire destruction.²¹¹ It is unlikely therefore that this bull can be taken as evidence for the location of a cult room in the palace.

Amyklai

On the hill of Agia Kyriaki, approximately 6 km south of Sparta, is located the well-known Archaic Sanctuary of Apollo. Early excavations identified a large settlement, dating to the Early and Middle Helladic periods, on the southeast slopes of the hill, suggesting that by as early as the 1st millennium BCE, an important cult center existed (**Figure 3.21**). Unfortunately, there are no buildings associated with the Mycenaean ceramic evidence, which was recovered primarily from mixed fill deposits. The precise extent and layout of the sanctuary is unclear because of the nature of the finds. The lack of Mycenaean foundations, however, could indicate a hypaethral sanctuary.²¹²

Over 150 Mycenaean figures and figurines have been found in unstratified deposits with Proto-Geometric and Geometric pottery scattered over the excavation area on the slope of the hill. The only wheelmade female figures found so far are a fragment of a nearly life-sized upper part of the head and a large hand holding a kylix (**CATs 150-151**). Of the bovid figures, only one survives intact, having been assembled from several pieces. Two additional ones are partially preserved, along with numerous fragments (**CATs 152-179**).²¹³

Agios Vasileios (Laconia)

The results of archaeological research during the summer months of 2014 to 2016

²¹¹ Egan 2019, 442.

²¹² Guggisberg 1996, 57-8; Demakopoulou 2009, 2012.

²¹³ Demakopoulou 1982, 57-59.

investigating the Mycenaean remains northeast of the church of Saint Vasileios in Laconia suggest that the structure known as Building A appears to have been associated with cultic and social activities during the LH III A period, specifically the outdoor courtyard space, Area 11 (**Figure 3.22**).²¹⁴ Located south of Room 10 and east of Room 7, the courtyard is characterized by a series of hearths and, near the threshold of Room 7, a feasting deposit dating to LH III A-B.²¹⁵

The discovery of a possible altar, made of soft limestone and measuring 0.44 x 0.33 x 0.31 m, dated to LH III B2-C Early, indicates the continued cultic importance of the area. Located in the southeast corner of Area 11, the altar had been covered by a pile of stones, including carved limestone, slate, and river stones, at a depth of 5-10 cm below the surface of the ground. The stone deposit most likely comes from a previous construction within Area 11 or Building A. The altar was oriented northeast to southwest and placed on a terraced slope of slate. Horns of consecration, carved from the same soft limestone as the altar, and a solid terracotta horse were placed on top of the altar. Touching the eastern side of the altar were two large, wheelmade bovid figures and one small, solid bull (**Figure 3.23a**). Three additional wheelmade bull figures were found toward the west in a deposit of figurine fragments comprised of mainly horns and legs (**Figure 3.23b**). No female figures were found. The altar's date is based on the shape of an undecorated cup and the type of the wheelmade bull figures, placing the date of the altar in the LH III B period. However, the altar could not be connected to any construction phase because the presence of a wall between the altar and Floor 1 prevents a reliable understanding of

²¹⁴ Vasilogamvrou 2018, 131.

²¹⁵ Vasilogamvrou 2018, 142.

the organization of the space,²¹⁶ Since there are no additional details about the wheelmade bovid figures, I do not analyze this space in Chapter 5.

The Cyclades and Crete

Hollow, wheelmade terracotta quadruped figures are primarily associated with mainland Greece during the Mycenaean period. Mycenaean influence, however, does spread across the Aegean to the Cyclades and Crete. Three sites, Phylakopi on Melos and Agia Triada and the Patsos Cave on Crete, are surveyed here. In the final chapter, the objects found at these three sites will be examined to determine whether or not they are purely Mycenaean in character.

Melos: Phylakopi

Located on the northern coast of the Cycladic island of Melos, the settlement at Phylakopi demonstrates a Mycenaean character during LH III A-C, when the Minoan-style ‘Mansion’ was replaced with a Mycenaean megaron structure.²¹⁷ Excavations conducted by the British School of Archaeology at Athens between 1974 and 1977 revealed that the Phylakopi sanctuary complex was in use for approximately 260 years, from LH III A2 until mid-LH III C. It consisted of four main structural components: the West Shrine and its two western rooms, the East Shrine, the City Wall (Wall 100) to the south of the East Shrine, and the Extension Wall (Wall 661) to the east of the West Shrine (**Figure 3.24**). The complex had three main phases of use, with each phase further separated into subphases a, b, and sometimes c. At the beginning of Phase 1, during LH III A2, the West Shrine, along with its adjoining smaller rooms, was built. The main room measured 6 x 5.8 m. Its main entrance was located at the east, opposite from the

²¹⁶ Vasilogamvrou 2018, 146-7.

²¹⁷ Renfrew 1985, 436; Lupack 2008, 151.

entrance to Rooms A and B. On either side of this western doorway were two platforms, possibly altars. A niche was found above the southwest platform in the wall shared by the main room and Room A, which could be considered an adyton. Sometime during Phase 1b, the Extension Wall was constructed, running to the east of the West Shrine. At the end of Phase 1c, during LH III B1, the City Wall and the East Shrine were built. The interior of the East Shrine is much smaller than that of the West Shrine, measuring only 4.8 x 2.2 m. Phase 2 signifies the peak of occupation at the sanctuary. At the end of Phase 2b, ca. 1120 BCE, Phylakopi suffered a destruction event; however, the sanctuary continued to be used sparingly. The Blocking Wall (Wall 733/626) was built, cutting off access to Rooms A and B in the West Shrine. Approximately twenty years later, the shrine was abandoned completely.²¹⁸

Although the early phase of the sanctuary yields little indication of a cultic function, Phase 2b and its immediate aftermath produces considerable evidence for the sanctuary's sacred nature. All female figures, except for a very small plait fragment from the East Shrine (**CAT 195**), come from the West Shrine or associated areas of debris.²¹⁹ Moreover, overall, ten complete bovid figures have been found, the largest number of complete wheelmade bovid terracotta figures from a single site thus far.²²⁰ In the main room of the West Shrine, near the northwest platform, two leg fragments of two separate bovid figures were found. In the fill above the floor south of the Blocking Wall, the head of a bovid figure was discovered (**CATs 180-182**). The smaller of the two rooms, Room A, produced some of the most complete finds of the excavation. In the southwest corner, the so-called 'Lady' of Phylakopi was found headless,

²¹⁸ Renfrew 1985, 72-87, especially Tables 3.1 and 3.3, 369-70; Lupack 2008, 152-3.

²¹⁹ Although she includes the anthropomorphic figure Phylakopi SF 2274 in her catalog of female figures, French (1985, 211) appears not to consider it as female in her discussion; moreover, Renfrew (1985, Table 4.3) characterizes the figure as 'human'.

²²⁰ Renfrew 1985, 425.

armless, and upright. Her head was located 50 cm to the east. A complete female figure stood next to the Lady, in between her and her head. On the north side, a head of another female figure was found. Additionally, five fragments of a bovid figure were found at opposite ends of Room A, two at the south side and three at the north. In the niche between Room A and the main room, a female head fragment, a small plait fragment, three wheelmade bovid figures, and a bovid leg fragment were found. A joining fragment from one of the bovid figures in the niche was found in Room B, to the north of Room A (**CATs 183-194, Figures 3.25-26**). In the East Shrine, one nearly complete and two fragmentary bovid figures were found to the south of the platform (**CATs 202-204**). In addition to the small plait fragment, six fragments of bovid figures were found scattered across the floor of the shrine, unable to be associated with the platform (**CATs 196-201**).²²¹

Patsos Cave

Although called a cave, the site is nothing more than a rock shelter, measuring 18 m in width and 9 m in depth (**Figure 3.27**). It is associated with a spring that used to flow near the entrance of the shelter. Although the sanctuary may seem remote, it is located in a verdant section of east-central Crete between the Messara valley and the southern harbors of central Crete. Most of the objects were collected by local residents during the late 19th century; therefore, few have secure findspots. The votives collected suggest cultic activity from LM I to the Roman period. The rocky enclosure affords an area of limited access. Burnt remains suggest cultic activities occurred at this natural site.²²² Unfortunately, only objects dating to the Hellenistic and Roman eras have been found in this area in recent investigations. Bogdan

²²¹ Renfrew 1985, 89-150, especially Tables 4.3-4, 4.6-9, 4.11, 4.15, and 4.17.

²²² Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 158; Guggisberg 1996, 185-6.

Rutkowski suggests that numerous objects were found near a stalagmite formation with bull-like features, approximately 6 m from the cave entrance; however, it is unclear how he arrives at this conclusion.²²³ Nevertheless, it is likely that the earlier material was found where the modern chapel is now built.

Beginning in LM III B, the sanctuary appears to have become a more prestigious site as evidenced by finer cult objects, including wheelmade terracotta figures and bronze figurines. From the Post-Palatial until the Archaic period, there was no interruption in cultic activity.²²⁴ The only wheelmade anthropomorphic figure found is the head of a female figure dating to LM III C (**CAT 205, Figure 3.28**). At least eight wheelmade bulls and bovids have been dated to LM III B-C (**CATs 206-213**).

Agia Triada

The elite villa at Agia Triada is located in south-central Crete in the Messara Plain.²²⁵ In the early 1900s, Federico Halbherr and Roberto Paribeni conducted the first excavations, uncovering large amounts of votive material in the area east of the Ayios Georgios chapel, which they labeled the regione dei sacelli (**Figure 3.29**). The original excavators disagreed on the existence of a Late Minoan sanctuary in the piazzale dei sacelli, the partially paved area within the regione dei sacelli. Forty years after the initial excavations, Luisa Banti reevaluated the votive material, determining the area was used as a hypaethral sanctuary during LM III to the beginning of the Geometric period. She dated an altar located at the eastern end of the piazzale as well as a pit filled with ash and faunal remains to the north of the altar to LM III.²²⁶ Recently, the

²²³ Rutkowski 1972, 132.

²²⁴ Kourou and Karetsou 1994, 163-4.

²²⁵ Schoep 2006, 50.

²²⁶ Banti 1948.

altar has been redated to the Hellenistic period, indicating cultic continuity or a later cultic revival.²²⁷

All of the objects come from the *regione dei sacelli*, with a concentration under the Hellenistic altar in the area at the bottom of the staircase leading down the slope in the northeastern corner. The LM III C and Sub-Minoan votive material is comprised of three main groups of hollow and wheelmade terracotta figures and objects: bovids/bulls, horns of consecration, and fantastic animals. Most of the bovid and bull figures date to LM III C Advanced; very few date to LM III C Early (CATs 214-220). Moreover, no wheelmade female figures have been found, only hybrids between cows and females (**Figure 3.30**). Overall, based on the lack of structural remains, the *regione dei sacelli* at Agia Triada seems to have been an open-air communal cultic space.²²⁸

Discussion

Emerging in LH III A2, wheelmade figures appear concomitantly with the advent of the Mycenaean palaces. Religious authority was consolidated by the *wanax* during the Palatial period, when wheelmade figures were in use. With the rise of centralized cult centers such as at Mycenae and Phylakopi, religious ritual became more communal. Participation, however, was limited to the elite, suggesting a hierarchical structure in ritual practices, which parallels a similar structure seen in the administrative milieu. As a result, the elite were able to project their authority and status.²²⁹ Both conspicuous consumption as well as the procurement of prestige

²²⁷ D'Agata 1997, 85-6; Guggisberg 1996, 150.

²²⁸ D'Agata 1997, 98-9.

²²⁹ Wright 1994, 75.

goods, including wheelmade terracotta figures, created a stratification of class structure during the Palatial period.²³⁰

While structural changes occurred during the Post-Palatial period from primary to secondary centers, the Post-Palatial elites were able to maintain their status by the continued use of prestige goods for religious rituals, as evident at Kalapodi, Tiryns, Epidauros, and Amyklai.²³¹

Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed various findspots for evidence of wheelmade terracotta female and bovid figures in LH III Greece. Additionally, I have described and catalogued a selection of wheelmade terracotta figures from the above sites, as well as notable examples from other sites. Patterns that emerge from the aforementioned sites will be compared with those at Eleon to determine the ritual significance. In the next chapter, I will examine similar finds at Eleon. After discussing the findings at Eleon, I will analyze the material remains of Eleon and those of mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete in Chapter 5 utilizing the framework developed in Chapters 1 and 2 to determine the significance of the recently unearthed wheelmade terracotta figures at Eleon.

²³⁰ Veters 2011, 36.

²³¹ Knodell 2021, 131, 134-7.

CHAPTER FOUR

Ancient Eleon: A Case Study of Wheelmade Terracotta Figures

While Chapter 3 examined the findings throughout mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete, this chapter focuses on the analysis of the wheelmade terracotta figures from ancient Eleon in Boeotia, excavated from 2011 to 2014. A brief overview of the Bronze Age chronology of the site is given before describing the most important figures found in relation to their contexts. The areas examined include the Northwest Sector and the Southwest Sector during the Late Mycenaean period. While over 150 fragments have been found to date, the examples discussed here allow for conclusions about Eleon and comparison to other figures from different sites to be made.

Methodology

In order to classify and catalog the findings at Eleon so that they may be contextually compared to those discussed in the previous chapter, I have evaluated them utilizing the following criteria. In addition to measuring and photographing the objects, I used a digital micrometer and a hand lens with 50x magnification to assess the production technique, anatomical features, fabric, including clay type and Munsell color, and decoration. A complete catalog of the findings is provided to complement the discussion below.

The Site

The acropolis of Eleon, located near the modern-day city of Arma, is situated in a strategic position connecting the major center of Thebes and the South Euboean Gulf (**Figure**

4.1). The earliest ceramic evidence dates to the Early and Middle Helladic periods, found primarily in secondary deposits associated with the Blue Stone Structure. During the Palatial period, the site can be considered a second order center, having been incorporated into the Theban polity, as evidenced by Linear B texts from Thebes (TH Ft 140.5, X 155.1). Later construction, however, obscures the palatial architecture. Nevertheless, from what can be discerned, structures in the Northwest and Southwest sectors were rebuilt after a destruction event during LH III B2. The most coherent phase of occupation at Eleon is during the Post-Palatial period. The ceramic and architectural evidence indicates a thriving community. After another destruction event at the end of LH III C Early, the building in the Northwest was abandoned, whereas the Southwest was occupied until LH III C Middle and then abandoned (**Figure 4.2**).²³² While excavations at the site have revealed pottery findings dating to the Pre-Palatial and Post-Palatial, this study will examine finds from LH III C.

Northwest Sector

The most extensive remains of the Post-Palatial period excavated thus far come from the Northwest Sector. During LH III C Early, the so-called ‘Northwest Complex,’ currently measuring 11 m (east-west) x 14 m (north-south), had two architectural phases, the latter characterized by an upper layer of burnt pottery with a distinct breakage pattern and the former by a floor deposit with unburnt, mendable pottery (**Figure 4.3**).²³³ During its first phase, dating to LH III C Early 1, the multi-roomed complex formed a single domestic residence, which was entered through a shallow porch (Room 6) from the east into the main room (Room 7). Room 7 contained elements of a palatial style megaron, with four column bases surrounding a large,

²³² Burke et al. 2020, 444-7; Burke et al. 2021, 11-20.

²³³ Burke et al. 2020, 463; Lis and Van Damme 2021, 49.

central hearth. An upper level, appearing to be limited to the area above Rooms 1, 3, 3N, 4, and 5, is indicated by ceramic joins and collapsed debris. The scatter pattern of vessels across these rooms suggests a relatively open floor plan for the second story. The material remains indicate that the ground floor contained cooking and storage facilities while the main living quarters were located on the upper floors.

The first destruction event resulted in the remodeling and expansion of the complex. While much of the architectural and spatial organization is preserved in Phase 2, dating to LH III C Early 2, Room 6 was enclosed, the entryway shifted to the west of Room 7, and the hearth in Room 7 fell into disuse. In addition, the southernmost room, Room 2, became part of a separate residence. Phase 2 ended in a burnt destruction, resulting in the abandonment of the structure. The destruction fill belonging to the upper level contained loom weights as well as other weaving tools, and fine ware dining and drinking vessels. In addition, the bovid figures were found in these deposits (**Figure 4.4**). The assemblage from the burnt horizon suggests that the open hall on the second story may have been used for weaving activities during the day and dining during the evenings.²³⁴

Southwest Sector

The Southwest Sector had three architectural phases, with the earliest belonging to Structure A (**Figure 4.5**). The excavation has revealed a single room that yielded a burnt destruction deposit dating to LH III B2. The ceramic assemblage has been characterized as domestic in nature.²³⁵ Immediately after the LH III B2 destruction, Structure B was built directly on top of the remains of Structure A. Thus far, only a single room formed by Walls 64 and 61,

²³⁴ Van Damme 2017, 346-8; Burke et al. 2020, 463-5; Burke et al. 2021, 18; Lis and Van Damme 2021, 55-8.

²³⁵ Van Damme 2017, 313; Burke et al. 2020, 462; Burke et al. 2021, 14; Lis and Van Damme 2021, 67.

measuring 7.50 x 5.25 m, has been revealed. The thick wall socles, varying between 0.65 and 0.85 m, suggest that the structure had a second floor. Structure B contained a thick fill of animal bones, antler fragments, and near-complete vessels, none of which was associated with any clear floor level. It has been suggested that, after the destruction event during LH III C Early, Structure B was filled in as a terrace for the later Structure C. This hypothesis is supported by the faunal remains and crushed ceramics. Nevertheless, the ceramic evidence is comparable to the findings in the LH III C Early 1 (unburnt horizon) in the Northwest Complex, indicating an analogous use of space with storage on the ground floor and domestic activities above.²³⁶

Currently, much of the architecture of Structure C is not fully understood. However, sometime between the end of LH III C Early and the beginning of LH III C Middle, the structures of the Southwest shifted from a primarily domestic nature to a cultic one, as a bench shrine was constructed in the southernmost area of the Southwest Sector.²³⁷ Formed by re-used Wall 64 and newly built Wall 60 along with two other two walls that were robbed out at some later date, the shrine was oriented northeast to southwest. Along Wall 64, a small stone bench was installed. The entrance was located on the northeast side, in front of which was a stone pavement. In addition to the Bench Shrine, other rooms were built, including Structure C, which preserved the general layout of Structures A and B, but was translated north. Between Structure C, the other rooms, and the Bench Shrine was a small, open courtyard. Later during LH III C Middle, the shrine was filled in, combining with the earlier, smaller courtyard to form a larger one. A new room, formed by Walls 71 and 72, was built. There is also evidence for two possible hearths, one in the new room, henceforth known as “The Room of the Bulls,” and one in the east of the courtyard (**Figure 4.6**). By the end of LH III C Middle, the Southwest was abandoned.

²³⁶ Burke et al. 2020, 466; Lis and Van Damme 2021, 69-70.

²³⁷ Van Damme, pers. comm.

Without evidence of destruction, it appears that the inhabitants left voluntarily taking their possessions with them. This would also explain the general lack of material remains of the interior floors in Structure C.²³⁸ Together, Structures B and C produced 128 fragments of wheelmade figures, including a wheelmade female head fragment and at least fifteen bovid figures (**Figure 4.7**).

LH III C Early

Southwest Sector

4.46%²³⁹ of the wheelmade figures come from Structure B. One of the most remarkable wheelmade terracotta finds from Structure B and the Southwest Sector is the lone wheelmade female head fragment (**CAT 1, Figure 4.8**), with a preserved height of 5.2 cm. It is void of decoration except for the outlining of features and jewelry. The fragment comes from the LH III C Early fill underneath Wall 70 and belongs to Structure B. It is unclear, however, whether the fragment is an admixture from LH III B2. The upper leg fragment **CAT 2**, with a preserved height of 4.95 cm, is also from the fill of Structure B (**Figure 4.9**). The limited amount of Structure B excavated so far prevents its characterization but the presence of wheelmade figures could indicate a cultic nature.

LH III C Early 2/Burnt Horizon

Northwest Sector

11.6% of the wheelmade figures from Eleon were recovered from the Northwest Household, all of which belong to the burnt horizon dated to LH III C Early 2. The most

²³⁸ Burke et al. 2021, 20; Lis and Van Damme 2021, 73.

²³⁹ All percentages are calculated from the total number of objects (112) from secure, datable contexts.

complete figures, come from the upper level burnt debris of the Northwest Complex. Both bovid figures present evidence of burning. The smaller of the two (**CAT 6, Figure 4.10**) is comprised of seven fragments all found in Room 3. It has a diameter of approximately 10 cm and a maximum preserved length of 7.87 cm. More than half of the abdomen of the wheelmade torso was preserved, along with the attachment to the left hindleg. The right hindleg has been mended to the partially preserved rear end, to which is attached the lower half of the naturally modeled tail. The rear end has a central perforation. A small portion of the right hind flank, which has been mended to the top part of the rear end, are also preserved. A portion of the right forequarters attached to the chest, which probably joins to the abdomen, is preserved. The red decoration in areas is poorly preserved, for example, the leg and the shoulder.

The larger figure (**CAT 7, Figure 4.11**) is the most complete bovid figure at Eleon. The ten fragments were found scattered between Rooms 3, 3N, and 4. **CAT 7** has a diameter of approximately 11.5 cm and a maximum preserved length of 11.8 cm. Three hollow legs are preserved, with the left foreleg missing. The right hindleg has been mended with the right hindquarters, which joins with a rectangular fragment of the rear end. The left half of the rear end, which preserves the upper tip of the tail, joins with the left hindquarters, which has been mended with a large section of the torso. A thick vertical protrusion is preserved on the left top section of the torso, which probably is a representation of the bull's withers, but perhaps is the remnant of a spout. The leg and rear fragments show the unburned bright orange-red linear decoration of the figure.

One quadruped leg fragment, also dating to LH III C Early 2, was found in the burnt horizon debris of the Northwest Household. In the upper fill of Room 1, the hollow leg fragment (**CAT 5, Figure 4.12**), measuring approximately 4.1 cm in height, was found near the sherd

hearth. It was originally identified as a muzzle fragment or a rhyton head fragment because of its slender nature and small perforation hole; however, the lack of symmetry in the reddish-brown linear decoration makes the identification as a leg more likely. This is the only bovid fragment from the Northwest Household that does not belong to the two mendable examples.

LH III C Middle 1/Earlier

Southwest Sector

37.5% of the wheelmade figures come from the stone pavement in front of the shrine or adjacent strata. Of the more complete wheelmade quadruped figures from the Southwest Sector, three were found stratigraphically above the stone pavement. **CAT 10**, with an approximated diameter of 13 cm, consists of thirteen possible fragments (**Figure 4.13**). There are three separate mends, consisting of two fragments each, all from the area of the stone pavement. Two additional fragments do not come from this area but can be associated on the basis of their fabric and paint: a chest/rear fragment and a solid horn fragment. The former was found in a later LH III C Middle 2 floor deposit from The Room of the Bulls. The latter, with a maximum preserved height of 2.2 cm, was found in SE B3a, locus 7. Another figure (**CAT 11, Figure 4.14**) consists of eight fragments, including one from a LH III C Early deposit to the east of Wall 61. Besides this fragment, all but one other fragment were found on the stone pavement. With a preserved length of 8 cm, a back fragment, which has been mended with rump fragment, was found to the east of the pavement. The final figure (**CAT 13, Figure 4.15**) found on the pavement consists of four body fragments, one of which was found at a slightly higher layer, dating to LH III C Middle 2, to the north of the pavement. A solid horn fragment, found in the deposit east of The

Room of the Bulls, may also belong. With a maximum preserved diameter of 7 cm, **CAT 13** is one of the smaller wheelmade quadruped figures at Eleon.

In addition, three leg fragments were found on or near the pavement. **CAT 12**, consisting of four mended fragments, has a preserved height of 8.2 cm (**Figure 4.16**). The leg fragment may belong to figure **CAT 13**, since three leg fragments were found in the same deposit on stone pavement, while one was found in the floor deposit of the room formed by Walls 57 and 59.

CAT 8 and **CAT 9** are two distinct leg fragments from the same deposit, just north of the stone pavement. The former fragment, with a preserved height of 8.41 cm, features the majority of the leg (**Figure 4.17**). Its red linear decoration is well-preserved. The latter fragment of a lower leg has a preserved height of 5.65 cm. The bulbous mid-leg could represent a knee joint. One of the largest, in terms of diameter, wheelmade terracotta quadruped figures comes from the removal of the stone pavement itself. With an approximated diameter of 14 cm, **CAT 21** is a rear end fragment with a partially preserved leg attachment. Finally, the only clear muzzle fragment (**CAT 20**) was also found on top of the stone pavement. The solid fragment, measuring 2.7 cm in length, is triangular with poorly preserved red linear symmetrical decoration.

LH III C Middle 2/Later

Southwest Sector

46.4% of the wheelmade figures were found in The Room of the Bulls and its associated deposits. Four wheelmade terracotta quadruped figures come from the LH III C Middle fill of The Room of the Bulls. **CAT 31**, with a maximum preserved diameter of 12 cm, consists of five fragments: the right shoulder fragment, the left forequarters, which preserve the attachment site of left foreleg, a torso fragment, and mended rear and rump fragments (**Figure 4.18**). **CAT 33**

provides the best preservation of the front of a bovid figure, despite the lack of preservation for the face or muzzle (**Figure 4.19**). The head, neck, horns, and chest are preserved in the eight fragments. **CAT 33** features the only ears, which are modeled, associated with a wheelmade quadruped figure at Eleon. The figure has a maximum diameter of approximately 11 cm. It is one of the few with black background paint and the only one with light on dark decoration. **CAT 35**, consisting of five fragments, is associated with nearby deposits of the room (**Figure 4.20**). The two mended rear fragments provide a maximum diameter of 12 cm. In addition, two leg fragments, one upper leg and one mid-leg, seem to belong. The last figure (**CAT 36, Figure 4.21**) consists of eleven possible fragments. **CAT 36** is the largest of the wheelmade terracotta quadruped figures at Eleon, with a maximum diameter of 15 cm. In addition, many of its fragments present evidence of burning.

One of the wheelmade quadruped figures (**CAT 56, Figure 4.22**) has a potential association with the fill of The Room of the Bulls. Its fragments, however, are so scattered it is difficult to determine. **CAT 56** has a diameter of 12 cm and can be identified as either a chest or rear plate. Without the preservation of a tail or tail attachment site, or a dewlap, it is difficult to distinguish between the chest and rear of a wheelmade quadruped figure. One fragment is from the disturbed fill of The Room of the Bulls, and a second is from an associated deposit. A third is from a LH III C Middle deposit just southwest of Wall 64. A fourth is from the possible LH III C Middle floor deposit from the room formed by Walls 57 and 59. The last fragment was found in topsoil.

Additional wheelmade quadruped fragments were found in the courtyard surrounding The Room of the Bulls. **CAT 32**, a fragment of a horse head rhyton measuring 4.14 cm in height and 6.48 cm in length, was found in a fill above the stratum associated with the stone pavement

(**Figure 4.23**). In a fill to the west of the horse rhyton, the fragment of a solid quadruped head (**CAT 34, Figure 4.24**), with a preserved height of 5.21 cm, was found. The fragment preserves the right side of a quadruped and the neck or the lower part of the horn, which would suggest that the head may be that of a bovid. Found in the same deposit was one fragment of the crown of a wheelmade head (**CAT 41**). The other fragment was found in the LH III C Middle fill from The Room of the Bulls. The mended crown has an approximate diameter of 7 cm. Another hollow head fragment (**CAT 25**) was found in the same deposit as the two horn fragments **CATs 29** and **30**. The fragment belongs to a smaller bovid, with an approximate diameter of only 4 cm, and preserves the attachment site of the horn or the muzzle.

Five horn fragments, which were unable to be associated with any other fragments, were found in various LH III C Middle deposits. Of the five, only one (**CAT 27**) has been determined to be a right horn and four (**CATs 26, 28, 29, and 30**) to be left horns (**Figures 4.25a-e**). **CAT 27**, appearing to be a more slender horn, is preserved from the tip to the lower end. Curving upwards and slightly outwards, the horn has a preserved height of 3.84 cm and diameter of 1.54 cm. Only the solid lower fragment from a left horn, **CAT 26** has a preserved height of 3.2 cm and diameter of 1.9 cm. Its orientation can be determined by the way it curves upward, as well as the fact that the reverse side lacks any decoration. **CAT 28** has a preserved height of 5.22 cm and diameter of 1.94 cm. As the only other horn with its tip intact, the left horn curves upward, with the tip twisting slightly more forward than **CAT 27**. Horn fragments **CATs 29** and **30** were found together in the same LH III C Middle deposit. The former has a preserved height of 4.03 cm and diameter of 1.93 cm. The latter has a preserved height of 4.22 cm and diameter of 1.9 cm. It is perforated at the bottom to about the mid-point of the preserved fragment.

Summary and Discussion of Data

Fragmentation

Of all 108 wheelmade terracotta quadruped fragments from secure contexts, head/neck fragments make up 16%, leg fragments make up 19%, and body fragments make up 65% (**Figure 4.26a**). When the twelve horn fragments are placed into a distinct category, head fragments make up only 6% of the total (**Figure 4.26b**). There are a few reasons that head fragments make up such a small percentage of the total. The obvious reason is that the body relative to the head is much larger; therefore, when broken, there will be a greater chance of finding fragments of the body than the head. Another explanation may be the result of enchainment. The head, horns, and legs were generally attached separately; thus, these body parts would have been easy to break off to give to others in order to create or maintain a relationship. These missing fragments could be buried in a hoard elsewhere in the settlement or in another geographic place entirely.

92.3% of all non-mended body fragments from the Southwest have been smashed into pieces smaller than 5.5 cm (**Figure 4.27**). The evidence from the Southwest Sector at Eleon appears to align with conclusions from a recent study conducted by Ann-Louise Schallin, in which “complete terracottas in distinctive cult or probable cult contexts were almost non-existing.”²⁴⁰ Explanations for fragmented objects include that the terracotta figures were accidentally broken and then discarded or discarded and then broke sometime later.²⁴¹ The continued excavation of the Southwest sector revealed that there is a repetitive pattern in the deposition of these objects.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Schallin 2023, 237.

²⁴¹ Schallin 2023, 226-7.

²⁴² Van Damme 2017, 314.

Quantity and Production

A range for the minimum number of bovids (MNB) has been determined for the entire site, since the bovid figures are extremely fragmentary. The lower limit, in which a mend between at least two sherds constitutes a distinct bovid figure, is 15. The upper limit is defined by a mend between at least two sherds, as well as any sherds with similar decoration and clay fabric, or a discrete piece constitute a distinct bovid figure. In order to be considered a discrete piece, the fragment must be identifiable in characterization, for example, **CATs 8** or **21**. The upper limit of the MNB range is 34. This range demonstrates that there is a significant concentration of bull figures in the Southwest, which demands further exploration in the following chapter.

The significant quantity of bovid figures raises the question of production. The variety of clay fabrics and decoration styles could indicate multiple artisans producing the bovid figures.²⁴³ Future petrographic and neutron activation analyses could demonstrate whether the figures from Eleon were imported. Whether or not the figures were imported, the Eleon elite participating in deliberate fragmentation still would have had prestigious tokens of the ritual.

Chapter Summary

Chapters 1 and 2 created the framework to analyze the findings in Chapter 3 as well as this chapter. This chapter has discussed the location, layout, and stratigraphy of the excavation at ancient Eleon. Additionally, I have described and catalogued all wheelmade terracotta figures from Eleon. Now that I have standardized the terracotta wheelmade figures, I will compare the

²⁴³ Cf. Kourou and Karetsou 1997, 111.

findings in the next chapter and, utilizing this information, discuss the possible use and context of the findings at Post-Palatial Eleon.

CHAPTER FIVE

Analysis and Conclusions

The focus of this research is to determine the significance of wheelmade terracotta anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures excavated at Eleon from 2011 until 2014 as well as to determine the existence of cultic spaces there. Similar sites with known ritual spaces throughout mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete from LH III A2 until LH III C Late were examined through the lenses defining religious ritual, religious sanctuaries of findspots as well as typology of artifacts excavated at these sites. This evaluation helped determine cult continuity, cult progression and regional variations of the sites. In this chapter the data obtained from similar sites will be compared to the wheelmade terracotta figures from Eleon to determine their ritual significance and purpose.

In order to understand the meaning of the wheelmade terracotta figures at Eleon, this study compares the excavated material to the wheelmade figures from other sites through an analysis of their typologies. Specifically, I address morphology including anatomic, stylistic, and decorative elements of both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures. This analysis along with determining the significance of these objects as religious symbols will help to frame cult continuity, cult progression as well as regional variations within sites on mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete, and determine the nature of cultic practices at ancient Eleon.

Delineating Typology: Assessment of Form and Decoration

Form: Mainland Type A Female Figures

To determine the significance of the female head fragment at Eleon, this study will

analyze and compare the morphology of similar wheelmade terracotta female figure heads.²⁴⁴ Specifically, I will examine the overall physiognomy, paying particular attention to the eyes, ears, nose, mouth, and chin. Of the seventeen Mainland Type A female figures from this study, not including the one from Eleon, eleven have preserved heads that can be compared to the female head from Eleon.

The earliest preserved heads, both dating to LH III A2, come from Room A in the West Shrine at Phylakopi. The wheelmade head of the Lady measures 8.5 cm in diameter and features a pointed chin, slim nose, molded eyes, and molded ears (**CAT 185**). The forehead is nearly non-existent; the wavy bangs and eyebrows almost meet. The high placement of the eyebrows, however, does induce a sense of awe and reverence. The relatively large, almond shaped eyes are lined with top and bottom lashes. In addition, the face is angled upward, so the figure permanently gazes toward the sky. While the nose is somewhat small and button-like, the paint emphasizes an otherwise ordinary nose. Like the nose, the space between the nose and mouth and chin are painted solid black. The chin and incised mouth are also outlined in the same black paint. The fairly large ears, which are placed slightly too high on the head, are outlined in paint.²⁴⁵ While the modeling achieves some depth, the black paint behind the ears adds to the illusion that the ears are partially detached from the head. Moreover, the painted outline attempts to create an auricular helix.

Unlike the Lady, the next female head has no preserved body (**CAT 187**). This wheelmade head measures 8.5 cm in diameter and 7 cm in height. A series of thin, wavy lines adorn the face. The figure has a bulging forehead and ridged eyebrows. The sculpted left eye is

²⁴⁴ Except for the Eleon head and Mycenae and Tiryns figures, I have not examined or seen the figures in person. These conclusions are based on photographic evidence.

²⁴⁵ The lateral canthus of the eye should align with the beginning of the helical rim (**Figure 5.1**).

painted solid, while the right is missing. The flat ridge of the beak-like nose is painted solid, drawing more emphasize to an already enlarged nose. Unfortunately, the tip is broken off, so it is unknown whether there were any perforations resembling nostrils. There are traces of paint on the sculpted mouth. The pointed chin is solid painted. From the side view, it is clear the face is positioned at a slight upward angle, as indicated by the space between the chin and neck. The sculpted ears, which are placed too high on the head, are painted on the inside.

Dating slightly later to LH III A2/B1, a Mainland Type A figure was found in Room 19 in the Temple Complex at Mycenae (**CAT 90**). This example has a round face with simple features. The thin, long eyebrows are painted on a ridged brow, high on the forehead. The eyes are two solid painted circles in the center of the face. The gap between the brows and eyes gives the figure an air of astonishment. The almond-shaped eyes have been rotated approximately 45 degrees off the central axis. While the head looks forward, the figure's gaze looks upward based on the position of the eyes. The pointy nose widens significantly from the bridge. Two small perforations at the base represent nostrils. The lips are outlined. The round chin is painted, and each cheek features a rosette. The large, modeled ears have one small, central hole, representing the conchal bowl.

Another Type A figure was found in the Room 32 of the Room of the Fresco Complex (**CAT 91**). The head has a small forehead; however, there is no gap between the ridged eyebrows and eyes. The almond-shaped eyes are slightly turned down towards the ears. The upturned nose is painted with a thin, solid stripe. The mouth is indicated by two parallel lines. The chin reinforces the boxy face. The lower face is decorated with a series of lozenges. Small, knob-like ears are outlined in paint.

Very little can be said about the female head fragment from Epidaurus (**CAT 118**). The badly eroded head measures 3.6 cm high. The head wears a diadem or headdress. In addition, traces of paint are preserved, revealing two eyes and a necklace.

The solid, drum-shaped head from Well 6 at Kontopigado dates to LH III B-C Early (**CAT 86**). The figure has a preserved height of 3.9 cm and a preserved width, from ear to ear, of 4.1 cm. Hair is represented by vertical stripes with longer locks in the back. A painted band encircles the head, perhaps indicating a headband. The figure has a narrow, protruding forehead and ridged brows. The left eyebrow is preserved in paint. The eyes are represented by two somewhat round circles, painted in the cavities on either side of the nose; a solid dot in each circle represents the pupil. The eyes are non-symmetrical, with the right eye larger than the left. The nose, chin, and ears are applied. The figure has a plastic nose, which is worn where the nostrils would be. The mouth is incised and outlined in paint. The lower part of the protruding chin is broken away. The head appears to have a painted chin strap, beginning below one ear and continuing underneath the chin to below the other ear. The bottom of the left ear is broken away. The area behind both ears is painted solid. The painted solid band and dots around the neck suggest a variety of necklaces.

Tiryns yielded five examples of preserved heads (**CATs 110-111, 113-115**). Two nearly complete female figures are associated with the cult bench from Room 110, dating to LH III C Developed. The figure with upraised arms (**CAT 110**) has an extremely narrow forehead, reminiscent of the Lady. Curly bangs peak out from underneath the hat. The figure has a strong eyebrow ridge, with the eyebrow hairs individually painted. The relatively deep-set eyes are outlined and molded. The pupils are large and incised, as well as painted solid. The nose is relatively long, narrower at the base and wider at the bridge. It is not as well defined as some of

the other noses described. The nostrils are placed close together on the base. An incised line, slightly upturned on its left, represents the mouth. The chin is rounded and slightly molded, providing some definition. The attached ears are correctly placed, but do protrude. Although the ears are not identical, they do show more attention to anatomical detail.

The face of the second figure, a Psi-figure (**CAT 111**), resembles **CAT 110** with minor differences. Most notably, the head is slightly turned. The eyebrow ridge is not as pronounced as **CAT 110**; thus, the eyes do not appear as deep-set. Like **CAT 110**, the eyes are molded and outlined. While the pupils are large and solid painted, they are not incised. Its left eye is larger than the right. In addition, the nose is decorated with a painted line, which continues onto the brow ridge, down the temples, and loops up around behind the ears. The ridge of the nose is relatively flat; the nostrils are placed close to the tip of the nose, creating the illusion that there is more space between the end of the nose and the upper lip. An upturned incised line creates a smile. The mouth is painted. There is less space between the bottom lip and the chin than **CAT 110**. Both ears of **CAT 111** are positioned correctly.

Another figure with upraised arms (**CAT 113**) is associated with Room 110, although its head was found in Room 110a. The narrow forehead is completely covered by a headband. There are no eyebrows or brow ridge. The eyes are incised and outlined, with small, solid painted pupils. They are almond-shaped, but relatively narrow. The hooked nose seems to begin from underneath the headband. The flat ridge is painted solid. A slightly upturned incised line, painted solid, forms the mouth. The chin is well-defined, but still slightly rounded. From the drawing, it appears as though a line was carved on the side of the head from the height of base of the nose down to the chin up to the same height on the opposite side of the face. By carving away this

clay, a space was created between the chin and neck. In addition, this sculpting of the chin formed very defined cheeks. This figure has no ears.

The Psi-figure **CAT 114** found in Room 115, dating to LH III C Advanced, belongs to the same series of figures as **CATs 110** and **111**, based on decoration.²⁴⁶ Its forehead is slightly larger than the foreheads of **CATs 110** and **111**, but shares the same curly bangs as **CAT 110**. The figure has a pronounced brow ridge. No eyebrows have been painted. The eyes are relatively large and triangular. They are deeply incised and outlined with a thin stroke of paint. The pupils are painted solid. The ridge of the nose is flat and well-defined. The mouth is a simple, incised line. The chin is sharp but slightly rounded. The ears are large.

The figure with upraised arms (**CAT 115**) was found in front of the cult bench of Room 110a, dating to LH III C Late. Much of its forehead is covered by its headgear; however, the right side of its face still has a prominent brow ridge. The brow ridge on its left side drops down at approximately 45 degrees. The eyes are set into slight depressions on the face. The modeled pupils are painted solid, and the depression is outlined. The nose, broken away at the tip, is too large relative to the face, both in length and height; the ridge is rectangular and flat. The eyes appear even more deep-set because of the size of the nose. The mouth is a simple incised line. The square chin and round cheeks are clearly defined from a frontal view. The figure has no ears since its hair would have covered the sides of the face.²⁴⁷ Much of the right lock is missing, but the bottom is still attached to the body. The overall proportions of the face give the figure an air of timidity, as if in the presence of a deity.

The wheelmade female head fragment from Eleon (**CAT 1**) measures 5.16 cm high and

²⁴⁶ Kilian 1981b, 54-5.

²⁴⁷ Pliatsika (2012, 614 n. 52) observes that the hair never covers the ears. Other than briefly mentioning the elaborate hairstyle of **CAT 88** in a note, she does not address the lack of ears on this figure.

3.96 cm wide. The face and neck are partially preserved, with the left eye, eyebrow, and ear missing. Since the crown and the back of the figure's head is missing, it is unclear how large the forehead was. However, unlike the other figures examined, the Eleon head has a sloping and rounded forehead, creating a more naturalistic shape. The right eyebrow is solid painted and thicker when compared to the other figures. The round eye is applied and outlined. In the center is a large, solid painted pupil. The nose is long and angular with two small perforations at the base representing nostrils. The ridge and tip of the nose have been smoothed and slightly rounded to create a more natural appearance. The mouth consists of a shallow incised line outlined by black paint. The chin is round, and the tip is curved, not sharp. There is no awkward gap between the chin and the neck like other examples (**CATs 113, 115, 185, 187**) nor is the chin pushed forward such as **CAT 86**. Rather, the chin and cheeks blend seamlessly into the neck. The applied ear is large and round, outlined in black paint.

Based on a comparison of the Eleon head and the heads of the other figures examined, I am able to suggest a date of manufacture for **CAT 1**. As stated in Chapter 2, scholars have previously commented on the changes in the treatment of the eyes as a way to date female figures. Generally, earlier figures have almond-shaped eyes, while later examples have round eyes.²⁴⁸ According to this criterion, **CAT 1** does not date to LH III A. In addition to the eyes changing, the treatment of the ears develops. The examples dating to LH III A-B have molded ears that cling to the head. Sometime during later LH III B period and LH III C Early, ears start to be applied, as in **CAT 86**. Some are even modeled to resemble an anatomical ear more closely. For example, **CATs 110, 111, and 114** have a definite helix, antihelix, and conchal bowl. Moreover, there is a clear separation between the ear and the head. Regarding head **CAT 1**,

²⁴⁸ **CAT 184** is an exception.

while the ear could be mistaken for a large earring, female figures never wear earrings.²⁴⁹ Furthermore, even though the eye is round, the beginning of the helix is aligned with the lateral canthus of the eye.²⁵⁰ Although the ear is round like **CAT 91** and lacking anatomical details like **CATs 90, 185, and 187**, it is applied. In addition, the thickness of the ear creates a shadow, indicating a clear and distinct separation between the ear and the head, like the later ears of **CATs 110, 111, and 114**. Based on this stylistic comparison, the Eleon head dates later than the female figure from the Room 32 at Mycenae, but earlier than the female figures from Tiryns Room 110. Thus, **CAT 1** most likely dates to LH III C Early, which is further supported by its find context in Structure B.

Form: Type B Bovid Figures

The typology of bovid figures is determined primarily by the location and size of the firing holes and secondarily by the form of the torso, as well as the shape and position of attachment of the legs to the body. B-1 bovinds have one or more firing holes integrated into the animal's appearance. There are fifteen examples of Type B-1 figures from this study's survey area. Of this type, the most popular location for these perforations was the backside underneath the tail; however, the muzzle and chest were also common placements for such openings.²⁵¹ Phylakopi produced five examples of Type B-1 figures, including the oldest example. Dating to LH III A2-B, this figure, from the niche in the West Shrine, can be categorized as either Type A-1, which has an inlet opening in the neck and a spout in the muzzle or dewlap, or B-1 since the

²⁴⁹ Pliatsika 2012, 615, n. 63. Her catalog consists of all published examples of the 'Mainland' Type, which includes the 'Vessel' type. Of the 118 clay figures, 41 are examples of female heads. In her study, none of the figures were found to be wearing earrings.

²⁵⁰ A line drawn from the medial to the lateral canthus bisects the eye; thus, a line bisecting a round eye is the equivalent.

²⁵¹ Guggisberg 1996, 217.

function of the figure is not clear (**CAT 191**). While there appears to be a large inlet in the neck, which would indicate Type A-1, there are also two small perforations each on the chest and rear, designating Type B-1.²⁵² This bovid from Phylakopi demonstrates how the intentional arrangement of the openings plays a part in determining their function. Two other examples were also found in the niche. **CAT 192**, contemporary to **CAT 191**, has one small perforation in the muzzle. Dating slightly later to LH III B-C, **CAT 193** has a secondary opening under its tail. The two remaining examples, **CATs 188** and **202**, from Room A in the West Shrine and the platform in the East Shrine, respectively, were referred to as “twins” by French because of their similar construction.²⁵³ Each has a secondary opening in the rear and another small opening on the crown of its head. From the North Slope of the Athenian Acropolis, a LH III B figure has one small opening on either side of the separately applied dewlap (**CAT 81**). Another figure, dating later to LH III C Middle-Late, comes from the South Slope (**CAT 84**). While the backside is only partially preserved, there is evidence of a possible base of an opening under the tail. Demonstrating the stylistic shift, the bovid figure from Pylos does not have a firing hole underneath the tail, but rather has two openings, one complete and one partial, on either side of the applied tail (**CAT 148**). Another example comes from the Sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai. This figure has a perforation to the side of its organically tapered dewlap (**CAT 158**). From the Sanctuary of Apollon Maleatas at Epidaurus, a LH III wheelmade leg with the preserved base of the dewlap has a small perforation to the left of the dewlap (**CAT 124**). Seven examples come from Patsos and Agia Triada. While the adopted Mycenaean form is evident in Cretan

²⁵² Guggisberg 1996, 211.

²⁵³ French 1985, 242.

sanctuaries, the ubiquity of the Type B-1 demonstrates the continued permeation of the Minoan tradition of naturalism.²⁵⁴

Unlike B-1 figures, B-2 figures normally have one large firing hole, as well as a short, stocky torso, to which stubby legs are attached at an oblique angle. The nine examples of Type B-2 figures from the survey area illustrates the variety within the second subtype. The oldest example of Type B-2 comes from under the East Shrine at Phylakopi. It has a large central hole in the rear and its short, wheelmade legs are applied at an angle (**CAT 196, Figure 5.2**). Dating to LH III B-C Early, the example from Kontopigado is an unusually small wheelmade figure, with a preserved diameter of 3.7 cm (**CAT 89**). The rear perforation measures 1.7 cm in diameter, nearly 20% of the rear's area. One of the defining examples of Type B-2 comes from the Temple of Apollo at Delphi (**CAT 80**). Dating to LH III B-C, the figure has two openings, one on its front and one on its rear. The open chest is divided by a vertical, slightly concave clay strip, while the rear is slightly convex, with a larger opening. The figure has only the necessary features, among them a cylindrical torso, for identification as a bull.²⁵⁵ Two more Type B-2 figures were found on the North Slope of the Athenian Acropolis. The earlier figure, dating to LH III B2-C Early, has a centrally placed opening on the rear plate (**CAT 82**). The other figure, dating to LH III C, has a large opening in the chest and a closed opening in the rear (**CAT 83**). The only known type from Mycenae is a Type B-2 with a partially preserved large, central perforation on the rear (**CAT 97**). Another hallmark example is association with Room 117 from the Lower Citadel at Tiryns (**CAT 108**). Dating to LH III C Early, the figure has a large opening on the chest and backside. Moreover, its short legs are applied at an angle. Two more examples

²⁵⁴ In all of Crete, only two known Type B-2 figures exist, dating to the Geometric period (Guggisberg 1996, nos. 544, 610).

²⁵⁵ Guggisberg 1996, 278-9.

are from Amyklai dating between LH III C Middle-Late. One has a large perforation at the base of its neck while the other has a large central opening framed by a raised rim in its chest (**CATs 152, 157**).

Because of the fragmentary preservation of the Eleon material, it is difficult to conclude whether there are any Type B-1 or B-2 figures. At least one figure belongs to Type B-1. Found in topsoil in the Northeast Quadrant, **CAT 55** has a small opening located on the larger fragment (**Figure 5.3**). Part of a similar sized perforation is preserved on the smaller fragment. The smaller bovid figure from the Northwest Complex appears to belong to Type B-2 (**CAT 6**). The base of a relatively large opening is preserved on the back of the rear plate, over which the applied tail is placed. **CAT 73** also seems to belong to Type B-2; however, its categorization is more certain. A large perforation is partially preserved on the chest fragment. Further, if the broken area is indeed a leg attachment site, the leg would join at an oblique angle, adhering to the rule for the type.

Decoration: Mainland Type A Female Figures

Motifs and ornamentation play an essential role to convey ritual function and meaning of the female figures. Since I am only comparing the heads of female figures, I do not discuss hair, jewelry other than necklaces, dress, or other adornments.²⁵⁶ I only examine ornamentation on the face. The significance of the decoration will be discussed later in the analysis of the function and meaning of female figures.

The most basic function of paint is to emphasize certain features, including the nose, chin, and ears. **CATs 91, 111, 113, 185, and 187** have a painted nose. All but **CAT 185** just have

²⁵⁶ For further information, see Pliatsika (2012).

a single stripe on the ridge of the nose. The nose of **CAT 185**, however, is painted solid except for the base. **CATs 86, 90, 185, and 187** have painted chins, ranging from the entire chin covered in solid paint to just the tip. **CAT 59** wears a chin strap, which was painted. The ears of **CATs 86, 91, 110, 111, 114, 185, and 187**, as well as **CAT 1**, were emphasized with paint in some way.

Necklaces are by far the most popular type of jewelry depicted.²⁵⁷ They can be represented by simple horizontal bands, as in **CATs 86, 114, and 1**, or as rows of dots, like **CATs 90 and 121**. **CAT 91** wears an elaborate combination of these two styles. Other figures are adorned with more intricate styles. **CAT 110** wears seven necklaces, four simple horizontal bands, one simple row of dots, and two rows of quirks. The bottom necklace, a row of quirks, are plastically rendered. **CAT 111** is adorned with nine necklaces of alternating bands and dots and a tenth that holds a ‘waz-lily’ pendant. **CAT 115** has multiple necklaces in the style of dots as well as one that holds a lunate pendant. **CAT 185** wears seven necklaces, with some simpler bands and dots. The two rock pattern necklaces and quirk necklace are more elaborate.

Some female figures are adorned with paint that serve a different function than, or in addition to, emphasizing facial features. **CATs 90 and 91** have been painted with the rosette motif and lozenge motif, respectively. **CAT 111** features painted decoration from the nose to the eyebrows. The lines then loop down the sides of the face and back up behind the ears. **CAT 187** has painted decoration all over the face. Two vertical fine, wavy lines are painted on either side of the face, one down each side of nose to corners of mouth, and one down each side of nose itself. In addition, two lines are painted across the forehead.

²⁵⁷ Pliatsika 2012, 615.

Decoration: Type B Bovid Figures

As mentioned in Chapter 2, bovid figures are decorated with linear ornamentation as well as established Mycenaean pottery decorative motifs, with the most frequent type being the wavy line (FM 53). In this study's sample, wavy line is by far the most common motif. Twelve other motifs are present in the sample. Some types are unique and only occur once. For example, a bovid figure from Kalapodi (**CAT 76**) features rows of bivalve shells. Other sites, like Amyklai, provide a fuller picture of the various motifs that can be found at one site. Not only are multiple examples of 'Close Style' decoration (**CATs 152-155**) found, but other decorative motifs of the Amyklai bovinds, including concentric semicircles (**CATs 157, 160-1161, 167**), zigzags (**CATs 161, 165**), wavy lines (**CATs 156-157**), diaper net (**CAT 159**), and simple linear decoration (**CATs 162, 168-169, 172-174**), also appear.²⁵⁸ While it is common for horns and legs to have simpler, linear decoration, some bovid figures are not adorned with Mycenaean pottery motifs, such as the Pylos bovid (**CATs 148-149**).

Just like with female figures, decoration can connote meaning and significance of the bovid figure. The repetition of decorative motifs often served to characterize and denote the surface of a certain animal. For example, a group of the Phylakopi bovinds are decorated either with large clovers (**CATs 192, 196**), a mixture of clovers and crosses (**CAT 191**), or a series of dense crosses (**CAT 197**). The clover and cross motifs are meant to represent the pied coat of the animal. In addition to the representation of an animal's coat or body, the decoration can also portray accessories, like reins or saddlecloths. The torso of the bovid figure from Delphi (**CAT 80**) features a scale pattern, lined with two parallel lines, which represent the double hem of a saddlecloth.²⁵⁹ Two other examples of bovinds with saddlecloths come from Athens (**CATs 81**,

²⁵⁸ Demakopoulou 1982, 60; Guggisberg 1996, 58.

²⁵⁹ Nicholls 1970, 9.

84). The bovid from Tiryns (**CAT 108**) has an elaborate figural decoration. On its chest are two goats, erected upright, framing the dewlap and one fish at the image border. The torso and backside feature upright walking and partly jumping, ithyphallic goats. Fish are depicted in the upper frame of the long sides of the torso. The images are framed by wide lines, signifying that the decoration is an elaborate saddlecloth. Moreover, although some motifs can have a deeper, symbolic meaning, in particular figurative elements, there is no objective method to determine such meaning.²⁶⁰ The significance of such decoration will be discussed later in the analysis of the function and meaning of bovid figures.

Following Guggisberg, only unique cases from Eleon were included in the count.²⁶¹ In addition, since the decoration of horns and legs are generally linear, these fragments were excluded. The small size and poor preservation of many of the fragments from Eleon made it difficult to identify clearly what motif, if any, is featured. Nevertheless, 27 distinct examples were observed (**Figure 5.4**). Just as Guggisberg found in his study, the wavy line (FM 53) is the most popular motif at Eleon, appearing seven times.²⁶² The cross hatch or diaper net (FM 57) appears four times, as does the parallel chevrons motif (FM 58).²⁶³ Isolated semicircles (FM 43), the scale pattern (FM 70) and the lozenge motif (FM 73) have two examples each.²⁶⁴ Seven motifs are featured only once: concentric arcs (FM 44), the quirk (FM 48), running spirals (FM 46), joining semicircles (FM 42), the bird motif (FM 7), and the grass/reed motif (FM 16).²⁶⁵

The head fragment **CAT 32** is identifiable as a horse because of the solid red paint on the crown, representing the mane. Further, the decoration depicts a bridle and bit, represented by the

²⁶⁰ Guggisberg 1996, 286-9.

²⁶¹ Guggisberg 1996, n. 1317.

²⁶² FM 53: **CATs 6, 11, 24-25, 45, 49, 57.**

²⁶³ FM 57: **CATs 7, 10, 21, 33;** FM 58: **CATs 19, 35-37.**

²⁶⁴ FM 43: **CATs 31, 64;** FM 70: **CATs 6, 56;** FM 73: **CATs 36, 72.**

²⁶⁵ FMs 44, 48: **CAT 31;** FM 46: **CAT 33;** FM 42: **CAT 48;** FMs 7, 16: **CAT 10.**

symmetrical lines emanating from the bridge of the nose, connecting to a thick wavy line on the sides of the muzzle, and partially preserved paint over an incised mouth. The additional lines could signify an elaborate ceremonial bridle. However, it could also indicate that the type of decoration belongs to the ‘Close Style.’

Morphology and Chronology

As mentioned in Chapter 2, typology and chronology are closely linked. Some scholars, including Eleftheria Kardamaki, maintain that Type B-1 are most prevalent during LH III A-B1 and Type B-2, while appearing in LH III A2, was prevalent during LH III B2-C.²⁶⁶ However, according to Guggisberg, Type B-1 and B-2 are prevalent on the Mainland throughout LH III; thus, bovid subtypes are not a reliable way to pinpoint the production date of bovid figures.

In addition, while decoration can aid in dating, it is not an infallible method, especially among bovid figures. The corpus of figures from secure contexts is not nearly large enough for scholars to be able to make chronological assumptions based off of style and decoration. For example, Egan compares the linear decoration of the Pylos bovid figure to that of handmade bovid figures in order to determine a date of LH III A2 or LH III B. As discussed in Chapter 2, although the decoration techniques of handmade figurines and wheelmade figures are similar, they are still distinct. In addition, bovid figures do not appear on the Mainland until LH III B; only rhyta occur earlier. Therefore, the Pylos bovid most likely dates to LH III B, based on its function as a figure and the destruction date of the palace.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁶ Kardamaki 2013, 58-9.

²⁶⁷ Egan 2019, 429-30. However, if the bovid is a rhyton and not a figure, then the earlier date could be possible.

The Ritual Significance of Wheelmade Figures: Evaluation of Function and Meaning

The interpretation of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures and figurines is based on their function and meaning. While the function of the object refers to its utilitarian use, its meaning may transcend this depending upon the context which relies on the symbolic nature of the object.²⁶⁸ Although a religious function often is assumed, French has argued that “figurines take their function from their context and, not vice-versa, i.e. the same type of figurine has a discrete (though possibly related) function when found in a tomb, an outdoor altar site or a domestic context.”²⁶⁹ Since all of the sites discussed in this study have been identified through various means as cultic, and have been verified through my framework above, the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures found at these locations can be inferred to have a cultic function.

When found in a sacred context, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures can be assigned to four different functional categories: cult vessels, cult images, votives, or cult equipment, depending on their number, size, context, and quality. Generally, vessels belonged to a set of fixed cultic paraphernalia used during rituals in order to make libations. As noted in Chapter 2, these vessels can be in the form of an animal. Cult images, that is, the portrayal of a deity or some other transcendental being that is the object of cultic veneration, are characterized by their distinctive iconography, exceptional physical quality, relatively large size, and singular occurrence among the cultic finds of a sanctuary or other sacred place. Votives are distinguished by their pervasive appearance and uniformity of design. Although usually found in great numbers, a smaller collection, however, can still be understood as votives, since the number of offerings depends primarily on the number of worshippers. Some figures function as neither cult

²⁶⁸ Damm 1997, 212.

²⁶⁹ French 1981a, 173.

images nor votives because of their number, size, or iconography, in which case they can be considered cult equipment or Kultrequisiten ('cult props'). Kultrequisiten can be used to highlight specific cult elements or honor certain rituals.²⁷⁰ These four categories lend a sense of uniformity to the function of figures found in sacred contexts, allowing for the comparisons of figures from different sites to occur. Moreover, the function of the figures can reveal their meaning, whether that be a deity, an attendant, or a symbolic sacrifice.

A holistic approach to understanding cultic practices of prehistoric societies requires not only an examination of the typology of cultic objects, but also an analysis of the overall milieu in which they are found. Utilizing the framework for analyzing ritual symbols developed in Chapter 1, I will now evaluate the context of the findspots (**Table 5.1**). For this study, I only conduct symbolic element analyses for the female and bovid figures found relevant to this study. In addition, a cultic space is considered to have both female and bovid figures if the figures were found together in the same context. Therefore, for example, since no bovid figures were found in the Cult Center at Mycenae during LH III B and no female figures were found dating to the LH III C reoccupation of the area, the Cult Center does not belong to this category.

Areas with Female and Bovid Figures

Of the locations examined for this study, five contain both female and bovid wheelmade terracotta figures. These include the West Shrine at Phylakopi, Complex III at Kontopigado, Epidauros, Kalapodi, Amyklai, and Room 117 at Tiryns.

At the West Shrine at Phylakopi, the majority of bovid figures are found "accompanying" the female figures in Room A and its niche (**CATs 185, 187-188, 191-194**).²⁷¹ Only two bovid

²⁷⁰ Renfrew 1985, 22-4; Guggisberg 1996, 330-2.

²⁷¹ Renfrew 1985, 370.

leg fragments (**CATs 181-182**) are found on the northwest platform in the main room. As attention focusing devices, both the niche and the platform support the concept of ritual framing. Semantically, the female figure represents the divinity worshipped here, while its collocation with the bovid figures suggests a syntactic relationship between them.²⁷² While some of the figures in Room A were broken when they were originally deposited, they do not seem to have been broken deliberately. Further, there is no evidence of ritual feasting.

The figures at Complex III at Kontopigado were found in wells. A solid female head was discovered in Well 6 (**CAT 86**), while the body of a female figure along with two fragments of wheelmade bovids were identified in Well 7 (**CATs 87-88**). Additionally, pottery sherds were found in the fill of the wells. No evidence of ritual framing appears to exist in these wells. While a female figure and bovid fragments are collocated in Well 7, it is not evident that any interrelationship between these objects exist or that they have referential meaning. While there is breakage of the bovid figures, it is most likely unrelated to any ritual practice. Although sherds of eating and drinking vessels are present, they are not suggestive of ritual feasting.

The wheelmade figures at Epidaurus, including one Mainland Type A female head fragment and multiple quadruped figures (**CATs 118-147**), were most likely originally placed on the terrace altar but were pushed to the slope during the cleaning of the ritual space. The collocation of the wheelmade figures, faunal remains, and altar suggest that the figures are ritually framed. Furthermore, the animal sacrifices suggest ritual feasting, which reinforces evidence of ritual framing. This suggests an interrelationship between the female figure, the bull, and ritual feasting, supporting that the wheelmade figures at Epidaurus are indeed ritual symbols.

²⁷² Renfrew 1985, 371. See 'Analysis of the Function and Meaning of Wheelmade Figures,' for further discussion on the function and meaning of female and bovid figures.

The findings at Amyklai were found in mixed fill deposits. Since none of the objects were found in their original contexts, it is impossible to determine if they are ritually framed. While there is no evidence of ritual breakage or ritual feasting, the nearly life-sized fragments of the two female figures (**CATs 150-151**) most likely represent divine forms. Additionally, three nearly complete bovid figures (**CATs 152, 177-178**), and numerous additional fragments (**CATs 154-176**) suggest an interrelation among the figures.

The South Temple 3 complex at Kalapodi contains multiple bovid figures as well as a wheelmade female head (**CATs 75-79**). The majority of the wheelmade figures were found clustered in the forecourt of the shrine proper, next to the foundations of an altar or small shrine, measuring 3.8 x 3.5 m.²⁷³ The number and density of the bovid figures indicate that they were ritually framed. While the female head does not typify the Type A style, it is collocated with the bovinds. Semiotic analysis supports the interrelationship of these figures as well as their ritual symbolism. In addition, unburned animal bones as well as banqueting vessels were found interspersed throughout this area, suggesting that ritual and/or communal feasting occurred. There is no evidence of ritual breakage.

Room 117 at Tiryns contains fragments of two female figures (**CATs 106-107**) and two bovid figures (**CATs 108-109**) in the vicinity of a cult bench and niche; however, as a result of extensive leveling, none of these figures appear to have been found in their original contexts. Nevertheless, based on the association of these figures with cult objects, it appears this location is ritual framed, and the cultic symbols are interrelated. While there is no evidence of ritual breakage, a collection of cattle, sheep/goat, and pig bones indicate the presence of ritual feasting.

²⁷³ Felsch 1983, 32; Guggisberg 1996, 87.

Areas with only Female Figures

Five locations had finds consisting of only terracotta wheelmade female figures. They include Rooms 19 and 32 at Mycenae along with Rooms 110, 115, and 110a at Tiryns.

Sealed away in Room 19 is the only complete terracotta wheelmade Mainland Type A female figure of those found at Mycenae. Despite going out of use prior to the destruction of the sanctuary, this room has been characterized as a religious storeroom, and as such, this female figure can still be considered a ritual symbol, since it served as a representation of the divine.²⁷⁴ As this room is a storeroom, there is no evidence of ritual feasting.

Adjacent to the Room of the Fresco, Room 32, similar to Room 19, has a solitary female figure in it. Found on a dais, this figure seems to be ritually framed and, thus, may be considered a religious symbol.

Room 110 in Tiryns contains two nearly complete female figures. These were found directly in front of a cult bench. It is likely that these objects were on the bench, but subsequently fell in front of it. Thus, ritual framing can be suggested by their proximity to the cult bench. While it is unusual to have two Type A female figures simultaneously venerated, it still conceivable that they were worshiped as cult symbols, though their interrelationship cannot be assessed. No ritual breakage or ritual feasting was evident.

The findings in Room 115 include one wheelmade Psi-figure (**CAT 114**) was found on a stone dais in the southeast corner of the room. The colocation of the platform and the figure suggest ritual framing. While domestic objects are present, this is the only religious symbol: thus, interrelation of the objects is not evident.²⁷⁵ Further, there is no evidence of ritual breakage or ritual feasting.

²⁷⁴ Moore and Tylour 1999, 90-3.

²⁷⁵ Veters 2015, n. 183.

Room 110a, built on the foundations of Room 110 in Tiryns, has a single, large female with upraised arms (**CAT 115**) found in front of the cult bench, most likely having fallen from the bench itself. There are very few finds from Room 110a and the surrounding courtyard. While the female figure can be considered a cultic symbol from its interaction with the milieu, no evidence of a relationship with other objects can be ascertained. Additionally, there is no evidence of ritual breakage or ritual feasting.

Areas with only Bovid Figures

Of the excavation sites examined, six have only terracotta wheelmade bovid figures. These areas include the East Shrine at Phylakopi, the Main Building at Pylos, the reoccupation of the Cult Center at Mycenae, and Complex I at Kontopigado. Additionally, terracotta wheelmade bovid figures were exclusively found at the open-air sanctuaries of the Patsos Cave and Agia Triada on Crete.

On Melos, the East Shrine at Phylakopi contains one nearly complete and two fragmentary bovid figures clustered around the platform. Unlike the West Shrine, no anthropomorphic figures were found. While there is no preeminent cult image, these figures may represent the worship of an unknown animal deity. However, they may also have a function similar to the bovid figures in the West Shrine.²⁷⁶ It appears that active worship occurred in the East Shrine as the various offerings were placed on the platform.²⁷⁷ These findings would suggest not only ritual framing and interrelationship of the figures but referential meaning as well. There is no evidence of ritual breakage or ritual feasting.

²⁷⁶ Renfrew 1985, 373.

²⁷⁷ Renfrew 1985, 373.

At Pylos, the Main Building contains the only definitive wheelmade bovid figure. It is believed to come from an upper story collapse; thus, it is unclear whether there is ritual framing.²⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the megaron, where it has been hypothesized that the bovid figure would have been employed, suggests ritual framing did indeed occur. The walls were covered in frescoes with ritually significant iconography, including processional and banqueting scenes. Additionally, nearby Room 7 contains burnt faunal remains and multiple kylikes, suggesting evidence of ritual feasting. Ritual breakage was not seen.

The LH III C reoccupation of the Cult Center at Mycenae contains nine fragments of bovid figures. These were found scattered throughout the LH III B/C fill of the Cult Center. While some interpret certain aspects of the architecture in the rooms of the West Complex as cultic in nature, none of the figures were primary to these contexts.²⁷⁹ Thus, there is no definitive evidence of ritual framing. Further, ritual breakage and ritual feasting were not found.

A solitary bovid figure was excavated in Complex I at Kontopigado (**CAT 85**). There are no other findings that would suggest that this is a cultic space, thus no definitive evidence of ritual framing or referential meaning exists. While this figure is surrounded by various drinking vessels, large storage containers are prevalent as well. Therefore, no definitive evidence of ritual feasting can be ascertained.

The Patsos cave, during the LM III B-C period, does yield evidence of one wheelmade female figure fragment (**CAT 205**). While this head could attach to a human body, the form, style, and context suggest that this female head actually belonged to Mischwesen, most likely with the body of a cow.²⁸⁰ Since the head does not belong to a Mainland Type A female figure,

²⁷⁸ Egan (2019, 437) proposes that the bovid figure was kept in a luxury storeroom on the upper floor.

²⁷⁹ French 2011, 18.

²⁸⁰ Kourou and Karetsou 1997, 159-60.

Patsos is a cultic area with only bovid and bull figures. Moreover, the grotto itself ritually frames the votives. Ritual feasting cannot be attested for certain during LM III. However, the bovid figures, along with the Mischwesen and other offerings, probably demonstrate a syntactic relationship, suggesting that the cult was connected with vegetation and fertility.²⁸¹

Just as at the Patsos cave, the piazzale dei sacelli at Agia Triada does not have any Mainland Type A female figures. Instead, the female heads appear to belong to Mischwesen, in particular, figures with cow bodies and female heads. A prominent category of finds are the bovid and bull figures. The votive offerings are spread across the regione dei sacelli, but some are concentrated on the paved piazzale dei sacelli. Since no ritual sacrifice or feasting is associated with the LM III C sanctuary, the bovid and bull figures can be interpreted as representing cattle offerings.²⁸²

Areas at Eleon

The only evidence for the colocation of female and bovid figures in the same context comes from Structure B, where the female head **CAT 1** and the upper leg fragment **CAT 2** were found in nearby loci (71 and 63, respectively). In addition, the bovid figures from the Northwest Complex, which also date to LH III C Early, could have been in use during the same time. However, without further evidence for LH III C Early, it is impossible to tell.

From the lack of extensive excavation, Structure B cannot definitively support ritual framing. There is no evidence of ritual breakage or ritual feasting. However, the female head (**CAT 1**) and the bovid upper leg fragment (**CAT 2**) suggest both a syntactic relationship between the figures as well as support for their referential meaning.

²⁸¹ Kourou and Karetsou 1997, 163-4.

²⁸² D'Agata 1997, 99.

Overall, the Northwest Complex layout does not evince ritual framing. There is no evidence of ritual breakage or feasting. Further, the objects found here are interrelated, but only when taken together with the objects found in Structure B.

Many of the fragments of the bovid figures (**CAT 10, CAT 11, CAT 13, CATs 20-21**) associated with the Bench Shrine are ritually framed, having been found on the stone pavement in front of the entrance. Although the three leg fragments **CAT 12, CAT 8, and CAT 9** were not found on the stone pavement, they were still discovered in associated strata and, thus, are interrelated. While the figures were found broken, it is unclear whether they were deliberately broken as part of ritual. Nonetheless, libation vessels suggest ritual feasting.

Four bovid figures (**CAT 31, CAT 33, CAT 35, CAT 36**) were found in The Room of the Bulls. There appears to be a hearth present, which suggests ritual framing. Furthermore, the objects found in the courtyard associated with The Room of the Bulls, including horse head rhyton (**CAT 32**), solid quadruped head fragment (**CAT 34**), wheelmade head fragment (**CAT 41**), hollow head fragment (**CAT 48**), five horns (**CAT 26, CAT 27, CAT 28, CAT 29, CAT 30**) would suggest a syntactic relationship. While it is uncertain whether ritual breakage was practiced, libation vessels found in this area suggest ritual feasting.

Analysis and Discussion of the Function and Meaning of Female Figures

As argued in Chapter 3, Mycenaean wheelmade terracotta female figures are predominately found in cultic settings and, thus, are associated with religious ritual.²⁸³ Such figures have been interpreted to be either votives, which represent celebrants or priestesses, or

²⁸³ Albers 2009; Pliatsika 2012, 609-10, n. 9. Only two figures are associated with funerary contexts, one coming from chamber tomb 40 in the Agriositykia cemetery, Mycenae (Nat. Mus. Inv. 2494) and the other from chamber tomb 80 in Rhodes.

cult images, which represent the venerated deity. Further, in her paper about the ornamentation of female figures, Vassiliki Pliatsika suggests that these figures were embellished with jewelry and clothes whether they were in their cultic space or transported in processions.²⁸⁴

In order to evaluate the cultic significance of these figures, I analyzed the form and decoration of the wheelmade figures. One of Renfrew's principles for recognizing ritual stipulates that participants should engage all senses, which are evinced in the female figures examined in this study. The enlarged eyes and ears emphasize the senses of sight and hearing. The well-defined nose supports the heightened sense of smell, while the presence of an incised and painted mouth relays not only the sense of taste, but communication as well.²⁸⁵ In addition to form, decoration also determines ritual significance. Of the ornamentation seen on these female figures, depiction of jewelry, specifically necklaces, is the most prevalent. Sometimes these necklaces hold pendants, which depict symbolic shapes. Similar to actual Mycenaean jewelry, these pendants have symbolic religious relevance. Further, rosette and lozenge facial decoration have cultic significance and are identified as important symbols in religious ritual.²⁸⁶

In addition, the broken heads of figures appear to have been kept and deposited at shrines, whereas the rest of the body has been discarded elsewhere.²⁸⁷ A notable example comes from Room 110 at Tiryns, where the head was found among other figures and vessels near the cult bench while its arms were found in the courtyard and a nearby fill (**CAT 113**).²⁸⁸ At Phylakopi, the female head **CAT 187** was found in Room A, along with other bovid figures and the Lady. While these figures could have been damaged during the collapse process, it is more

²⁸⁴ Pliatsika 2012, 618.

²⁸⁵ Pliatsika 2012, 612-3; cf. Nicholls (1970, 4) on Cretan female figures with ear holes.

²⁸⁶ Pliatsika 2012, 614-6. See the Palatial stone jewelry mold (**SF0324**) from Eleon which preserves the 'waz-lily' motif (Burke et al. 2021, Fig. 7b).

²⁸⁷ Kardamaki 2013, 73.

²⁸⁸ Veters 2015, n. 176.

likely that they were damaged during their use and placed in Room A for safe keeping, especially since no other part of the figure has been found.²⁸⁹ The heads, therefore, were reused and, perhaps, even revered.²⁹⁰ Although some heads of figures appear to have been left as offerings in shrines, a head from Kontopigado was discarded in Well 6 (**CAT 86**).²⁹¹

Regarding the Eleon head fragment, it most likely has a cultic function. Excluding head **CAT 86**, all of the female figures, including both fragments and whole figures, from this study have a cultic function. While the location of **CAT 1** does not appear to have evidence of ritual framing, for example, no cultic architecture like altars are present, and while Structure B may not be a cultic location, the comparison with other heads from this study in ritual contexts suggests that **CAT 1** is likely to have a cultic significance.

Analysis and Discussion of the Function and Meaning of Bovid Figures

Prominent throughout cultic settings in Mycenaean Greece, wheelmade terracotta bovid figures have been associated with religious ritual. Moreover, bovid figures connote strength and fecundity, especially when collocated with female figures. Analyzing bovid figures, this study examines morphology, including production techniques and decoration. In addition, evaluating the syntactics and semantics will further define the significance of these figures.

In the West Shrine at Phylakopi, the bovid figures have been interpreted to accompany the female figures, including the Lady, the cult image. Even though bovid figures appear alone in the East Shrine, the alleged duality of the shrines make it so that they cannot be interpreted as cult images. Therefore, the bovid figures served as Kultrequisiten or cult equipment.²⁹² Another

²⁸⁹ Renfrew 1985, 112-4.

²⁹⁰ Kardamaki 2013, 73.

²⁹¹ Kardamaki 2013, 66.

²⁹² Renfrew 1985, 373.

example of Kultrequisiten is **CAT 108** from Tiryns. The bull has long been associated with fecundity, and this bovid figure from Tiryns with its decoration of the ithyphallic goat and fish reinforces the notion of a fertility cult.²⁹³ Although the fragmentary nature of the figure along with its findspot outside of a cult room makes it difficult to establish any further meaning of the scene, the wide frame lines suggest that the figurative decoration represents an elaborate saddlecloth. **CAT 108** could have potentially served as the cult image; however, with its findspot outside of south wall of Room 117 and the presence of the two fragmented female figures, it is unlikely to have been the cult image. Moreover, it cannot be characterized as a votive dedication because of the elaborate decoration and the singularity of the find.

The majority of bovid figures, however, seem to have been dedicated as votives in order to symbolize the memory of a completed sacrifice or to serve as a substitute for an actual sacrifice.²⁹⁴ While the ritual breakage of these figures may suggest enchainment, it is more likely that they represent ritual sacrifice as they are an economical substitute compared to expensive sacrificial bulls. Just as the domesticated bull replaced the feral bull at Çatal Höyük, the ceramic bovid figure replaced the domesticated bull as the sacrificial victim through symbolization. Just as a real bull was led adorned with a blanket during the ceremonial procession prior to sacrifice, these bovid figures were decorated with a blanket symbolized either by a simple diaper net motif or more elaborate decoration enclosed within a frame.²⁹⁵ A probable explanation for such behavior could be that the bovid terracottas were symbolically sacrificed rather than a live bull.

Regarding Eleon, little can be said about the function and meaning of the bovid figures from the Northwest Complex during LH III C Early. However, when compared to the bovid

²⁹³ Guggisberg 1996, 356.

²⁹⁴ Renfrew 1985, 23; Guggisberg 1996, 355.

²⁹⁵ Guggisberg 1996, 339-40.

from Pylos, the cultic finds most likely functioned as votives and were being kept in storage to be used or re-used at a later date.

During LH III C Middle 1 in the Southwest Sector, the cluster of broken bovid figures on the stone pavement in front of the Bench Shrine were most likely dedicated as votive substitutes for actual sacrifice, especially since there is little to no evidence to indicate ritual animal sacrifice at Eleon.²⁹⁶ In addition, **CAT 10** from the stone pavement features a bird motif. Very few examples of figural decoration on zoomorphic figures exist. Three examples are present in this case study, from Tiryns, Amyklai, and Eleon. While the decoration from Tiryns is much more elaborate than the examples from Amyklai and Eleon, it is still significant that Eleon features one of the most popular pottery motifs, which is virtually non-existent in zoomorphic ceramic decoration. During LH III C Middle 2, the bovid figures from The Room of the Bulls and its courtyard appear to continue to function as votives. Furthermore, both the bovinds in LH III C Middle 1 and Middle 2 deposits were found with kalathoi, kraters, composite and ring vases, and semiglobular cups, which suggest that these are primary cult contexts.²⁹⁷

The Ritual Significance of Mycenaean Sanctuaries: Evaluation of Cultic Space

Now that the relevance of the wheelmade terracotta anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures has been examined, I will now analyze the significance of the space where these items were found utilizing the framework established in Chapter 1 (**Table 5.2**). To determine whether each space served a specific purpose of ritual practice, I assess where the ritual objects, reviewed in the previous section, were found, as well as the level of control of access.

²⁹⁶ See Bullock and Lam (2021) for the preliminary interpretation of the faunal evidence at Eleon. Currently, only four trenches of the SW has been studied. Bullock and Lam suggest practices of subsistence and domesticated exploitation rather than ritual feasting and sacrificing.

²⁹⁷ Lis and Van Damme 2021, 73-9.

Natural Sanctuary

The four natural sanctuaries examined in this study, Epidaurus, Amyklai, Patsos, and Agia Triada, share the same qualities. The main attention focusing element is their natural setting in the open air; however, each also has specific attention focusing devices that emphasize the importance of the ritual symbols dedicated at each sanctuary. At Epidaurus, portions of a wheelmade female head as well as fragments of wheelmade bovid and quadruped figures were most likely displayed on the Π-shaped stone terrace, near the burnt sacrifices of mainly cattle and goats.²⁹⁸ Amyklai yielded evidence of three nearly complete bovid figures in addition to numerous fragments, as well as two fragments of female figures. The sanctuary at Amyklai has been classified as a hypaethral sanctuary since there is no evidence of Mycenaean built remains. Further, it is unclear whether the ash altar dates to the Mycenaean period. Despite the fact that the figures were not found in situ, the natural location alone is enough qualification for attention focusing. At Patsos, evidence of ritual symbols include nearly ten LM III B-C wheelmade bull and bovid fragments and a wheelmade female head. Although there can be no confirmation now that the modern-day church has been built, it is possible for groups of votives to have been clustered around certain stalagmite formations, which could have functioned as natural attention focusing devices. Further, despite the fact that only evidence for ash altars exist for the Hellenistic and Roman periods, it is very likely that the practice occurred during the Late Minoan period and that votives were found in these layers. The regione dei sacelli at Agia Triada contained numerous LM III C wheelmade bull and bovid fragments. The objects were concentrated on the piazzale dei sacelli, which appears to have served as an attention focusing device.

²⁹⁸ Lambrinudakis 1981, 59.

None of the four sanctuaries had restricted access. The Patsos cave sanctuary is located on a natural passage connecting the northern coast to the Messara valley and the southern harbors of central Crete. The sanctuary saw many worshippers, not just local ones. Although the other sanctuaries were associated with specific centers, thereby limiting access in terms of participants, Epidaurus, Amyklai, and Agia Triada did not produce conclusive evidence of structures that would suggest the restricted access of cultic practices. Nevertheless, based on previous evaluation, as well as my own criteria, the natural sanctuaries at Epidaurus, Amyklai, Patsos, and Agia Triada all have a specific, primary cultic nature.

Built: Palace Cult

Pylos is the only palace cult on the Mainland to produce evidence of a bovid figure. The megaron proper, the throne room, does employ attention focusing devices, in particular, the central hearth, as well as the fresco program which most likely paralleled the rituals that occurred. Moreover, this throne room certainly had controlled access. However, being multifaceted, the megaron did not serve solely as a ritual space.

Built: Domestic Sanctuary

Two types of domestic sanctuaries are household and workshop cults. Complex I at Kontopigado is potentially an example of a household cult. The structure yielded a singular wheelmade bovid figure, which was located in the courtyard. Although most of the bovid fragments were found with banquet vessels near the threshold of Room I', there is no evidence of any hearths or other attention focusing devices. Further, a courtyard is a communal space and not

restricted. Overall, while the courtyard does hold ritual significance, it does not serve a specific ritual purpose.

Although there are fragments of wheelmade female and bovid figures in Complex III, they were found discarded with other ceramics in wells. These were not sacred deposits, but rather more likely refuse from workshops. However, whether Complex III itself had a shrine, or multiple shrines, remains unclear. Currently, no evidence for a sanctuary, natural or built, exists.²⁹⁹ While it is evident that Complex III was involved in the production of cultic objects, it is uncertain whether the objects produced were created for worship at the site itself or if they were only for export.

Built: Settlement Sanctuary

Settlement sanctuaries, by nature, have limited access. This research examines nine settlement sanctuaries, all of which are attention focusing and have evidence of ritual symbols. These include both the West and East Shrines at Phylakopi, Rooms 19 and 32 in the Cult Center at Mycenae, the sanctuary at Kalapodi, and Rooms 117, 110, 110a, and 115 at Tiryns.

Consisting of small areas, Rooms A and B at the West Shrine at Phylakopi exemplify restricted space in built settlement sanctuaries. Room A and its niche were only accessible through Room B, reinforcing the significance of objects stored or deposited there.

Smaller and narrower than the West Shrine, the East Shrine had only one platform in the east corner of the room. Similar to the West Shrine, the East Shrine has limited access and, as a consequence of its layout with the dais, is attention focusing.

²⁹⁹ Kardamaki 2013, 75-6.

Addressing the built sanctuaries at Mycenae, the LH III B Cult Center is the paradigm for settlement sanctuaries.³⁰⁰ Before it was sealed shut, Room 19 was accessed by a staircase, set off by three pillars aligned with the long axis of the shrine. Even after the entrance was closed, the staircase served as a permanent reminder of the religious storeroom. Further, Room 32 displays the characteristics of both attention focusing as well as a limited access structure. After the construction of Room 32, the Room with the Fresco Complex was only accessible from the northwest, whereas the other cult buildings were still accessible from Courtyard 35. Additionally, the dais in the southwest corner has led Taylour to interpret the room as a shrine; however, French believed that the room acted as a religious storeroom.³⁰¹

While there is no clear evidence of a permanent Mycenaean settlement at Kalapodi, there is evidence for a built sanctuary. The construction of the cultic complex at Kalapodi consisted of both a hypaethral area and a cultic complex. While the open-air section would have been accessible for communal ritual, the sanctuary itself would have been limited to the access of a select few.³⁰² In the forecourt, a dense deposit of bovid figures and other votive objects was found near the substructure of an altar. Within the sanctuary itself, there were platforms used as altars, benches, and cavities for libations. This paraphernalia would support the attention focusing nature of this cultic complex.

The three successive cult rooms at Tiryns (Rooms 117, 110, and 110a) were all very narrow, effectively restricting the number of celebrants who could occupy the room at one time. In addition, each had a bench. Nevertheless, the rooms had varying layouts and distinct elements. The façade of Room 117 featured a post *in antis* and an off centered doorway, redirecting the

³⁰⁰ Albers 1994.

³⁰¹ Taylour 1970, 277; French 1981b, 45.

³⁰² Kaiser et al. 2011, 11.

celebrant. In an earlier phase, a niche is cut into the cult bench. Stuccoed pedestals, raised about 50 cm above the floor, were located in front of the cult bench in the corners of the room. The rectangular stone foundations of an altar lay to the north of the room. The next iteration of the cult space, Room 110, employed the foundations of Room 117's cult bench. The façade was less elaborate, featuring an anta block only, but the entrance was still off centered. Although Rooms 117 and 110 were approximately the same length, Room 110 was more than one meter narrower than its predecessor, further restricting access. The last building, Room 110a, was converted into an elongated megaron-form, with the N/S exterior walls protruding past the threshold to form 'pilasters,' which framed the central entrance. Again, the cult bench was on the rear wall. A hearth was located to the south.

Room 115 at Tiryns overlapped temporally with Room 110. A small stone platform was located in the southeast corner where **CAT 114** was found. While the structure was relatively large, measuring 6 x 10 m, the space was separated into three aisles, as indicated by the circular bases.³⁰³ The three-aisle division could have controlled the direction of movement within Room 115, in a sense limiting its access.

Eight of the nine settlement sanctuaries all served the specific and sole purpose of ritual practice. It is unclear whether Room 115 functioned as a cult room. Room 110 was established prior to and co-existed with Room 115. Further, all the other buildings surrounding Courtyard 1, barring Room 110, were considered "reine Wohn- und Nutzräume."³⁰⁴ Based on its inventory and structure, Tobias Mühlenbruch hypothesizes that Room 115 functioned as a space for the cultic activities of one or more elite households.³⁰⁵

³⁰³ Kilian 1978, 465; Mühlenbruch 2015, 136.

³⁰⁴ Kilian 1978, 466 (trans. 'pure living and utility rooms').

³⁰⁵ Mühlenbruch 2015, 136.

Cultic Spaces at Eleon

The four candidates for ritual spaces at Eleon during LH III C, Structure B, the Northwest Complex, the Bench Shrine, and The Room of the Bulls, all produce evidence of ritual symbols. Unfortunately, the cultic nature of LH III C Early is unclear. Since Structure B at Eleon has not been fully excavated, its function is uncertain. Currently, Structure B is considered to be domestic in nature. Despite evidence for cultic continuation at Eleon during LH III C Middle and at other sites, including Phylakopi, Tiryns, and Kalapodi, Structure B was not necessarily used as a cultic space. However, the scale of the walls could suggest that the building did serve a special function. Further excavation is required to understand the architecture and the structure's purpose. In addition, although it was suggested earlier that the bovid figures from the Northwest could indicate domestic ritual, it is far more likely for the bovinds to have been stored in the upper floors rather than the upper floor be the location for a private ritual. Therefore, so far, there is no clear indication of where ritual occurred at Eleon during LH III C Early.

Supporting the Bench Shrine as a cultic space includes that it is an area of limited access created for a specific purpose. Additionally, the stone pavement in front of the entrance acts as an attention focusing device since many of the fragments of bovid figures were found here. Inside the structure itself, there is a bench along the north wall, in front of which a handmade figurine was found.

Taken together with the finds from the courtyard, it is evident that The Room of the Bulls, with its limited access, served a ritual purpose. Unfortunately, much of the architecture of The Room of the Bulls was not preserved, including any potential cult bench or platform. However, the figures from the room itself are confined to one locus, which does suggest some sort of intentional attention focusing behind the creation of this room.

Analysis and Discussion of Cultic Spaces

As mentioned in Chapter 2, communal and private ritual occurred on a sliding scale of participation. Based solely on the level of access, natural sanctuaries, such as Epidaurus, Amyklai, the Patsos cave, and Agia Triada, most likely have some level of communal participation. In addition, built sanctuaries have varying degrees of limited participation, with the megaron proper at Pylos probably being even more restricted than the two shrines at Phylakopi.

However, some cultic spaces have areas for communal and private ritual. For example, at Kalapodi, the built South Temple, with few wheelmade figures, was used for the more private aspects of ritual activity, whereas the forecourt served as a more public space for communal aspects of ritual. It appears as though the Bench Shrine at Eleon functioned in a similar way. Very few cultic objects were found within the shrine itself, perhaps indicating controlled use; however, a concentration of 42 fragments of bovid figures were found within the narrow corridor between the east wall of the shrine and Wall 59. Further, 21 of those fragments were found on the stone pavement in front of the entrance to the shrine. These dedications perhaps represent some sort of communal ritual aspect, although still restricted because of how narrow the corridor is and the location's proximity to the Bench Shrine itself.

Other cultic spaces utilize the courtyard so larger numbers of worshippers could gather. For example, at Tiryns, since the shrines were so narrow, Mühlenbruch believes that rituals were performed in Courtyard 1, while the shrines were used to store and prepare cult objects or used for private ritual ceremonies.³⁰⁶ At Eleon, The Room of the Bulls, approximately 4 m in length, resembles the cult rooms at Tiryns. While four bovid figures were associated with The Room of the Bulls, two other bovid figures, the horse head rhyton, five horn fragments, and many other

³⁰⁶ Mühlenbruch 2015, 137.

fragments were found in the large courtyard surrounding the room. The two accumulations could represent different private and communal rituals that occurred. Perhaps, The Room of the Bulls was used for storage and preparation for the ceremonies performed in the larger courtyard.

The arrangement of built structures and open space not only influences how ritual is practiced, but also the way participants move through space. At Tiryns, the location of built structures would have determined the processional route. While the megaron in the Upper Citadel was likely the destination of the processions during the Palatial period, the subsequent cult rooms (117 through 110a) in the Lower Citadel were the destination during the Post-Palatial. The location of the buildings and courtyards within the citadel as well as their relationship to each other affected how and where the ritual occurred. For example, according to Mühlenbruch, “those waiting for a procession, differs depending on whether they are standing on Courtyard 1 and can see the procession in the distance, or whether they only can hear the participants of the procession singing etc. but cannot see them until the procession arrives on the Courtyard.”³⁰⁷ Although there has been no formal study evaluating potential processional routes at Eleon during LH III C, further excavation and analysis could demonstrate a relationship between building structures and sacred processions.

Conclusions

Prehistoric practices, in particular cultic rituals, are difficult to discern. This research has examined recently excavated anthropomorphic and zoomorphic wheelmade terracotta figures at Eleon not only to determine their significance in this Post-Palatial center but to see how they fit into the overall framework of Mycenaean religion with respect to cult continuity and

³⁰⁷ Mühlenbruch 2015, 138.

progression, as well as to discern regional variation on mainland Greece. The discussions of cultic continuity and progression are confined chronologically from the Palatial to the Post-Palatial period, whereas regional variation is limited to the Post-Palatial. While these three aspects of religious practice are interrelated, I will utilize the lenses of chronological, geographic, and typological scopes to assess these facets individually.

Cultic Continuity

Religious continuity can refer to both religious belief and material expression.³⁰⁸ However, in the context of this study, cultic continuity refers to the shared religious preferences for worship within a group over space and time. While related to cultic progression, cultic continuity does not equate to unchanging ritual practices over time. In this section, cultic continuity refers to the continuity of practice, which is reflected in the material remains.

From LH III A2-LH III C, wheelmade terracotta figures themselves have a significant degree of uniformity of function.³⁰⁹ Moreover, according to the study conducted by Vetters, at Tiryns, both figures and figurines were used in private and communal ritual throughout the Palatial and Post-Palatial periods, despite the overall number of figures in use decreasing during this time. Other sites, including Phylakopi and Mycenae, present similar trends. Vetters' case study also attests to the continuity of cult at Tiryns as indicated by the traces of wear preserved on one of the figures from Room 110 (**CAT 111**). Evidence of wear on these objects demonstrate the Palatial and Post-Palatial practice of carrying figures in processions like *te-o-po-ri-ja*.³¹⁰ Moreover, the role that wheelmade figures filled in processions contributed to their continuity

³⁰⁸ Cosmopoulos 2014, 422.

³⁰⁹ Pliatsika 2012, 610.

³¹⁰ Weilharter 2013, 155; Vetters 2015, 92-3.

from the Palatial to the Post-Palatial. The relatively large size of wheelmade terracotta figures, as compared to handmade figurines, would have been easier to display during communal festivals like the *te-o-po-ri-ja*.

In addition to chronological consistency, cultic continuity exists over space. Religious ritual is multifaceted. While individual cultic rites and practices may serve different ritual functions over time, commonalities reflect a continuity of tradition.³¹¹ The sites surveyed in this study suggest that reuse of cultic areas remain consistent over time. For example, at Kalapodi, although the structure itself is leveled and rebuilt three times, the same general layout is used for South Temples 1 through 3. Moreover, at Tiryns, Rooms 117, 110, and 110a not only utilize the foundations of the previous cult rooms, but also have a cult bench in the rear of the building.

Typological similarities also reflect cultic continuity. Through a re-examination of Mainland Type A female figures and Type B bovid figures, I have been able to define their respective typologies more clearly. The overall forms of female and bovid figures remain similar despite differences in location or time period.

Cultic Progression

While many aspects of cultic practices remain constant over time, cult progression affords another lens to evaluate prehistoric ritual practices. Subtle differences to typology seen through changes in morphology and production techniques assist in the chronological assessment of symbols and sanctuaries.

As there are ample examples of ritual continuity throughout mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete, cult progression is evident, as well, most notably through the development of the

³¹¹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1989, 56; Whitley 2009, 281; Cosmopoulos 2014, 422-3.

wheelmade terracotta female figure. The female figure was a pervasive symbol in Mycenaean Greece with roots tracing back to the Minoan cults.³¹² The changes manifest most notably in the head, including overall form as well as individual facial features. Examining the Mainland Type A female figure, progression can be noted in the changes over the period from LH III A2 extending to LH III C.

Changes are most notable in the position, shape, and construction of the eyes, ears, nose, and chin. During LH III A2, as noted in **CATs 185** and **187**, the eyes were large and almond-shaped with a downward sloping lateral canthus. The nose was small and button-like with visible nostrils. The ears were molded, large, and positioned high on the head. The chin was angular, and the face had an overall upward gaze. Changes to the female figure notable from the LH III A2 to the LH III B1 period were observed in the nose and ears as seen in figures found at the Cult Center of Mycenae. The nose was more prominent and angular while the chin becomes rounded as seen in **CAT 90**. The ears are now attached and knob-like demonstrated in **CAT 91**. The eyes remain almond shaped with no change in position. The upward gaze of the face remains consistent. Progression from LH III B-C Early reveal that the ears are now applied as seen in **CAT 86**. LH III C has marked differences in construction of the eyes and ears. The eyes are round, and the ears are applied, sculpted in detail and are the correct anatomic position. LH III C Developed is characterized by more definition to the neck and chin as seen in the figure with upraised arms, **CAT 113**. Changes to the ears include correct anatomical placement as well as improved definition seen in **CATs 110** and **111**. Female figures from LH III C Advanced demonstrate further anatomic detail to the ears seen in **CAT 114**. Female figures from LH III C

³¹² Dietrich 1993, 119.

Late are noted for a more defined chin, noted in **CAT 115**. Based on this typology, **CAT 1** most likely dates to LH III C Early.

Regional Variation

In addition to examination over time, cultic objects can be assessed through differences throughout similar geographic areas. Even modest regional variation gives further insight into understanding prehistoric ritual.

Using the upper limit of the MNB data, the findings at Eleon are similar to those of Amyklai (33 bovid figures) and Epidaurus (37 hollow bovid figures).³¹³ While prior scholarship suggested that bovid figures were the votive of choice for hypaethral sanctuaries like Amyklai and Epidaurus, the discovery of the bovid figures at the built sanctuary of Phylakopi advocates for a wider use of these figures.³¹⁴ The addition of the findings at Eleon to the corpus of built sanctuaries with bovid figure deposits, further supports that bovinds were not relegated solely to open-air sanctuaries.

The overarching archaeological evidence of the wheelmade figures demonstrates minimal regional variation across mainland Greece during LH III C. This phenomenon could indicate a Post-Palatial *koine* or a general lack of available evidence. Either way, one case of regional variation occurs in the bull figure (**CAT 165**) from Amyklai. Currently, mainland Greece has produced evidence of only bovid figures, whereas Crete has evidence of both bulls and bovinds. The exception is **CAT 165**, the sex of which was applied separately, like Cretan bulls. The decoration of the Amyklai bull does not resemble the Cretan tradition. On Crete, large parts of

³¹³ Amyklai: Demakopoulou 2012, 105; Epidaurus: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, 154-5.

³¹⁴ Guggisberg 2009, 125. *Contra*: Hägg 1981; Kilian 1992, 20-1.

the figure are rarely solidly painted, and the underside and inner sections of the legs are often left blank. Overall, **CAT 165** appears to be grounded in the tradition of mainland Greece.

Eleon

This study evaluated cultic continuity, cult progression, and regional variation of Palatial and Post-Palatial sites throughout mainland Greece, Melos, and Crete in order to understand cultic practices at ancient Eleon. Specifically, I hoped to elucidate ritual significance of wheelmade female and bovid figures discovered at ancient Eleon as well as to determine if Eleon has distinct cultic spaces during LH III C Early until LH III C Middle.

First, I wanted to determine the ritual significance of the female and bovid figures. Utilizing the framework developed in Chapter 1 and subsequently classifying findings at similar sites, I evaluated the significance of the wheelmade terracotta female and bovid figures excavated at Eleon (Table 5.1). Overall, the objects appear to have referential meaning and are interrelated. While there is no clear evidence for ritual breakage, it is a possibility. There is evidence of ritual feasting in all instances. With the exception of Structure B and the Northwest Complex, the figures found are also ritually framed.

Based on the above examination, the wheelmade female and bovid figures from Eleon are, in fact, ritual symbols. Furthermore, their function is informed by their typology. The wheelmade female head **CAT 1**, belonging to Mainland Type A, possesses a ritual significance. Now broken, the female head is possibly a symbolic relic of a ritual procession in which the figure was paraded. Perhaps, after fragmentation, **CAT 1** was placed in Structure B for safe keeping but still revered. Additionally, all of the wheelmade bovid figures, from both the Northwest Complex and the Southwest Sector, were used in cultic rituals. The bovinds from the

Southwest, in particular, were dedicated as sacrificial substitutes for the prestigious and expensive bull. Further, the current evidence suggests that the bovid figures from the Southwest were produced with the intention of breaking them in some ritual manner. In this case, the ritual practices at Eleon appear to be the continuation of a palatial-era act of conspicuous consumption during the Post-Palatial.

Next, I wanted to determine if cultic spaces existed at Eleon, specifically the Bench Shrine and adjacent stone pavement, The Room of the Bulls and its corresponding courtyard as well as the Northwest Complex and Structure B. With the criteria developed in Chapter 1 and compared to structures at similar areas, these locations were assessed (Table 5.2). The Bench Shrine and The Room of the Bulls along with their adjacent areas appeared to indeed be cultic spaces. They both appeared to have limited access as well as the presence of religious symbols. Further these areas were attention focusing and appeared to have a specific purpose for ritual practice. Although the Northwest Complex did have the presence of ritual symbols and had limited access, the area did not appear to have attention focusing devices nor have a specific purpose limited to ritual practice and, thus, does not appear to be a cultic space. It is difficult to assess the largely unexcavated Structure B. While it did have religious symbols of a female figure along with bovid figures, the area did not appear attention focusing. With only a small portion of Structure B developed, it cannot be determined if it has limited access or if it functions with the purpose of ritual practice.

Overall, when compared with the findings at Phylakopi, Mycenae, Pylos, Tiryns, Epidaurus, Kalapodi, and Amyklai, LH III C Eleon does have both significant cultic objects as well as shrines. This evidence supports that Post-Palatial Eleon engaged in similar cultic practices found elsewhere throughout mainland Greece. Eleon stands out among post-palatial

sites for the number of figures at a built sanctuary. This has allowed me to make new insights into post-palatial votive practices including the fragmentation and deposition of bull figures over an approximately 100-year period from 1250-1150 BCE.

My research raises important new questions about the making and trade of Mycenaean wheelmade figures. While outside the scope of the present study, my research raises questions that I hope to investigate further in a subsequent study on the range of fabrics present in the Eleon assemblage and their provenance.

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Table 1.1: Late Bronze Age Aegean Mainland chronology.

| <i>General period</i> | <i>Ceramic chronology</i> | <i>Absolute dates (BCE)</i> |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Early Mycenaean | Late Helladic (LH) I | ca. 1700 – 1500 |
| | LH II A | 1500 – 1450 |
| | LH II B | 1450 – 1400 |
| | LH III A1 | 1400 – 1350 |
| Palatial | LH III A2 | 1350 – 1300 |
| | LH III B1 | 1300 – 1250 |
| | LH III B2 | 1250 – 1200 |
| Post-Palatial | LH III C Early | 1200 – 1150 |
| | LH III C Middle | 1150 – 1100 |
| | LH III C Late / Sub-Mycenaean | 1100 – 1050 |

Table 1.2: Framework for Analyzing Ritual Symbols.

| <i>Symbolic Element Analysis</i> | <i>Proponent of Theory</i> |
|---|---|
| Ritual Framing of Symbols | Levy 1981; Renfrew 1985, 1994; Verhoeven 2002 |
| Referential Meaning of Symbols | Turner 1967, 1974; Burkert 1983; Verhoeven 2002 |
| Symbols are Interrelated | Turner 1967, 1974; Levy 1981 |
| Evidence of Ritual Breakage | Renfrew 1985; Rehak 1995; Soles 1999; Chapman 2000, 2015; Schallin 2023 |
| Evidence of Ritual Feasting/Offering | Levy 1981; Renfrew 1985, 1994 |

Table 1.3: Framework for Analyzing Cult Space.

| <i>Location Analysis</i> | <i>Proponent of Theory</i> |
|--|---|
| Evidence of Ritual Symbols | Renfrew 1985, 1994; Verhoeven 2002 |
| Attention Focusing | Renfrew 1985, 1994; Verhoeven 2002 |
| Limited Access | Levy 1981 |
| Specific Purpose of Ritual Practice | Levy 1981; Renfrew 1985, 1994; Verhoeven 2002 |

Table 5.1: Application of the Framework for Analyzing Ritual Symbols (see Table 1.1).

| | <i>Symbolic Element Analysis</i> | | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>Cult Areas w/ Female & Bovid Figures</i> | Ritual Framing of Symbols | Referential Meaning of Symbols | Symbols Are Interrelated | Evidence of Ritual Breakage | Evidence of Ritual Feasting/Offering |
| Phylakopi: West Shrine | Y | Y | Y | N | N |
| Kontopigado: Complex III | N | N | N | N | N |
| Tiryns: Room 117 | Y | Y | Y | N | Y |
| Epidaurus | Y | Y | Y | N | Y |
| Amyklai | Y | Y | Y | N | N |
| Kalapodi | Y | Y | Y | N | Y |
| <i>Cult Areas w/ only Female Figures</i> | | | | | |
| Mycenae: Room 19 | Y | Y | Y | N | N |
| Mycenae: Room 32 | Y | Y | Y | N | N |
| Tiryns: Room 110 | Y | Y | Y | N | N |
| Tiryns: Room 115 | Y | Y | N | N | N |
| Tiryns: Room 110a | Y | Y | Y | N | N |
| <i>Cult Areas w/ only Bovid Figures</i> | | | | | |
| Phylakopi: East Shrine | Y | Y | Y | N | N |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
| Pylos: Megaron | Y | Y | Y | N | Y |
| Kontopigado: Complex I | N | N | N | N | N |
| Mycenae: LH III C-Cult Center | N | N | N | N | N |
| Patsos cave | Y | Y | Y | N | N |
| Agia Triada: piazzale dei sacelli | Y | Y | Y | N | N |
| <i>Cult Areas at Eleon</i> | | | | | |
| Structure B | U | Y | Y | N | N |
| NW Complex | N | Y | Y | N | N |
| Bench Shrine | Y | Y | Y | U | Y |
| The Room with the Bulls | Y | Y | Y | U | Y |

LEGEND:*Y* YES*N* NO*U* UNKOWN

Table 5.2: Application of the Framework for Analyzing Cult Space (see Table 1.2).

| | <i>Location Analysis</i> | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| | Specific Purpose of Ritual Practice | Limited Access | Attention Focusing | Evidence of Ritual Symbols |
| <i>Natural Sanctuaries</i> | | | | |
| Epidaurus | Y | N | Y | Y |
| Amyklai | Y | N | Y | Y |
| Patsos cave | Y | N | Y | Y |
| Agia Triada: piazzale dei sacelli | Y | N | Y | Y |
| <i>Built Sanctuaries</i> | | | | |
| Pylos | N | Y | Y | Y |
| Kontopigado, Complex I | N | N | N | Y |
| Kontopigado, Complex III | N | N | N | Y |
| Phylakopi: West Shrine | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Phylakopi: East Shrine | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Mycenae: Room 19 | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Mycenae: Room 32 | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Kalapodi | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Tiryns: Room 117 | Y | Y | Y | Y |

| | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| Tiryns: Room 110 | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| Tiryns: Room 115 | N | Y | Y | Y |
| Tiryns: Room 110a | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| <i>Cultic Spaces at Eleon</i> | | | | |
| Structure B | U | U | U | Y |
| NW Complex | N | Y | N | Y |
| Bench Shrine | Y | Y | Y | Y |
| The Room with the Bulls | Y | Y | Y | Y |

LEGEND:

Y YES

N NO

U UNKOWN

 Palace Cult


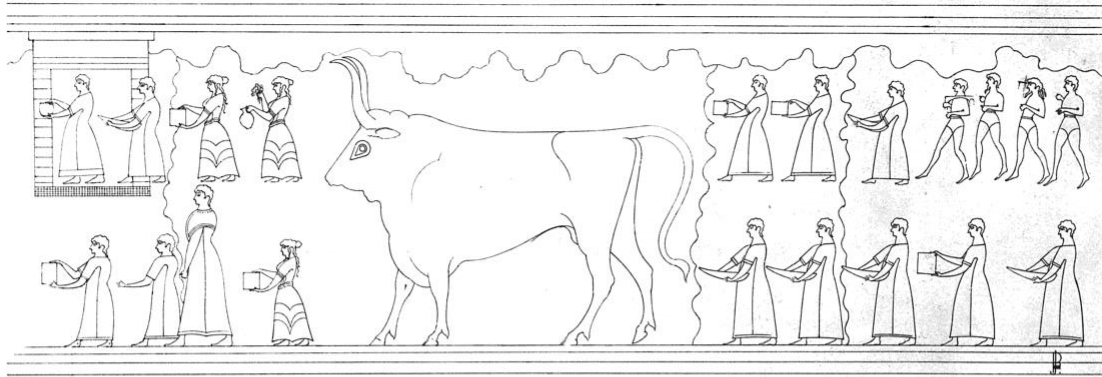
 Domestic Sanctuary

Figure 1.1





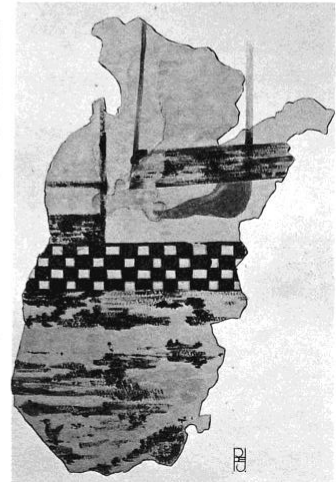
Vestibule Wall Sketch



13 H 5 (ca. 1:3)



15 H 5 (ca. 1:3)



14 H 5 (ca. 1:3)

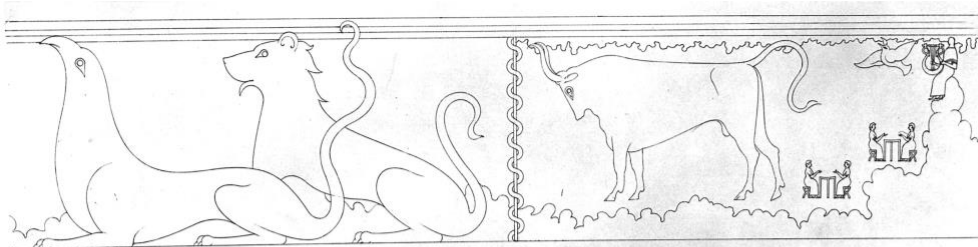


Figure 1.2



Throne Room Wall Sketch

19 C 6 (ca. 1:5) actual state

43 H 6 (ca. 1:5) actual state

Figure 2.1

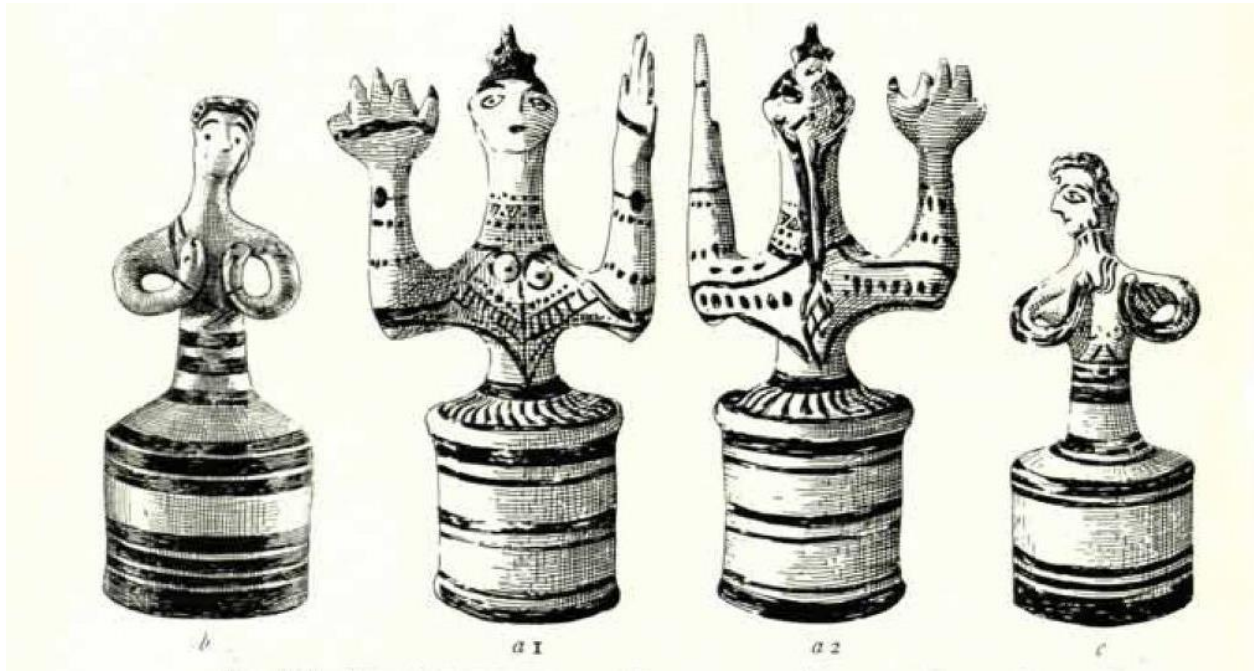


Figure 2.2



Figure 2.3



Figure 2.4



Figure 2.5



Figure 2.6



Figure 2.8

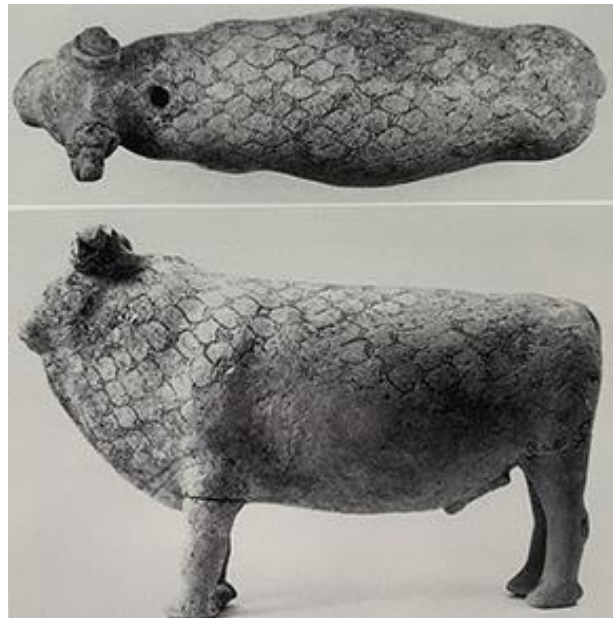


Figure 2.7



Figure 3.1

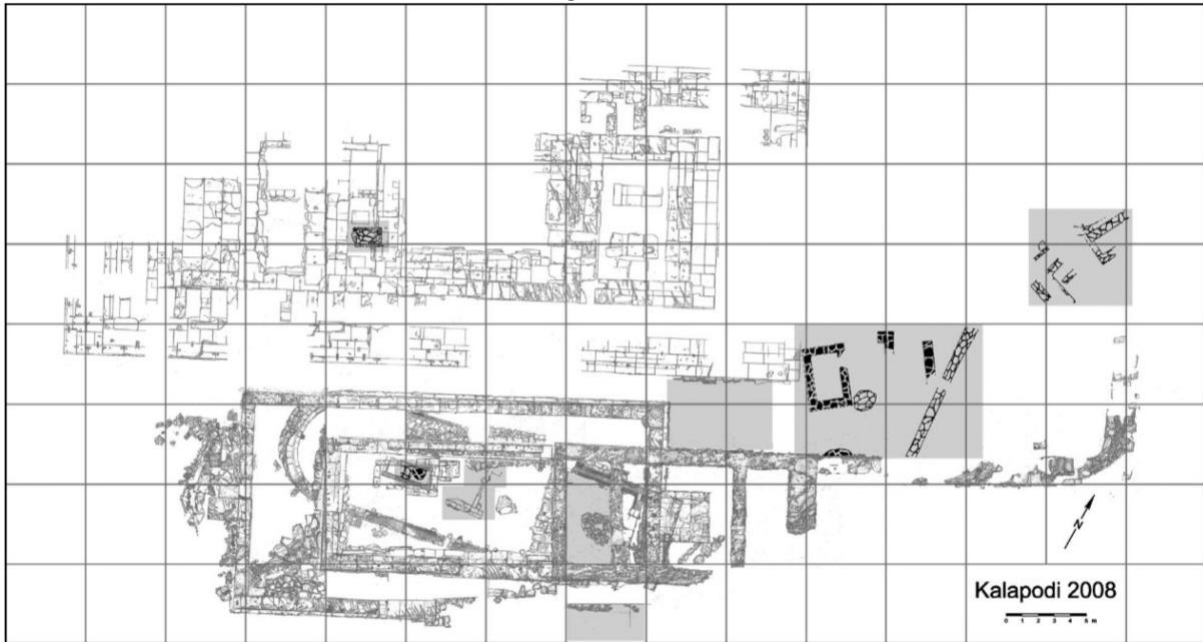


Figure 3.2

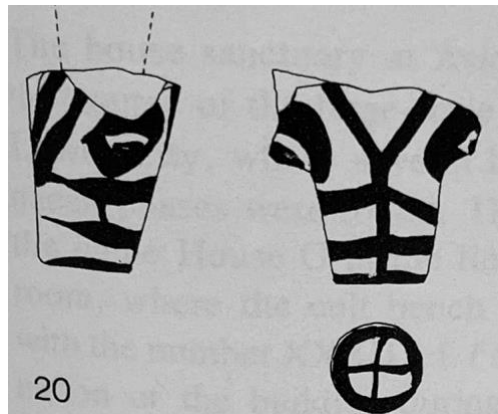
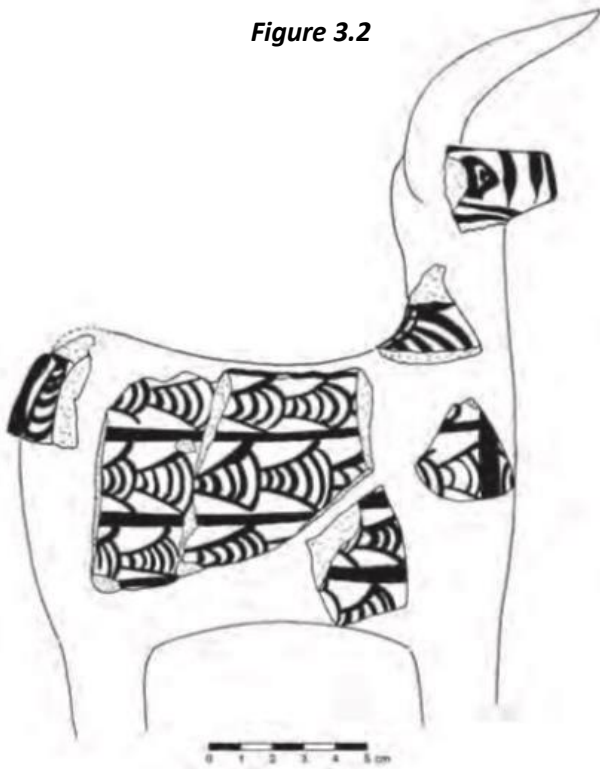
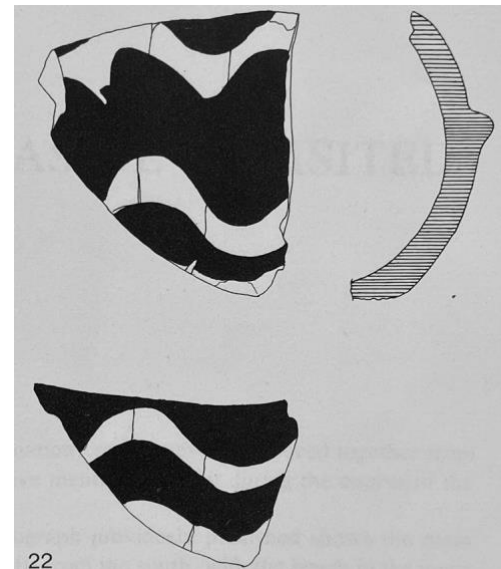


Figure 3.3 (above), Figure 3.4 (below)



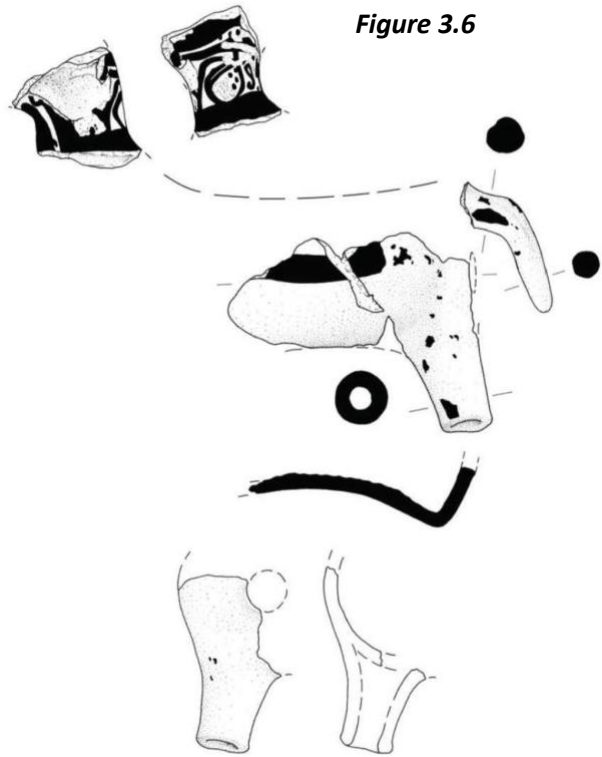
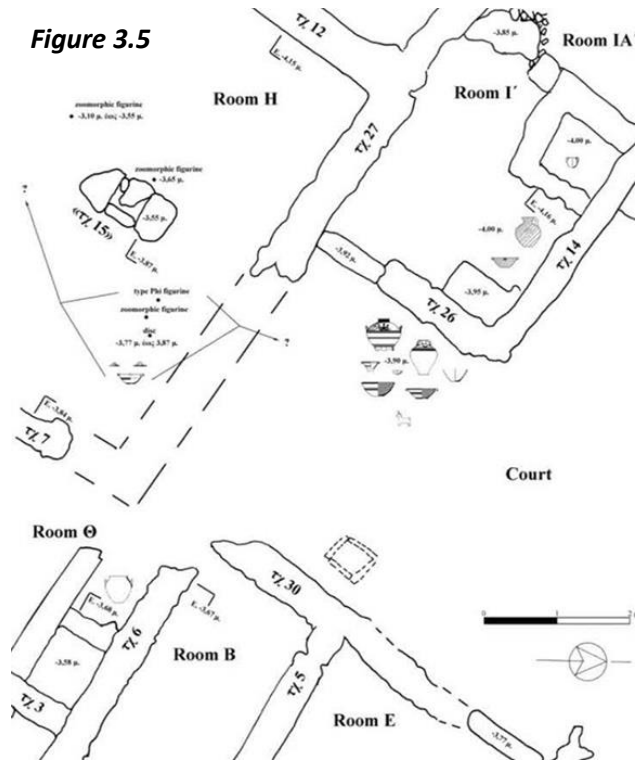


Figure 3.7



Figure 3.8



Figure 3.9

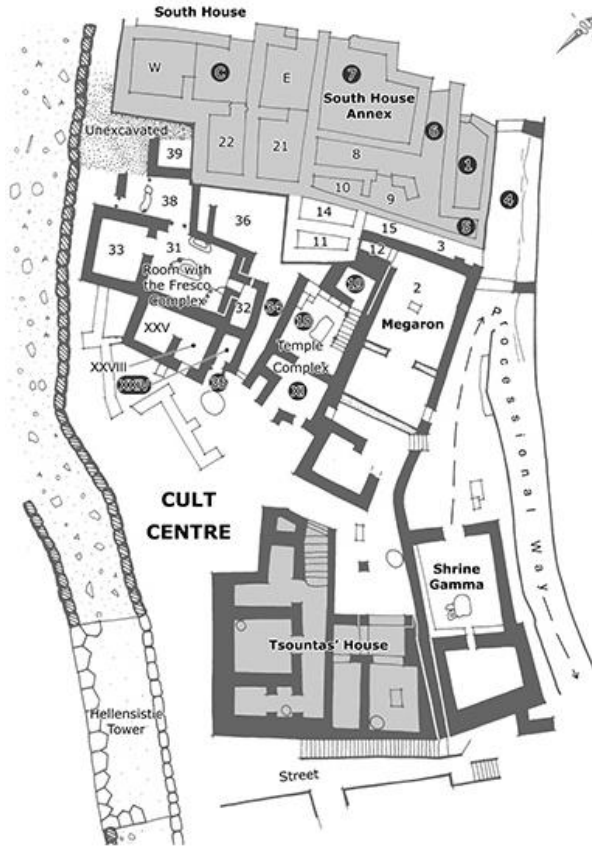
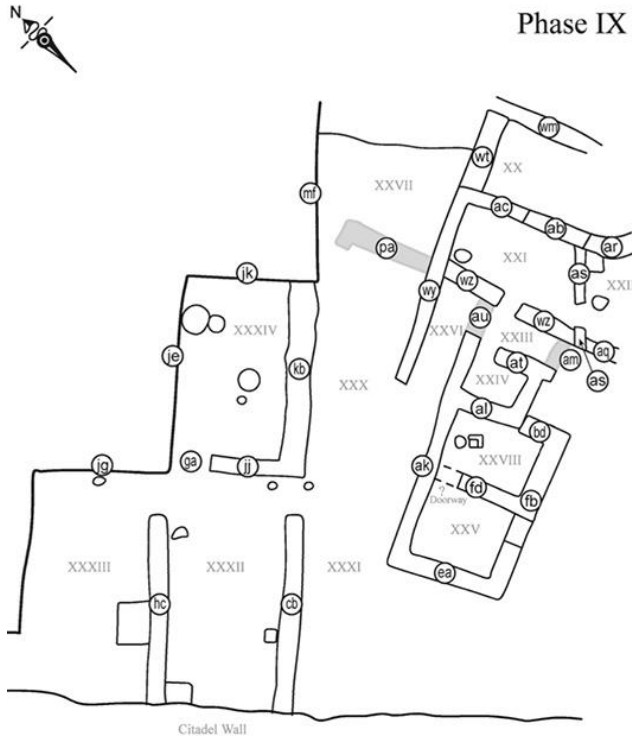
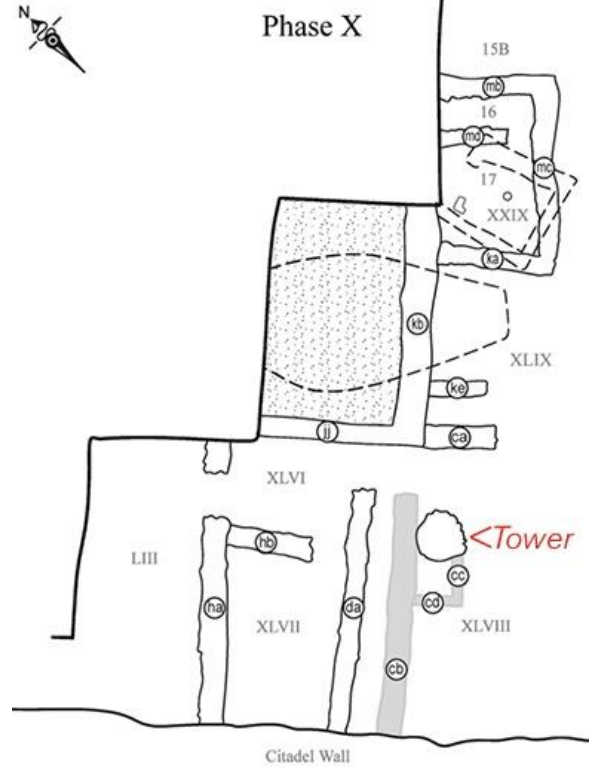


Figure 3.10



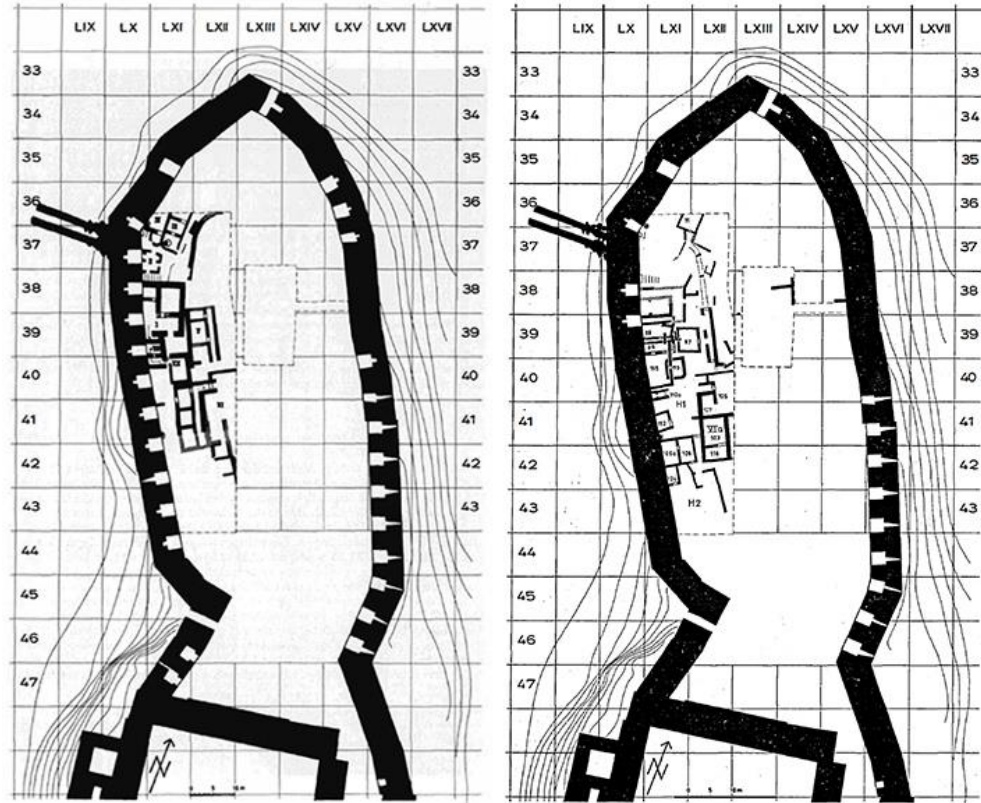
0 5 metres

Figure 3.11



0 5 metres

Figure 3.12



Tiryns: Lower Citadel LH III B

Tiryns: Lower Citadel LH III C

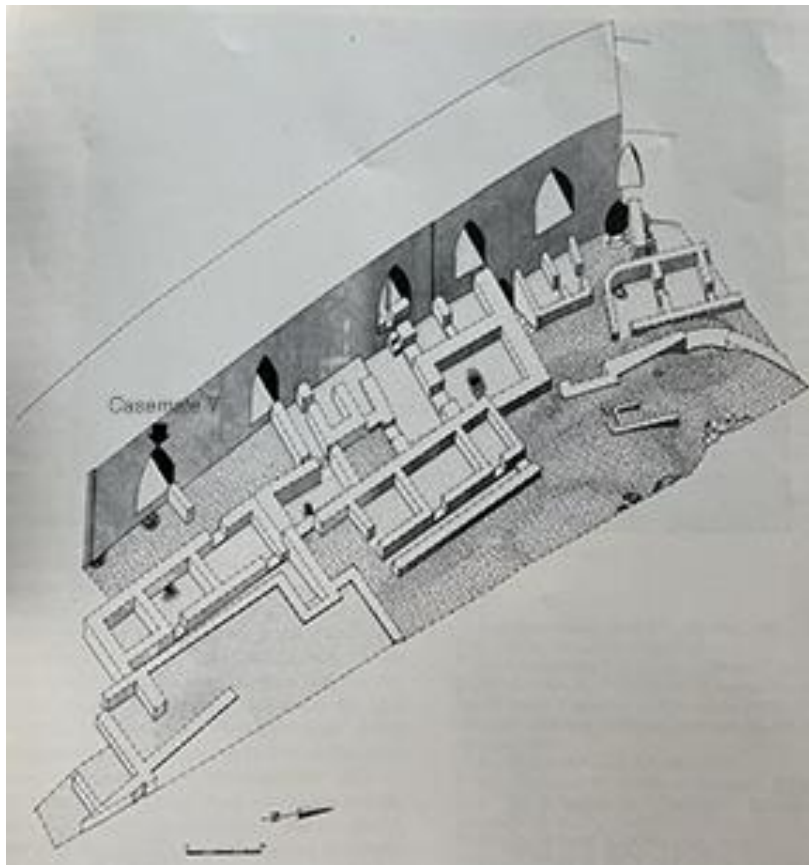


Figure 3.13

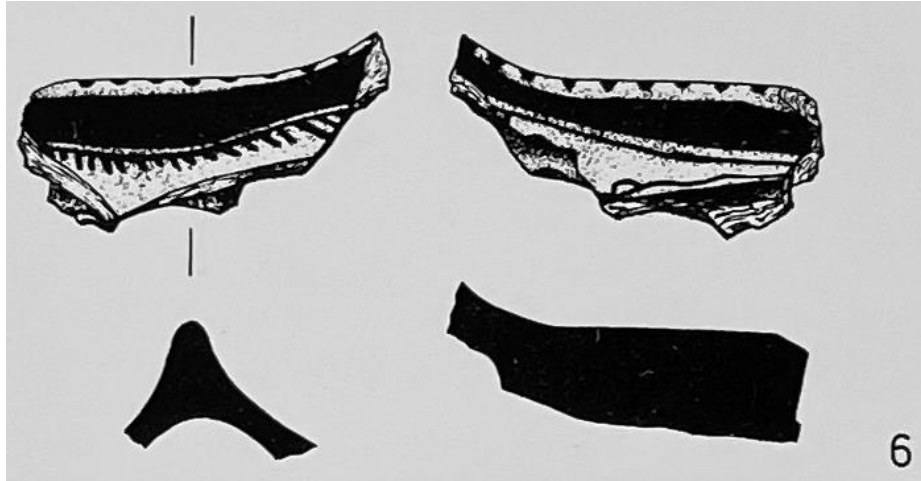
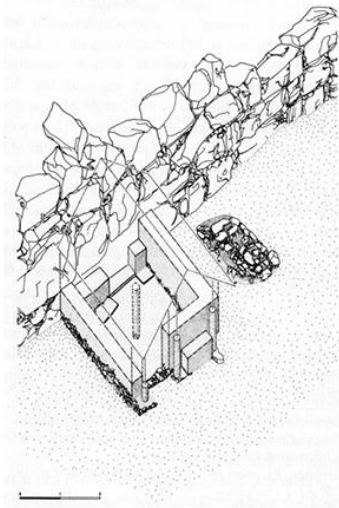
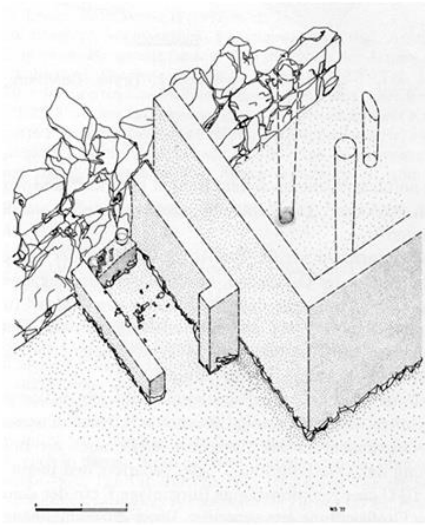


Figure 3.14

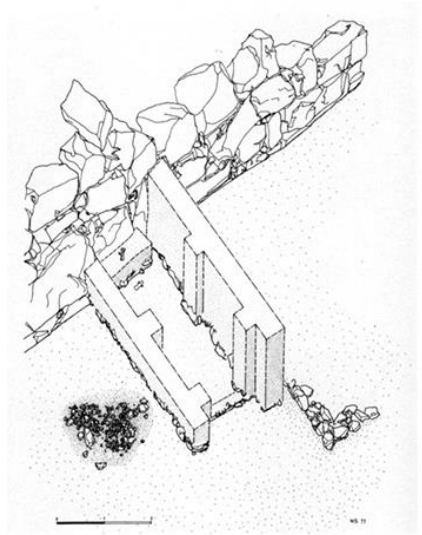
Figure 3.15



LH III C Early



LH III C Developed



LH III C Late

Figure 3.16

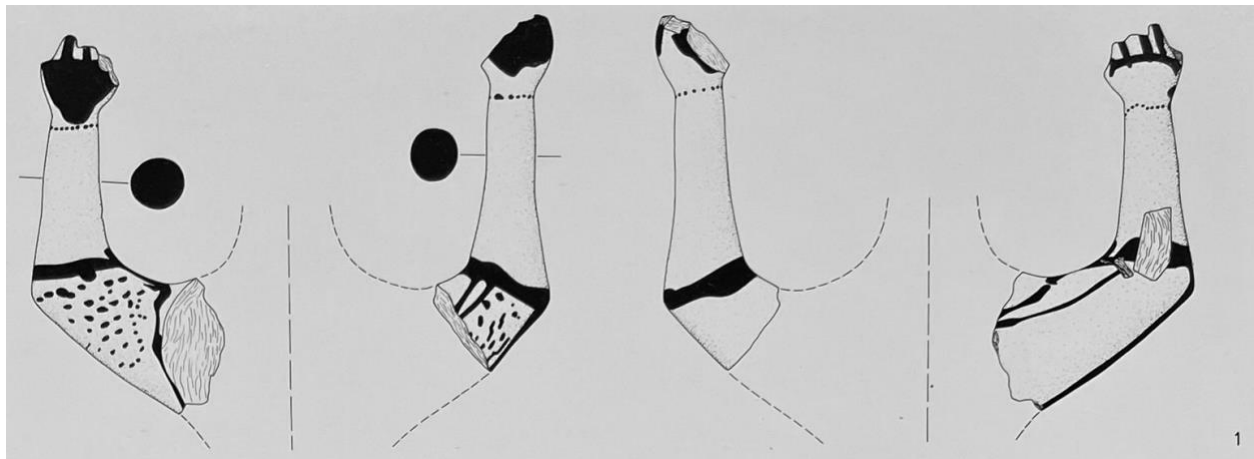


Figure 3.17

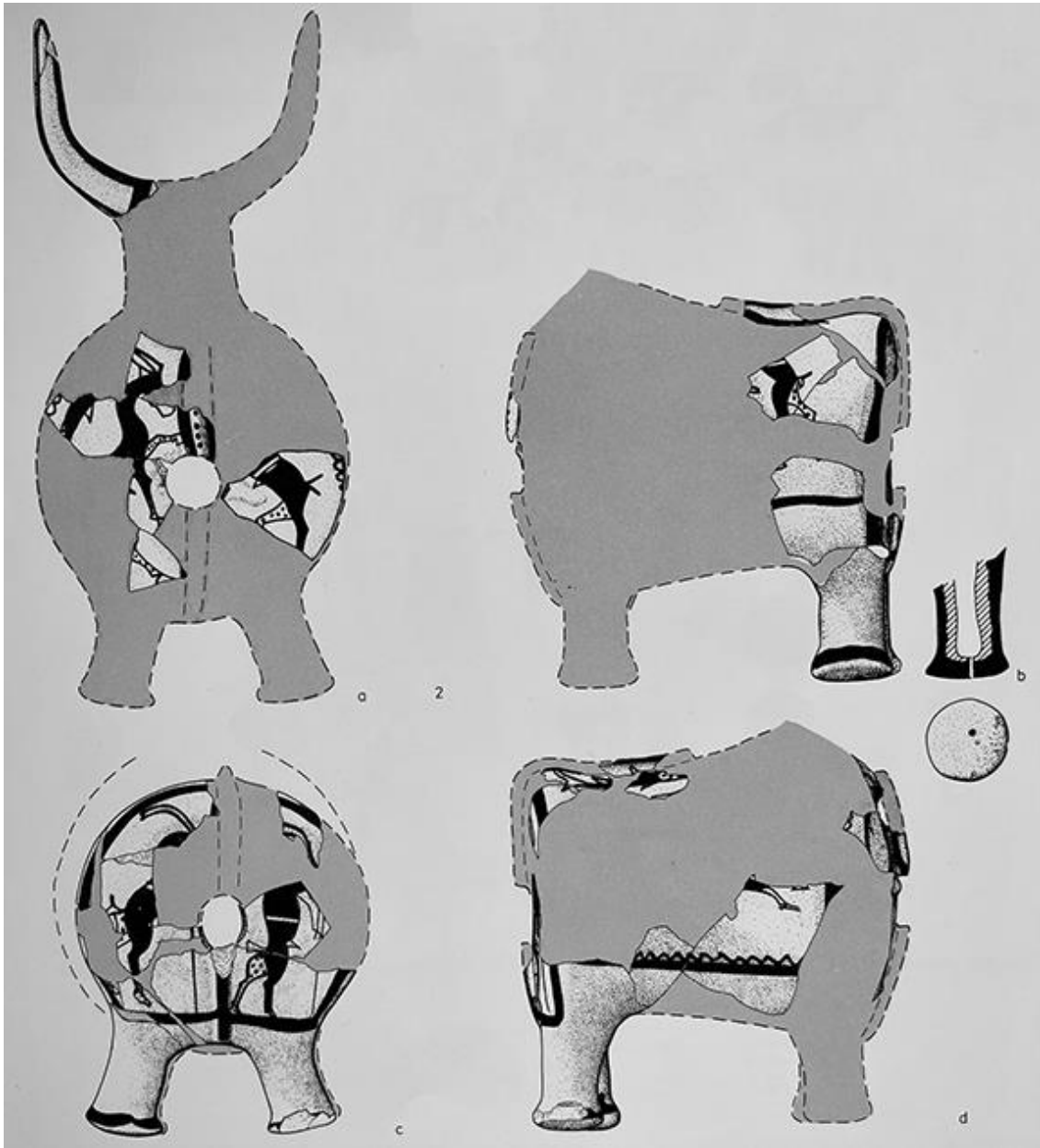


Figure 3.18

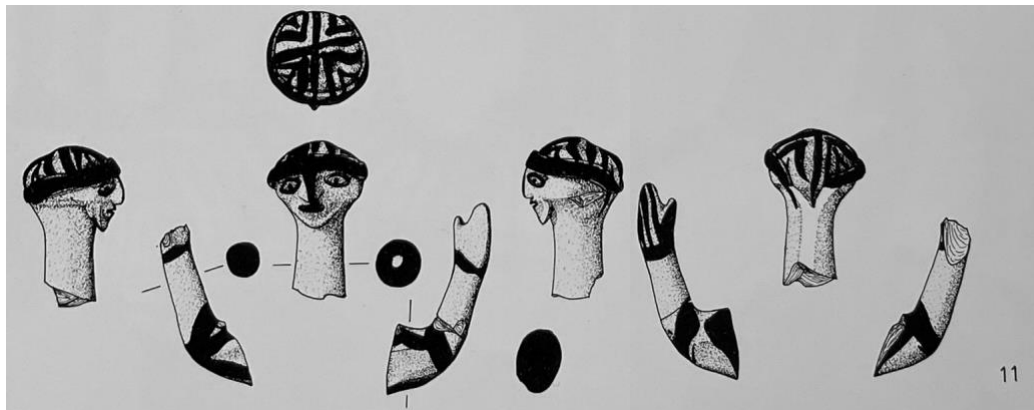


Figure 3.19

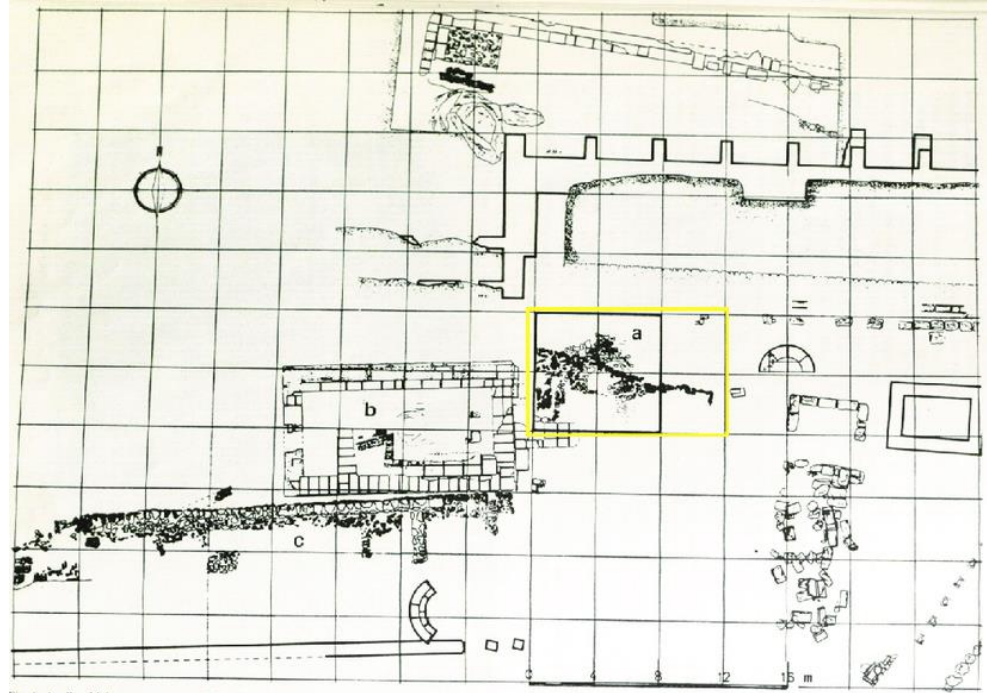


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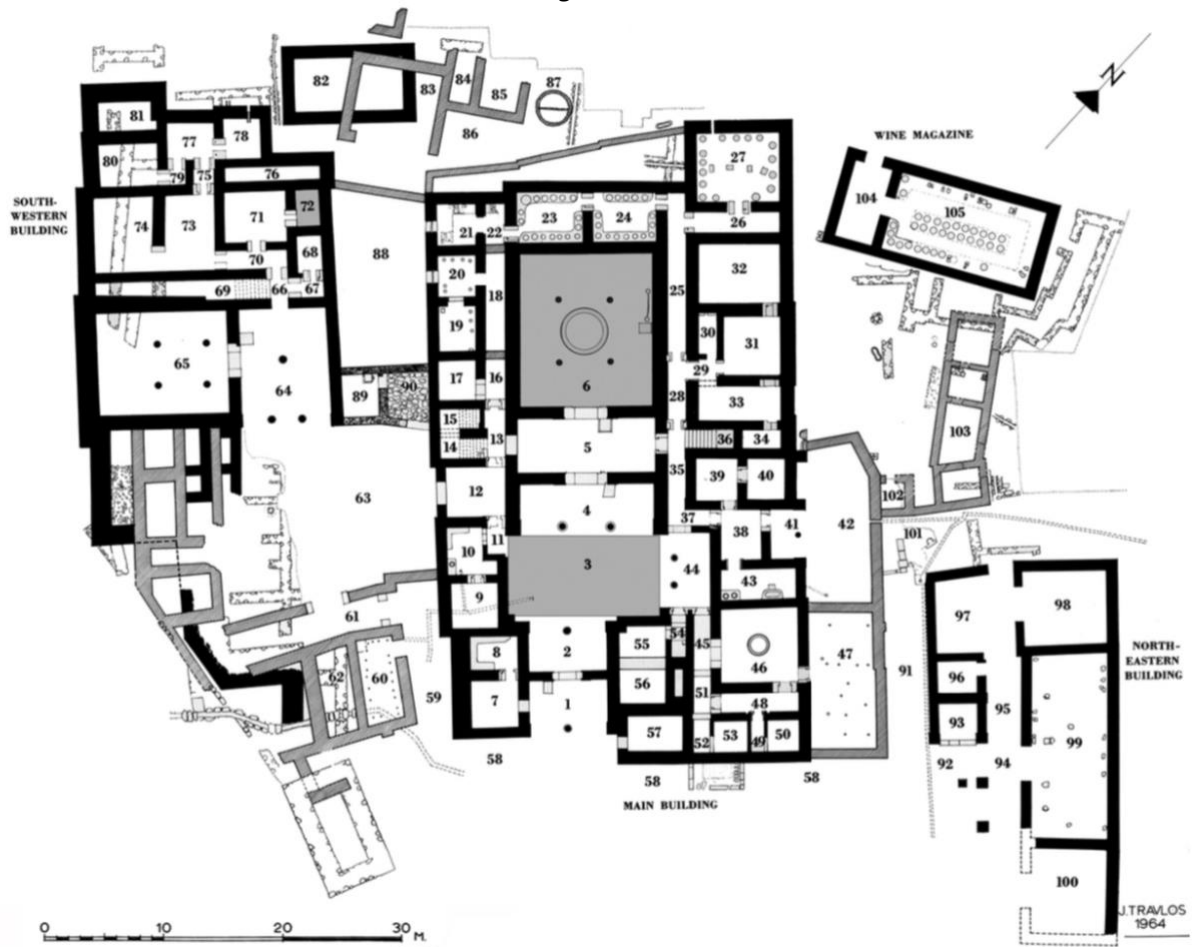


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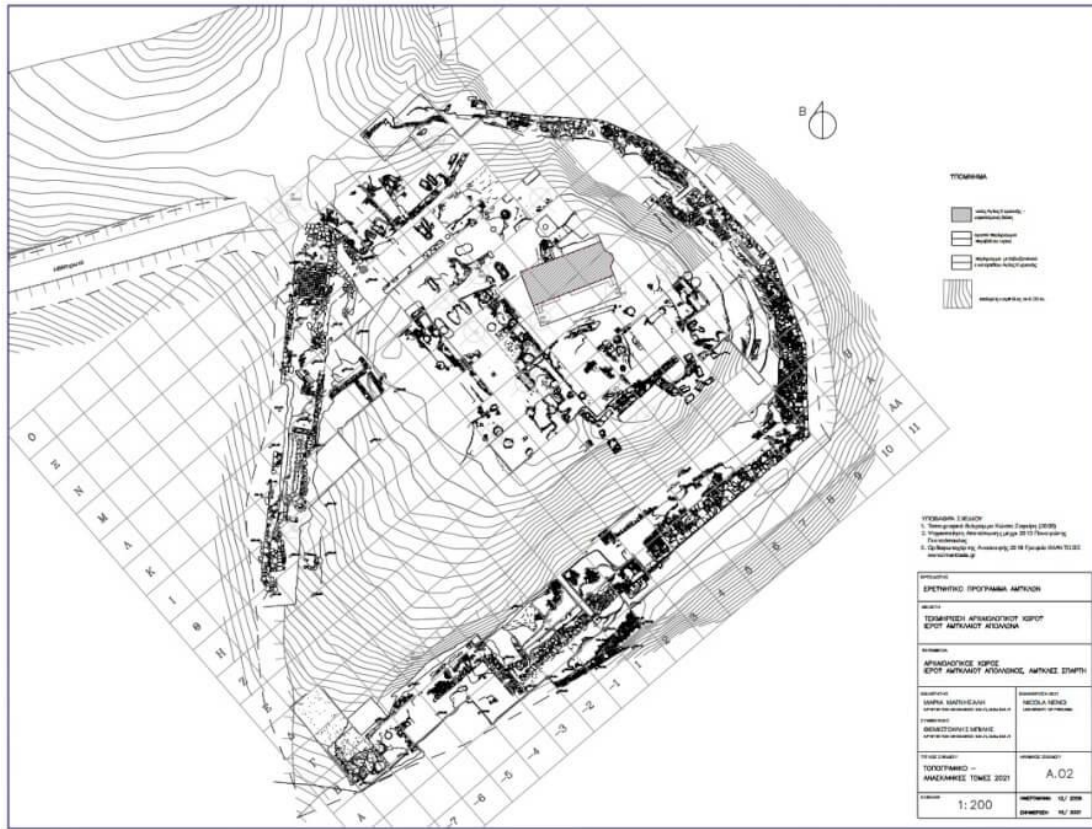


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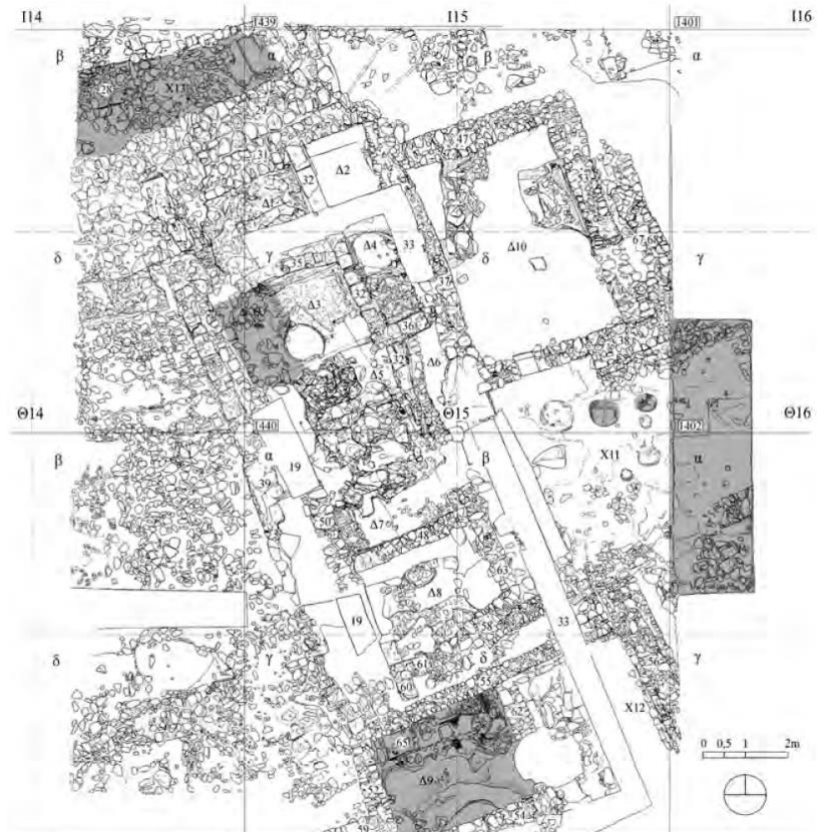


Figure 3.23



Figure 3.24

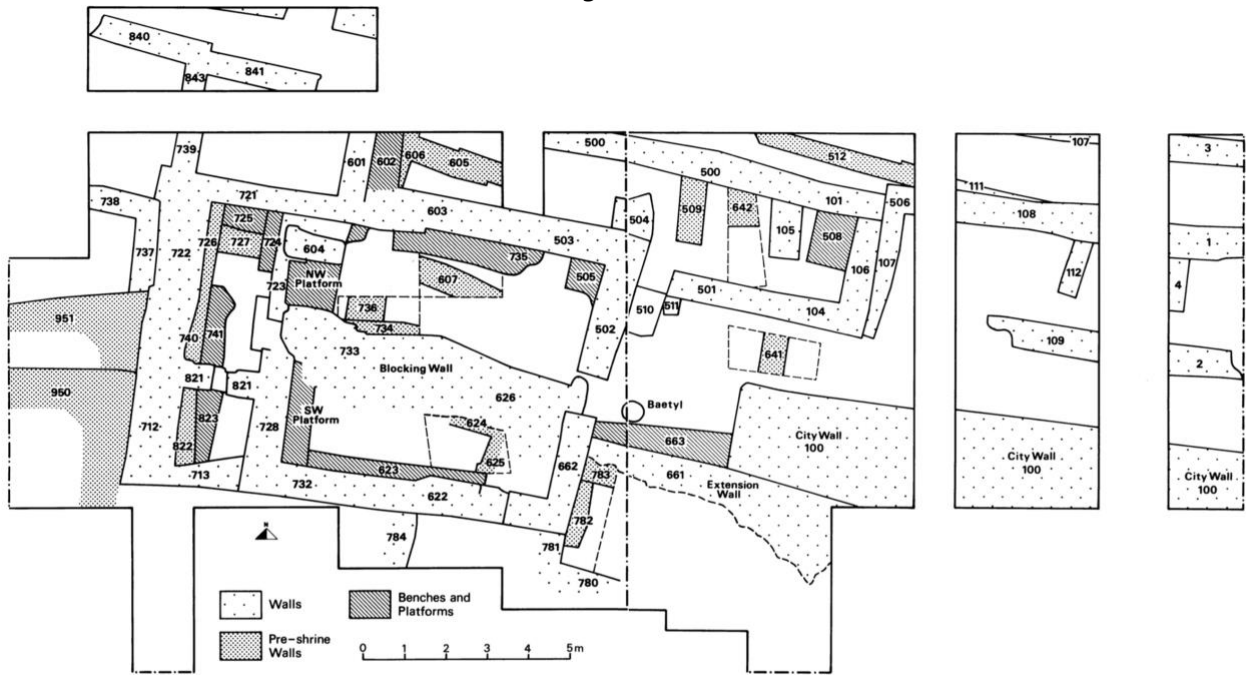




Figure 3.25

2660

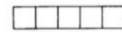


Figure 3.26



2672



Figure 3.27



Figure 3.28

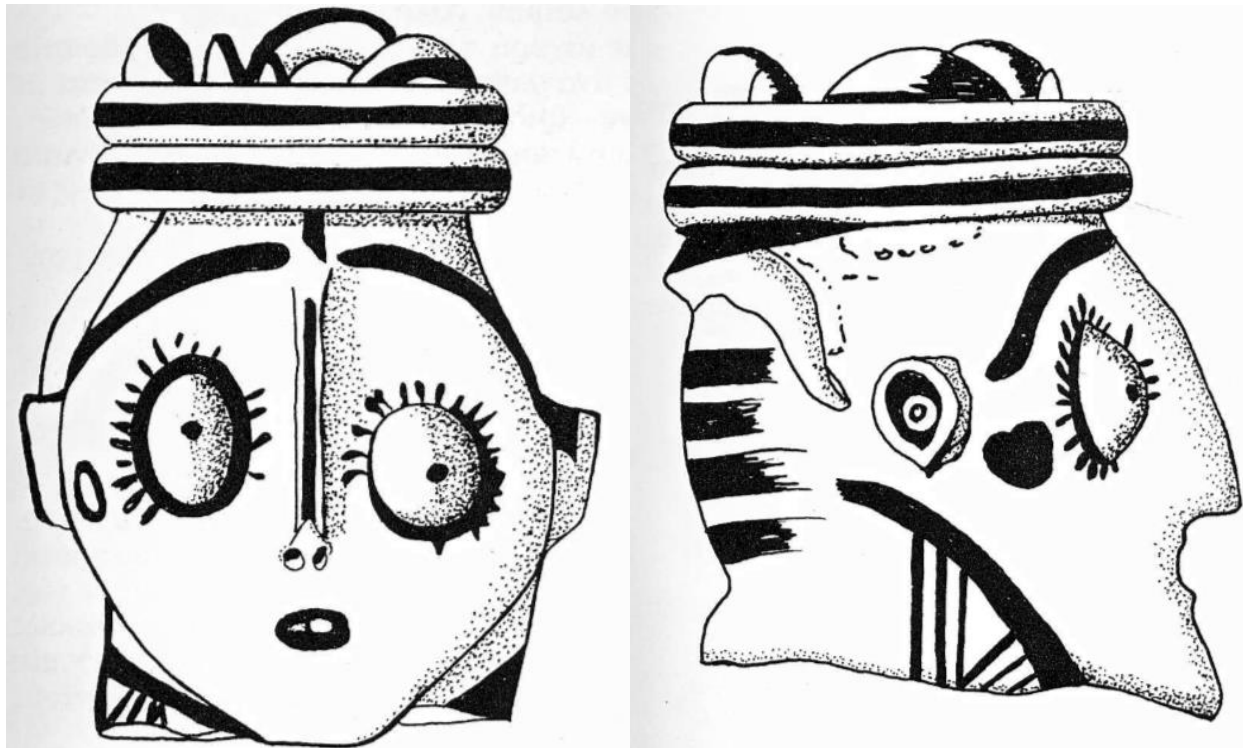


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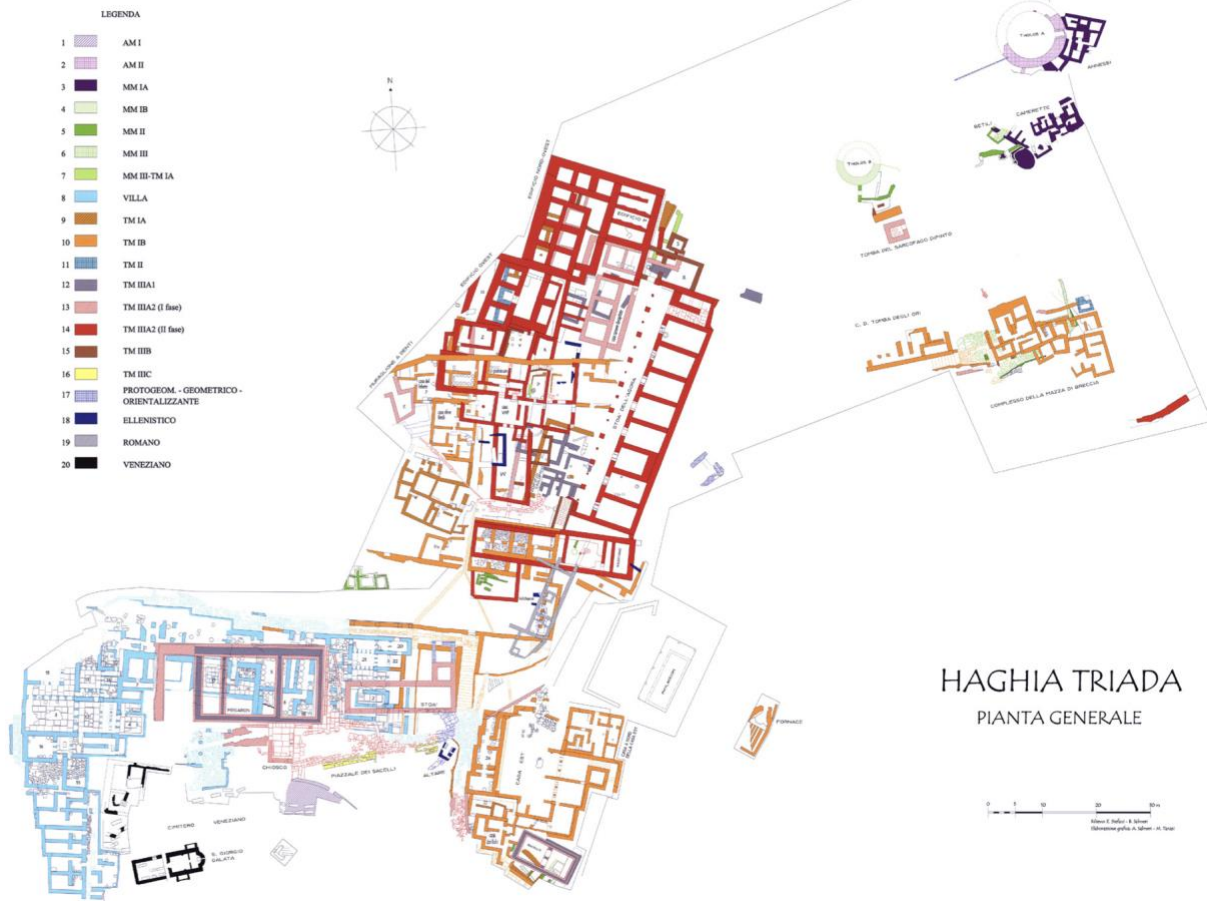


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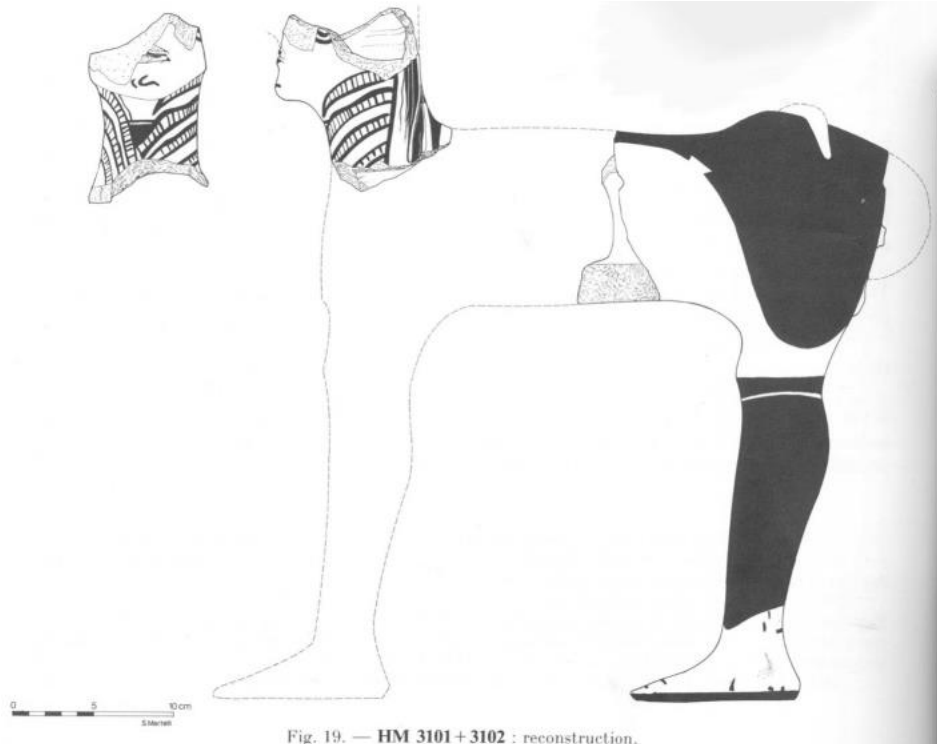




Figure 4.1

Figure 4.2



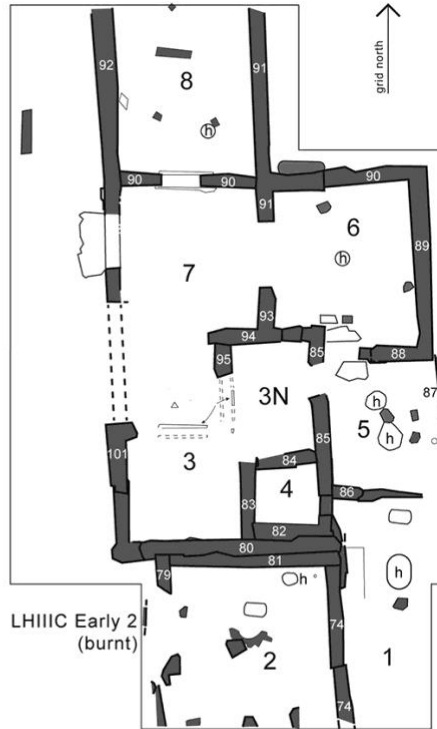
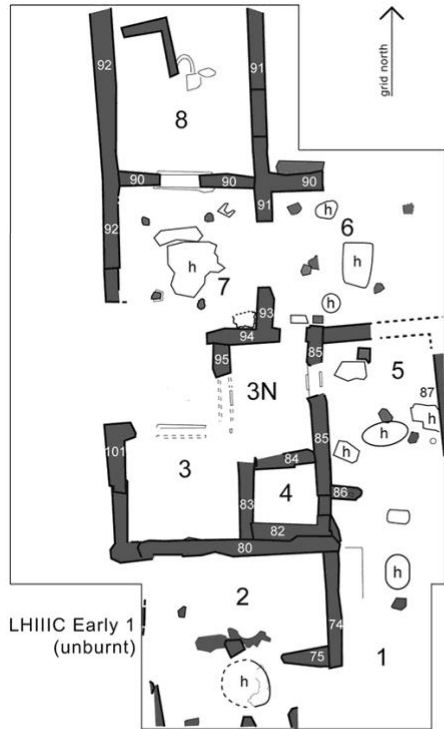


Figure 4.3

0 1.00 2.00 3.00 4.00 5.00 m
giuliana bianco 2019 sept. 3

EBAP - Eleon 2014 - North-West House construction phases

Figure 4.4



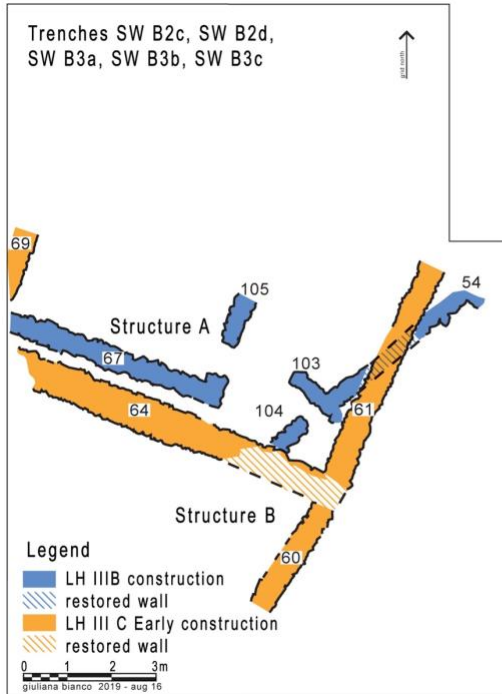


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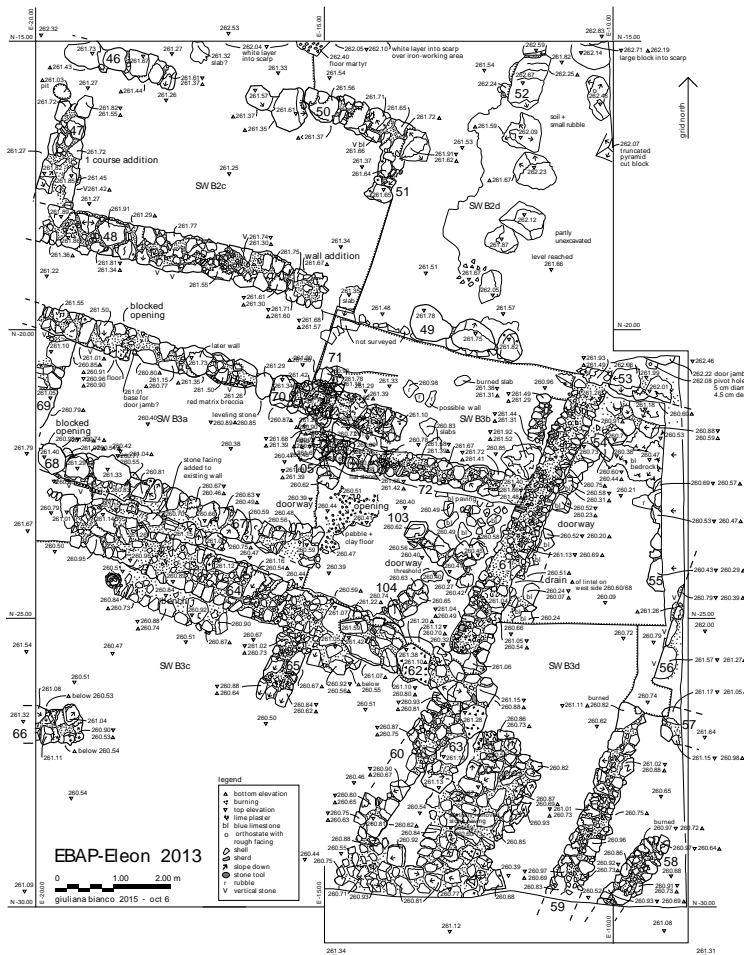
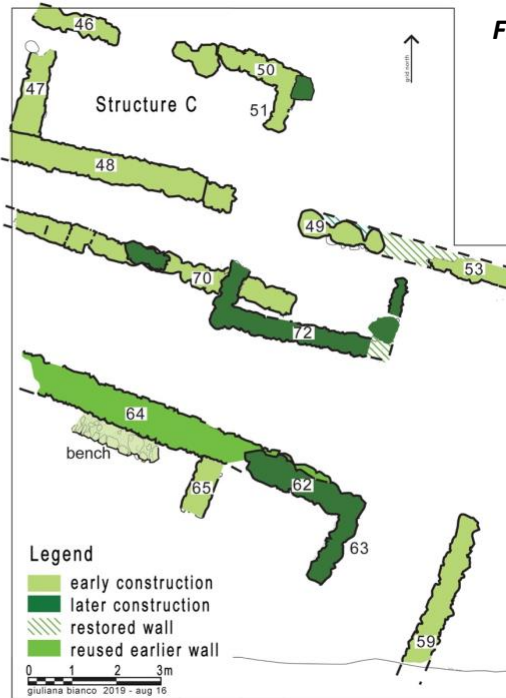


Figure 4.6

Trenches SW B2c, SW B2d, SWB3a, SW B3b, SW B3c, SW B3d

Figure 4.7

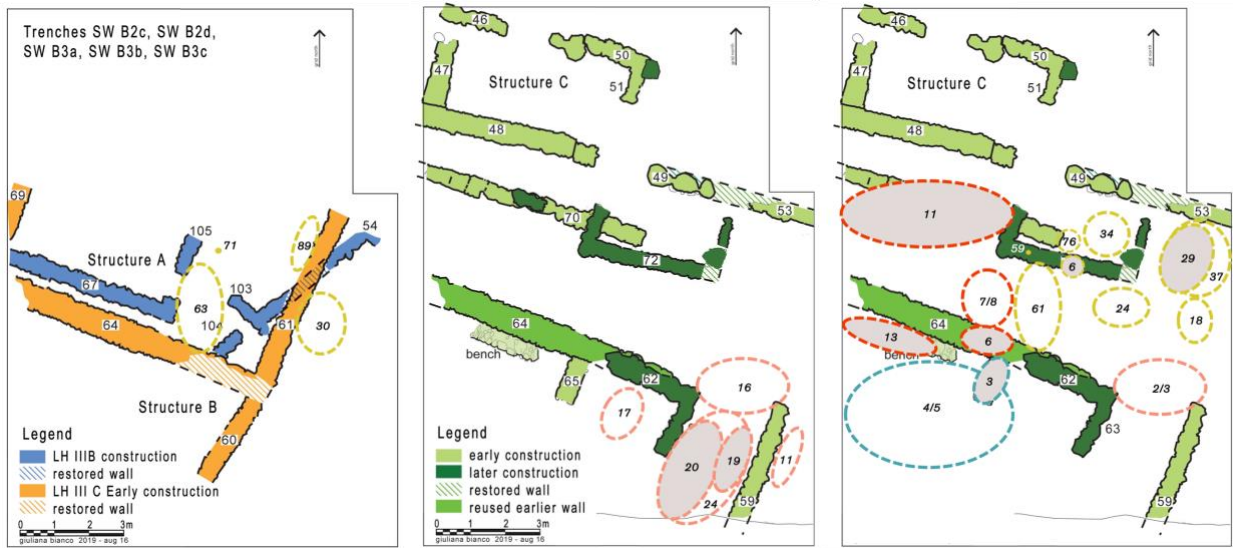
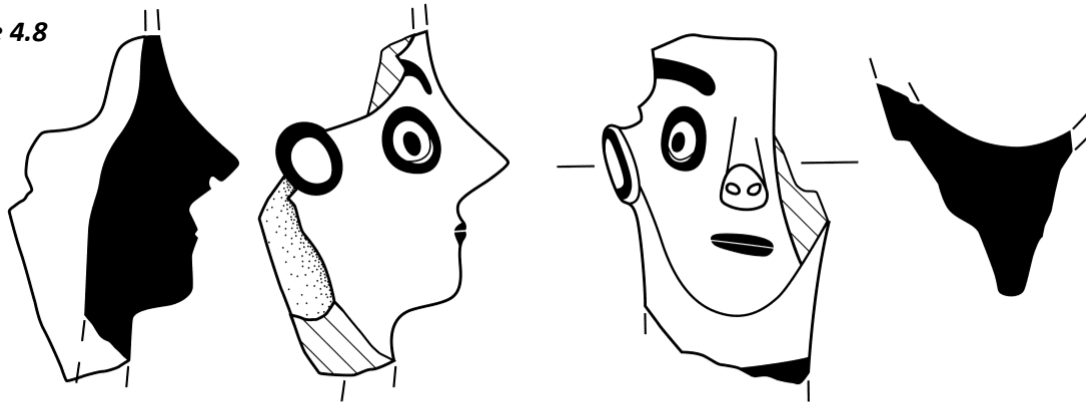


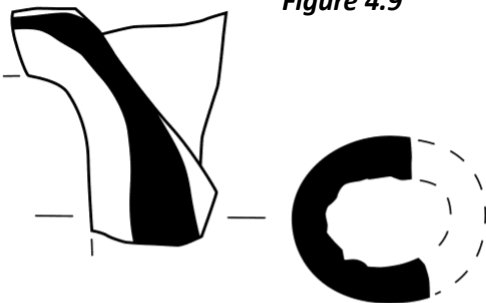
Figure 4.8



SF0447



Figure 4.9



SF0490



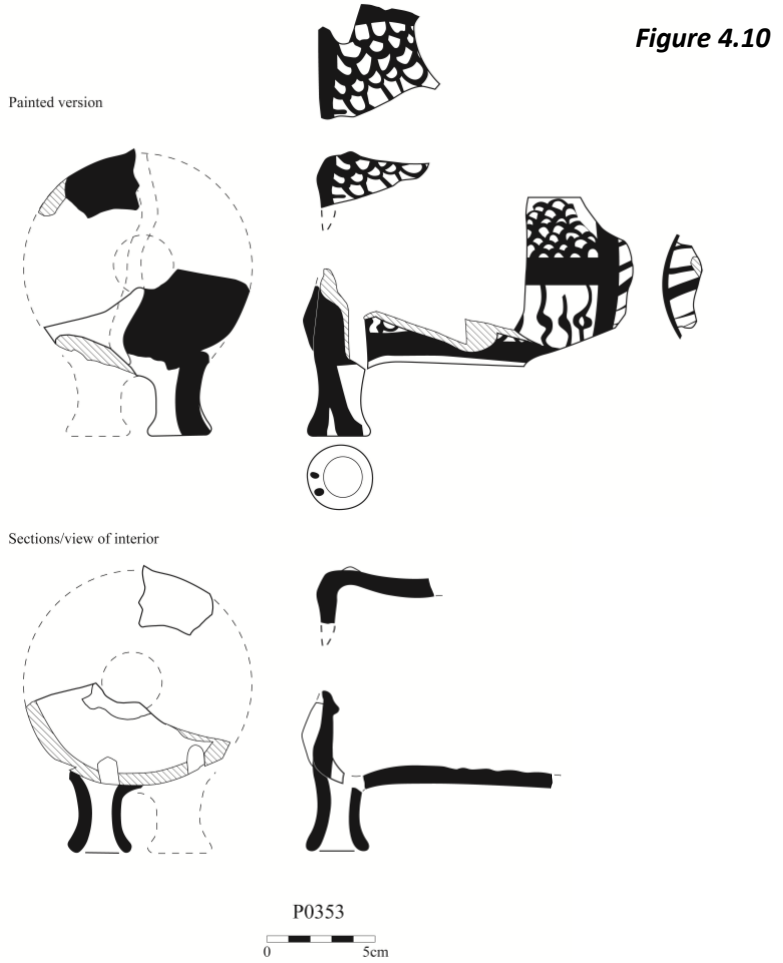


Figure 4.10

Figure 4.11

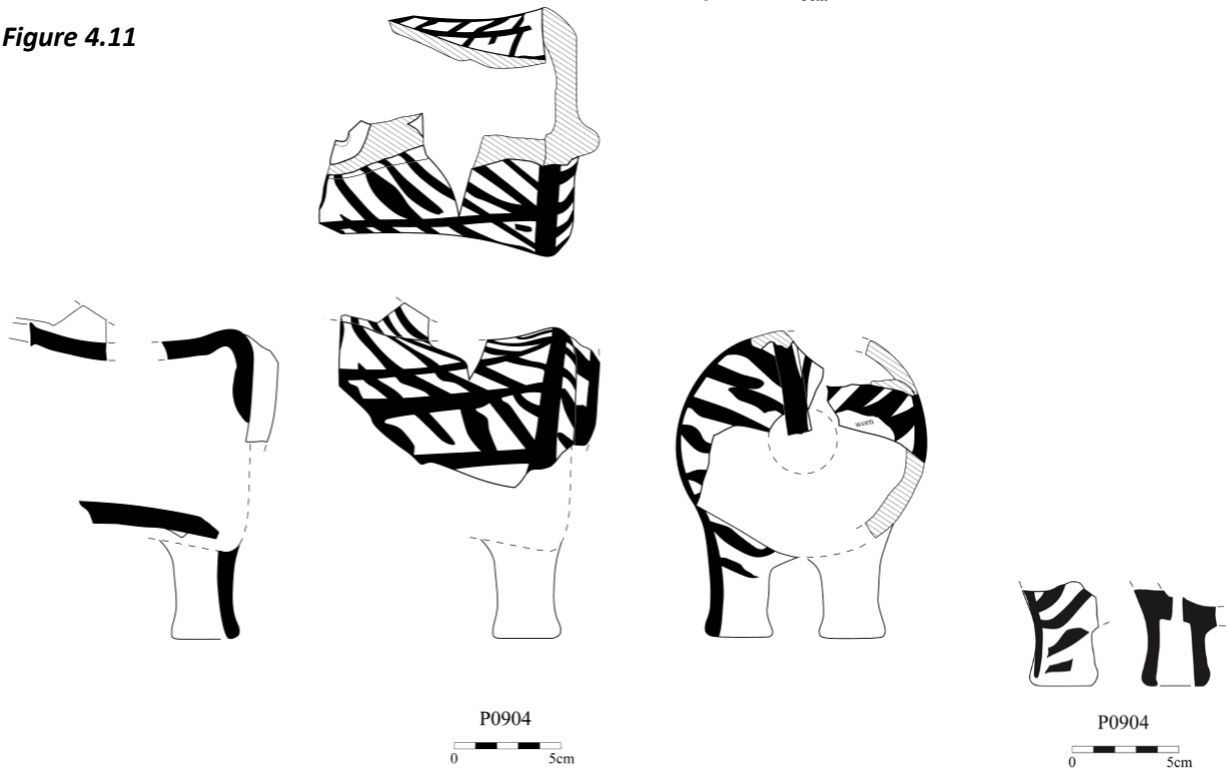


Figure 4.12

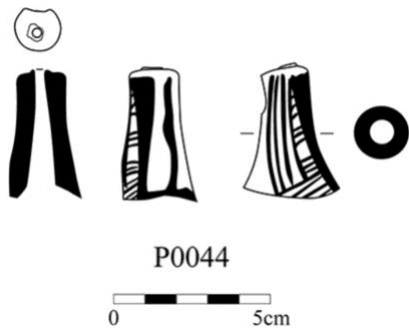


Figure 4.13

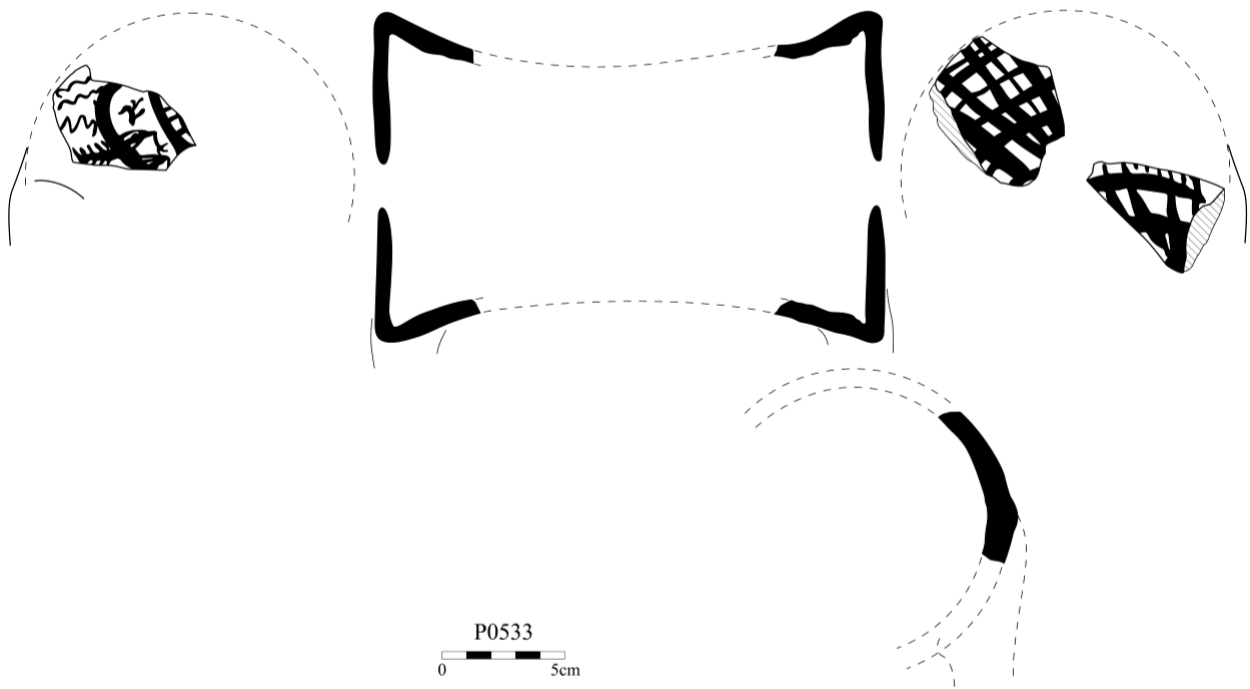


Figure 4.14

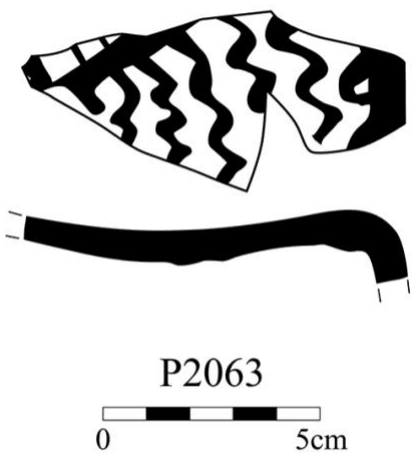


Figure 4.15

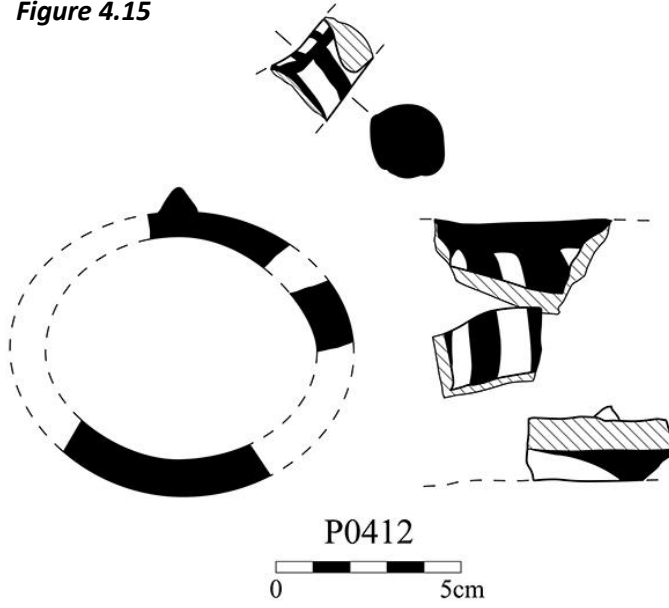


Figure 4.16

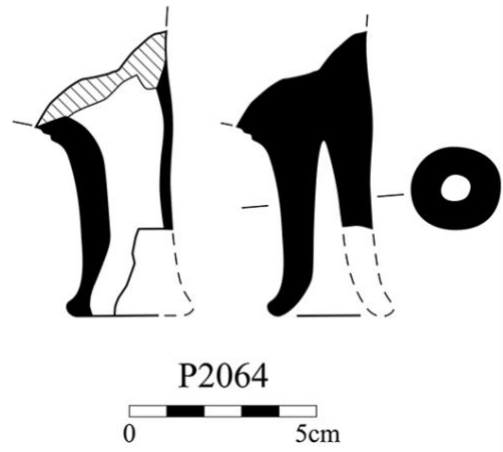


Figure 4.17



Figure 4.18

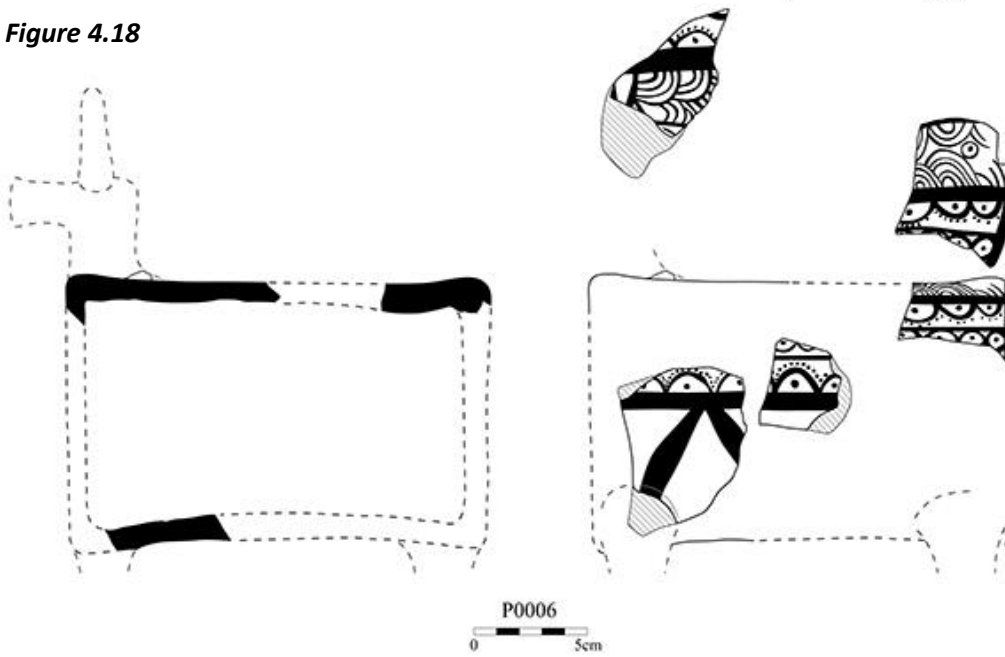


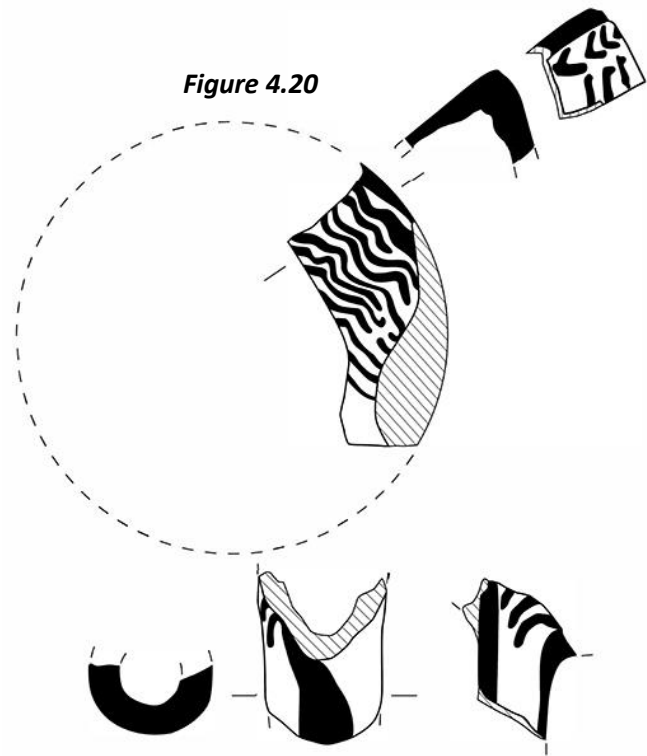
Figure 4.19



P0169



Figure 4.20



P0200

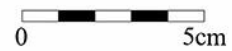


Figure 4.21

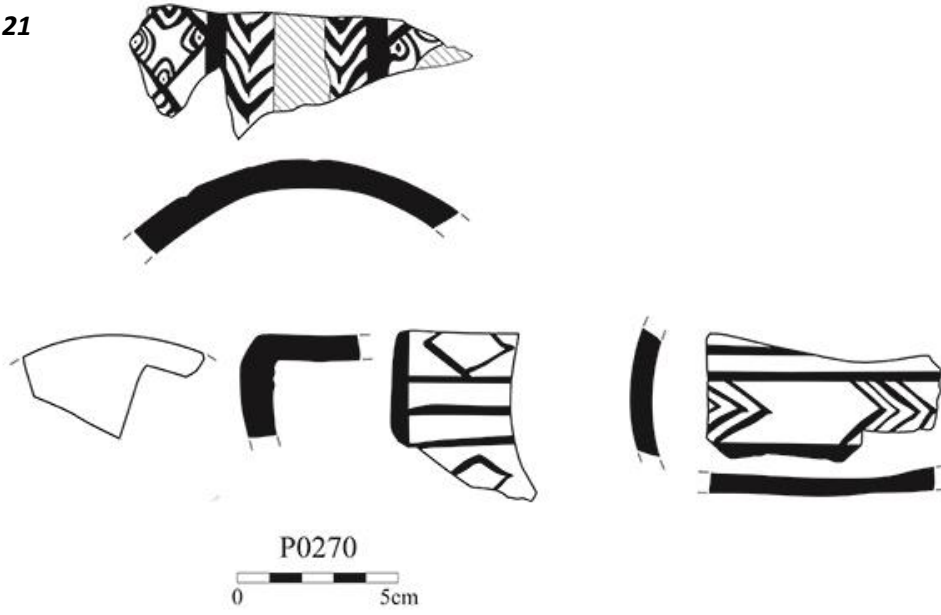


Figure 4.22

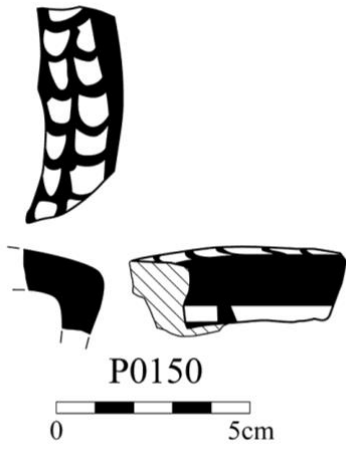


Figure 4.23

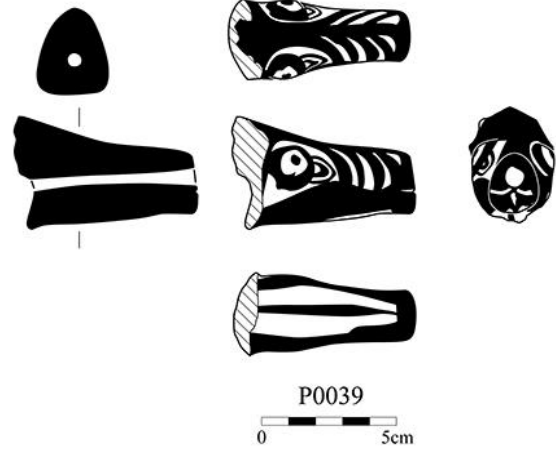
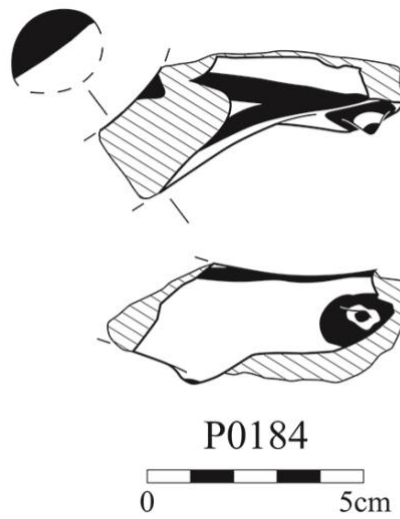


Figure 4.24



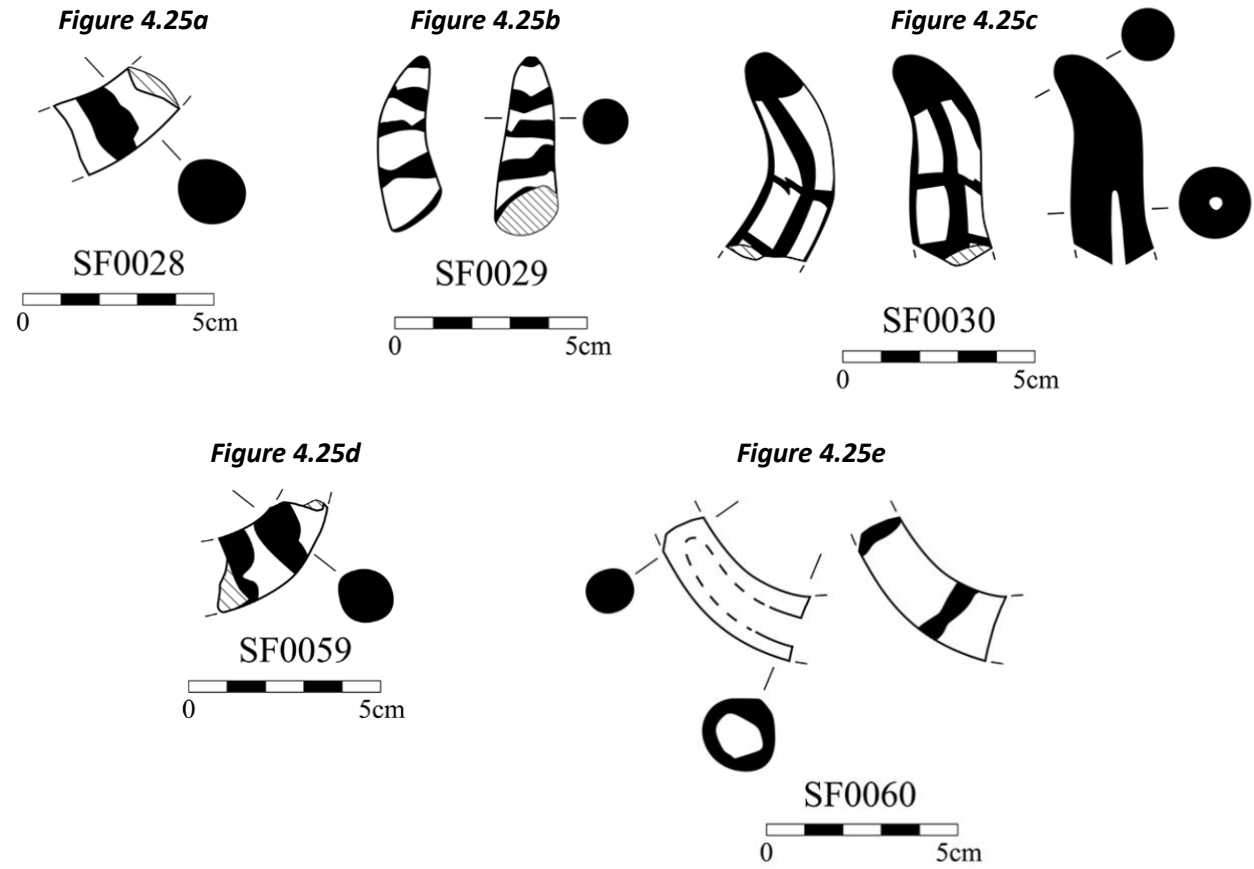


Figure 4.26

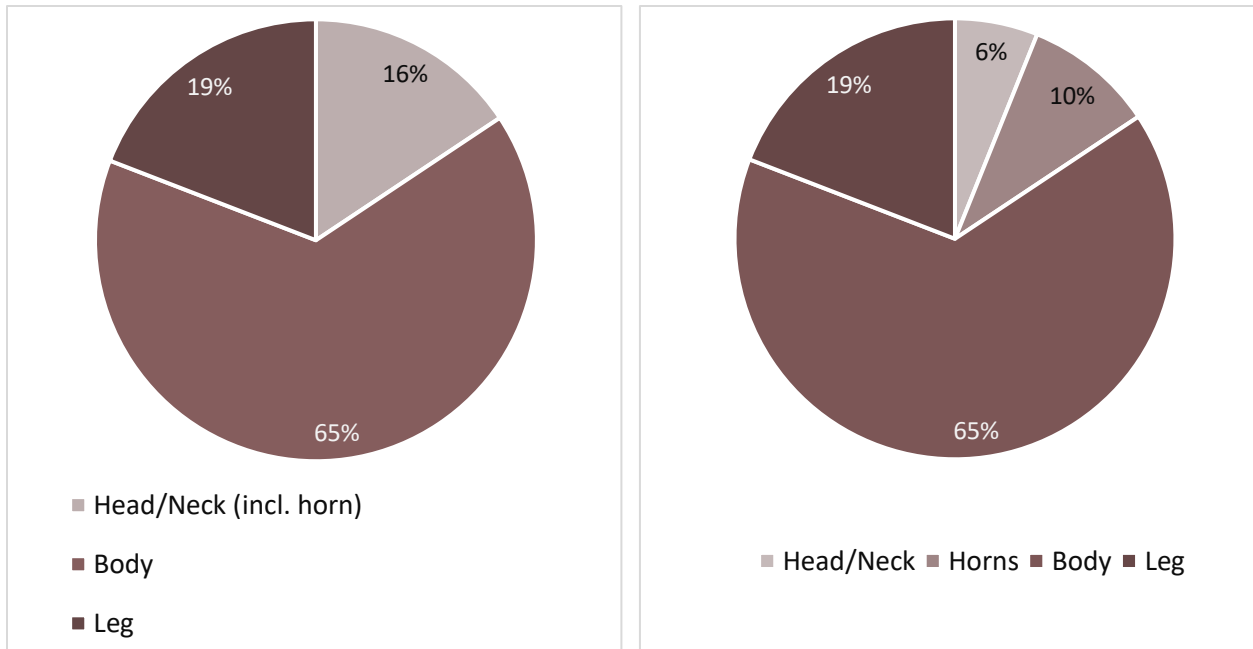


Figure 4.27

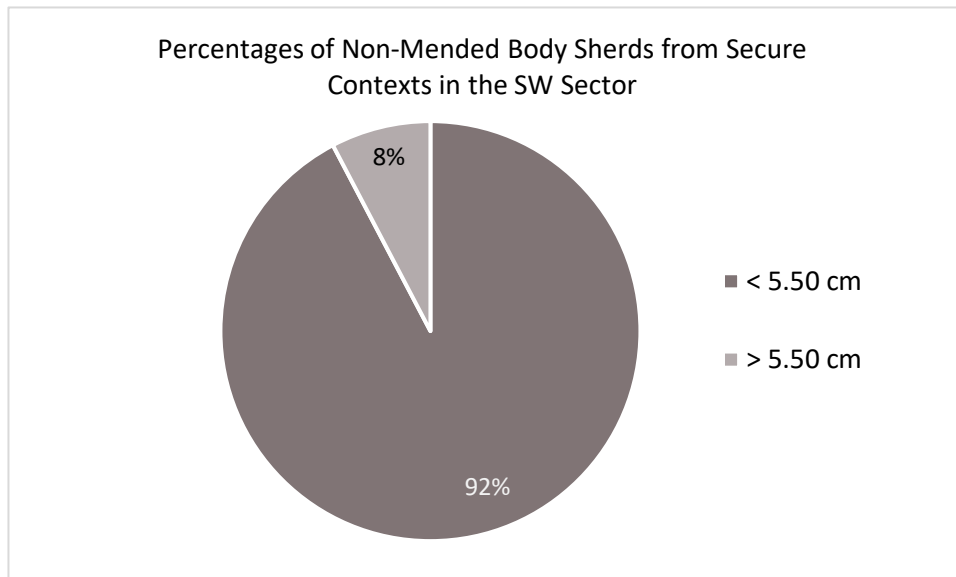


Figure 5.1

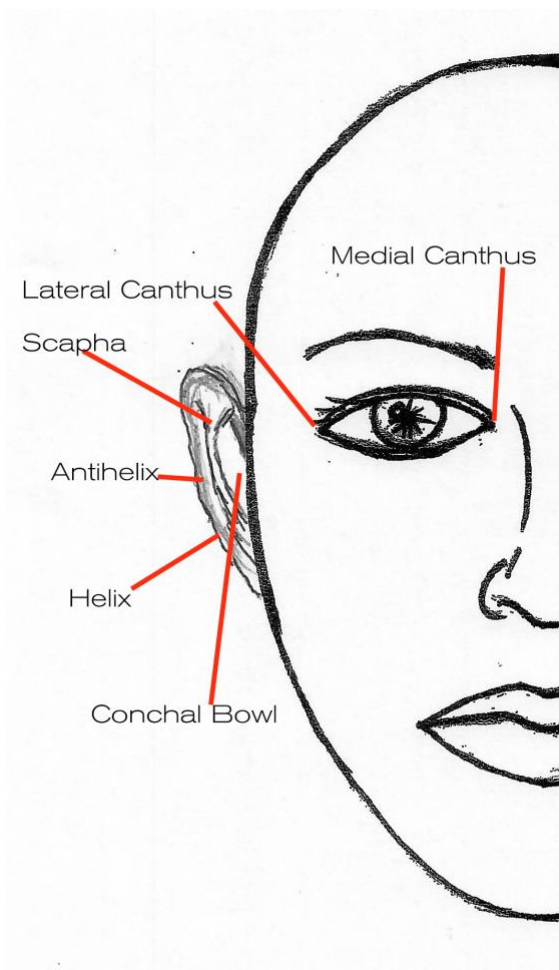


Figure 5.2

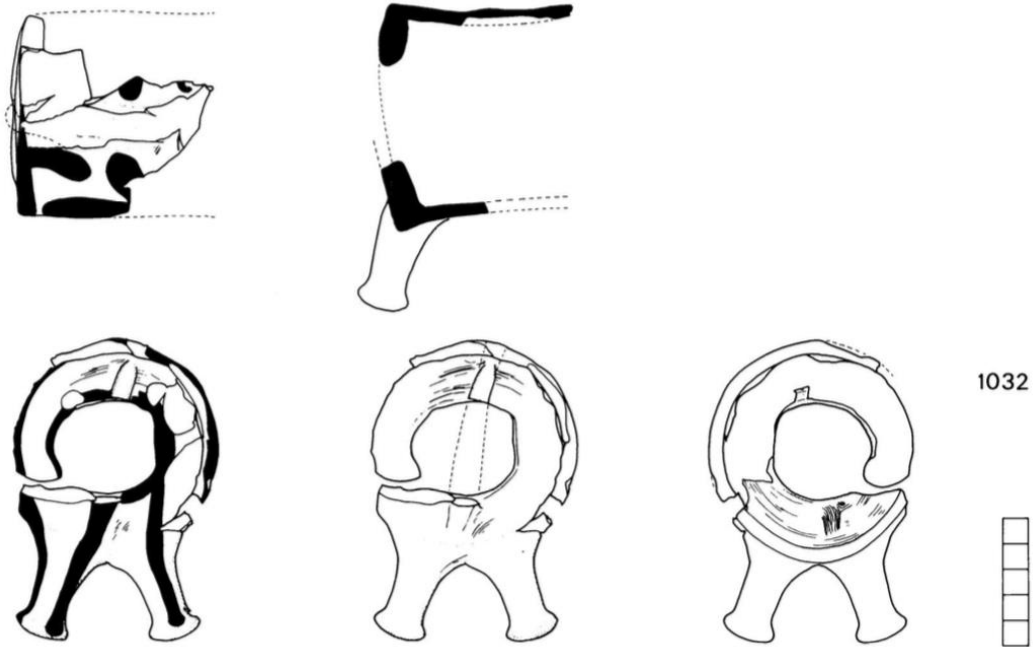


Figure 5.3

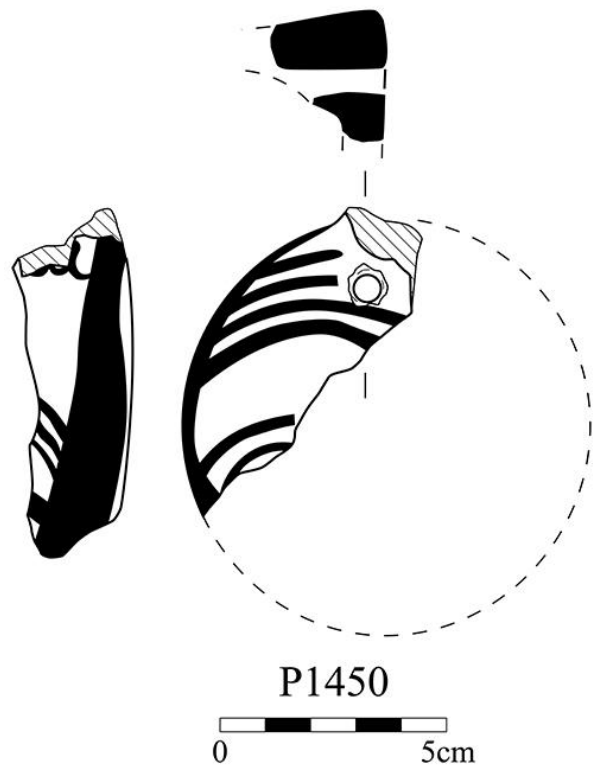


Figure 5.4

Variation of motifs in Eleon bovids

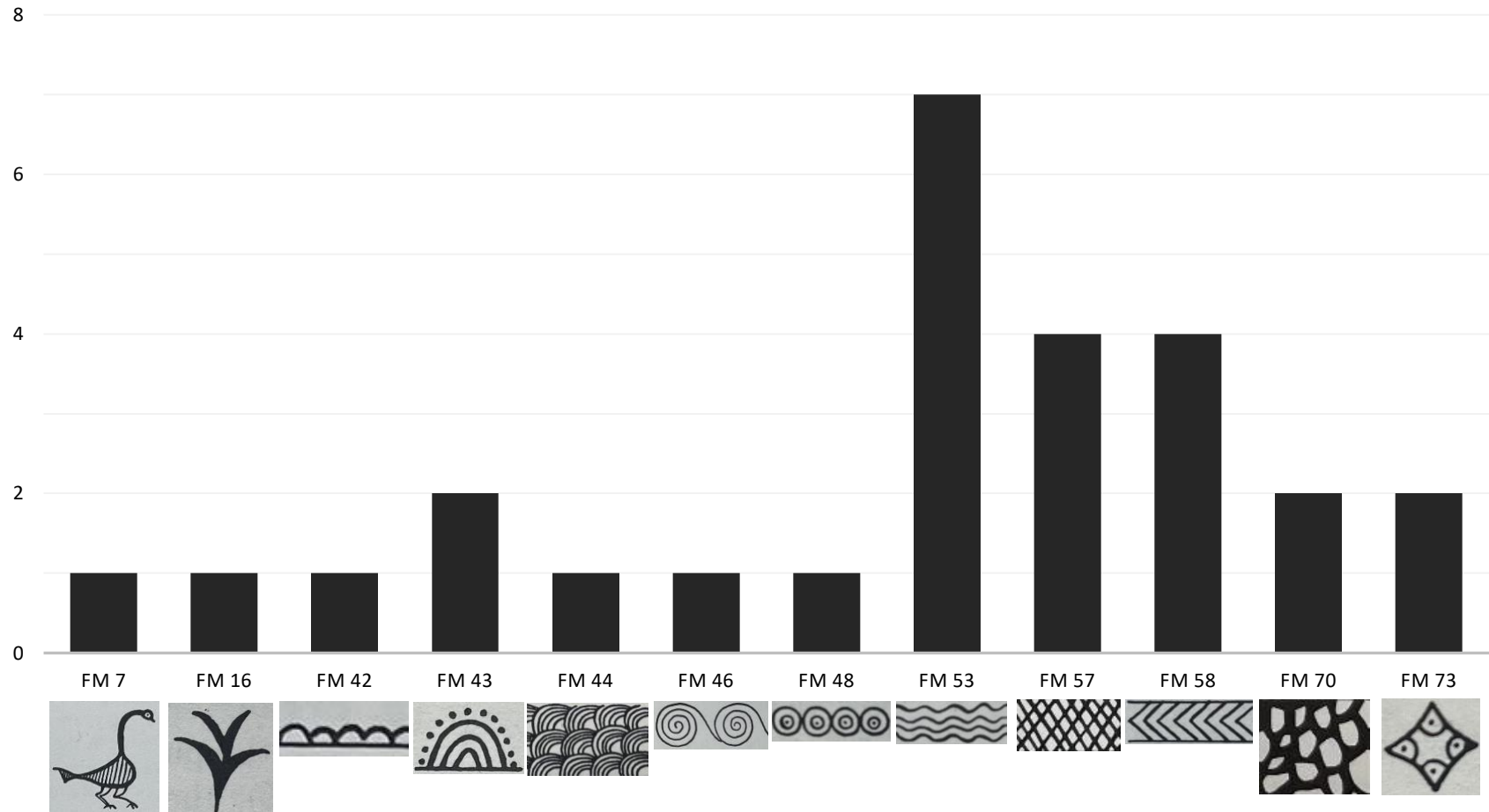


Plate 1a



Plate 1b



Plate 1c



Plate 1d



Plate 2a



Plate 2b



Plate 3a





Plate 4a



Plate 4b



Plate 4c



Plate 5a



Plate 5b



Plate 5c

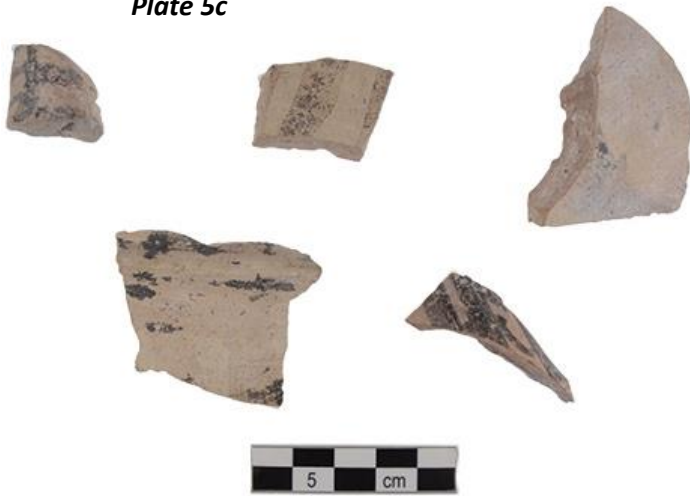


Plate 5d



Plate 5e



Plate 5f



Plate 5g



Plate 6a



Plate 6b



Plate 6c



Plate 6d (not to scale)



Plate 6e



Plate 6f



Plate 6g



Plate 6h



Plate 6i



Plate 6j



Plate 6k



Plate 6l



Plate 7a



Plate 7b



Plate 7c



Plate 7d



Plate 7e



Plate 8a



Plate 8b



Plate 8c



Plate 8d



Plate 9a



Plate 9b



Plate 9c



Plate 9d



Plate 9e



Plate 9f



Plate 9g



Plate 9h



Plate 9i



Plate 9j



Plate 9k



Plate 9l



Plate 10a



Plate 10b



Plate 10c



Plate 10d



Plate 10e



Plate 10f



Plate 10g



Plate 10h



Plate 10i



Plate 10j



Plate 11a



Plate 11b



Plate 11c



Plate 11d



Plate 11e



Plate 11f



Plate 11g



Plate 11h



Plate 11i



Plate 11j



Plate 11k



Plate 12a

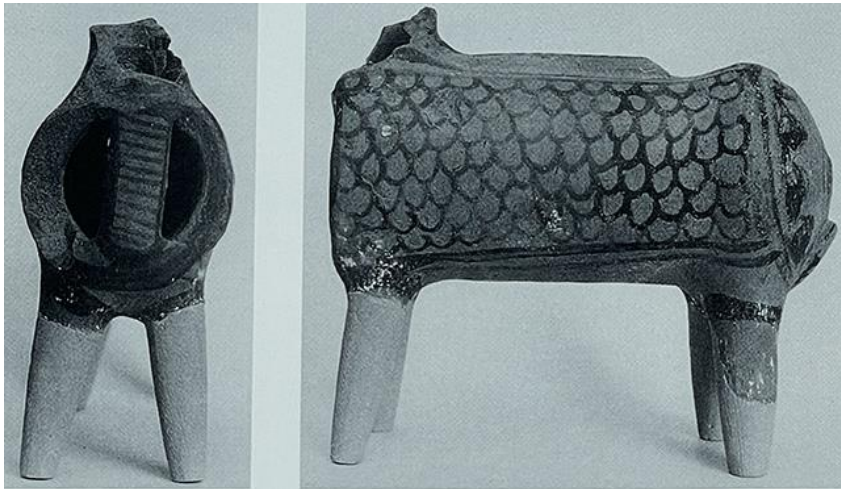


Plate 12b



Plate 12c

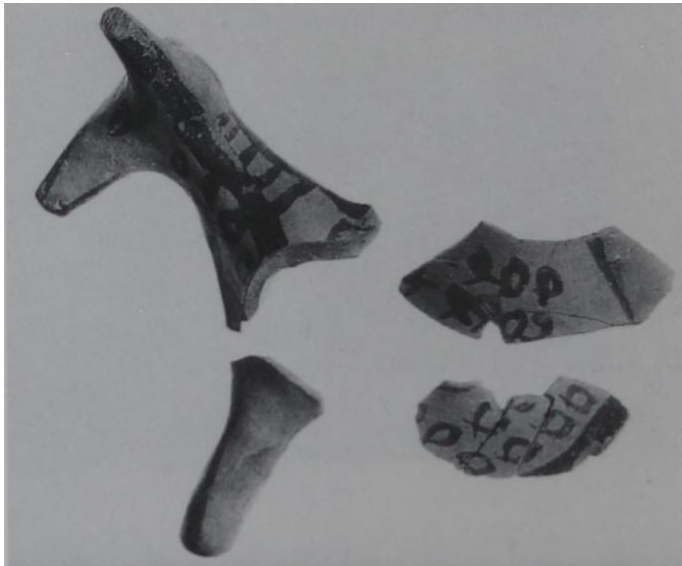


Plate 12d



Plate 12e

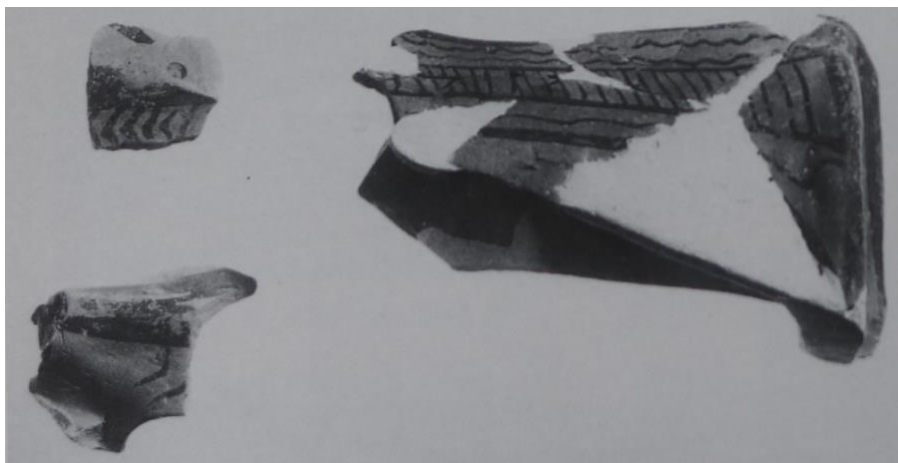


Plate 13a



Plate 13b



Plate 13c



Plates 14a-d

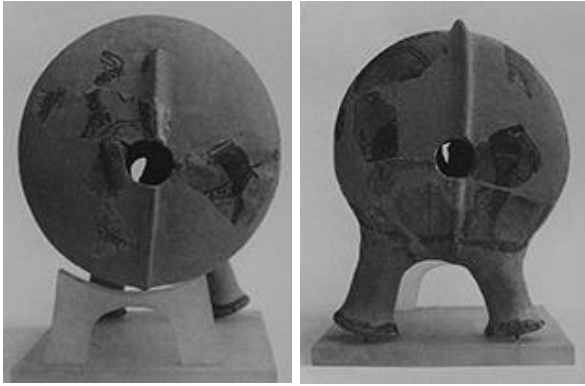


Plate 14e

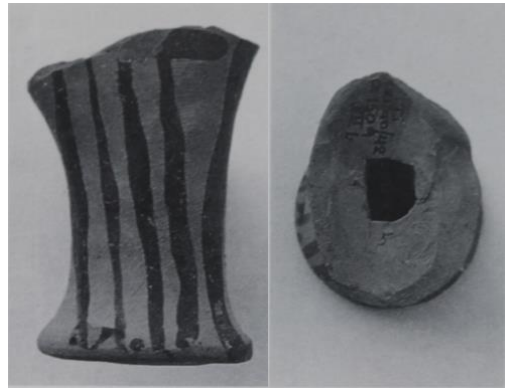


Plate 14f



Plate 14g



Plate 15a



Plate 15b



Plate 15c



Plates 16a (left), 16b (right)

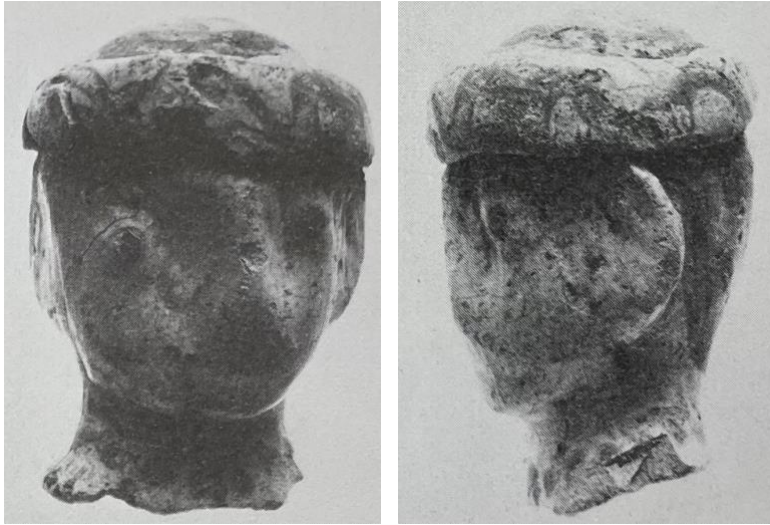


Plate 16d

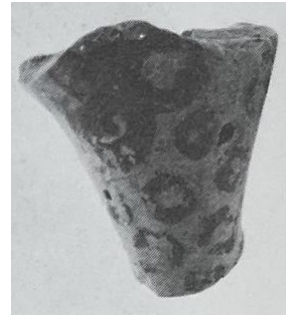


Plate 16e



Plate 16c



Plate 16f



Plate 17a



Plate 17b



Plate 17c



Plate 17d



Plate 17e



Plate18a



Plate18b



Plate18c

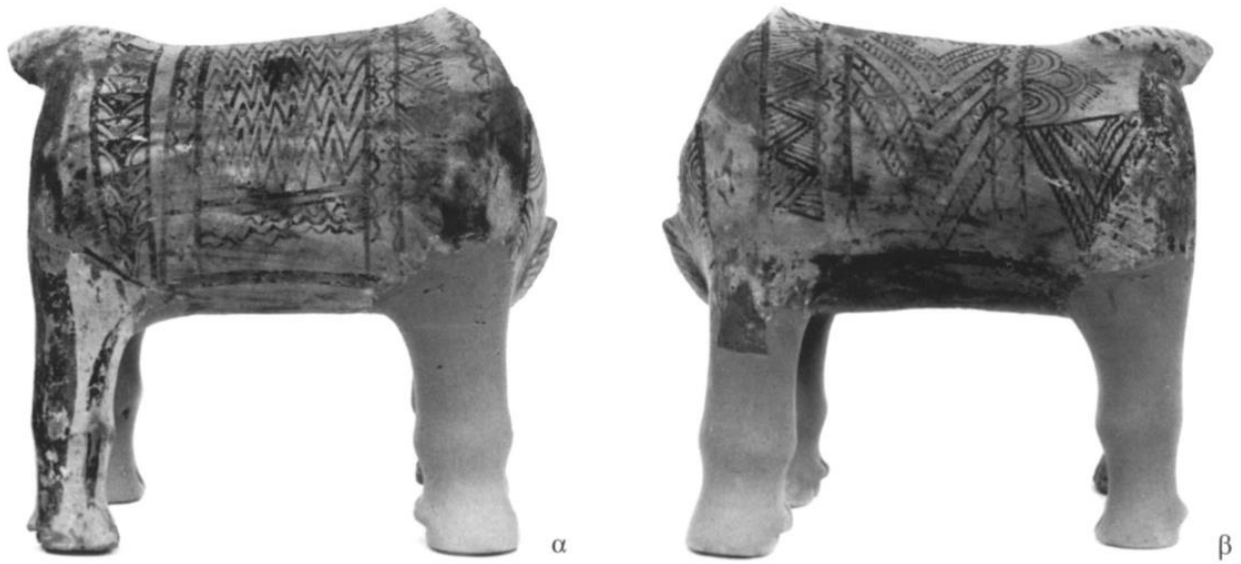


Plate18d



Plate18e

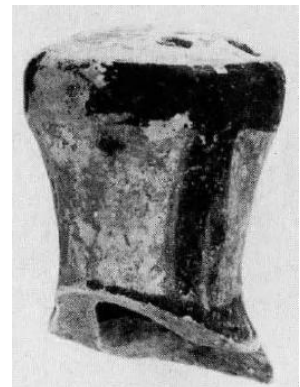


Plate19a



Plate19b



Plate19c



Plate19d

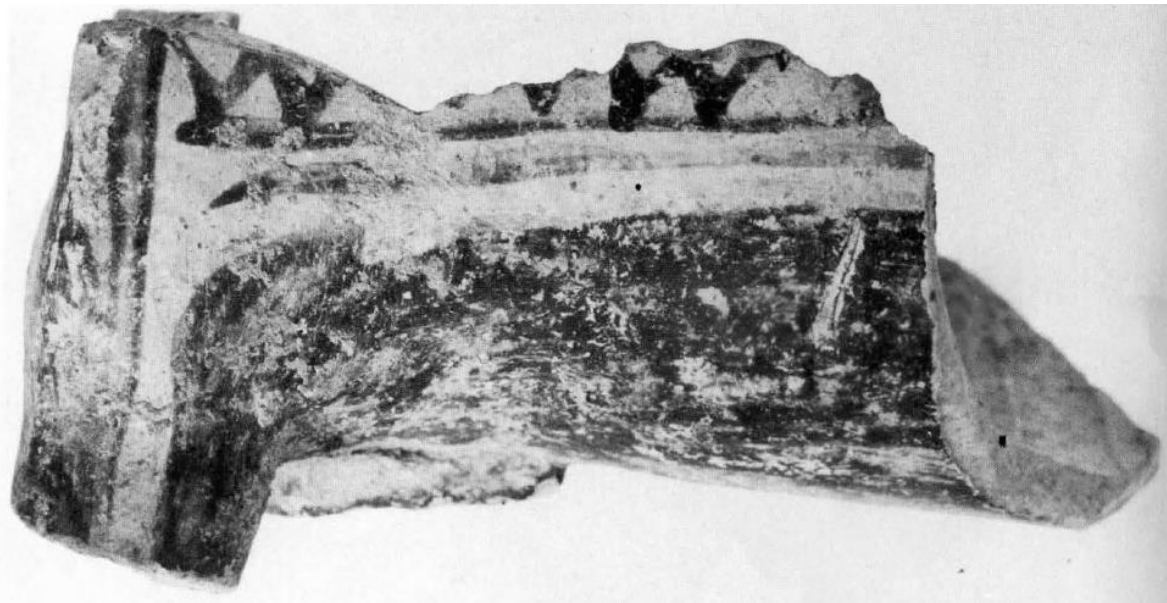


Plate19e



Plate19f

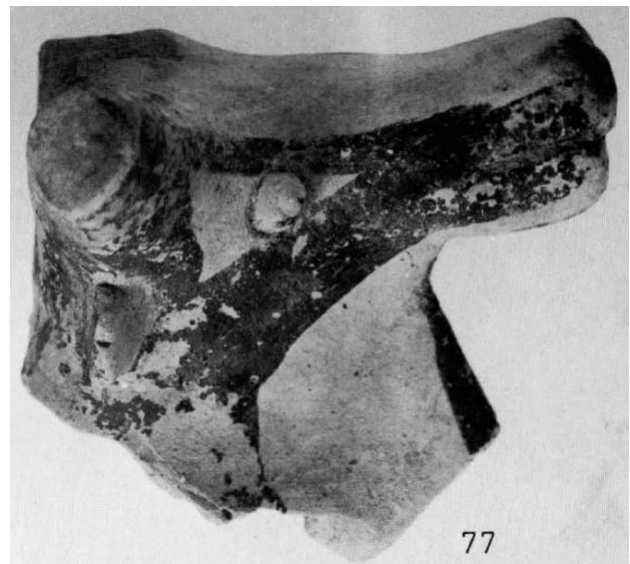


Plate 20a



Plate 20b

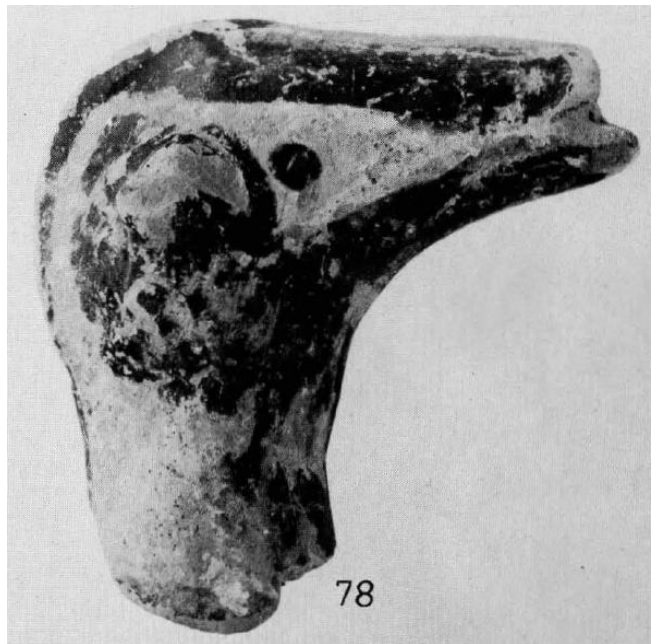


70



70

Plate 20c



78

Plate 21a



Plate 21b

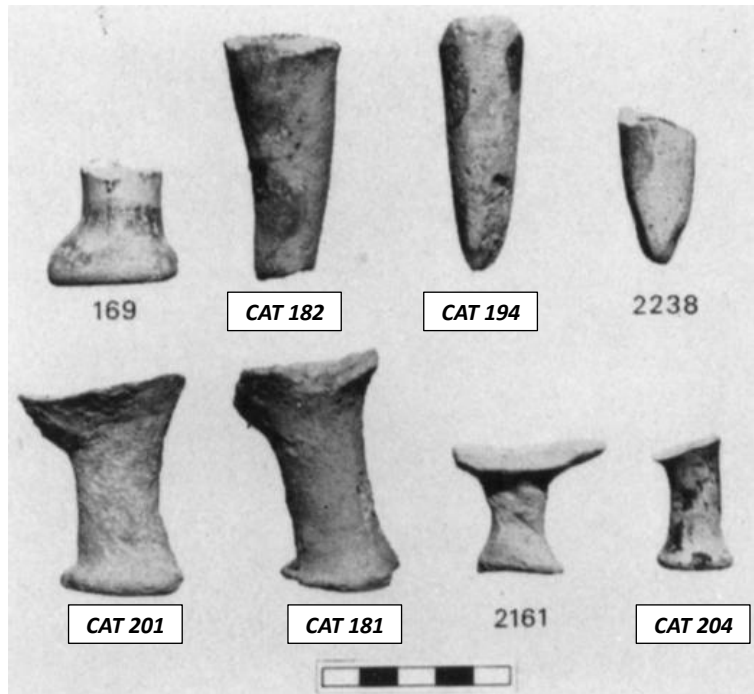
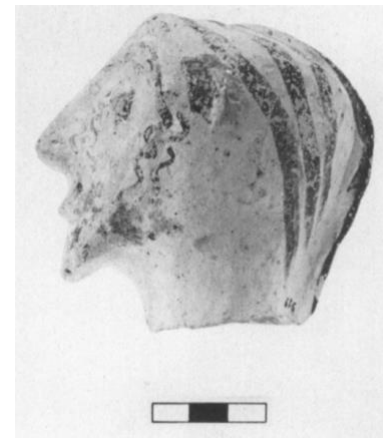


Plate 21c



Plates 21d (above), 21e (below, not to scale)



Plates 22a (left), 22b (right)

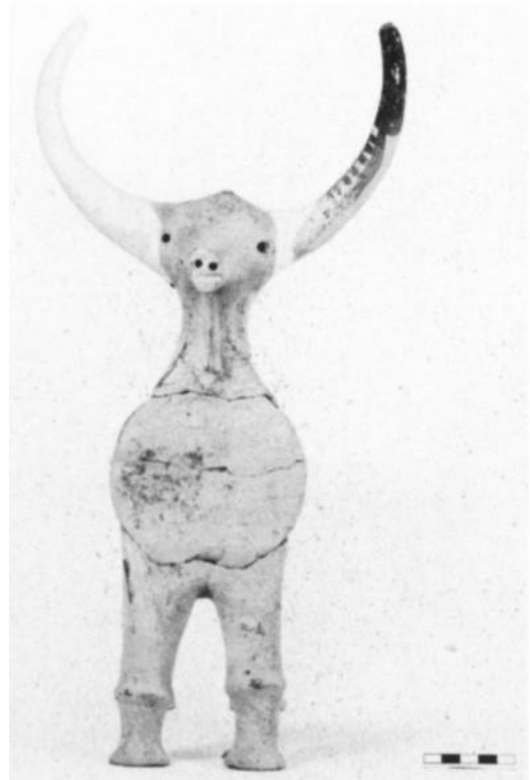
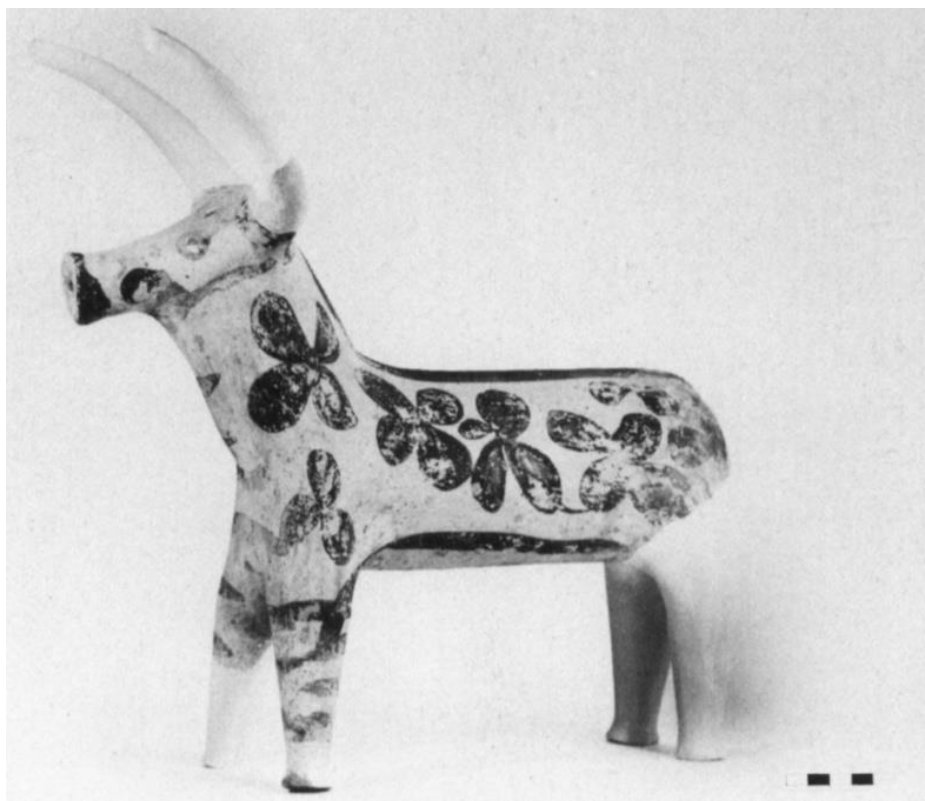


Plate 22c



Plates 23a (left), 23b (right)

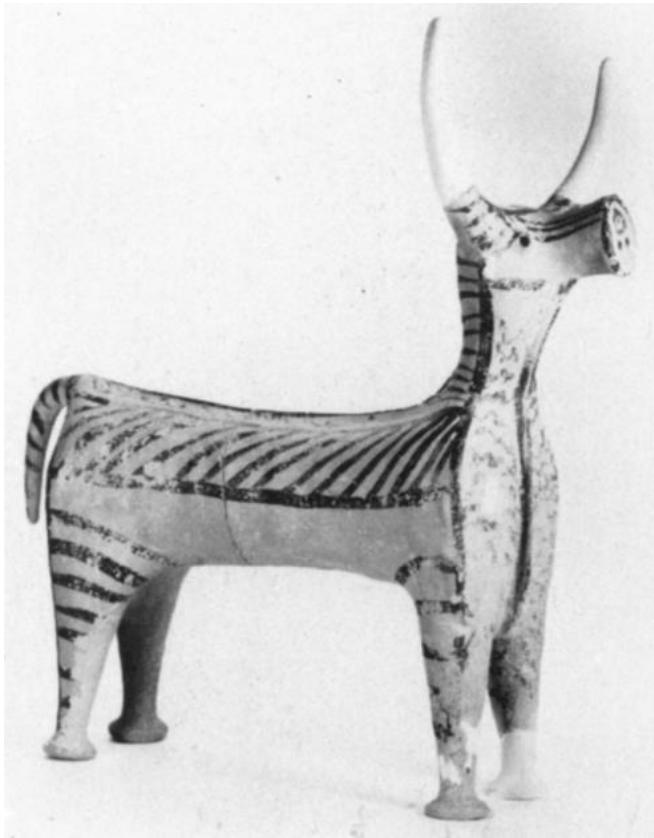


Plate 23c

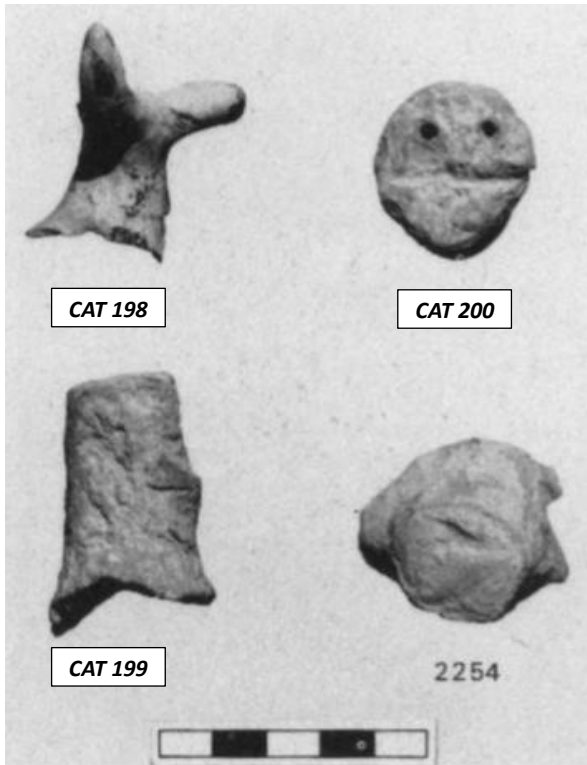


Plate 23d



Plates 24a-c



Plate 24d



Plates 24e, f



Plate 24g



Plate 24h



Appendix D. Catalog

Catalog of Wheelmade Terracotta Figures¹

Eleon

Southwest, Structure B

- CAT 1** Female – Mainland Type A Pl. 1a, Fig. 4.8
 MPD 2.91; MPH 5.16; MPW 3.96
 Hollow, wheelmade head; face and neck partially preserved, left eye, eyebrow, and ear missing; applied eye and ear; long and angular nose with two small perforations at the base, representing nostrils
 Black painted decoration; facial features, including eyebrow, pupil, and lips, are painted, as well as a partially preserved line around the neck, presumably a necklace; certain features outlined, such as applied eye and ear
 Clay: 2.5YR 6/6 light red - 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow
 LH III C Early
 SWB3b 71/149
 SF0447
 Cf. Kontopigado **CAT 86**, Mycenae **CAT 91**, Tiryns **CATs 110, 111**

- CAT 2** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 1b, Fig. 4.9
 MPD 3.26; MPH 4.95
 Wheelmade leg fragment; warped striations
 Red painted decoration; thick vertical stripe
 Rare calcareous and dark rounded inclusions, occasional terracotta fragments; Clay: 10YR 8/4 very pale brown with 10YR 7/2 light gray core
 LH III C Early
 SWB3b 63/129
 SF0490

- CAT 3** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 1c
 MPH 1.97; MPL 2.55
 Unidentified body fragment
 Reddish-brown painted decoration
 Clay: 10YR 7/3 very pale brown
 LH III C Early
 SWB3b 30/66 (?Foundation deposit)

- CAT 4** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 1d
 MPD 6.00; MPH 3.10; MPL 2.76
 Wheelmade torso fragment
 Red painted decoration

¹ All measurements are in centimeters unless otherwise stated. Abbreviations: MPD: maximum preserved diameter, MPH: maximum preserved height, MPL: maximum preserved length, MPTh: maximum preserved thickness, MPW: maximum preserved width.

Clay: 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow
 LH III C Early
 SWB3b 89/178

Northwest, Northwest Complex

CAT 5 Bovid – Type uncertain
 MPD 2.67; MPH 4.06

Pl. 2a, Fig. 4.12

Leg fragment; small perforation through the center, with a small opening at the base; tapers; flat foot

Red painted decoration; well-preserved linear decoration; lack of symmetry indicates leg instead of muzzle fragment

Clay: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink
 LH III C Early 2
 NWB2d 64/78 (Room 1)
 P0044

CAT 6 Bovid – ?Type B-2
 MPD 10; MPH 7.65; MPL 7.87

Pl. 2b, Fig. 4.10

Wheelmade, consisting of several fragments; preserved right hindleg and partially preserved abdomen, rear plate, torso, and chest plate; lower half of naturally modeled tail; bottom half of perforation in the central of the rear plate has been preserved; rump mended to rear plate; small portion of chest plate and torso preserved, probably joins to abdomen

Red painted decoration; partially preserved vertical line on outside of leg; solid painted rear plate and tail; scale pattern on rump and forequarters; vertical wavy lines below horizontal band on forequarters; radial linear lines on chest; no decoration between framing lines on abdomen

Clay: 2.5YR 6/6 light red - 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow, evidence of burning 10YR 6/2 light brownish gray - 3/1 very dark gray
 LH III C Early 2
 NWB2c 2/7, 7/8, NWC2d 3/7, 3/10 (Room 3)
 P0353
 Cf. Tiryns **CAT 108**

CAT 7 Bovid – ?Type B-2
 MPD 11.5; MPL 11.8

Pl. 3a, Fig. 4.11

Wheelmade, consisting of ten fragments; three hollow legs preserved, left foreleg missing; right hindleg has been mended with the right hindquarters; hindquarters fragments joins with a rectangular fragment of the rear end; the left half of the rear end, which preserves the upper portion of the tail, joins with the left hindquarters, which has been mended with a large section of the torso; a thick vertical protrusion is preserved on the left top section of the torso, which represents the bull's withers

Red painted decoration; diagonal lines intersecting horizontal lines

Rare dark angular inclusions; Clay: 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow - 5/6 yellowish red, evidence of burning 10YR 6/1 gray - 10YR 3/1 very dark gray
 LH III C Early 2

NWB2c 7/8, 10/10, 10/12, 18/27 (Room 3), NWB2a 7/23 (Room 3N), NWB2c 21/25 (Room 4); other fragments found in topsoil/cleaning

P0904

Cf. Amyklai **CAT 152**

Southwest, Bench Shrine + Associated Deposits

CAT 8 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 4a, Fig. 4.17

MPD 2.51; MPH 8.41

Fragment of a hollow, wheelmade leg; closed base

Red painted decoration; vertical lines; terminus of wavy line on front of the leg; no decoration on inner leg

Clay: 10YR 7/4 very pale brown

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 16/32

SF0209

Cf. Epidaurus **CAT 133**

CAT 9 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 4b

MPD 4.00; MPH 5.65

Leg fragment; central perforation from base through entire leg; bulbous joint; torus-shaped hoof; two other wheelmade fragments (body and leg) not associated with stone pavement of Bench Shrine; tentatively grouped together, but these two fragments might come from different figure

Black painted decoration; series of bands; encrustation on one side makes it difficult to see decoration in entirety; torus-shaped hoof painted solid

Rare calcareous; Clay: 2.5YR 6/4 light reddish brown

LH III C Middle

Leg fragment: SWB3d 16/32; Body and leg fragments: SWB3b 14/28, SWB3c 5/19 (not associated with Bench Shrine)

P0186

CAT 10 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 4c, Fig. 4.13

MPD 13; MPH 5.95; MPL 3.56; MPW 4.95

Thirteen fragments, three separate mends; wheelmade chest/rear plate and flank fragments preserved

Brown linear decoration; bird motif, diaper net motif, flower motif

Fine with sub-angular dark orange inclusions and small dark rock inclusions; Clay: 2.5Y 8/3 pale brown

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 16/32, 16/37, 17/33; 20/44, 24/50, 24/51 (stone pavement); SWB3b 34/70 (floor of The Room with the Bulls)

P0533

Cf. Athens **CAT 83**; for figural motifs, cf. Tiryns **CAT 108**, Amyklai **CAT 153**

- CAT 11** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 5a, Fig. 4.14
 MPH 5.69; MPL 8.0; MPW 4.13
 Eight fragments, one mend; wheelmade neck, back, rump, and flank fragments
 On the neck, thick black vertical stripe with perpendicular stripes on the lower neck; along the rest of the back, black line on the spine (?) with perpendicular wavy lines; rump outlined with black
 Very fine with rare calcareous; Clay: 2.5YR 6/8 light red - 6/4 light reddish brown with 7.5YR 7/2 pinkish gray core - 6/4 light brown core
 LH III C Middle 1
 SWB3d 16/32, 19/41; 20/44, 24/50, 24/51 (stone pavement); SWB3b 30/62 (LH III C Early ?foundation deposit)
 P2063
- CAT 12** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 5b, Fig. 4.16
 MPD 3.92; MPH 8.2
 Wheelmade leg fragment; central perforation from base to approximately 3/4 of preserved height; base is flared and torus-shaped; open base
 Black painted decoration; traces of thick vertical stripes on front and back of leg
 Rare calcareous and quartz inclusions; Clay: 10YR 7/4 very pale brown with 10YR 7/1 light gray core
 LH III C Middle 1
 SWB3d 11/23, 16/32
 P2064
- CAT 13** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 5c, Fig. 4.15
 MPD 7; MPH 3.99; MPL 5.38
 Five fragments; wheelmade back and torso; solid horn
 Faint traces of black linear decoration
 Rare calcareous and quartz inclusions; Clay: 10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown with 7.5YR 7/2 pinkish gray - 10YR 7/1 light gray core
 LH III C Middle 1
 SWB3d 16/37; 25/51 (stone pavement); SWB3d 3/11, SWB3b 37/78 (LH III C Middle 2 fills)
 P4012
- CAT 14** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 5d
 MPH 1.70; MPL 2.92; MPW 2.22
 Wheelmade torso fragment
 Red painted decoration; simple grid pattern or wheel pattern; thick stripe on edge
 Clay: 10YR 7/2 light gray with thick 10YR 4/1 dark gray core
 LH III C Middle 1
 SWB3d 16/32
- CAT 15** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 5e
 MPH 3.90; MPL 2.21
 Wheelmade torso fragment

Brown painted decoration; stripes

Clay: 10YR 6/6 brownish yellow - 7.5YR 5/3 brown

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 16/32

CAT 16 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 5f

MPH 2.38; MPL 2.35

Torso fragment; finished surface is only partially preserved

Traces of brown painted linear decoration

Clay: 10YR 8/3 very pale brown

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 16/37

CAT 17 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 5g

MPL 2.17; MPW 3.25

Wheelmade torso (?withers) fragment; protrusion broken off - possibly applied spine; probably belongs to same figure as **CAT 40**

Red painted decoration; horizontal stripes; protrusion would have been painted solid

Clay: 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown - 6/2 pinkish gray

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 16/37

CAT 18 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 6a

MPH 3.06; MPW 1.98

Torso fragment

Red painted decoration; rows of parallel dots

Clay: 10YR 6/3 pale brown

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 16/37

CAT 19 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 6b

MPL 3.19; MPW 4.41

Wheelmade withers fragment; two plastic, parallel ridges (attached shoulder blades?)

Red painted decoration; row of parallel chevrons; row of joining semicircles; ridges painted solid, as well as space between

Clay: 7.5YR 7/6 reddish yellow

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 20/43, 24/51

CAT 20 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 6c

MPD 3.00; MPH 1.58

Upper leg fragment

Black painted decoration; vertical band and horizontal stripe

Clay: 2.5YR 5/3 reddish brown with 10YR 6/2 light brownish gray core

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 20/44 (stone pavement)

CAT 21 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 6d

MPH 2.46; MPL 2.70; MPW 3.09

Solid muzzle fragment; triangular with rounded edges; slightly pinched; evidence of burning

Red painted decoration; poorly preserved symmetrical lines

Few calcareous, dark angular inclusions; Clay: 2.5YR 5/8 red with 7.5YR 5/4 brown - 6/1 gray core

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 20/44 (stone pavement)

Cf. Amyklai **CAT 167**

CAT 22 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 6e

MPD 14.00; MPH 7.83; MPW 4.56

Wheelmade rear fragment with partially preserved leg attachment; preserved firing hole

Red painted decoration; simple grid pattern on backside; linear decoration on leg

Clay: 5YR 7/4 pink

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 20/44 (stone pavement)

Cf. Athens **CAT 81**

CAT 23 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 6f

MPH 3.44; MPW 2.33

Wheelmade torso fragment

Black painted stripe

Clay: 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow - 2.5YR 6/4 light reddish brown with thin 2.5YR 5/3 reddish brown core

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 24/51 (stone pavement)

CAT 24 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 6g

MPH 2.88; MPL 2.16

Torso fragment; probably belongs to same figure as **CAT 25**

Red painted decoration; wavy line motif

Rare rounded dark inclusions; Clay: 10YR 8/3 very pale brown

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 24/51 (stone pavement)

CAT 25 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 6g

MPH 1.85; MPL 1.96

Torso fragment; probably belongs to same figure as **CAT 25**

Red painted decoration; wavy line motif

Rare rounded dark inclusions; Clay: 10YR 8/3 very pale brown

LH III C Middle 1

SWB3d 24/51 (stone pavement)

Southwest, The Room of the Bulls + Associated Deposits

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| <p>CAT 26 Bovid – Type uncertain MPD 1.90; MPH 3.20 Left horn fragment; solid; upward curve Brown painted decoration; horizontal band Clay: 7.5YR 6/3 light brown with 7.5YR 6/1 gray core LH III C Middle 2 SWB3a 8/28 SF0028</p> | <p>Pl. 6h, Fig. 4.25a</p> |
| <p>CAT 27 Bovid – Type uncertain MPD 1.54; MPH 3.84 Right horn fragment; solid; upward curve Brown painted decoration; wavy bands, painted tip Clay: 10YR 7/3 very pale brown LH III C Middle 2 SWB3b 29/68 SF0029 Cf. Epidaurus: CAT 145</p> | <p>Pl. 6i, Fig. 4.25b</p> |
| <p>CAT 28 Bovid – Type uncertain MPD 1.94; MPH 5.22 Left horn fragment; preserved firing hole; upward then forward curve Black painted decoration; simple grid pattern, painted tip Clay: 2.5YR 6/4 light reddish brown LH III C Middle 2 SWB3a 5/25 SF0030</p> | <p>Pl. 6j, Fig. 4.25c</p> |
| <p>CAT 29 Bovid – Type uncertain MPD 1.93; MPH 4.03 Left horn fragment; solid; upward curve Black painted decoration; wavy bands Clay: 2.5Y 7/3 pale brown LH III C Middle 2 SWB3d 3/11 SF0059</p> | <p>Pl. 6k, Fig. 4.25d</p> |
| <p>CAT 30 Bovid – Type uncertain MPD 1.9; MPH 4.22 Left horn fragment; preserved firing hole; upward curve Brown painted decoration; two bands</p> | <p>Pl. 6l, Fig. 4.25e</p> |

Clay: 5YR 7/6 reddish yellow - 6/4 light reddish brown
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3d 3/11
 SF0060

CAT 31 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 7a, Fig. 4.18
 MPD 12; MPH 6.6; MPL 5.4

Wheelmade torso; five fragments, two mends; right shoulder fragment, the left forequarters, which preserve the attachment site of left foreleg, a torso fragment, and mended rear and rump fragment

Decoration separated into panels by framing lines; quirk motif; isolated semicircle motif; concentric arc motif

Clay: 5YR 7/4 pink
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3a 12/39; SWB3b 5/8 (The Room of the Bulls, disturbed fill), 13/26
 P0006

CAT 32 Horse – Type A Pl. 7b, Fig. 4.23
 MPH 4.14; MPL 6.48; D (muzzle) 1.91

Horse head rhyton; sculpted eye; tip of muzzle is flat; incised mouth below small perforation

Red painted decoration; crown painted solid, representing the mane; bridle and bit, represented by the symmetrical lines emanating from the bridge of the nose, connecting to thick wavy line on the sides of the muzzle, and partially preserved paint over an incised mouth; additional lines could signify an elaborate ceremonial bridle

Clay: 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3d 2/13
 P0039

Cf. Amyklai **CATs 168** (although this figure is a bovid, its muzzle shape is similar to **CAT 32**), **78**

CAT 33 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 7c, Fig. 4.19
 MPD 6; MPH 4.02; MPL 4.90; MPW 2.72

Eight fragments making up the front of the animal; wheelmade head, neck, horns, and chest; modeled ears

Light on dark decoration; diaper net motif; stemmed spiral motif

Clay: 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow with 7.5YR 4/6 strong brown core
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3a 1/7, 5/25, 15/65; SWB3b 5/9 (The Room of the Bulls, disturbed fill), 6/13, 27 (The Room of the Bulls, fill)
 P0169

Cf. Phylakopi **CATs 188, 193**; Ears: cf. Amyklai **CATs 167, 168**; Phylakopi **CAT 193**

CAT 34 ?Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 7d, Fig. 4.24
 MPD 3.00; MPH 5.21; MPL 3.50
 Solid head of either a bovid or other quadruped; right side of a quadruped and the neck or the lower part of the horn; sculpted eye
 Red linear decoration; eye outlined in paint with a dot on the mound
 Clay: 7.5YR 6/3 light brown - 5YR 5/2 reddish gray with 5YR 5/1 gray core
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3c 5/19
 P0184
 Cf. Amyklai **CAT 168**

CAT 35 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 7e, Fig. 4.20
 MPD 12; MPL 2.50; MPD (leg) 3.12; MPH (leg) 3.10
 Five fragments, one mend; rear and leg fragments; upper and mid-leg fragments; attachment point preserved on upper leg fragment
 Dark on light decoration; Legs: thick, vertical stripes; parallel chevrons; Flank and rear: parallel chevrons; wavy lines
 Clay (rear): 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow - 5/6 yellowish red with thick 5YR 4/1 dark gray core, (leg): 7.5YR 5/6 strong brown with thick 7.5YR 4/2 brown core
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3a 2/9; SWB3b 6/13 (The Room of the Bulls, fill), 13/25, 60/123, 61/125
 P0200
 Rear: cf. Amyklai **CAT 177**

CAT 36 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 8a, Fig. 4.21
 MPD 15; MPH 4.56; MPL 7.34
 Eleven fragments; wheelmade torso and chest/rear plate; spinal ridge on neck/back fragments, spinal ridge broken away from one
 Red painted decoration; parallel chevron motif; lozenge motif; chest/rear plate has
 Few calcareous, dark angular; Clay: 2.5YR 5/8 red with 7.5YR 5/4 brown - 6/1 gray core
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3a 4/16, 5/32, 6/20, 11/14; SWB3b 1/117, 5/8 (The Room of the Bulls, disturbed fill), 6/27 (The Room of the Bulls, fill), 15/29, 18/33, 59/119; SWB3c 4/15
 P0270
 Cf. Amyklai **CATs 177, 178**

CAT 37 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 8b
 MPH 2.90; MPL 3.53
 Wheelmade torso fragment
 Red painted decoration; parallel chevrons motif; framed(?)
 Clay: 7.5YR 7/4 pink with 10YR 7/1 light gray core
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3b 5/8 (The Room of the Bulls, disturbed fill)

- CAT 38** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 8c
 MPD 4.12; MPH 2.46
 Hollow leg fragment
 Traces of black linear decoration
 Clay: 10YR 6/2 light brownish gray
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3b 5/8 (The Room of the Bulls, disturbed fill)
- CAT 39** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 8d
 MPD 4.57; MPL 4.60
 Hollow leg fragment; closed and rounded base
 Red painted decoration; vertical line and traces of a second line; lack of decoration probably denotes inner side of leg
 Clay: 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown with 5YR 6/1 gray core
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3b 5/8 (The Room of the Bulls, disturbed fill)
- CAT 40** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 5g
 MPH 2.39; MPL 3.47
 Wheelmade torso fragment; probably belongs to same figure as **CAT 17**
 Red painted decoration; horizontal stripes; trace of perpendicular line; panel left blank
 Clay: 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown - 6/2 pinkish gray
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3b 5/8 (The Room with the Bulls disturbed fill)
- CAT 41** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 9a
 MPD 7
 Wheelmade head fragment; top of crown
 Traces of black painted decoration
 Clay: 10YR 6/2 light brownish gray - 4/1 dark gray
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3b 5/8 (The Room of the Bulls, disturbed fill), SWB3c 5/17
- CAT 42** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 9b
 MPD 2.79; MPH 2.68
 Hollow upper leg fragment
 Possible traces of red painted decoration
 Clay: 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown
 LH III C Middle 2
 SWB3b 5/11 (The Room of the Bulls, disturbed fill)
- CAT 43** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 9c
 MPD 12; MPL 3.68
 Wheelmade torso fragment, would have connected to either rear or chest plate; preserved leg attachment point

Red painted decoration

Clay: 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow - 6/3 light reddish brown

LH III C Middle 2

SWB3b 6/13

CAT 44 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 9d

MPH 1.55; MPL 1.78

Wheelmade torso fragment

No decoration preserved

Clay: 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow - 6/1 gray

LH III C Middle 2

SWB3b 6/13

CAT 45 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 9e

MPH 2.14; MPL 3.89; MPW 1.13

Wheelmade torso fragment; probably belongs to same figure as **CAT 49**

Red painted decoration; wavy line motif, thick band on edge

Clay: 2.5YR 6/4 light reddish brown with 7.5YR 5/1 gray - 5YR 5/3 reddish brown core

LH III C Middle 2

SWB3a 7/26

CAT 46 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 9f

MPD 8.00; MPL 3.70; MPW 2.90

Wheelmade torso fragment

Preserved red decoration; three lines intersected by perpendicular line

Clay: 2.5YR 6/8 light red

LH III C Middle 2

SWB3a 13/43

CAT 47 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 9g

MPD 4.00

Hollow head fragment; preserved horn or snout attachment site

Preserved red decoration

Clay: 10YR 8/3 very pale brown

LH III C Middle 2

SWB3d 3/11

Cf. Amyklai **CAT 177**

CAT 48 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 9h

MPH 2.40; MPL 3.31

Wheelmade torso fragment

Brown painted decoration; band, with joining semicircles on one side and thin stripes on the other

Clay: 7.5YR 6/3 light brown

LH III C Middle 2
SWB3c 3/7

CAT 49 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 9e
MPD 4.00; MPH 2.45; MPL 4.43

Wheelmade/hollow leg fragment; probably belongs to same figure as **CAT 45**

Red painted decoration; wavy line motif, then parallel band; probably a leg fragment based on placement of decoration, which is only on one side of fragment

Clay: 2.5YR 5/6 red - 6/4 light reddish brown with thick 2.5YR 5/2 weak red - 5YR 6/1 gray core

LH III C Middle 2
SWB3a 5/22 (The Room of the Bulls, fill)

CAT 50 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 9i
MPH 1.61; MPW 1.41

Hollow horn fragment

Solid black paint

Clay: high level of encrustation

LH III C Middle 2
SWB3a 7/24

CAT 51 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 9j
MPH 2.55; MPL 3.24

Wheelmade torso fragment; evidence of burning

Red painted decoration; concentric semicircles with dots in between circles

Clay: 10YR 4/1 dark gray

LH III C Middle 2
SWB3c 5/17

CAT 52 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 9k
MPD 3.00; MPH 2.43

Hollow upper leg fragment

Thin red vertical stripe

Clay: 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown with 5YR 6/1 gray core

LH III C Middle 2
SWB3c 5/19

CAT 53 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 9l
MPD 4.00; MPL 3.71

Wheelmade torso fragment

Red painted decoration; circles(?)

Clay: 2.5YR 6/3 light reddish brown - 5YR 6/1 gray

LH III C Middle 2
SWB3b 76/157

Northwest sector

- CAT 54** Bovid – Type uncertain. Pl. 10a
 MPD 3.04; MPH 4.44
 Hollow, asymmetrical leg fragment; central perforation at base continues through leg;
 rounded base
 No decoration preserved
 Clay: 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow - 6/8 reddish yellow with 7.5YR 6/1 gray core
 LH III C
 NWC2d 2/6
 P0626

Northeast sector

- CAT 55** Bovid – Type B-1 Pl. 10b, c, Fig. 5.3
 MPD 9; MPL 2.27; MPW 2.94; MPTh 1.69
 Two wheelmade fragments of a rear plate; small opening located on the larger fragment,
 partial perforation preserved on the smaller fragment
 Poorly preserved red linear pattern; evidence of parallel chevrons on flank
 Fine with rounded dark inclusions, occasional large calcareous inclusions, and rare quartz;
 Clay: 5YR 6/8 reddish yellow - 6/4 light reddish brown with thick 5YR 6/2 pinkish gray core
 LH III C
 NEA1d 2/4
 P1450
 Cf. Amyklai: **CAT 153**

Southwest sector

- CAT 56** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 10d, Fig. 4.22
 MPD 12; MPH 5.38; MPW 10.54
 Wheelmade chest or rear fragments; partially preserved perforation
 Scale motif
 Clay: 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow - 6/4 light reddish brown
 LH III C Middle
 SWB3a 13/40; SWB3b 1/14, 5/8 (The Room of the Bulls fill), 24/50; SWB3d 11/34
 P0150

- CAT 57** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 10e
 MPD 8; MPH 3.25; MPL 5.24
 Wheelmade torso fragment
 Black painted decoration separated into three panels by parallel lines; two are similar with
 wavy lines; the middle panel preserves a semicircle or circle from which the wavy lines
 emanate; last panel has thin lines perpendicular to the ones framing the panels
 Clay: 7.5YR 4/2 brown with 2.5YR 6/6 light red - 5YR 5/3 reddish brown core
 LH III C
 SWB3a 1/3
 P0240

- CAT 58** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 10f
 MPH 4.00; MPW 3.21
 Four, wheelmade body fragments
 Red painted decoration
 Clay: 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow - 6/4 light reddish brown - 5/2 reddish gray; 7.5YR 7/4 pink - 5/1 gray
 LH III C Middle
 SWB3a 2/9, 7/24; SWB3d 16/32 (courtyard deposit; topsoil fill - found with another fragment that is associated with fragment in same courtyard deposit)
 P0507
- CAT 59** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 10g
 MPD 3.45; MPH 2.58
 Hollow leg fragment; closed and rounded base
 Three brown painted vertical stripes
 Clay: 10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown with 10YR 5/1 gray core
 LH III C
 SWB3b 13/25
- CAT 60** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 10h
 MPD 2.64; MPH 2.52
 Hollow leg fragment
 Traces of brown painted decoration
 Clay: 10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown - 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow
 LH III C
 SWB3b 13/26
- CAT 61** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 10i
 MPD 2.16; MPH 3.04
 Hollow leg fragment; central perforation at base continues through leg; tapers toward the base; small torus-shaped hoof
 Black painted decoration; three vertical lines, two longer ones on either side of the leg with the middle one shorter
 Clay: 10YR 6/3 pale brown - 6/1 gray
 LH III C
 SWB3b 1/2 (topsoil)
- CAT 62** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 10j
 MPH 3.14; MPL 4.93
 Wheelmade torso fragment; probably belongs to same figure as **CAT 64**
 Red painted decoration; concentric semicircle motif; row of dots in between third and fourth as well as fourth and fifth semicircles
 Clay: 2.5YR 6/6 light red with thick 5YR 6/2 pinkish gray core
 LH III C
 SWB3a 1/7 (topsoil)

- CAT 63** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 11a
 MPH 2.86; MPL 1.80
 Wheelmade torso fragment; molded, but rounded, ridge
 Brown painted decoration on ridge of fragment
 Rare calcareous; Clay: 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown - 7.5YR 6/3 light brown
 LH III C
 SWB3a 1/7 (topsoil)
- CAT 64** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 10j
 MPH 3.69; MPL 3.91
 Wheelmade torso fragment; probably belongs to same figure as **CAT 62**
 Same decoration type as **CAT 62**
 Clay: 2.5YR 7/6 light red with thick 7.5YR 7/1 light gray core
 LH III C
 SWB3a 3/10
- CAT 65** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 11b
 MPD 3.00; MPH 2.50
 Hollow leg fragment; central perforation
 Brown band
 Clay: 10YR 7/3 very pale brown
 LH III C
 SWB3a 3/11
- CAT 66** ?Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 11c
 MPD 3.82; MPH 2.69
 Spout fragment; unknown if it belongs to a bovid figure
 Brown painted linear decoration
 Clay: 7.5YR 6/3 light brown - 5/2 brown
 LH III C
 SWB3a 3/13
- CAT 67** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 11d
 MPH 1.15; MPL 2.81; MPW 3.18
 ?Wheelmade torso fragment; warped striations
 Red painted decoration; row of arcs framed by two parallel lines
 Clay: 7.5YR 6/6 reddish yellow with 10YR 5/1 gray core
 LH III C
 SWB3a 12/42 (Archaic pit)
- CAT 68** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 11e
 MPL 1.33; MPTh 0.84
 Wheelmade torso fragment; molded ridge

Traces of brown painted linear decoration

Clay: 7.5YR 7/1 light gray - 5/1 gray

LH III C

SWB3b 60/123

CAT 69 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 11f

MPD 2.99; MPH 3.05

Hollow leg fragment with central perforation

Vertical linear shadow, perhaps a bit of black paint

Clay: 5YR 6/6 reddish yellow

LH III C

SWB3b 1/183

CAT 70 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 11g

MPD 8.00; MPH 3.76; MPL 1.67

Wheelmade torso fragment

Red painted decoration; ?parallel chevron motif; swirls

Clay: 10YR 7/3 very pale brown - 5YR 6/4 light reddish brown

LH III C

SWB3b 1/183

CAT 71 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 11h

MPH 3.50; MPL 2.33; MPW 1.28

Wheelmade torso fragment

Black painted decoration; lozenge motif

Clay: 7.5YR 7/4 pink

LH III C

SWA1a 10/21

CAT 72 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 11i

MPD 2.18; MPH 2.27

Hollow leg fragment

Red painted vertical lines

Rare dark angular inclusions; Clay: 7.5YR 8/6 reddish yellow

LH III C

SWA2c 1/3

Southeast sector

CAT 73 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 11j

MPD 12.0; MPH 5.88

Wheelmade chest or rear fragment; partially preserved large perforation; possible leg attachment site

Red half-stripes

Few calcareous, dark angular inclusions; Clay: 2.5YR 5/8 red

LH III C
SEA3b 2/5 (topsoil)

CAT 74 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 11k

MPD 1.94; MPH 2.2

Fragment of lower part of left horn; solid

Poorly preserved brown painted curved lines

Fine with sub-angular dark orange inclusions and small dark rock inclusions; Clay: 2.5Y
8/3 pale brown

LH III C
SEB3a 7/15 (topsoil)

Cf. **CAT 10**: clay fabric matches, but found in a different quadrant; join unlikely, but possible;
Amyklai **CAT 177**

Kalapodi**South Temple 2**

CAT 75 Female – Mainland Type A
 Two fragments of a wheelmade skirt
 Linear decoration
 LH III B
 Bibliography: Niemeier 2017, Fig. 6

South Temple 3

CAT 76 Bovid – Type uncertain Fig. 3.2
 Wheelmade body; preserved head, part of neck, torso and back plate
 Rows of bivalve shells
 LH III C
 2 fragments from destruction level (incorrectly attributed by Thurston (2015) to the destruction level of South Temple 4); 7 fragments from up to 20 m to the east
 Bibliography: Archaeology in Greece Online (2625); Niemeier 2017, Fig. 7

Courtyard Area

CAT 77 Female – Type uncertain
 Head, pierced vertically; relatively large, molded eye; ?polos
 Linear decoration; outlined eye, pupil painted solid; horizontal band with vertical strokes around neck, probably necklace
 LH III C
 Layer uncertain
 Kalapodi, Mag., Inv. TK 25
 Bibliography: Felsch 1981, Fig. 18; Thurston 2015, CAT 615

CAT 78 Bovid – Type uncertain Fig. 3.3
 L 3.7
 Hollow head; closed muzzle; modeled eyes on either side of the face
 Pointed, converging lines on the forehead between the eyes, continuation to the tip of the snout with stripes running at right angles to it; cross on the tip of the snout
 LH III C Developed
 Layer 4
 Kalapodi, Mag., Inv. TK 35
 Bibliography: Felsch 1981, Fig. 20; Guggisberg 1996, no. 273

CAT 79 Quadruped – Type uncertain Fig. 3.4
 L 6.8
 Wheelmade back fragment with applied backbone
 Wide, horizontal wavy bands
 LH III C Developed - Advanced
 Layers 4-6
 Kalapodi, Mag., Inv. TK 30
 Bibliography: Felsch 1981, Fig. 22; Guggisberg 1996, no. 274

Delphi

Temple of Apollo

CAT 80 Bovid – Type B-2

Pl. 12a

H 10.9; L 11.9

Wheelmade torso; all four legs partially preserved; neck/head broken away; spine broken away above the rump, as well as the tail; legs and neck not communicating to the torso; open frontside is divided by a vertical, slightly concave clay strip; backside slightly convex, with larger opening

Torso: horizontal scale pattern, lined with two parallel lines; Rear: rock pattern; Front: diaper net pattern

With fine mica; Slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 5 YR 5/6 yellowish red - 3/2 dark reddish brown

LH III B - C

North Zone

Delphi, Arch. Mus., Inv. 3286

Bibliography: Nicholls 1970 Pl. 3a; Guggisberg 1996, no. 268

Athens**Acropolis**

CAT 81 Bovid – Type B-1 Pl. 12b

H 6.9; W 5.0

Wheelmade chest with beginnings of left leg; leg perforated and communicating to the torso; one small opening each on both sides of the separately applied dewlap

Chest: clovers and chevron pattern; Torso: beginning of frame with indented lower edge on left side

Clay (surface): 10 YR 8/3 very light brown; Paint: 5 YR 3/2 dark reddish brown

LH III B

North Slope

Athens, Agora Mus., Inv. AP 802

Bibliography: Nicholls 1970 Pl. 3b.6; Guggisberg 1996, no. 207

CAT 82 Bovid – Type B-2 Pl. 12c

L (head) 4.7

Several fragments; solid head and neck; wheelmade torso; backside with large central opening; one solid leg

Chest and back: α -shaped loop pattern; Neck: stripes

Little mica; Slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 2.5 YR 5/6 red

LH III B2 - C Early

North Slope

Athens, Agora Mus., Inv. AF 531 + AP 808c + AP 808d + AP 808f

Bibliography: Nicholls 1970 Pl. 3b.1; Guggisberg 1996, no. 208

CAT 83 Bovid – Type B-2 Pl. 12d

L (largest torso fragment) 11.5

Wheelmade torso; backside closed with tail placed toward the right leg; frontside with large opening

Chest: chevron pattern; Torso: horizontal ladder pattern and wavy lines in frames with narrowed lower edge

Little mica; Slip: 7.5 YR 8/4 pink; Paint: 5 YR 5/4 reddish brown

LH III C

North Slope

Athens, Agora Mus., Inv. AP 808a-b + AP 808c + AP 808g-i

Bibliography: Nicholls 1970 Pl. 3b.4, 5; Guggisberg 1996, no. 210

CAT 84 Bovid – Type B-1 Pl. 12e

H (w/o head) 15.0; L 25.0

Assembled from several fragments; wheelmade torso; head, forelegs, and torso partly completed; chest closed, slightly concave; backside only partially preserved, with possible base of an opening under the tail

Chest: vertical stripes with chevron pattern and concentric semicircles with dotted borders; Torso: horizontal friezes with concentric semicircles, with and without dot border

Soft, yellowish clay with brown-red paint

LH III C Middle - Late

South Slope

Heidelberg, Mus. Arch. Inst. der Universität, Inv. T 69

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 212

Alimos: Kontopigado**Complex I**

| | |
|--------|-------------------|
| CAT 85 | Bovid – ?Type B-2 |
|--------|-------------------|

Fig. 3.6

Wheelmade body and leg; solid head and tail; separately applied dewlap; neck partially preserved, unattached; hoof, leg, and tail preserved unattached; in the upper part of the front fractured surface of the neck, a perforation and, just above it, a square opening and, at the same level, a large sized bone inclusion are preserved; another perforation on the back surface of the neck

Neck: vertical bands and a nautilus; Tail and body: traces of reddish paint, eroded; striped

Clean with few small to medium sized calcareous, dark and brown inclusions, minimal mica; Clay: (body): 2.5 YR 6/6 light red, (horn): 2.5 YR 6/6 light red, (neck): 2.5 YR 7/4 light reddish brown and N 7 light gray; Slip (body): 7.5 YR 7/4 pink, coating almost completely flaked, (horn): slip and paint almost entirely flaked, (neck): 7.5 YR 7/4 pink

LH III B - C Early

Courtyard

OM 269, OM 246, OM 247

Bibliography: Kaza-Papageorgiou and Kardamaki 2014, no. 15.27

Complex III

| | |
|--------|--------------------------|
| CAT 86 | Female – Mainland Type A |
|--------|--------------------------|

Pl. 13a, Fig. 3.8

MPH 3.9; MPW (with ears) 4.1

Solid head and part of neck; drum-shaped head with applied chin, nose, and ears; incised mouth; lower part of protruding chin is broken; protruding forehead and ridged eyebrows; plastic nose, surface of lower part is worn; central part on top of head is slightly concave and left unburnished, suggesting that another feature had been attached there (perhaps a cap or some other type of headgear)

Partially worn red paint; eyebrows painted; non-symmetrical solid painted pupils with painted outline; area behind ears is solid painted; painted stripe beginning from chin to below each ear; outlined mouth; vertical locks of hair, longer in the back; ?headband; stripe and dots on neck suggest necklace

With small calcareous and dark inclusions; Clay: 7.5 YR 6/4 light brown; Slip: 10 YR 8/4 - 7/4 very pale brown

LH III B - C Early

Well 6

Bibliography: Kardamaki 2013, 66-68

| | |
|--------|--------------------------|
| CAT 87 | Female – Mainland Type A |
|--------|--------------------------|

MPD 5.3; MPH (base to shoulder) 8.4

Hollow, wheelmade body; separately made solid arms, applied to shoulders and folded over chest; hands are crossed, with the right being placed over the left in the area of the chest; missing head would have been applied separately; upper surface of shoulder is smoothed and pierced at the top; preserved remains of neck attachment and of an additional clay strip that was attached to the neck joint

Wears a long robe with a folded waist belt, from which a short vertical band is hanging; second band decorates bottom of the garment; arms decorated with three transverse lines,

intersected with a line encircling the wrist; on the front, between the belt and bottom band are vertical stripes; on the back, the vertical stripes continue, covering the entire cylinder, from base to shoulder; front part of upper torso left undecorated

With very few and very small, shiny inclusions, and calcareous and dark inclusions; Clay: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Slip: 10 YR 8/3 very pale brown

LH III B - C Early

Well 7

Bibliography: Kardamaki 2013, 59-62

CAT 88 Bovid – ?Type B-1

D 7.2; MPL 5.5

Part of rear of a wheelmade bovid; preserved attachment sites of a leg and tail; no preservation of firing hole

Poorly preserved red painted decoration; worn parallel diagonal lines on body

Containing mica, with small and medium size dark and calcareous inclusions that are visible on surface; Clay: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink

LH III B - C Early

Well 7

Bibliography: Kardamaki 2013, 58

CAT 89 Bovid – Type B-2

D 3.7; MPL 5

Partially preserved torso and rear; broken off tail; large perforation

Ladder pattern

LH III B - C Early

Well 7

Bibliography: Kardamaki 2013, 58-59

Mycenae***Cult Center, Citadel House***

| | |
|--------|--------------------------|
| CAT 90 | Female – Mainland Type A |
|--------|--------------------------|

Pl. 13b

H 29.7

Wheelmade; standing with hands cupping breasts, left arm missing; wearing floor length robe; round head; relatively large, pointed nose; two perforations representing nostrils

Elaborately painted, main features are painted; solid painted curls; solid painted eyes; outlined lips; rosette on each cheek; bands of dots on neck and arms represent jewelry; solid painted breasts; garment decorated with three papyrus plants

LH III A2 Late/B1

Room 19, 'Room with the Idols'

Mycenae exc. no. 68-1577

Bibliography: Taylour 1969, 92 Pl. XIIIc

| | |
|--------|--------------------------|
| CAT 91 | Female – Mainland Type A |
|--------|--------------------------|

Pl. 13c

H 29

Wheelmade; standing with upraised arms, bottom half of right arm missing; round head; knob-like ears; slim, pointed nose, tip broken off; flat headdress; bun at top of head (long hair cascading down back); tall conical flaring base

Main features painted; solid painted bangs; bridge of nose painted; solid painted pupils, outlined eyes; eyelashes above; ears painted solid; lips are two painted parallel lines; lozenge motif on head; arms and neck painted with thick, widely spaced stripes; bands of dots on neck represent necklaces; solid painted breasts; torso painted with similar lozenge design as on face; lower body painted with three bands of thin horizontal stripes enclosed within thick borders

mid-LH III B

Room 32, 'Room of the Ivories'

Mycenae exc. no. 69-1221

Bibliography: Taylour 1970, 277 Pl. XLIIb

Cult Center, Reoccupation Levels

| | |
|--------|----------------------------|
| CAT 92 | Quadruped – Type uncertain |
|--------|----------------------------|

H 6.1

Solid leg with vertical cavity in the upper part

Vertical wavy lines; horizontal bands at top and bottom

Clay (surface): yellowish; Paint: brown

LH III B

Burnt debris of LH III B 1/2

Nauplia Museum 62-614

Bibliography: Tamvaki 1973, no. 67; Guggisberg 1996, no. 60

| | |
|--------|----------------------------|
| CAT 93 | Quadruped – Type uncertain |
|--------|----------------------------|

MPH 5.4; MPW 4.2

Wheelmade hindquarters; orientation not recognizable beyond doubt; tail organically modeled

Opposite, semicircular motifs; spots on the tail

With mica; Slip: 10 YR 7/3 very pale brown; Paint: 10 YR 3/1 very dark gray

LH III B

Backfill without context

Nauplia Museum 69-444

Bibliography: Tamvaki 1973, no. 74; Guggisberg 1996, no. 61

CAT 94 Bovid – Type uncertain

H 4.0; W (top of head) 4.2

Solid head; horns and muzzle broken away; one perforation under each of the horns

Simple lines framing, among other things, the eyes, which are not sculpturally emphasized; remains of three dots on forehead between eyes; wavy lines on neck

Slip: 10 YR 8/4 very pale brown; Paint: 10 YR 3/1 very dark gray

LH III C

Fill that probably includes LH III C

Nauplia Museum 66-753

Bibliography: Tamvaki 1973, no. 73; Guggisberg 1996, no. 62

CAT 95 Bovid – ?Type A-3

D (horn) 2.2; H 3.9

Left horn with base of wheelmade head; solid horn, broken in the middle; wall thickness of the head strongly decreasing towards the crown, possibly due to large opening in the crown

Simple stripes; chevron pattern

Slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink - 7/6 reddish yellow; Paint: 5 YR 3/2 dark reddish brown

LH III C

LH III C fill

Nauplia Museum 60-245

Bibliography: Tamvaki 1973, no. 66; Guggisberg 1996, no. 63

CAT 96 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 5.5; W 5.2

Hindquarters; wheelmade torso; rear plate separately attached to the closed body cylinder; central perforation to the left of the tail (perforated from the inside)

Chevron band between two parallel lines in the center of the back; lined with similar motifs on the flanks

With coarser inclusions; Slip: 10 YR 8/3 very pale brown; Paint: 10 YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown

LH III C

Post-Mycenaean fill containing LH III C

Nauplia Museum Myc. 64-60

Bibliography: Tamvaki 1973, no. 69; Guggisberg 1996, no. 64

CAT 97 Quadruped – Type B-2

D 9.2; MPL 5.0

Hindquarters; wheelmade torso; large, central perforation

Vertical and horizontal stripes on the body; stripes on the rear

Clay: brownish-beige/orange-cream color; Paint: dark brown

LH III C

LH III C fill

Nauplia Museum 64-291

Bibliography: Tamvaki 1973, no. 71; Guggisberg 1996, no. 65

CAT 98 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 4.7

Top of wheelmade leg

Horizontal bands

Clay (surface): yellowish; Paint: black

LH III C

Fairly late LH III C fill

Nauplia Museum 64-625

Bibliography: Tamvaki 1973, no. 72; Guggisberg 1996, no. 66

CAT 99 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 2.6

Wheelmade leg fragment with vertical cavity (perforation?)

Vertical stripes

Clay (surface): yellowish; Paint: brown

LH III C

LH III C fill

Nauplia Museum 64-35

Bibliography: Tamvaki 1973, no. 68; Guggisberg 1996, no. 67

CAT 100 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 3.4

Solid, organically modeled leg with attachment to the body; wheelmade torso

Ladder pattern

Slip: 7.5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow; Paint: 5 YR 4/8 yellowish red

LH III B - C

Mixed fill

Nauplia Museum 64-260

Bibliography: Tamvaki 1973, no. 70; Guggisberg 1996, no. 68

Tiryns***Lower Citadel, Casemate Kw 7***

CAT 101 Bovid – Type uncertain

H 6.3

Wheelmade leg fragment

Monochrome

LH III B2

East of Casemate Kw 7, Lauffläche

Inv. LXI 41/13 XIV C 663

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 107

CAT 102 Quadruped – Type uncertain

Fig. 3.14

L 6.0

Back fragment of a wheelmade quadruped

Linear decoration with fringes on one side and half arches on the other side of the body

LH III B2 - C Early

West of Casemate Kw 7, outside citadel wall

Inv. LIX 41/44 a 6.65 IX a T

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 108

CAT 103 Quadruped – Type uncertain

Uncertain animal fragment, without further details

West of Casemate Kw 7, outside citadel wall

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 109

Lower Citadel, Room 120

CAT 104 Bovid – Type uncertain

H 4.3

Attachment point of a solid leg

LH III B2

Inv. LXI 40/37 XV b R 120

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 110

Lower Citadel, Room 119

CAT 105 Female – Mainland Type A

Part of upraised arm with hand

Dark varnish on inside of forearm and palm

LH III B - C Early

Bibliography: Kilian 1981a, 164 Fig. 17 top right

Lower Citadel, Room 117

CAT 106 Female – Mainland Type A

Fig. 3.16

ca. H 35 - 40

Two wheelmade, upraised arms apparently from the same figure

Solid painted palms; fingers highlighted with paint; wearing an elbow length, speckled fur coat and bracelets

LH III C Early

Room 117

Inv. LXI 40/83 a 15.19 VIIa + LXI 40/83 VIII (R 117) + 1971 VI

Bibliography: Kilian 1979, 390 Fig. 12 top

CAT 107 Female – Mainland Type A

similar scale to CAT 106

Two wheelmade, upraised arms; apparently from the same figure

Decoration similar to **CAT 106**; wearing a ?long-sleeved garment

LH III C Early

Between the altar and Room 117

Inv. LXI 40/53, a 15.06 VIIb + VI2N:142; VI2S:1330f

Bibliography: Kilian 1979, 390-1 Fig. 12 bottom

CAT 108 Bovid – Type B-2

Pl. 14a-d, Fig. 3.17

MPH (w/o horn) 18.8; L 18.1

Large opening on chest and backside; wheelmade torso, as well as the inner hollow legs that do not attach to the torso with the perforation on the underside; one horn may belong; dewlap, spine, and tail applied separately

Chest: two goats erected upright to the dewlap and one fish at the image border; Torso and rear: upright walking and partly jumping, ithyphallic goats, on rear with a rod in the foreleg; fish in the upper image field of the long sides on the torso; wide frame lines, probably edge of the surface; partly lined by waves or semicircles

Slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink - 6/4 light brown; Paint: 5 YR 3/2 dark reddish brown - 5/4 reddish brown - 2.5 YR 4/4 reddish brown

LH III C Early

Room 117

Tiryns, Mag., Inv. LXI 41/2 VI α Nr. 22 (= new Inv. 26 145)

Bibliography: Kilian 1992, n. 136; Guggisberg 1996, no. 111

CAT 109 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 14e

H 5.6

Wheelmade leg; cavity tapered downward; perforated base

Vertical stripes

With little mica; Slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 - 8/4 pink; Paint: 5 YR 3/2 dark reddish brown - 2/5 YR 4/4 reddish brown

LH III C Early

Near the altar, north of Room 117

Inv. LXI 40/42 α 1509 VII b

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 112

Lower Citadel, Room 110

CAT 110 Female – Mainland Type A Pl. 14f
MPH 33

Wheelmade figure with upraised arms; almost complete, missing fingers; elaborately dressed and adorned (7 different necklaces, multiple bracelets); wearing a diadem; relatively large facial features compared to the size of the head; incised pupils and mouth; round, molded eyes; attached, protruding ears; molded breasts

Painted adornment; wearing a short-sleeved garment

LH III C Developed

Room 110, cult bench

Nauplia Museum 26173

Bibliography: Kilian 1978, Fig. 20

CAT 111 Female – Mainland Type A Pl. 14g
MPH 35

Wheelmade Psi-figure; very similar to **CAT 110**; complete; head slightly turned; relatively large facial features compared to the size of the head; round, molded eyes; molded breasts

Painted adornment; nose is decorated with a painted line, which continues onto the brow ridge, down the temples, and loops up around behind the ears

LH III C Developed

Room 110, cult bench

Nauplia Museum 26171

Bibliography: Kilian 1978, Fig. 21

CAT 112 Female – Mainland Type A
Two-thirds of a wheelmade Psi-figure; similar to **CAT 111**
Simple linear decoration, same as **CAT 111**

LH III C Developed

Room 110

DB-Nos. 2204+2205

Bibliography: Kilian 1981b, Fig. 6 far right; Veters 2015, n. 176

CAT 113 Female – Mainland Type A Pl. 15a, Fig. 3.18

Head and (upraised?) arms of small wheelmade figure; wearing a cap; no ears; incised almond-shaped, but narrow, eyes and mouth

Simple painted decoration

LH III C Developed - Advanced

Left arm: floor of R 110; Right arm: ca. 2 m southeast of R 110 in fill of Courtyard 1; Head: fill of R 110a

R. arm: LXI 41/14 V; L. arm: LXI 40/72 d 15.52; Head: LXI 40/82 d 15.64 V

Bibliography: Kilian 1981b, Fig. 7; Veters 2015, n. 176

Lower Citadel, Room 115

CAT 114 Female – Mainland Type A Pl. 15b
MPH 24

Large Psi-type; modeled head resembling CATs 110, 111; facial features are sized relative to the head size; more modest than CATs 110, 111 in terms of jewelry, hair, and costume

Painted curls and dress

LH III C Advanced

Room 115

Bibliography: Kilian 1978, Fig. 23

Lower Citadel, Room 110a

CAT 115 Female – Mainland Type A

Pl. 15c

MPD ; MPH ; MPL ; MPW

Wheelmade figure with upraised arms; almost complete, missing part of base; elongated head; attached hair

Elaborately dressed

LH III C Late

Room 110a

Bibliography: Kilian 1978, Fig. 17

Lower Citadel

CAT 116 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 6.2

?Wheelmade, hollow leg; perforated base

Vertical stripes

LH III C

Leveling layer

Inv. LXI 41/100 X α

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 113

CAT 117 Quadruped – Type uncertain

MPH 2.2; MPW 4.0

Wheelmade chest fragment of a quadruped

Transition to the flank framed by a band

With little mica; Surface: 5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow; Paint: 2.5 3/6 dark red

LH III C

Leveling layer

Inv. LXI 41/43 VII α

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 114

Epidaurus***Sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas***

CAT 118 Female – Mainland Type A Pl. 16a, b

MPH 3.75; MPW 2.8

Solid head and neck fragment; cracked on the right side up to the neck; face asymmetrical; nose protrudes slightly; mouth indicated by a slight indentation; ears are plastically rendered; eyes are rendered as circular protrusions, the right lower than the left; sculpted crown decorated with incised lines; sculpted hair on top and back of head; rear part of head curved at bottom of decorated surface at the nape of the neck

Pupils painted solid; necklace of fifteen beads; rear part of the head entirely white

Clay: 2.5Y 6/2 light brownish gray; Slip: 10 YR 7/3 very pale brown; Paint: 10R 5/8 - 4/8 red

LH III B

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 75.469

Bibliography: Lambrinudakis 1975, 173; Peppas-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B15

CAT 119 Quadruped – Type uncertain Pl. 16c

H 9.3; L 11.9

Right half of the wheelmade torso of a quadruped; solid legs; perforation to the right of the tail

Horizontal wavy lines; double framed slanting lines

Clay (surface): 10 YR 8/3 - 7/3 very pale brown; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/6 - 4/8 red

LH III C Middle

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. ME 2288

Bibliography: Peppas-Papaïoannou 1985, no. A74; Guggisberg 1996, no. 14

CAT 120 Quadruped – Type uncertain

L 3.2

Wheelmade torso fragment

Horizontal stripes

Clay (surface): 5 YR 8/4 - 7/4 pink; Paint: 2.5 YR 3/4 dark reddish brown - 4/6 red

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. ME 2251

Bibliography: Peppas-Papaïoannou 1985, no. A75; Guggisberg 1996, no. 16

CAT 121 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 4.15; L 4.5

Torso fragment of an uncertain animal

Scales with dots

Clay: 7.5 YR 6/2 pinkish gray - 6/4 light brown; Slip (7.5 YR 7/4 pink); Paint: 7.5 YR 4/2 dark brown

LH III B

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 75.161

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B124; Guggisberg 1996, no. 17

CAT 122 Quadruped – Type uncertain

Pl. 16d

H 4.8

Solid leg with two slanted perforations

Circles

Clay (surface): 10 YR 7/3 - 7/4 very pale brown; Paint: 2.5 YR 5/6 - 4/6 red

LH III B

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 8 (M,13) 74

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B155; Guggisberg 1996, no. 19

CAT 123 Quadruped – Type uncertain

L 3.4; W 3.4

Solid head on top of a hollow neck; muzzle broken away

Wavy lines; chevrons on the crown; monochrome horn

Clay: 10 YR 6/3 pale brown; Slip: 10 YR 7/23 very pale brown; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/5 - 4/8 red

LH III B - C

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE (P,15) 150

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B135; Guggisberg 1996, no. 20

CAT 124 Bovid – Type B-1

Pl. 16e

H 11.8

Wheelmade, conical leg with a perforation left of the dewlap base; brush marks

Monochrome

Clay: 10 YR 7/4 very pale brown; Slip: same color as clay

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 76(α)371

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B147; Guggisberg 1996, no. 44

CAT 125 Quadruped – Type uncertain

L 5.4; W 4.5

Torso fragment of an uncertain animal

Parallel stripes

Clay: 5 YR 7/4 pink - 7/6 reddish yellow; Slip: 5 YR 7/2 pinkish gray; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/8 red

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 76(α)239

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B127; Guggisberg 1996, no. 22

CAT 126 Quadruped – Type uncertain

L 5.6

Wheelmade torso fragment of an uncertain animal

Parallel stripes and row of dots

Clay: 7.5 YR 8/4 - 7/4 pink; Paint: 2.5 YR 5/6 - 4/6 red

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 75.51

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B128; Guggisberg 1996, no. 23

CAT 127 Quadruped – Type uncertain

L 6.0

Torso fragment of an uncertain, possibly wheelmade animal

Without recognizable decoration

Clay: 10 YR 7/4 very pale brown - 6/4 light yellowish brown; Paint: 10 YR 8/8 - 7/8 yellow

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 76[α]517

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B129; Guggisberg 1996, no. 24

CAT 128 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 3.5

Tail fragment

Horizontal stripes

Clay: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/6 - 4/8 red

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 76[α]311

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B132; Guggisberg 1996, no. 26

CAT 129 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 4.25

Tail fragment

Vertical wavy lines

Clay: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/8 red

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 76[α]462

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B141; Guggisberg 1996, no. 27

CAT 130 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 5.3

Tail fragment

Horizontal stripes

Clay: 5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/8 red

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 81[N, 14]126

Bibliography: Peppas-Papaioannou 1985, no. B142; Guggisberg 1996, no. 28

CAT 131 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 4.0

?Tail fragment

Horizontal stripes

Clay: 10 YR 8/4 - 7/4 very pale brown; Paint: black

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 81[O,14]27

Bibliography: Peppas-Papaioannou 1985, no. B143; Guggisberg 1996, no. 29

CAT 132 Quadruped – Type uncertain

Pl. 16f

H 5.5

Wheelmade leg fragment

Clay: 5 Y 8/4 - 7/4 pale yellow

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 81[P,20]28

Bibliography: Peppas-Papaioannou 1985, no. B148; Guggisberg 1996, no. 30

CAT 133 Quadruped – Type uncertain

Pl. 17a

H 8.0

Wheelmade leg fragment

Clay: 5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow; reddish traces of paint

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE[α]435

Bibliography: Peppas-Papaioannou 1985, no. B149; Guggisberg 1996, no. 31

CAT 134 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 4.6

Wheelmade leg fragment

Clay: 10 YR 8/4 - 7/4 very pale brown

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 81[N,13]58

Bibliography: Peppas-Papaioannou 1985, no. B150; Guggisberg 1996, no. 32

CAT 135 Quadruped – Type uncertain
 H 5.2
 Hollow leg fragment
 LH III
 Northern slope, ash layer
 Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 76[α]560
 Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B151; Guggisberg 1996, no. 33

CAT 136 Quadruped – Type uncertain
 H 5.9
 Wheelmade, conical leg
 Clay: 5 YR 7/6 - 6/6 reddish yellow
 LH III
 Northern slope, ash layer
 Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 77[Y-Φ,20]56
 Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B152; Guggisberg 1996, no. 34

CAT 137 Quadruped – Type uncertain
 H 5.4
 Wheelmade leg with vertical groove
 Minimal decoration residues
 Clay: 10 YR 8/2 white - 7/2 light gray; Paint: reddish brown
 LH III
 Northern slope, ash layer
 Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 75
 Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B153; Guggisberg 1996, no. 35

CAT 138 Quadruped – Type uncertain
 H 2.6
 Solid leg fragment with a wide foot disc
 Clay (surface): 5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow
 LH III
 Northern slope, ash layer
 Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 81[N,13]99
 Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B156; Guggisberg 1996, no. 37

CAT 139 Quadruped – Type uncertain Pl. 17b
 H 8.8
 Solid, conical leg with horizontal recess (possibly to accommodate a wheel axle) on the foot
 Monochrome, with the exception of a vertical spandrel
 Clay: 10 YR 8/3 - 7/3 very pale brown; Paint: 2.5 YR 5/8 red
 LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 83(N,13)158

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B”22; Guggisberg 1996, no. 38

CAT 140 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 7.0

Solid, conical leg with cavity

Clay: 10 YR 7/4 very pale brown; faint traces of paint

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 83[N,23]56

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B”23; Guggisberg 1996, no. 39

CAT 141 Quadruped – Type uncertain

L 4.9

Wheelmade neck fragment with base of the torso

Monochrome

Clay (surface): 5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/8 red

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. ME 2257

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. A77; Guggisberg 1996, no. 40

CAT 142 Quadruped – Type uncertain

Pl. 17c

H 9.0

Large, wheelmade foot fragment with a ‘naturalistic’ reproduction of the split hoof

Monochrome

Clay (surface): 5 YR 7/8 reddish yellow; Paint: 10 R 5/8 - 4/8 red

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 76(α)529

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B144; Guggisberg 1996, no. 41

CAT 143 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 10.5

Wheelmade leg fragment

Monochrome

Clay: 5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/8 - 5/8 red

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 76(α)245

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B145; Guggisberg 1996, no. 42

CAT 144 Quadruped – Type uncertain

H 6.5

Wheelmade leg fragment

Monochrome

Clay (surface): 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 10 YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 81[N,14]127

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B146; Guggisberg 1996, no. 43

CAT 145 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 17d

H 4.7

Hollow horn fragment

Traces of reddish painting

Clay: 5 YR 7/6 - 6/6 reddish yellow; Paint: 10 R 4/8 red

LH III C

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 76[α]167c

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B139; Guggisberg 1996, no. 45

CAT 146 Bovid – Type uncertain

L 6.2

Possible wheelmade, hollow horn

Few traces of decoration

Clay: 10 YR 8/4 - 7/4 very pale brown; brown paint

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE 78(P,16)67

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B138; Guggisberg 1996, no. 46

CAT 147 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 17e

L 8.2

Handmade, hollow horn with attachment to a wheelmade head

Monochrome

Clay: 10 YR 6/3 pale brown - 5/3 brown; Paint: 10 YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown

LH III

Northern slope, ash layer

Lygourio, Mag., Inv. AE.KO,281

Bibliography: Peppa-Papaïoannou 1985, no. B137; Guggisberg 1996, no. 47

Pylos**Main Building**

| | |
|---------|------------------|
| CAT 148 | Bovid – Type B-1 |
|---------|------------------|

Pl. 18a

MPD 13

Wheelmade, cylindrical body; three joining fragments; preserved rear and flank; disc-shaped rear; as preserved, rear flares outward from the flank, giving flank a ‘pinched’ appearance; two firing holes, one complete and one partial, near center of rear; applied tail between firing holes

Parts of four thick lines, three vertical (one wavy and two semicircular) and one horizontal, on flank; four thinner, vertical wavy lines down the left side of rear; the four wavy lines meet close to rear’s edge, which is outlined with a thick ring of paint

Very fine with few inclusions; Clay: 10 YR 8/2 very pale brown - 5 YR 7/4 pink; Slip: 10 YR 8/2 very pale brown; Paint: 7.5YR 6/4 light brown - 7.5YR 2.5/1 black

LH III B

Rooms 3, 6

Bibliography: Egan 2019, 422-3

Southwestern Building

| | |
|---------|------------------------|
| CAT 149 | Bovid – Type uncertain |
|---------|------------------------|

Pl. 18b

D 3; L 7.8

Solid, curved, conical horn; interior firing hole; uncertain if it belongs with **CAT 148** since it does not join, but Egan believes it does belong based on associations between size, shape, and fabric

Four thick, vertical lines in black paint; two on front, one on back, one along outer face; painted ring encircling flared base

Very fine with few inclusions; Clay: 10 YR 8/2 very pale brown; Paint: 7.5YR 2.5/1 black

LH III B

Room 72

Bibliography: Egan 2019, 423

Amyklai***Sanctuary of Apollo***

CAT 150 Female – Type uncertain

H 9.5; W 14

Upper part of hollow head; wearing a polos, bordered by a coiled serpent-like spiral; narrow forehead; thin, plastic eyebrows; small part of one eye preserved

Traces of brown paint on the coil and eyebrows

LH III B

Mixed fill deposit

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, 55; 2009, 96-7

CAT 151 Female – Type uncertain

H (without cup) 2.6; L 4.5

Hand with wrist and fingers, holding stem of goblet; on wrist, small part of snake's body is preserved

Large surfaces painted solid, including the back of the hand and the body of the snake; fingers painted with stripes

LH III B

Mixed fill deposit

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, 54-5; 2009, 96-7

CAT 152 Bovid – Type B-2

Pl. 18c

MPD 10.8; H 18.8; L 20.2

Naturally modeled bovid; wheelmade torso; neck/head area, both forelegs and the left hind leg as well as the tail are broken away; legs solid, hollow in lower third; hoof split; large perforation at base of neck; backside closed

'Close-Style' decoration in different zones; despite the symmetrical basic division, both flanks are decorated differently; decoration is fitted into a frame with a curved lower edge

Slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink - 6/4 light brown; Paint: 7.5 YR 5/2 brown - 4/2 dark brown

LH III C Middle

Mixed fill deposit

Athens Nat. Mus., Inv. 13290

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 69; Guggisberg 1996, no. 156

CAT 153 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 18d

H 11.2; L 14.8

Wheelmade torso and hindquarters of naturalistic shape; back made separately by hand(?) and attached; original opening was covered over in a second process; perforation to the left of the tail; legs hollow at the base, probably wheelmade, not communicating with the body

'Close-Style' motifs: rosettes and tent-shaped triangles with bird protomes at the tip and scale filling

With mica; Surface: 10 YR 7/3 very pale brown - 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 10 YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown - 2.5 YR 4/6 red

LH III C Middle

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 79; Guggisberg 1996, no. 157

CAT 154 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 18e

MPD 3.4; L 4.3

Wheelmade muzzle with incised nostrils and mouth; without perforation; could belong to **CAT 153**

Stripes on the top of the muzzle; band at the transition to the tip of the snout

Slip: 10 YR 8/3 very pale brown; Paint: 10 YR 2/1 black

LH III C Middle

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 75β; Guggisberg 1996, no. 158

CAT 155 Bovid – Type uncertain

Head and neck; horn broken off; tongue in slightly open mouth

Two vertical wavy lines on the neck; various straight lines, strokes, and bands

LH III C

Mixed fill deposit

Lost

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 159

CAT 156 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 19a

MPD 11.3; MPH 9.2

Wheelmade chest fragment with preserved attachment of the flank; right leg with the remnant of perforation at the base; no communication between torso and leg

Horizontal wavy lines on the chest; frame motif with indented lower edge on the right flank; vertical lines on the left side of the body

Slip: approx. 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 2.5 YR 5/4 reddish brown

LH III C Middle

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 83; Guggisberg 1996, no. 160

CAT 157 Bovid – Type B-2 Pl. 19b

D 7.0 - 8.0; H 8.4; L 4.9

Wheelmade chest plate of a bovid with large central opening; legs and neck recognizable at the base, not communicating with the torso; chest opening is framed by a raised rim

Chest: concentric semicircles with framing dots; vertical wavy lines and horizontal stripes; Side: horizontal chevron band and wavy lines

With mica; Slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink - 5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow; Paint: 5 YR 5/6 yellowish red - 2/2 dark reddish brown

LH III C Middle - Late

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 73; Guggisberg 1996, no. 161

CAT 158 Bovid – Type B-1

H 10.0; L 7.1; W 7.4

Front part with offset shoulders and organically tapered dewlap; perforation on the right side of the dewlap; wheelmade legs, with cavity; base of neck communicating with the body

Diagonal strokes sloping outward from the dewlap; loop-shaped framing of the legs

With mica; Slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 5 YR 3/1 very dark gray - 2.5 YR 4/4 reddish brown

LH III C

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 89; Guggisberg 1996, no. 162

CAT 159 Bovid – Type uncertain

MPD 9.4; H 11.9; L 10.5

Wheelmade torso fragment; chest or rear (?); small perforation in the center

Horizontal grid pattern and parallel zigzag band between two lines on the flank; several radial stripes leading away from the center on the chest or rear

With mica; Slip: 10 YR 6/4 light yellowish brown - 7.5 YR 6/4 pink; Paint: 7.5 YR 3/2 dark brown

LH III C

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 84; Guggisberg 1996, no. 163

CAT 160 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 19c

MPD 11.0; MPW 8.0

Wheelmade rump; small perforation to the right of the tail

Back: on the vertical axis of the rump, various registers with diagonal stripes and ladder pattern; Rear: concentric semicircles with fringes

With mica; Surface: 7.5 YR 6/4 light brown; Paint: N 2 black - 7.5 YR 3/2 dark brown

LH III C Middle - Late

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 81; Guggisberg 1996, no. 164

CAT 161 Bovid – Type uncertain

MPD ca. 20.0 - 21.0; MPH 18.0; MPW 14.4

Wheelmade rump; perforation to the right of the tail; tail tip formed as a tassel

Superimposed zigzag bands between double lines; concentric quarter circles in the spandrels of the tail root

With mica; Surface: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink - 10 YR 6/4 light yellowish brown; Paint: 5 YR 4/3 reddish brown - 10 YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown

LH III C

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 72; Guggisberg 1996, no. 165

CAT 162 Bovid – Type uncertain

MPD 9.4; MPH 11.9; MPL 10.5

Wheelmade torso; hindleg and right foreleg; solid right hindleg; left hindleg and right foreleg with recess on bottom; both hindlegs are perforated diagonally at the base of the torso; two further perforations are located to the left and right of the tail; however, they do not communicate with the inside of the body

Simple vertical bands at regular intervals

With mica; Slip: 10 YR 6/4 light yellowish brown - 7.5 YR 6/4 pink; Paint: 7.5 YR 3/2 dark brown

LH III C

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, nos. 75γ, 85; Guggisberg 1996, no. 166

CAT 163 Bovid – Type uncertain

MPD ca. 11.0 - 12.0; MPL 11.2

Wheelmade back fragment with the base of the tail

Horizontal band with diagonal lines

With mica; Surface: 10 YR 7/3 - 7/4 very pale brown; Paint: 10 YR 3/1 very dark gray

LH III C

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 87; Guggisberg 1996, no. 167

CAT 164 Bovid – Type uncertain

MPL 4.7

Wheelmade back fragment with the base of the tail

Short strokes

With mica; Surface: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink - 6/4 light brown; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/4 reddish brown

LH III C

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 168

CAT 165 Bull – Type uncertain

Pl. 19d

MPH 6.8; MPL 12.3

Rear lower part of a wheelmade torso; solid legs; sex added separately

Dark varnish on the underside and back; on the long side, an area left blank, then a row of zigzags double underlined

With much mica; Slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 7.5 N 2 black - 5 YR 4/3 reddish brown.

LH III C - Sub-Mycenaean

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 82; Guggisberg 1996, no. 171

CAT 166 Bovid – Type uncertain

Head and neck with funnel-shaped muzzle; eyes plastically formed; horns broken off

Wavy lines and concentric semicircles on the forehead and snout; stripes on the horns, rim of the muzzle, neck, and base of the body

LH III C - Sub-Mycenaean

Mixed fill deposit

Lost

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 172

CAT 167 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 19e

MPH 7.5; MPL 11.2

Solid neck and head with the base of a wheelmade torso; forward-facing horns broken away; eyes plastically raised

Chest: lines rising diagonally outwards; Body: concentric semicircles

With mica; Slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/6 reddish brown - 5 YR 2/2 dark reddish brown

LH III C - Sub-Mycenaean

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 76; Guggisberg 1996, no. 173

CAT 168 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 19f

MPH ca. 7.4; MPL 7.8

Solid head with organically modeled muzzle; tongue indicated in the mouth; molded eyes

Simple striped decoration; eyes outlined in a circle

With mica; Surface: 10 YR 7/4 very pale brown; Paint: 5 YR 3/1 very dark gray - 3/2 dark reddish yellow - 5/4 reddish brown

LH III C - Sub-Mycenaean

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta, Arch. Mus., Inv. 794/2

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 77; Guggisberg 1996, no. 174

CAT 169 Bovid – Type uncertain

MPH ca. 4.9; MPL 8.0

Solid head with the base of the hollow torso; at the base of the torso in the neck and on the chest, one small perforation each; head without differentiation

Simple striped decoration

With mica; Surface: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 2.5 YR 4 /4 reddish brown

LH III C - Sub-Mycenaean

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta, Arch. Mus., Inv. 794/2

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 86; Guggisberg 1996, no. 175

CAT 170 Bovid – Type uncertain

MPH 9.4

Wheelmade, entirely hollow leg with slight swelling in the lower third

Two vertical lines framed by semicircles on the front, zigzag band on the outside; beginning of a horizontal row of semicircles at the transition to the body

With mica; Surface: ca. 5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow - 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/6 red

LH III C Middle

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 80α; Guggisberg 1996, no. 178

CAT 171 Bovid – Type uncertain

MPH 6.4

Wheelmade (?) leg with cavity at the top and bottom; solid in the center

Wavy line and garland motifs on a wide, vertical band

With little mica; Slip: 10 YR 7/4 very pale brown; Paint: 10 YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown - 3/1 dark gray

LH III C Middle

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 75α; Guggisberg 1996, no. 179

CAT 172 Bovid – Type uncertain

MPH 9.2

Wheelmade leg; solid at the bottom with a hollowed-out base

Horizontal bands

With mica; Surface: 5 YR 6/6 reddish yellow; Paint: 2.5 YR 5/6 red

LH III C

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 71; Guggisberg 1996, no. 180

CAT 173 Bovid – Type uncertain

MPH 8.7

Solid leg with severe joint swelling; base largely broken away

Vertical stripes around the entire leg between horizontal borders

With mica; Slip: 10 YR 7/3 very pale brown; Paint: 10 YR 3/1 very dark gray

LH III C

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 74β; Guggisberg 1996, no. 181

CAT 174 Bovid – Type uncertain

MPH 8.2

Wheelmade, entirely hollow leg; swollen joint

Vertical stripes up to joint swelling

With mica; Surface: 10 YR 6/4 light brown; Paint: 10 YR 3/1 very dark gray

LH III C

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 74α; Guggisberg 1996, no. 182

CAT 175 Quadruped – Type uncertain

MPH 6.0

Wheelmade leg (?) with a large swollen joint and offset foot plate; solid at the bottom

Without decoration

With mica; Surface: 5 YR 6/4 light reddish brown

LH III C

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 183

CAT 176 Quadruped – Type uncertain

MPL 4.0; MPW 4.0

Wheelmade body fragment of an unidentifiable figure; with uneven curvature

Cross-hatching, bordered on one side by a slightly curved line

With mica; Slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink - 7/6 reddish yellow; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/6 red - 3/2 dusky red

LH III C

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., w/o inv.

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 184

CAT 177 Bovid – Type B-2

Pl. 20a

MPD 10.3; MPH ca. 23.0; MPL 14.5

All 4 legs, horn tips and snout added; large opening on the chest, small perforation on the rump; wheelmade torso and neck/head, which communicates with the torso through a small channel; legs communicating with torso; horns with fine perforation

Concentric semicircles and nested triangles on chest and base of tail; concentric diamonds on the crown; wavy lines on the flanks and rump

With mica; Slip: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink - 6/4 light brown; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/6 red

LH III C - Sub-Mycenaean

Mixed fill deposit

Athen, Nat. Mus., Inv. 15123

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, nos. 70α-β; Guggisberg 1996, no. 169

CAT 178 Bovid – Type B-1 Pl. 20b
 MPL 10.4; MPW 11.6

Wheelmade torso; neck/head, all 4 legs broken off; torso pierced at the attachment point of legs and neck; chest rendered as a separate clay plate; dewlap extended under abdomen; tail broken away

Left side divided into two fields filled with concentric circular segments and cross-hatching; right side divided into two segments with lattice pattern and loop; 4 concentric quarter circles with fringes on chest

With fine inclusions and mica; Clay (Surface): 5 YR 6/4 light reddish brown; Paint: 5 YR 5/6 yellowish red - 10 YR 4/8 red

LH III C - Sub-Mycenaean

Mixed fill deposit

Athen, Nat. Mus., Inv. 6259

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 70; Guggisberg 1996, no. 170

CAT 179 Horse – Type uncertain Pl. 20c
 MPH 5.2; MPL 5.5

Solid head

Eyes painted on; simple striped decoration

With mica; Clay (Surface): 7.5 YR 7/4 pink – 6/4 light brown; Paint: 7.5 YR N2/ black

LH III C - Sub-Mycenaean

Mixed fill deposit

Sparta Arch. Mus., Inv. 794/3

Bibliography: Demakopoulou 1982, no. 78; Guggisberg 1996, no. 177

Melos: Phylakopi**West Shrine**

CAT 180 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 21a

MPH 5.5; MPL 8.6; D (muzzle) 2.8

Solid, short neck and head; horns broken off; apparently, very short neck and long muzzle; applied dewlap and spine; plastic ears set low on neck; eyes perforated

Net on top of muzzle; solid paint on features; irregular lines on neck

Clay (surface): dark leather color; Paint: purple-brown

LH III B - C

NLa layer 335

Phylakopi SF 1624

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 1624; Guggisberg 1996, no. 386

West Shrine, Northwest Platform

CAT 181 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 21b

MPH 6; D (base) 3.2

Hollow leg; conical, with flattened base and three slashings on one side; presumably rear leg because of angle

No decoration preserved

Clay: pink-leather brown, surface worn

LH III C Middle or earlier

NLc SW layer 236

Plaka, Arch. Mus., Inv. SF 2336

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2336; Guggisberg 1996, no. 384

CAT 182 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 21b

MPH 7; D (top) 2.25

Conical leg with two flattened surfaces, presumably the external ones as they are also decorated

Painted with two splotches

Clay: Slip: light-leather brown; Paint: black

LH III C Middle or earlier

NLc layer 252

Plaka, Arch. Mus., Inv. SF 2377

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2377; Guggisberg 1996, no. 385

West Shrine, Room A

CAT 183 Female – ?Vessel Type

L 10; MPW 6

Arm curving from shoulder with angular elbow; curved clay join at shoulder which could be either vertical making Phi-type arm or horizontal attached to shoulder of 'vessel'-type figure; flat strip of clay under wrist, either the other arm or a support of some kind; no indication of sex

Irregular red bars of paint across arm

Fine grey clay, fired deep orange buff, orange red paint slightly lustrous; origin uncertain

LH III A2 - B

MLb layer 972

Phylakopi SF 2679

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2679

CAT 184 Female – Type unparalleled

H 25.5; W (base) 4.5; D (base) 3.8

Cylindrical lower body with slight flare behind at bottom so that the figure will stand; applied reversed 'U' of clay on front (?sex symbol); narrowed waist; flattened upper body; applied arms, now missing, perhaps extending forwards and upwards; applied breasts, now missing; heavy chin, incised mouth and nostrils; sharply pinched nose; applied eyes; broad thin polos; applied ?locks on front under edge of polos

Lines on front of body; no other decoration distinguishable

Grey core, pinkish dark buff clay, very lightly fired; tooled and lightly burnished surface; brown paint almost totally obscured; ?local

LH III A1 - B2

MLb layer 961, Assemblage C

Phylakopi SF 2658

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2658

CAT 185 Female – Mainland Type A (the 'Lady')

Pl. 21c, Fig. 3.25

H 45; D (base) 11; D (head) 8.5; W (head) 8

Conical, thick coilmade stem with slight base; bulbous wheelmade body with small, plastic breasts; arms attached plastically with no plug, rising like handles; thin neck inserted with plastic ridge to hide join; head wheelmade with applied features: pointed chin, well-made nose, plastic eyes, plastic ears; incised mouth; top of polos pinched with finger impressions showing and emphasized; plait starting from top of head and made of two twisted strands from base of neck to waist; vertical stick marks on inside of lower stem (?from propping during manufacture); coil marks in upper stem; wheel marks on body and neck; hole at top of head and false hole beside it; twig marks on inside of neck from top to bottom

Body: band above base; Rock Pattern I; monochrome broad band with 'v' pattern, in white, at centre and row of dots at top and bottom; zone of paneled vertical 'zigzag' using solid and reserved systems; three thin bands; further 'zigzag', similar but more extended horizontally; monochrome broad band topped by 'rock' pattern with 'quirk', in white, in middle and rows of dots at top and bottom; zone of horizontal 'zigzag'; two thin bands; Body (base): 'rock' pattern; 'zigzag' on chest with arms rising from it; row of red dots below neck ring; 'rock' pattern above neck ring; row of dots, thin band, 'quirk', 'rock' pattern at top of neck; Head: chin solid painted with outline line; reserved mouth; solid painted nose; eyes solid centred with lashes above and below; eyebrows outlined and filled with stripes, representing individual hairs; solid painted curves on ears; waves of hair with dots outlining them; solid painted area of hair on back of head; lines on lower plait; inner edge of polos solid but now worn

Fine, buff clay; well-polished surface; deep red paint; thick, white paint; imported

LH III A2 Early

MLb layer 961, Assemblage C

Phylakopi SF 2660

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2660

CAT 186 Female – Cretan Type hybrid

MPH 18; W (body) 10.2; D (base) 7.8

Wheelmade cylinder, flattened at base to stand; marks of straw on base; irregular pinching to form waist; flattened body (hold of fingers from pinching clear); applied small breasts and short plait (clay join only preserved); arms and head made separately and applied over plug; arms and head now missing; position of arms uncertain

Breasts, arms and neck ringed; two wavy lines on front, three on back, and one under each arm

Clay: pink with small black grits, hard fired; Slip: buff, matt, no surface finish visible;

Paint: red-brown, matt; ?local

LH III A1 - B2

MLb layer 963, Assemblage C

Phylakopi SF 2661

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2661

CAT 187 Female – Mainland Type A

Pl. 21d, e, Fig. 3.26

D 8.5; MPH 8; W 7

Head only; basic ovoid with added features: pointed chin, plastic mouth, pointed nose, plastic eyes (one missing), simple plastic ears; ridged eyebrows; applied plait from top of head to base of neck; no indication of sex

Solid painted chin; line at mouth; band along flattened top of nose; eyes probably solid painted; lines on eyebrows; solid paint inside ears; two fine, wavy lines down either side of face, one down each side of nose to corners of mouth, and one down each side of nose itself; two fine, wavy lines across forehead; three bands starting on top of head and running down each side; solid paint on plait

Clay: grey with slight inclusions; Slip: pale; Paint: dark brown

LH III A2

MLb layer 970, Assemblage C

Phylakopi SF 2672

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2672

CAT 188 Bovid – Type B-1

Pl. 22a, b

H 41.2; L 33.2

Wheelmade torso, neck/head and legs, all communicating with each other; right horn and tail restored; legs open at the bottom; small opening on crown and one on backside under protruding tail; chest slightly concave with dewlap on top; backside rounded, plastic spine; forelegs with ridge in lower third and widening at foot; hindlegs straight, with widening at the foot; solid horns; pierced eyes and nostrils; twin of **CAT 202**

Horizontal wavy lines

Clay: Slip: 10 YR 8/2 white - 8/3 very pale brown; Paint: 7.5 YR 3/2 dark brown

LH III B - C

MLb layer 970, Assemblage C

Plaka, Arch. Mus., Inv. 651

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2670; Guggisberg 1996, no. 392

West Shrine, Niche

CAT 189 Female – Vessel Type

MPH 14.3; W (head) 12; D (head) 12

Vessel-like body with neck and bulbous head; added features; start of applied left arm; applied band running up either side of body behind arm and over top of head (halo); applied sharply pointed chin; applied beaky nose; applied upside down 'U' curved ears; applied eyes in indentations; applied plait from top of head to break at back of neck; apparently handmade, or at least as visible in neck/shoulder are

Spirals on back; front zonal pattern not clear; double ladder on arm; spreading diagonals with central pendant on front of neck; solid paint on actual face and bands; curved lines on chin; straight lines down forehead; two zones on back of head, lower with vertical lines, upper with 'chevron'/'multiple stem'

Grey clay with a little largish grit; fired bright pink in and out; well smoothed surface; red brown paint; local

LH III A1/2

MLb layer 976, Assemblage C

Phylakopi SF 2691

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2691

CAT 190 Female – Type uncertain

MPL 2.15; W 0.8

Lowest end of plait curl; curve with clay join behind

Fabric almost identical with that of **CAT 186** but not apparently from this figure which had a straight plait

LH III A1 - B2

MLb layer 976, Assemblage C

Phylakopi SF 2251

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2251

CAT 191 Bovid – Type A-1/B-1

H 10.3; L 15.3

Organically modeled; wheelmade torso; leg and torso damaged in places; large opening in the neck, in front of which a conical peg on which the head was probably placed; two small perforations each on the front and back sides of the separately applied dewlap and the tail hanging straight down, respectively

Large cloverleaf motifs and small crosses

Slip: 10 YR 8/3 very pale brown; Paint: 5 YR 3/4 dark reddish brown

LH III A2 - B

MLb layer 976, Assemblage C

Plaka, Arch. Mus., Inv. 645

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2685; Guggisberg 1996, no. 388

- CAT 192** Bovid – Type B-1 Pl. 22c
 H 29.0; L 34.5
 Wheelmade torso, with reworking by hand; horns, hind legs and foot of the right front leg amended (plastered before cataloguing); one small opening in the muzzle; wheelmade legs, closed at the bottom; hindquarters are organically modeled; plastic spine extends into applied tail with slight curve; eyes slightly modeled out
 Large clover motifs and stripes; abdomen separated by a horizontal line; eyes painted as circles of dots
 Slip: 10 YR 8/3 very pale brown; Paint: 2.5 YR 4/6 red - N2/ black
 LH III A2 - B
 MLb layer 976, Assemblage C
 Plaka, Arch. Mus., Inv. SF 2687
 Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2687; Guggisberg 1996, no. 387

- CAT 193** Bovid – Type B-1 Pl. 23a, b
 H 32.5; L 36.5
 Bovid intact except for horns and left forefoot; wheelmade torso; solid neck/head; nostrils and mouth engraved or incised; below the horizontal mouth several vertical incised lines ('beard'); eyes plastically applied; secondary opening under free-standing tail; opening in the chest subsequently plugged; applied spine and dewlap; wheelmade legs, open at the bottom, but does not communicate with torso
 Torso: diagonal stripes in a field framed by two horizontal lines; Spine: wavy line; Chest: dense wavy lines up to the neck; Neck & Head: horizontal lines; Legs: horizontal bands
 Without mica; Surface: 7.5 YR 6/4 light brown; Paint: 5 YR 2/1 black - 4/6 yellowish red
 LH III B - C
 MLb layer 976, Assemblage C
 Plaka, Arch. Mus., Inv. 653
 Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2690; Guggisberg 1996, no. 391

- CAT 194** Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 21b
 MPH 6.5; MPD (top) 2.7
 Solid leg; conical, curved slightly to take weight; base chipped
 Three splotches of paint on outer surface
 With mica; Clay: dark leather brown; Paint: matt red
 LH III C Middle or earlier
 MLb layer 976, Assemblage C
 Phylakopi SF 2234
 Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2234; Guggisberg 1996, no. 390

East Shrine

- CAT 195** Female – Type uncertain
 MPL 2.7; W 0.5
 Fragment of lower plait only; similar to **CAT 190**, but straighter
 Dark buff clay; smoothed; brown paint; local
 LH III A1 - B2

OLc layer 22, Assemblage L
Phylakopi SF 2275
Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2275

CAT 196 Bovid – Type B-2 Fig. 5.2
H 11.5; L 9.6; W 8.0

Wheelmade cylinder pulled in at end leaving large central hole; legs short and stumpy with flattened ends, applied at odd angle and making fairly unstable figure; back bone applied (perhaps with curves at rear) and extended as tail over hole (shown by clay join and lower end still preserved); matching leg has small central stick hole

Ring on edge of hole and around edge of body at rear; two bands down each leg; tail solid painted (extending into leg band of left leg); clover pattern on body

Slip: 10 YR 8/3 very pale brown; Paint: 7.5 YR N3/ very dark gray

LH III A2 - B1

NLe space a/b, layer 124

Phylakopi SF 1032

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 1032; Guggisberg 1996, no. 372

CAT 197 Bovid – Type uncertain
D 10; Th 1.15

Wheelmade torso, pulled in at end

Crosses and blobs

Clay: bright orange; Slip: light beige; Paint: matt red

LH III A2 - B1

NLd/e space a/b layer 123

Plaka, Arch. Mus., Inv. 2166/7

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 2166; Guggisberg 1996, no. 373

CAT 198 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 23c
H 3.8; L (head) 3.1

Solid head; left horn missing; head as of ordinary small animal but clay join to larger (?) body

Bands and rings

Clay: pink; Slip: leather colored; Paint: brown

LH III A2 - B1

NLd/e space a/b layer 124

Phylakopi SF 1726

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 1726; Guggisberg 1996, no. 374

CAT 199 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 23c
MPH 4.75; MPW 3.35

Solid, biconical section of neck fragment; broken/eroded at top; preserved clay join to body at bottom; ?feature lump on one side

No decoration preserved

Clay: pink; Surface: eroded

LH III C Middle or earlier
 OLc layer 22, Assemblage L
 Plaka, Arch. Mus., Inv. SF 68
 Bibliography: French 1985, no. 68; Guggisberg 1996, no. 381

CAT 200 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 23c
 MPD 3; MPL 3.3

Solid muzzle; made and attached separately; pierced nostrils; incised mouth; ‘beard’ heavily eroded; vertical pinching at attachment point

Decoration not preserved

Clay: leather colored

LH III C Middle or earlier
 OLc layer 30, Assemblage H
 Phylakopi SF 76
 Bibliography: French 1985, no. 76; Guggisberg 1996, no. 379

CAT 201 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 21b
 MPH 5.7; D (base) 3

Short hollow, cone with flaring base; preserved attachment point

Decoration not preserved

Clay: pink; Surface: very worn

LH III C Middle or earlier
 OLc layer 29, Assemblage H
 Phylakopi SF 502
 Bibliography: French 1985, no. 502; Guggisberg 1996, no. 380

East Shrine, Platform

CAT 202 Bovid – Type B-1
 H 31; W (body) 9.4; L (w/o tail) 26

Wheelmade; head and neck in one piece with added muzzle and vertical horns; stick marks on right side of inner body from supports of head and right front leg, the former lines up with the pierced knob on top of the head; one small opening in the muzzle; twin of **CAT 161**

Horizontal wavy lines; linear motifs on neck and head; eyes with indication of eyelashes

Clay (surface): reddish beige; Paint: black/brown

LH III B - C
 NLe space a, layer 62, Assemblage D
 Plaka, Arch. Mus., Inv. SF 836
 Bibliography: French 1985, no. 836; Guggisberg 1996, no. 375

CAT 203 Bovid – Type uncertain Pl. 23d
 MPH 9; MPW 11.5; W (neck) 5; D (muzzle) 3.6

Head and muzzle made as one piece on the wheel; bulbous head section extending through thin section to flaring muzzle; incised nostrils, mouth and ‘beard’; lower part of head makes ball and socket joint with ring of clay (not wheelmade) of neck, spread well up back of head

Muzzle and nostrils ringed; diagonal spine designs on top and back of head

Clay (surface): 5 YR 7/2 pinkish gray; Paint: 2.5 YR 5/4 reddish brown
LH III B - C
NLe space a, layer 62, Assemblage D
Plaka, Arch. Mus., Inv. 694
Bibliography: French 1985, no. 847; Guggisberg 1996, no. 376

CAT 204 Bovid – Type uncertain

Pl. 21b

MPH 3.5; D (base) 1.9

Leg with slightly widened foot; similar in shape to the spout of a Stirrup Jar but with a sharp angle of attachment

Bands and solid paint at base extending inside

Clay: dark leather brown; Paint: black

LH III C or earlier

NLe space a/b layer 62, Assemblage D

Phylakopi SF 822

Bibliography: French 1985, no. 822; Guggisberg 1996, no. 378

Patsos Cave

CAT 205 Female – Type uncertain

Pl. 24 a-c, Fig. 3.28

H 9; W (face) 7.5; D (neck) 6

Wheelmade and hollow disc-shaped face; applied crown and ears; tendrils from the back of head and neck are missing; curved nose; small, incised mouth; large, protruding, round eyes; strong chin; small, rounded, applied ears; head is crowned by two horizontal superimposed tendrils and a third wavy one with three arches, between which rise small vertical, sharp-pointed tubercles; crown falling back into tendrils

Mouth, eyebrows, iris and radial eyelashes are painted; below the ears, on the surviving part of the neck, traces of painted, linear decoration

Clay: Type I, orange

LM III C

Heraklion Museum 1102

Bibliography: Kourou and Karetsou 1994, no. 1

CAT 206 Bull – ?Type B-1

Pl. 24d

H 26.5; L 35.7

Wheelmade torso; mid-torso, muzzle, left hind leg, lower half of right foreleg, hooves, tail, ears and most of the sex completed; perforation under the base of the tail; scoring on spine and vertex; naturally modeled head; almond shaped eyes

Loop pattern filled with diamonds on the legs; torso with three broad arches each

With medium sized inclusions; Clay: Type I; Surface: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 2.5 YR 5/8 red - 2/2 very dusky red

LM III B Late

Heraklion Museum 1112

Bibliography: Kourou and Karetsou 1994, no. 5; Guggisberg 1996, no. 635

CAT 207 Bovid – Type B-1

Pl. 24e, f

H 17.5; L (snout-crown) 15; D (muzzle) 4.5

Neck and muzzle wheelmade as cylinders, made separately; horns broken away; tongue leading from the mouth to left nostril; neck perforated on both sides of dewlap; nostrils and mouth perforated (communicating with neck?); eye and dewlap applied separately; almond shaped eyes

Volute motif on left side of head; linear motifs and hatching on neck; outlined eyes

With fine inclusions and little mica; Clay: Type I; Surface: 7.5 YR 7/6 reddish yellow, spread very irregularly; Paint: 5 YR 5/6 yellowish red

LM III B Late - C

Heraklion Museum 1160

Bibliography: Kourou and Karetsou 1994, no. 11; Guggisberg 1996, no. 639

CAT 208 Bull – Type uncertain

D 9.6; H 12; L 23

Wheelmade, headless body; missing legs, tail, and chest; cylindrical torso with plastic molded spine; one large perforation under the tail and two more on the chest

Painted decoration only on spine and legs

Clay: Type II, reddish
 LM III C
 Heraklion Museum 1157
 Bibliography: Kourou and Karetsou 1994, no. 6

CAT 209 Bovid – Type uncertain
 D 12; H 10.2; D (muzzle) 3.5

Wheelmade; horns and ears missing; cylindrical neck and muzzle; pierced holes for nostrils, horizontal incision for mouth; small tongue in center of mouth; center of ears also pierced; firing holes not preserved; round, bulging eyes

Painted border around eyes, eyelashes, and irises; painted linear, forehead, nape, and neck decoration

Clay: Type II, reddish
 LM III C
 Heraklion Museum 1151
 Bibliography: Kourou and Karetsou 1994, no. 12

CAT 210 Bovid – ?Type B-1
 D 8.1; H 16.5; L 13.5

Wheelmade forequarters; missing horns, hindquarters, and forelegs; solid muzzle; wheelmade neck, from the same piece as the head; nostrils and mouth perforated; tongue in center of mouth; ears grooved; round, bulging eyes

Concentric triangles with curved sides on the forehead; painted eyes

With coarse inclusions; Clay: Type II; Surface: 5 YR 7/6 - 6/6 reddish yellow; Paint: ca. 5 YR 3/2 dark reddish brown
 LM III C

Heraklion Museum 1161
 Bibliography: Kourou and Karetsou 1994, no. 13; Guggisberg 1996, no. 638

CAT 211 Bovid – Type B-1
 H 19; L 19

Pl. 24g

Wheelmade torso; neck/head and hindlegs broken off; hooves replaced except for the right front leg; original opening on the chest plugged and then perforated from the outside; one opening each on the chest and under the stem of the tail; torso perforated at the point of neck attachment; legs hollow, open at bottom, but not communicating with the torso; tail sweepingly cast on left flank; pelvis sculpturally well-modeled out; without indication of sex and dewlap

Zone framed by s-shaped double line on both sides with vertical stroke groups and zigzag lines

With fine inclusions and little mica; Clay: Type I; Slip: 10 YR 7/4 pink - 7/6 reddish yellow; Paint: 2.5 YR 5/6 red
 LM III C

Heraklion Museum 1156
 Bibliography: Kourou and Karetsou 1994, no. 15; Guggisberg 1996, no. 633

CAT 212 Bull – Type B-1

D 22; H 17.5; L 17.3

Wheelmade torso; head, left foreleg, hindlegs and tail broken away; solid neck; two openings on chest and one under base of tail; wheelmade legs, hollow, open below, but not communicating with the torso; shoulder blades and hip joints sculpturally well-modeled; sex separately applied

Loop pattern with cross-hatching on legs; garlands along the spine

Coarse with inclusions; Clay: Type III; Surface: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: N 3 very dark gray - 7.5 YR 3/2 dark brown

LM III C - Sub-Minoan

Heraklion Museum 1155

Bibliography: Kourou and Karetsou 1994, no. 7; Guggisberg 1996, no. 634

CAT 213 Bovid – Type uncertain

H 13.3; L 18.1

Naturally differentiated neck and head of a bovid; horns broken off; wheelmade neck; hollow head; nostrils and mouth perforated; tongue separately attached; lower jaw with organic throat, ears faintly indicated; dewlap modeled out in slight undulation

One garland ribbon each along a center line at the nape of the neck

Coarse with little mica Clay: Type III; Surface: 7.5 YR 7/4 pink; Paint: 2.5 YR 5/6 red

LM III C - Sub-Minoan

Heraklion Museum 1164

Bibliography: Kourou and Karetsou 1994, no. 14; Guggisberg 1996, no. 637

Agia Triada***Piazzale dei Sacelli***

CAT 214 Bovid – Type uncertain

H 10.0; L 18.0

Torso of a bovid; head broken off; opening under the base of the tail

Two hanging concentric half-arch motifs on the backbone; loop pattern on right hind leg; abdomen set off from flank by frame

LM III C Early

Heraklion Museum 1766

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 513

CAT 215 Bovid – Type uncertain

L 25; Th 0.8

Wheelmade neck/head of a bovid; horns broken off; eyes sculpturally well-defined with puncture; nostrils perforated; neck communicating with the head

Loop pattern on the neck; painted eyelashes

LM III C Advanced

Heraklion Museum 3106

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 511

CAT 216 Bovid – Type uncertain

H 11.5

Hollow head of a bovid; horns broken off; nostrils perforated; organic modeling of the muzzle; scoring around the eyes and at the tip of the muzzle

Triangle of forehead cut out and adorned with a cross, rest of the head darkly varnished; painted eyelashes

LM III C Advanced

Heraklion Museum 3109

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 515

CAT 217 Bull – Type B-1

L 28.0

Wheelmade torso; legs and horns added; organically modeled nostrils, perforated and communicating with the hollow head; mouth and eyes rendered with incised lines; ears indicated as slight protrusion, with recess; tail placed to the right of the flank; sex attached separately; opening under the base of the tail

Garland pattern; abdomen and inner legs separated by frame

LM III C Advanced

Heraklion Museum 3144

Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 509

CAT 218 Bull – Type B-1

Pl. 24h

Torso probably wheelmade; legs partially, horns and tail completely broken away; one opening each in muzzle, chest (right of dewlap) and under base of tail

Decoration heavily rubbed

LM III C Advanced
Heraklion Museum 3108
Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 510

CAT 219 Bovid – Type uncertain

Wheelmade head of a bovid; horns and tip of the snout broken away; opening in the snout with separately inserted tongue; small perforation on the crown; ears faintly indicated, with puncture; almond-shaped eyes transverse to the axis of the head; pierced pupils

Vertical bands; painted eyelashes

LM III C Advanced
Heraklion Museum 3112
Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 512

CAT 220 Bovid – Type uncertain

L 11.9

Head and chest of a bovid; hollow horns broken in half; eyes sculpturally well-defined; head communicating with the torso; nostrils perforated

Right side of torso painted dark, with recessed hatch banding towards stubby foreleg; head for the most part left blank

LM III C - Sub-Minoan
Heraklion Museum 3105
Bibliography: Guggisberg 1996, no. 514