PAPERS AND MONOGRAPHS OF THE FINNISH INSTITUTE AT ATHENS VOL. XXI

CULT MATERIAL
FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPOSITS TO INTERPRETATION OF EARLY GREEK RELIGION

Edited by Petra Pakkanen and Susanne Bocher

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In memoriam

Berit Wells

Acknowledgements

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Tallinn and Neustrelitz, December 2015

Introduction

Petra Pakkanen and Susanne Bocher

Topic: Questions and Themes

This volume is based on the workshop *Defining and Interpreting Ancient Greek Cult Deposits* held 24–28 October 2008 at Ancient Olympia. A small group of specialists working on themes closely related to early Greek cult practices gathered for two and a half days to discuss the theory and practice of interpreting cult and religion and their archaeological context. We elaborated on the problem of defining a ritual or a cult deposit in general, and how it has been framed in the research tradition; we then targeted the discussion at locating these questions in relation to case studies and thematic approaches to early Greek religion. The geographical area and periods covered here are relatively broad encompassing Prehistoric, Protohistoric and early Archaic contexts.

The study of early Greek cult practice involves a number of important themes in the field of classical archaeology. They are centred round the questions of origins and specialisation of cult practice, locality and spatiality of sanctuary sites, and the social and cultural role of religion in the early Greek context as it is reflected in archaeological material. All these themes echo or imply problems of definition of the special nature of cultic and ritual activity as opposed to the secular sphere of life. Archaeological study of early cult is primarily based on material evidence without direct links to written testimonies of religion, and this naturally raises methodological issues that have to be addressed when studying the material: How do we define religion, cult and ritual, and more specifically, what actually constitutes an archaeological deposit which can be connected with past religious activities? Religious paraphernalia found at cult sites often have a depositional history which differs from other contexts; ritual and cultic objects may have been ritually buried or purified, and cult equipment and votives are often deposited in special pits, or *bothroi*, within a defined cult area, or at least separated from ordinary settlement debris. Elaborating this issue was the main incentive for the workshop. The discussion at the workshop and the articles presented in this book also reflect a wider field of questions in the study of early Greek religion on the basis of material evidence.

It is possible to discern trends in the study of early Greek cult practice. First, the archaeological study of early cult often operates within certain established terminological parameters. These include dividing cult, for example, into public and private, official and popular, communal and domestic, extra-urban and urban, intramural and extramural ritual practices. Whilst some of these divisions derive from topographical and contextual reasons, others lean more heavily towards interpretative presumptions. They work as interpretative tools which have become operational in discourses of the early cult practice. They can be, however, restrictive labels which might hinder our perspective to identify multiple, probably overlapping and criss-crossing functions of cult and ritual practice in the early societies. Distinguishing between private and public cult practice may prove unhelpful yet it often involves difficulties related to other definitional issues.

The earlier mentioned questions about the definition of ritual and cult on the basis of archaeological material almost inevitably involve a problem on how far the given data

can be used to interpret ritual action; can the specific case studies successfully address the more general questions about the nature of early Greek religion and cultic life? The imposition of the dichotomy between religious (cultic and ritualistic) and secular activities has resulted in particular interpretative difficulties for archaeologists. This reflects the issue of the dichotomy, or optimally dialogue, between particular and general. Any reconstruction of ritual depends heavily on the analysis of traces and patterns in the material remains which repeated rituals left in the archaeological record, and also on the interpretation of these data in their social context. Particular, i.e. contextual, case studies and the material they provide are placed in dialogue with general, i.e. the pre-existing interpretative views on the nature of early ritual and cult. Case studies inevitably reflect larger ideas and interpretative challenges when we try to understand Greek religion in general. We are left with the task of defining parameters which can be used to define early Greek religious ritual on the basis of mainly archaeological remains. This is crystallised in the elaborations of votive offerings, and of figurines in particular as an *a priori* religious nature of the these items is not fully clear even if they have almost exclusively been attributed religious roles and their presence in a context where they are discovered has become an indicator of the cultic nature of it. Melissa Vetter's article in this volume tackles these questions demonstrating that contextual analyses of distribution, use patterns, and display of the Mycenaean figurines enable us to trace shifts in structural patterns which reflect on ritual behaviour and social agency.

This volume consists of two thematic parts. The first, titled *Cult and Material: Tradition, Theory and Materiality*, presents articles with more theoretically oriented insights addressing the questions of the role of religion, cult and ritual in the tradition of archaeological investigations; it also intends to outline theoretical perspectives to the questions of how cultic or ritual deposits in archaeological record have been and could be defined. This section opens with Johannes Siapkas' overview of classical archaeology's standing within the academic field in relation to its neighbouring disciplines. He outlines a wider conceptual scheme which accommodates several of the research traditions in classical archaeology. With the focus on the study of religion, cult and ritual in archaeology he delineates a religious studies tradition in classical archaeology and relates it to his conceptual scheme. Continuing the theme of conceptual questions about ritual and cult in archaeology Petra Pakkanen explores culturally and religiously determined ways of conceptualising waste and refuse in order to further our understanding of deposits related to ritual practice. She argues that the relationship between ritual, cult and religion should be elaborated, and when interpreting these types of deposits larger ideological factors and aspects of past belief systems should be taken into consideration. The first part of this volume is concluded by Susanne Bocher who discusses the definition and interpretation of votive offerings in the context of the remnants of religious rituals and sacrifices. Focussing on the phenomenon of the so-called black layers in early Greek sanctuaries and especially in Olympia, she analyses how these layers can be interpreted and connected to offerings at altars and the deposition of altar debris within different investigative approaches and traditions.

The second part in this volume is titled *Time and Material: Perspectives of Early Cult* and presents articles which discuss issues relating to early Greek cult practice on the basis of archaeological material in contextual perspective. The point of view in these contributions is two-fold. First, the usual convention of dividing cult activities to polar opposites of private/domestic and communal/public has resulted in certain interpretative

problems. Melissa Vetters elaborates the question whether the material evidence allows a distinction between popular and official cults, and looks at how private and communal levels of ritual action are related to the former two concepts which are widely accepted in the scholarly discourse on Mycenaean religion. Secondly, the two concluding articles present case studies of archaeological material defined as votives with different cultic functions in well-defined contexts. Melissa Vetter's contextual insights derive from post-palatial Tiryns. Lena Sjögren looks at the material from various Cretan (800–500 BC) cult sites from a social perspective in interpreting archaeological material connected with ritual activity. She interprets votives as expressions of accessibility to a cult-site rather than emphasizing the notion of their display and, consequently, regards the space where votives where deposited as an indication of social interaction that could have taken place in cultic space. In her contribution Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß elaborates the role and nature of votive offerings on the basis of the finds from the Archaic Artemision of Ephesos. She outlines the reasons for treating this sanctuary as a special case in the light of the very rich votive material while at the same time locating it in the 'cultic climate' of the contemporary Ionian and West Anatolian sphere. She emphasises the fruitfulness of an analysis of the main focal points within the complete spectrum of votives in a deposit or sanctuary deriving a general idea of the cult's nature on this basis as having had a specific focus in the female sphere of life. The final article is based on the contribution which Berit Wells provided at the workshop. Our gathering together at Olympia was to remain her last academic conference. Berit brought to the event her rich and varied insights on early Greek cult presenting in her paper a comparison between the Geometric material from the two cult sites where she had carried out extensive archaeological work, namely Asine in the Argolid and the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia on Poros. Her presentation was titled *New beginnings? Preparations for Renewal of Cult at Kalaureia and Asine*. Its present form is based on Berit's own texts and material she produced for the event and the final text has been put together by Arto Penttinen, Petra Pakkanen and Jari Pakkanen.

Discussions: Questions and Answers

Discussions at the Olympia workshop played an almost equally important role as the read papers. They were lively and lasted almost as long, or even longer, than the presentations themselves. At times they evolved into an exchange of wider ideas in the scholarship of Greek religion and resulted in a debate and an exchange of views on the discussed issues, comparative examples in the archaeological study of Greek religion, and the elaboration of new questions in this field. That is why it is worthwhile to give the reader an idea of what was discussed around the table at the time of the workshop: provoking, unquestioned or unanswered themes were taken up on the basis of the talks. The presentation below is selective, and the intention is to provide the reader with a summary of the issues discussed by presenting the main themes and ideas that were exchanged around the table following each presentation.

Johannes Siapkas's paper raised the question on how the so-called 'popular archaeology turn' in the study of ancient Greek religion has affected our interpretations and how, for example, the German *Religionswissenschaft*-tradition has been reflected in the scholarship of ancient Greek religion. It was pointed out that the term 'anthropology of religion' can be slightly misleading since the study of religion involves national and

geographical differences which render the emphasis and points of view different in various traditions within the field of the study of religion. The Scandinavian tradition, for example, tends to build more heavily on folklore while in France philosophical underpinnings have been emphasised when religion is theoretically approached. This led to a discussion on the possibility of 'originality' in the archaeological study of religion. In Siapkas's view the richness of material in principle provides the possibility for originality and allows possible new interpretative frameworks to emerge. This was seen, for example, in the 70s' processual and consequent post-processual turns in archaeology which called for testing hypotheses and theories. Siapkas could not, however, identify a cutting edge of classical archaeology and general archaeology at the moment, but regarded the historical awareness of changing interpretative frameworks as important.

The tradition of publishing archaeological material in archaeological reports was discussed, and the current practice was defended against Siapkas's critical views: it was maintained that there is a need for primary publications of material, and that interpretations are the next step in the process, and that this step can only be achieved through these primary publications. However, it was acknowledged that the archaeologists should demonstrate rigour as even the first step of their work in the field includes interpretation; for example, defining certain material as coming from secondary depositions is quite often itself dependent on interpretation.

Petra Pakkanen's presentation provoked questions about ritual and its archaeological understanding in relation to anthropological approaches to interpreting the phenomenon of ritual. It was pointed out that 'ritualisation' as contrasted to 'ritual' – the concept which has been embraced particularly in archaeology of cult after Catherine Bell's study (1992) – is conceptually very different from mere ritual. Ritualisation is a more complex way of looking at the phenomenon as ritualisations are embedded in discourses following the theories of Foucault, Bourdieu, Geertz and others, and tend to reflect a more active view of culture than the earlier views of ritual which often regarded it as a more stable phenomenon. This equals in certain sense to the theories recently put forward by the scholars of the so-called 'ritual dynamics' -school.

The problem of where to draw a line between the sacred and profane was raised, and Pakkanen proposed that we should not (religiously) follow the minima criteria for identifying ritual as is suggested, for example, by Colin Renfrew's list (1985). When we work in a sanctuary setting, we have to start from the proposition that there was a difference between the sacred and the profane: religious activity took place particularly in these settings, and even the frame of mind of people acting in those spaces was regulated by rules embedded in a religious worldview. This does not mean that profane activity did not take place there as well, but when reoccurring practices detectable in depositions can be identified, we can start asking questions about possible ritual behaviour. The importance of being careful, therefore, should be stressed when defining ritual in an anthropological sense and not restricting it to a few named criteria: our concept of ritual should not exclude individual, one-time occurrence rituals and should not emphasise too much formality which according to Pakkanen is not a necessary condition for a ritual to happen. A possibility of profane ritual has been recently discussed in the anthropological study of ritual and in religious studies, and, therefore, mere repetitiveness does not make the practices sacred. Archaeological studies in sanctuary settings can, however, draw tentative conclusions about the dividing line between the sacred and the profane, because it can be argued that in prehistoric and protohistoric times, particularly, there was no

sharp difference between the profane and religious, but instead there were special places where religious and cultic activity actualised. Furthermore, there are different types and levels of cults: domestic cults, community cults, regional cults etc., and they coexisted simultaneously. This was seen to rule out theories proposed by François de Polignac and Alexander Mazarakis-Ainian about the one-dimensional development of early Greek cult.

Part of the paper dealt with the identification of waste and pollution. Regarding the issue it was noted that pollution is very difficult to identify archaeologically since its identification often depends on the absence of it. Therefore, the concept of pollution works best when we are dealing with animal bones or sacrificial waste, and it should be remembered that ritual deposits often do not include ritual waste. It was pointed out that Greek sanctuaries were also places of hoarding. Bearing this in mind it is possible to proceed from the ideas of clearing off waste to gathering of things particularly in major Greek sanctuaries. Hoarding and clearing of waste were naturally part of the life cycles of the sanctuaries, but we should not mix these phenomena with pollution which was tied to religious ideology and belief systems.

Susanne Bocher's talk on the black strata stimulated the participants to bring forward parallels from other sites, including the material from Ephesos and Kalapodi. Bocher reminded us that our knowledge about the Olympian 'black layer' largely comes from the nineteenth-century reports and excavators' diaries and as such is often inconclusive in nature. Determining whether the bronze objects found in the black strata had been in contact with fire before their deposition may often be difficult because the early methods of conservation eliminated or minimised possible traces of burning.

The nature of votive objects was discussed on the basis of the examples in Bocher's talk. It was asked whether dedicating a non-functioning part of an object instead of a whole one was really a new phenomenon in Early Iron Age cult. This is linked to an observation which is sometimes characterised as 'killing an object', i.e. intentionally destroying or breaking objects in order to turn them into votive offerings. We were reminded that the intentionality of destroying an object before dedicating it has become one of the criteria for understanding a votive as such; figurines are usually seen as exception to the rule, and this merits reconsideration. Temple inventories often list broken objects in addition to the complete items, and this may tell us about different principles in valuing objects between the modern and ancient times: brokenness did not necessarily render certain objects less valuable. There may also have been a practical dimension to folding bronze objects in particular, namely saving space when they were cleared away. Bocher explained that this practice of folding bronze objects seems to have been rather common and wide-spread, and archaeological publications have only recently begun to pay attention to the issue.

Melissa Vetters' talk initiated a discussion about the validity of differentiations between official and popular religion on the one hand and between private, domestic and household rituals on the other. Vetters explained that when considering Mycenaean religion she wishes to replace the division popular/official religion with a dichotomy between communal and private rituals and cults due to the problematic implications of the older popular/official dichotomy. It presupposes a static and rather canonised view of religion that is usually seen only in 'book-religions' and does not as such work for Mycenaean religion. The analytical value of dismissing Robin Hägg's division was recognised, but it was asked whether we really need a distinction between private and communal cults as they may seem to fuse into one another. Vetters argued that it is possible to see clear distinctions in the figurine groups, and based on the differentiation in the material it is

analytically useful to operate with these distinctions. For example, on the basis of her material she explained that figurines tend to come from central rooms or rooms with hearths, not just from everywhere in households. This gives grounds for differentiating between private and domestic ritual, and, therefore, the use of the figurines in the post-palatial period seems to fall into the category of the household rituals. In Vetter's view domestic rituals involved much more than figurines, but these acts are very difficult to trace in the archaeological record. In private rituals the focus is not on performance and they reflect what was going on and acted out in communal rituals, but in much minor scale. Thus, domestic rituals are broader in their scope of activities than mere private rituals.

The discussion evolved to how we observe traces of elite ritual behaviour in the material: can we recognise a possible difference between communal shrines and elite shrines, and what do we actually mean when we talk about 'elite behaviour'? Was it part of 'official cultic behaviour'? Vetters pointed out that a proportionally very high number of figurines from the core sites of the Argolid compared to any other area makes it possible to link them to some kind of elite traces in the post-palatial ideology and religious usage: figurines were effective means of transporting ideas and bringing new connotations into a belief system. She noted that even though elite probably influenced the rest of the community by its behaviour and manners of social and ritual interaction, tracing this in the material is virtually impossible. Yet we should not say that communal ritual behaviour is simply elite ritual behaviour and that private should be characterised exclusively as domestic.

The nature, uses and meaning of the figurines themselves were discussed. Vetters noted that the distinction between animal and anthropomorphic figurines in terms of their use only starts in the post-palatial period. This distinction is a result of the historiographical process in the study of Mycenaean religion. As to the meaning and the role of the animal figurines protective magic could be one explanation, their fertility aspect another. However, due to the lack of contextual evidence for many of these figurines in her material Vetters could not give a conclusive answer to the question whether the bovines, for example, were substitutes for animal sacrifice or whether they stood as protectors of the households; she pointed out that it is possible to draw conclusions on this issue only by observing possible structural patterns in the material.

Lena Sjögren's presentation led to a discussion about the nature of communal acts particularly in contrast to private ones. The participants asked what the variables for determining and differentiating the communal aspect of dedicating from the private ones are. For example, as figurines could often be regarded as personal objects, what makes the act of dedicating them especially communal? Sjögren explained that the accessibility of certain spaces which could be seen as communal meeting places for many persons at once could determine the communal aspect of this ritual activity. A communal feast, for example, can be regarded as a communal act of this type, and there did not need to be elite display of dedicatory items. The problem remains, however, for example, as to the necessity of social interaction in these places. It was agreed that both private and communal aspects of dedicating could have been simultaneously present in places and locations which can be defined as communal spaces: private and communal natures of leaving dedications co-existed since dedicating could have been a personal act, but at a location where people gathered together it also had communal aspect and could have, therefore, facilitated social interaction. It was reminded that we should be careful,

however, not to mix dedicating *per se* and the motivation behind it since the motivation for dedicating an item for deities was most often personal in nature. Votive offerings could have created social cohesion as agents of meanings at certain places, but there must have been a driving body or organisation behind this kind of communal behaviour to materialise.

Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß's talk provoked questions about the element of display and displaying of votives, which in this case also reflect the idea of the Greek term *anathema*, something which is raised. Could there have been an aspect of elitist display regarding the votives and votival practices from Ephesos? Klebinder-Gauß acknowledged the expense and labour-intenseness in the production of certain items regarded as votives (griffin protons, for example), but was hesitant to regard them as tokens of displaying elitist wealth at Ephesos.

Problems in identifying the limits and borders of the *temenos* at Ephesos, like at many other sanctuaries, were discussed. It was acknowledged that the ways archaeological excavations themselves may change the picture we get on the cults depends on where within a sanctuary or its vicinity trenches are opened. Particularly in the earlier studies even the roles attributed to deities was affected by this, and Athena, for example, was perceived as a more central figure than Artemis. This led to a discussion of possible other cults and deities worshipped at the sanctuary of Ephesos in addition to Artemis herself. Klebinder-Gauß noted that in its character Ephesos was more oriented towards inland, for example Lydia, whereas other Ionian sanctuaries were more inclined towards Near-Eastern and/or Egyptian influences. Ephesos portrays, however, also its local originality, and this comes clearly across in the material found at the sanctuary.

Berit Wells's paper was followed by a discussion of the continuity of cultic activity over periods of time. Feelings of uneasiness were expressed about building a picture of the continuity of cult on the basis of the remains of some Late Helladic III sherds associated with the Geometric objects. Wells pointed out the continuity of activities, but not necessarily continuity of cult. She explained that on the basis of the eighth-century material from Kalaureia it is possible to say that cultic activity existed there during that time. The usual increase of cultic material at that period and the often occurring use of previous habitation sites for new cultic activities were agreed upon, but caution was also urged for drawing a line in the continuity of cult too easily. In the case of the Kalaureian Attic amphorae it should be remembered that these were movable objects, a fact which obviously could point to ritual banqueting, yet banqueting does not always indicate a cultic function of an area.

The possibility of the Kalaureian pits having served a role in a foundation sacrifice was discussed. Wells regarded this as possible, but the fragmentary nature of the Kalaureian vessels renders their role as foundation depositions suspect: one would expect broken but in principle complete vessels to be dumped for such a sacrifice, not just fragments of them. Wells explained that large Attic amphorae are often seen as grave markers though the same type of amphorae are found at quite a few sanctuaries, on the Athenian Acropolis, the Acropolis of Asine, at Tegea, for example. Therefore, we should overlook the interpretation that they were always grave markers and see them, for example, also as markers of space and status of wealth at the sanctuaries. Wells thinks that at Kalaureia there must have in any case been a strong motivation for rearranging the area around these deposits; this is indicated by the obvious interconnectedness of the vessels, and the fact that they were not randomly scattered around at the site.

Berit Wells passed away less than ten months after the workshop at Olympia, but her thoughts and ideas remain with us, and her contribution in this volume represents one of her much-valued insights to cult archaeology. Berit clearly enjoyed the Olympia workshop and we can still hear her lively and enthusiastic voice during the long discussions. Berit's title for her talk reminds us about new beginnings and renewals, and we dedicate this book to her memory.

List of Participants and Papers at the Workshop

Participants:

Rebecca Ammerman (US)
Susanne Bocher (Germany)
Walter Gauß (Austria)
Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß (Austria)
Christos Liangouras (Greece)
Alexander Nagel (Michigan, US)
Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier (Germany)
Petra Pakkanen (Finland)
Oliver Pilz (Germany)
Reinhard Senff (Germany)
Johannes Siapkas (Sweden)
Lena Sjögren (Sweden)
Melissa Vetters (Germany)
Berit Wells (Sweden)

Papers:

Susanne **Bocher**: Ash, Bones, Votives – What Do We Know about the '*Black Strata*' in Early Greek sanctuaries?
Gudrun **Klebinder-Gauß**: The Interpretation of Votives from Cult Deposits in the Archaic Artemision of Ephesos
Christos **Liangouras**: A First Approach on the Cult of Demeter Chamyne in Olympia and Its Cult Deposits
Alexander **Nagel**: Interpreting the Cult Deposit in the Text-Free Zone. The Rhyakos-Plain Deposit from Ancient Stratos
Wolf-Dietrich **Niemeier**: New Excavations in the Sanctuary at Kalapodi (Ancient Phokis)
Oliver **Pilz**: Terracotta and Bronze Figurines from Geometric and Archaic Dwellings: Domestic Cult or Personal Belongings?
Petra **Pakkanen**: Depositing Cult. Considerations on What Makes a Cult Deposit
Johannes **Siapkas**: Worshiping Archaeologies – Approaches to Votive Cult Deposits
Lena **Sjögren**: Cretan Cult Practices: Social Aspects of Iron Age and Archaic Votive Deposits
Melissa **Vetters**: Private and Communal Ritual in the Mycenaean Post-Palatial Period – a Case Study from Tiryns
Berit **Wells**: New Beginnings? Preparations of Renewal of Cult at Kalaureia and Asine.

Worshiping Archaeologies – Theoretical Landscape in the Archaeological Study of Greek Religion and Cult Deposits

Johannes Siapkas

Abstract

Classical archaeology comprises different research traditions, such as an archaeological, a historical, and an art historical tradition. Each tradition is characterized by a conceptual affinity with another academic discipline. I argue that we need to move beyond the archaeological conceptual scheme, which has acquired a normative position in classical archaeology, since it fails to account for important aspects in the other traditions of classical archaeology. In this paper, I outline a wider conceptual scheme which accommodates several of the research traditions in classical archaeology. At some level, it is possible to discern similar theoretical developments in several disciplines in the humanities, including classical archaeology. During the 20th century, we can identify in these disciplines influences from traditional, social and cultural perspectives. I then outline what is a religious studies tradition in classical archaeology and relate it to the wider conceptual scheme. Lastly, I turn to scholarly elaborations on votives. This investigation illustrates how the various traditions intersect. It also serves as an assessment of the analytical value of the conceptual scheme.

Introduction

Classical archaeology is an academic discipline which includes different research traditions such as an archaeological, a historical, and an art historical tradition. A characteristic trait of these traditions is their affinity with another academic discipline. Furthermore, several disciplines in the humanities had, partly, a similar theoretical development during the 20th century. Roughly, we can distinguish a traditional, a social, and a cultural perspective. In this paper, I will begin by outlining a wider conceptual scheme which accommodates several of the research traditions in classical archaeology. I argue that we need to move beyond the archaeological conceptual scheme which has acquired a normative position in classical archaeology since it fails to account for important aspects in the other traditions. This will be followed by brief outlines of anthropology of religion and religious studies tradition in the field of classical archaeology. Lastly, I will turn to conceptualizations of votives in order to illustrate how the research traditions intersect, but also to test the heuristic value of the wider conceptual scheme. This paper is a preliminary presentation of a larger study which still is in its initial phase. My aim is to identify broad general lines in the conceptual development of classical archaeology – many aspects and nuances will, therefore, inevitably be omitted.[1]

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[1] Siapkas forthcoming a and b. There are considerable overlaps with Siapkas forthcoming a in the first part of this article.

Classical Archaeology – a Divided Discipline

Although few of us would question the academic status of classical archaeology, there is also realization and acknowledgement of considerable differences within our discipline. Occasionally we feel that we have more in common with other scholars in other disciplines. For instance, classical archaeologists in the archaeological tradition are more comfortable talking with other archaeologists, than say with colleagues working in the art historical tradition. In other words, the divides are sometimes greater within classical archaeology and its traditions than between classical archaeology and other academic disciplines. A way to accommodate for the internal divisions is to view classical archaeology as a discipline consisting of strong sub-disciplinary research traditions. I use *tradition* to denote a discourse within classical archaeology which is characterized by a conceptual affinity to another, main academic discipline, and, often but not always, an analytical emphasis on certain types of empirical evidence. Examples of tradition are an archaeological, an art historical, and a historical tradition, which are influenced by the developments in archaeology, art history, and history.

Anthony Snodgrass has recently made a fruitful distinction which can serve as a point of departure.[2] He distinguishes four different definitions of what classical archaeology is and/or ought to be. According to the first definition, classical archaeology is a branch of archaeology. It is the part of archaeology which focuses on ancient Greek and Roman civilizations. As a branch of archaeology, classical archaeologists have access to the whole range of archaeological methods and techniques, while at the same time the discipline has developed its specific methods and principles applicable only for this branch. According to the second position, classical archaeology is a branch of classical studies. Here the classical archaeologists elaborate on material evidence in order to shed some light on the achievements of the ancient Greeks and Romans preserved foremost in ancient texts. According to the third definition, classical archaeology is a branch of art history aiming to discover, identify, and establish the artistic achievements of the ancient Greeks and Romans. Due to the fragmentary character of the ancient remains, classical archaeologists are forced to utilize archaeological techniques, but in all other respects it shares the objectives of art history.[3] In the fourth definition, classical archaeology is an autonomous academic discipline with its own concerns, principles, techniques, methods, theories, etc. Classical archaeology is at the same level as other academic disciplines and differs substantially from them.

Snodgrass's scheme acknowledges the internal divides in classical archaeology. However, few of us would confess to one of the definitions while rejecting the others altogether. Scholars pursuing research within any of these traditions are more often than not also engaged in and with the other traditions. Although this scheme can serve as a point of departure for a conceptualization of classical archaeology, we should be cautious not to use it to establish a fixed and static image of classical archaeology. Furthermore, it is feasible to identify also other traditions, such as a religious studies tradition. In this tradition, classical archaeology is a branch of religious studies. Religion and, in particular, rituals are viewed as the most authentic articulations of the ancient civilizations. The

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[2] Snodgrass 2007, 13–19.
[3] Cf. Bernbeck 1997, 11, who argues that classical archaeology in Germany lies close to art history.

main objective of classical archaeology is to elaborate on ancient societies through the study of religious practices and beliefs.

A Theoretical Landscape – Conceptual Ideal Types

An Archaeological Framework

The image of classical archaeology as a conceptually divided discipline comprising sub-disciplinary traditions is reinforced if we consider how theoretical issues have been introduced in classical archaeology. A consequence of these divisions is that different issues occasionally have a stronger impact on one, or several, of the traditions. In my experience, the limited meta-theoretical discussions concerning the development of classical archaeology have primarily attracted Anglophone scholars of the archaeological tradition.[4] Therefore, an archaeological conceptual scheme consisting of the various paradigms, such as evolutionary, culture-historical, processual, and post-processual archaeologies, has acquired a normative position also in classical archaeology.[5]

In the evolutionary model emphasis is placed on universal human qualities and similarities. According to it human development has reached a teleological high end in the contemporary western culture. Archaeological cultures were arranged in a hierarchical order based on the conceptual proximity to present-day western culture.[6] It was followed by the culture-historical perspective, which peaked during the mid-war period. In the culture-historical perspective, emphasis was placed on differences between cultures. The notion that archaeological cultures were monolithic clear-cut entities existing side-by-side and replacing each other completely was more explicit in the culture-historical model than in the evolutionary model. The essentializing tendency is even more explicit when it comes to races and/or nations which are the favored analytical entities. These groups, and the deep-seated characteristics they possess, are ascribed to have had determining roles in the development of the past. Furthermore, the culture-historical model lacked the explicit teleology of the evolutionary model.

This gave way to the processual model which was launched in the 1960s as a reaction against earlier archaeologies. Culture was abandoned as the central problem and scholarly attention turned to environmental aspects. In a sense, cultural determinism was replaced with environmental determinism. New scholarly topics emerged as crucial. In classical archaeology, the impact of the processual perspective is visible in the spread of archaeological regional projects. Part of the processual package was the urge for explicit methodological procedures and the search for general laws of human behavior. The inability to produce universal laws beyond mere tautologies, that is, was soon realized, and post-processual archaeology was introduced. Issues of culture, ideology, and agency emerged as new favorites on the archaeological agenda. Context became a new catchword

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[4] E.g. Renfrew 1980; Snodgrass 1985; Dyson 1993. This is not to say that these discussions are completely absent in other traditions. Gehrke 1995, Raaflaub 2003, are two examples of the historical tradition. The normative position of Anglophone archaeology is perhaps most evident when we notice Anglophone archaeological concepts in non-Anglophone publications.

[5] Trigger 1996, Olsen 1997, for the archaeological perspectives.

[6] The classical legacy was still considered as exemplary at this time and the classical civilizations served often as a yardstick in the evolutionary perspective.

signaling that the search for universal laws was replaced by a concern for the particular. According to post-processualism, our perception of the world is a result of our ideas, beliefs, and the ideologies embedded in us. This is not only true for the past but holds equally true also for us today. Another part of the post-processual perspective was the concern with the politics of archaeology. Archaeology is embedded in an ideological context which influences our practices. At the same time, archaeology contributes to sustaining modernity. This second facet of the post-processual perspective provides us with a foundation for the importance of scrutinizing our own practices, since they influence the way we conceptualize the past.

Towards a Wider Conceptual Framework

Other academic disciplines such as history and art history exhibit similar theoretical developments as archaeology. The development of history, as an academic discipline, is conceptualized according to a tri-partite scheme, consisting of a traditional, a social, and a cultural perspective. In the traditional perspective, historians are concerned with great men, single events, and political history. During the decades following World War Two, and until the 1980s, historians moved away from the traditional perspective to the social perspective. Social historians emphasize themes such as institutions, processes, economic conditions, and social groups. Societies are typically regarded as systems in balance in which different features have a function. The third cultural perspective pays particular attention to individual ordinary agents, their beliefs, their practices, ideologies, and discourses. The term cultural here differs profoundly from culture as it is used in culture-historical archaeology. In this discourse, culture is anything but essential. Culture is dynamic, in constant flux, and a result of perpetual power negotiations.[7]

A comparison of the archaeological scheme with the historical scheme can help us to identify possible similarities between the disciplines. There is a correspondence between the two main disciplines, and their offspring traditions in classical archaeology, as far as we elaborate which topics are preferred and how they are conceptualized. The traditional perspective in history exhibits a similarity to the evolutionary and culture-historical models in archaeology, the social perspective to the processual model, and the cultural perspective to post-processualism.[8]

These three conceptual horizons can also be identified in other disciplines. In art history the turn away from traditional art history did not occur until the mid-1980s with the introduction of New Art History. New Art History incorporates both the social and the cultural perspectives. It denotes everything from studies on social conditions for artists, artistic patronage, semiotic interpretation of art works, to critique of traditional art history.[9] In other words, New Art History is equivalent to both the processual and post-processual perspectives. This complicates, to some degree, the neat scheme presented so far. However, I should emphasize that it is the chronological aspect of the framework that is invalidated, not the analytical separation of a social and a cultural perspective.

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[7] Iggers 1997; Roberts 2001, 2–3 (also for references).

[8] Following Iggers 1997 and others we can note that there is a more explicit conceptual diversification in history than in archaeology.

[9] Rees and Borzello 1986; Harris 2001. In classical archaeology New Art History was introduced by Zanker 1988 and Hölscher 2003, both originally published in 1987.

The development in art history can serve as a reminder that disciplines and traditions can change at a different pace.

However, even if the adoption of a wide conceptual framework has an analytical value we need, nevertheless, to distinguish between two aspects. First, there is a chronological dimension. Different generations of scholars turn their attention to different sets of issues and it is therefore relevant, to some extent, to regard this scheme as part of a chronological framework. We should, however, be careful not to be content with the establishment of a chronological chart in which we pinpoint ideas and trace their spread. This is because, secondly, scholarship in the humanities does not develop along one trajectory in which earlier perspectives are replaced completely by new paradigms. For instance, the social perspective was not abandoned with the introduction of the cultural perspective. It is more accurate to consider the introduction of new perspectives as complements to the earlier models, expanding the analytical realm. In the humanities, we do often return to, and revive ideas from scholars who have been forgotten for a while. In other words, there is a second non-linear quality to this framework.

Anthropology of Religion

Anthropology has had a considerable impact in classical archaeology. The conceptual proximity of the two disciplines is not least signaled by the persistent tradition in classical archaeology to seek inspiration from anthropological theories and methods.[10] The influence form anthropology is not restricted to one tradition or specific theoretical perspective; I will, therefore, limit my scope here to an anthropology of religion. A conceptual scheme with a tri-partite outline is also adequate for the anthropology of religion.[11] First, we can delineate a traditional perspective, which includes a comparative aspect. Scholars in this perspective are propelled by an aim to order, identify, and account for religious institutions and practices. The overlap with classical archaeology and in particular a religious studies tradition is foremost evident among the ritualists such as James Frazer.[12]

In the social perspective, religion and particularly issues pertaining to religious belief have a subordinate role. Edward Evans-Pritchard noticed accurately that anthropology and the social sciences display a general tendency of indifference or even hostility towards religion.[13] The social perspective, which includes a distinct functionalistic tenet in anthropology, cannot be confined to the period between the 1960s and the 1980s in anthropology. Social scientists and anthropologists articulated concerns characteristic to the social perspective long before it had an impact in the humanities more generally. The social turn in the humanities in the 1960s was fueled by a renewed and reawakened interest in the works of Max Weber, Émile Durkheim, and Karl Marx. Nevertheless, anthropology is also influenced by intellectual currents and the social perspective was particularly strong in anthropology during this period. Roy Rappaport's classic study *Pigs for the Ancestors* from 1968, which emphasizes the eco-functional aspect of rituals among highland New Guinea societies, is an illustrative example of this.[14]

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[10] Indeed, there is a genre in classical archaeology which evolves around the possible benefits and similarities between classics and anthropology, see e.g. Kluckhohn 1961; Humphreys 1978; Redfield 1991.
[11] See Eriksen 2001, 209–226.
[12] E.g. Frazer 1890.
[13] Evans-Pritchard 1962, 37.
[14] Rappaport 1968.

In the anthropology of religion, it is particularly through the interpretative, or hermeneutical, approach that the cultural perspective is articulated. Clifford Geertz's essay *Religion as a Cultural System* together with the collection *The Interpretation of Cultures* are seminal since they both mark the introduction of the cultural perspective and place anthropology of religion at the core of the cultural perspective.[15] The cultural perspective is also evident in the works of Bruce Kapferer and Maurice Bloch, the 1990s ritual studies discourse, e.g. Catherine Bell, and the German *Ritualdynamik* School.[16]

Religious Studies Tradition

The religious life of the ancient Greeks has received much attention in classical archaeology. Many scholars have explored issues pertaining to religion. From a quantitative point of view, there is certainly a religious studies tradition in classical archaeology. In the following, I will present an outline of the theoretical development of this tradition.[17]

From the coalescence of classical archaeology during the second half of the 19th century and until around 1918, the ritualistic perspective dominated ancient religious studies. In this perspective religious beliefs and particularly rituals are considered as the most authentic articulations of the genuine culture of a people and determining for other realms of a society. The ritualistic perspective has an evolutionary side to it. Ritualists often trace the development of religious features into deep pre-history and regard other realms of a civilization as determined by the religious realm. The ritualists, for instance Wilhelm Mannhardt, Hermann Usener, and Albrecht Dieterich in Germany, and James Frazer, Robertson Smith, Jane Harrison in the UK, had also a comparative aim. They were therefore often engaged in debates with other disciplines.[18] The comparative side of the ritualist school was abandoned around the First World War. Nevertheless, theoretical perspectives have a tendency to linger on in the humanities and prominent ritualists, in particular Jane Harrison in Cambridge, continued their scholarly work also after this conceptual turn.[19] Both Sam Wide and Martin P. Nilsson, the first two professors in classical archaeology in Sweden, adhered to the ritualist perspective in their elaborations on Greek religion.[20] We can also discern influences from the ritualistic perspective in Walter Burkert's *Homo Necans* and *Greek Religion*.[21]

A new perspective is discernable after the conceptual turn around the First World War.[22] In many ways, the psychological perspective is the conceptual opposite of the

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[15] Geertz 1966; Geertz 1973.

[16] Kapferer 1984; Bloch 1986; Bell 1992 and 1997. The German *Ritualdynamik* school, e.g. Kreinath et al. 2004. See also Mylonopoulos and Roeder 2006, esp. 9–17.

[17] See also Burkert 1985, 1–4; Morris 1993.

[18] Mannhardt 1963; Usener 1896; Dieterich 1905; Robertson Smith 1887; Harrison 1903; Frazer 1890. See also Burkert 1985, 2. Marchand 1996, 140, argues that the ritualists in Germany were effectively marginalized due to Wilamowitz' rejection of these issues. Wilamowitz had a strong academic and political influence at the time in Germany.

[19] Morris 1993, 21–22.

[20] E.g. Wide 1893; Nilsson 1950; Nilsson 1950–1955. See Nilsson 1950–1955, vol. 1, 10, for influences from the German ritualists.

[21] Burkert 1985, 8; Burkert 1972, 8–96. Furumark 1959; Hyman 1965. Raglan 1965 adheres to the ritualist perspective: see Fontenrose 1966, e.g. 1, 8. Fontenrose's criticism of the ritualist perspective is founded on a scepticism against diachronic explanatory models. As a socio-functionalist focusing on synchronic aspects, we should only expect such criticism from him.

[22] Müller 1892 foreshadowed the psychological perspective, see Morris 1993, 19.

ritualist school. The psychological scholars turned their attention inwards, focusing on internally defined issues while ignoring general debates in the humanities. Certainly ancient religion continued to be in focus, but it was conceptualized as an isolated phenomenon, detached from the other realms of the ancient societies. Individual religious belief was the prime analytical aim. The major difference between the two perspectives is the degree of determination that religion is ascribed with. The ritualists articulate a religious determinism since the historical development in general is viewed as determined by the deep-seated religious structures. In contrast, the psychologists isolate religion and investigate it in its own right. In other words, epistemologically the psychological perspective, like traditional classical archaeology in general, is grounded in naïve empiricism. The psychological perspective dominated the religious studies tradition until the 1970s. Scholars like Max Müller, Lewis Farnell, Louis Mouliner, Birgitta Bergqvist, and Robert Parker, articulate the psychological perspective.[23]

In the 1970s, scholars began to analyze ancient religion in accordance with the concerns of the social perspective. Issues such as the functions of the rituals, and the practical and economic conditions of religious practices emerged to the forefront. In the social perspective, religion is regarded as integrated into the other realms of society. However, when the social perspective is emphasized, religion loses its primary role. The social functions of religion and rituals within a social system become the conceptual backbone. There is an emphasis on synchronic aspects in the social perspective. Structures have a function in and for contemporary society; otherwise they seize to exist according to this perspective. Scholars like Moses Finley, Louis Gernet and Jean-Pierre Vernant conceptualized ancient religion in accordance with the social perspective.[24]

The cultural perspective was influenced by the works of Clifford Geertz, Hayden White, Michel Foucault, and Pierre Bourdieu, and had a wider impact in the humanities from the 1980s onwards. In this perspective, culture is conceptualized as contested, and as a result of perpetual re-negotiations. Another common denominator is the hermeneutic, or interpretative, methodological outlook. We can identify influences from the cultural perspective in the religious studies tradition. However, the direct influences on scholarship in classical archaeology from the rituals studies discourse and the *Ritualdynamik* School are very limited.[25] As far as influences from the cultural perspective can be detected in the religious studies tradition, they have to be attributed to a more general influence of the cultural perspective in classical archaeology. The cultural perspective influences, for instance, Robin Osborne in his interpretations of rituals which are based on iconographic interpretations of art works.[26] François de Polignac's *Cults, Territory and the Origins of the Greek City-State* is another study which exhibits influences from the cultural perspective turn more generally, and in which the religious sphere has an important bearing for the argument.[27]

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[23] Farnell 1896–1909 and 1912; Moulinier 1952; Cook 1914–1940; Bergquist 1973; Parker 1983. See also below.

[24] Vernant 1990; Detienne 1986; Loraux 1986; Vidal-Naquet 1986; Gould 1985; Fontenrose 1966, 57–60. Finley showed only a limited interest in Greek religion, but see Finley 1985 and 1981.

[25] See also Mylonopoulos and Roeder 2006.

[26] Osborne 1988 and 1989. See also Morris 1993, 27–32.

[27] De Polignac 1995.

Put briefly, also the religious studies tradition in classical archaeology can be associated with the wider conceptual framework. Traditions in the religious studies have a close correspondence with the archaeological tradition. The ritualist perspective mirrors the evolutionary perspective and the psychological perspective the archaeological culture-historical perspective. It is noteworthy that the conceptual importance of religion has diminished considerably during the 20th century and in both the social and cultural perspectives religion is no longer considered as a determining, more authentic realm of the ancient civilizations.

Approaching Votives

The analytical categorization of theoretical perspectives and research traditions observed so far should be regarded as a heuristic construct aiming to outline a discursive landscape. In reality, it can be virtually impossible to categorize a publication, or the work of a scholar, as adhering to a specific theoretical perspective. It is not my intention to use this framework only in order to pigeonhole scholarly work. Categories of evidence, topics, and methods are relevant for scholars in more than one tradition and/or theoretical perspective. Accordingly, in an elaboration delimited by a category of finds we should expect to encounter several perspectives and traditions. Furthermore, scholars can adhere to a perspective in various ways. Both the perspectives and the traditions are analytical ideal types. In the following, I will elaborate on how votives have been conceptualized. This will serve as an assessment of the conceptual framework.

Votives are, of course, found in archaeological excavations and accordingly published as part of the excavations. However, votives are seldom presented as an analytical category of their own. In the publications of the large archaeological excavations, such as Olympia, Delphi, Delos, Athenian Agora, Corinth, the categorization and publication of votives is primarily based on archaeological concerns. In these publications a category of finds, such as terracotta figurines or metal figurines, is separated and treated as one entity.[28] These categories are often associated with a building, deposit or other relevant archaeological entities. The chronology of the finds is also a primary concern. The critique which claims that classical archaeology presents finds as unique, aesthetic objects in an isolated manner comes of course to mind here. Consequently, traditional classical archaeology obstructs other kinds of non-archaeological contextualizations.[29] However, on the positive side we have to recognize that the practices of traditional classical archaeology facilitates the identification of votives, not the least because of the tendency to focus on large public sanctuaries whose religious character is determined already from the start of the investigation.[30] In other words, as such, the organization of the publications

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[28] This can be observed in the publications of the Athenian Agora in *Athenian Agora* (Princeton 1953–), Olympia in *Bericht* über *die Ausgrabungen in Olympia* (Berlin 1937–) and *Olympische Forschungen* (Berlin 1941–), Delphi in *Fouilles de Delphes* (Paris 1902–), and Corinth in *Corinth. Results of Excavations Conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* (Cambridge Mass. 1929–). This is also evident in smaller excavation reports emulating the tradition of large excavations, such as in Boardman 1967.

[29] To the standard publications Dyson 1993 and Morris 1994, we can also add Stissi 2003 who laments over the constraints of traditional archaeological publications. The context-less pottery presented in them is an obstacle for religious contextualizations of pottery found in Greek sanctuaries according to Stissi 2003.

[30] Osborne 2004, 3–4.

of these perpetual archaeological excavations is important – but also problematic. The taxonomic principles facilitate a comprehensive understanding of one specific part of the site. However, it is the archaeological concerns that dictate the publications and religious dimensions, beyond the identification of a sanctuary or cult or the like, are of secondary importance. This is yet another confirmation of the naïve empiristic foundation of classical archaeology in the traditional perspective. From a theoretical point of view, it is also interesting to note that issues of the psychological perspective in the religious studies tradition, that we might expect to find here, are absent in these publications. Here, the religious connotations of the votives remain absent.

Analytically, a considerable amount of publications in classical archaeology resembles excavation publications. Votives from a place or a period, cult or cults, region or regions, are singled out and studied. A subset of studies within this category is studies with an iconographic and art historical concern which explore stylistic issues of votives with aesthetic dimensions.[31] These publications have generally little to say about religious beliefs. The psychological perspective is absent here too. These studies are propelled foremost by archaeological concerns in the traditional perspective. I may be generalizing, but it is my impression that this category of publications still constitutes the bulk of publications addressing votives in classical archaeology.[32] A different type of studies confines their analytical topic to a cult, a type of cults, the worship of a deity, or a similar topic. These studies focus on religious issues, and the votives are interesting because they constitute a fundamental part of the religious practices. These studies articulate the psychological perspective since they contextualize votives within the religious realm, but they neglect to integrate religion within the society as a whole.[33]

The social perspective has also left its mark on votive studies. In this perspective, votives are analyzed in order to facilitate an understanding of wider social and economic developments and processes. Methodologically, quantitative methods and statistical analyses feature prominently in studies following the social viewpoint. Snodgrass's elaborations that considered dedications and rituals as an integrated part of the economic and social development of Archaic Greece are illustrative examples of the social perspective.[34] Similarly, Stephen Hodkinson's investigation of the bronze dedications at Spartan sanctuaries is based on the methods of statistical quantification. The votives have economic connotations integral to the social history of Sparta.[35] Tullia Linders articulates a concern for the hard material conditions of life in her studies on the economic aspects of Greek cults and sanctuaries.[36] Colin Renfrew's development of the middle range theory of archaeology of cult resonates with the intense concern for methodology in the social perspective.[37] In these studies, the votives function as one of many categories of evidence in

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[31] E.g. Stieber 2004; Keesling 2003. Robertson 1985 elaborates on the fact that many of the objects that we consider as artworks actually were religious objects to the Greeks.
[32] Brumfield 1997, Anderson-Stojanovic 2002, Voyatzis 2002 and Scholl 2006 are only a few examples from a very long list.
[33] E.g. Farnell 1912; Rouse 1902; Bergquist 1973. See also n. 23 above.
[34] Snodgrass 1991. See also Snodgrass 1971, 394–401. Other examples are of course Snodgrass's students, e.g. Whitley 1988 and Morris 1988 and their elaborations on hero cult.
[35] Hodkinson 1998.
[36] E.g. Linders 1972 and 1988.
[37] Renfrew 1985, 11–26.

elaborations which do not primarily have religious concerns. It is impossible to categorize these studies either as religious or archaeological. It is more appropriate to regard them as articulating aspects of several research traditions. A general problem of functionalistic approaches to religious issues is their inability to accommodate for non-functional dimensions. Ian Hodder addressed processual, functionalistic archaeologists with the remark that archaeologists tend to designate objects and contexts that are non-functional or not understood as religious.[38] In other words, religion is a conceptual anomaly in the social perspective. The conceptualization of religion as an integrated domain in a social system does not conceal the want of conceptual tools to address religious dimensions of votives, such as what kind of beliefs ritual practices they articulate.

In the cultural perspective scholars turned their attention towards aspects such as ideologies, beliefs, mentalities, questions of identities (gender, ethnicity, etc.), and begun to adopt an interpretative approach. Votives, rituals, and religious practices received a renewed attention. Potentially, the concerns of the cultural perspective would ensure a way around the shortcomings of the social perspective. The concerns of the cultural perspective are exhibited in, for instance, Richard Neer's interpretation of the Siphnian treasury at Delphi which incorporates votives in an argument that regards the treasuries at Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries as articulations of negotiations of power between different ideologies.[39] In the cultural perspective, religious and ritual studies had a considerable impact. However, although there is some awareness of both the ritual studies discourse and the *Ritualdynamik* school in, for instance, the work of Joannis Mylonopoulos, the effect of these perspectives on studies of votives in classical archaeology is negligible.[40] This illustrates that the different research traditions in classical archaeology are not always directly influenced by the conceptual and theoretical developments in their main discipline. The cultural perspective has primarily reached the religious studies tradition in classical archaeology indirectly through the core discipline.

Conclusions

In this article, I have presented a conceptual framework for classical archaeology. According to it, classical archaeology is a discipline without a theoretical and methodological center. In contrast, classical archaeology is characterized by the co-existence of strong research traditions. This framework provides us with a nuanced image of classical archaeology and has heuristic value since it facilitates an understanding of the internal conceptual divides. These divides have had a significant impact on the development of classical archaeology and the traditions. For instance, whereas we can identify sensitivity towards conceptual trends in the archaeological tradition, we can also more generally detect reluctance towards such trends in classical archaeology including the religious studies tradition. I do not argue that classical archaeologists are found at the theoretical forefront or have a strong theoretical impact on other disciplines, but rather

[38] Hodder 1992, 213–240. Also Osborne 2004, 1–3 who elaborates on processual archaeology's problematic relation to votives. See also Evans-Pritchard's comment mentioned above, n. 13.
[39] Neer 2003, esp. 133. See also above n. 26.
[40] E.g. Mylonopoulos 2006; similarly Kyriakidis 2007.

that it is in the archaeological tradition that we can detect the strongest influences from contemporary intellectual currents. Neither do I argue that other research traditions are completely oblivious to intellectual currents. The social perspective has, for instance, had a strong impact on the religious studies tradition. It is also noteworthy that the cultural perspective in the religious studies tradition is not adopted due to the development in religious studies, but is rather an influence from other research traditions in classical archaeology. This may serve as a reminder that however strong the research traditions might appear to be, they are nevertheless firmly anchored in classical archaeology.

Department of Archaeology and Ancient History
Uppsala University

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Depositing Cult – Considerations on What Makes a Cult Deposit

Petra Pakkanen

Abstract

This article presents a discussion on the nature and definition of archaeological deposits related to cult activity. The issue is approached from a three-fold perspective by 1) considering archaeological understanding of ritual, cult and religion; 2) considering the definition of an archaeological 'deposit' in relation to material evidence of cult and ritual; and 3) reconsidering these two through examples of depositing ritual waste and refuse. For the last part, which is an attempt to provide a wider material basis for the preceding discussion, examples from ancient Greek material, especially from the sanctuary at Kalaureia on Poros are compared with the material evidence from the sites of ancient native Americans in the Andes, the Basin of Mexico and in Blue Creek, Belize. The material is discussed firstly within the framework of cultural understanding of refuse and waste, and secondly within the so-called 'refuse archaeology', or 'garbology'. It is proposed that the idea of intentionality of an act of depositing objects and artefacts ritually should be seen as a factor which can direct us to identifying cult deposits. Furthermore, we should generally take into consideration larger ideological factors and aspects of a belief system of a given society when we study cult deposits since the only way to finding out possible ritual acts on the basis of studying deposits is to look beyond the mere functional forms of the deposited artefacts to ritual patterns in the society and to observe possible changing functions of artefacts as well as to pay attention to the manner of their final discard.

Introduction: the Problem

When we consider the problem of what makes a cult deposit two main issues confront us: terminology and interpretation. The first one can be solved relatively easily by means of semantic and technical definitions aimed at functional descriptions relating to certain contexts under discussion. The second one, the interpretative problem is more difficult. It relates both to the archaeological discourse and to the larger field of mapping meanings and uses of the terms 'cult', 'ritual' and, in the end, 'religion' in anthropology and within the field of religious studies. Archaeological material evidence provokes similar questions: how to define ritual and cult, how can they be differentiated from secular activities, can ritual be profane, should it be regarded as different from ritualisation, is it inevitable that archaeologists implicitly define ritual and non-ritual practices as mutually exclusive? In this paper my intention is to take a relatively straightforward path through these 'big questions' via three approaches: 1) considering archaeological understanding of ritual, cult and religion; 2) considering the definition of an archaeological deposit in relation to material evidence of cult and ritual; and 3) reconsidering these two through examples of depositing ritual waste and refuse. I will argue that for better understanding deposits related to ritual practice the relationship between ritual, cult and religion should

be elaborated, and when interpreting these types of deposits larger ideological factors and aspects of past belief system should be taken into consideration. This is exemplified by having a look at culturally and religiously determined ways of conceptualising waste and refuse.

The imposition of the dichotomy between the religious (cultic and ritualistic) and the secular activities has resulted in particular interpretative difficulties for archaeologists. C. Renfrew listed the criteria for cult and as a result his work has become a kind of tool kit for defining cult or ritual particularly in Greek archaeology.[1] This approach starts from a postulate that as far as we have minima criteria of cult or ritual, we can also excavate and identify it archaeologically. Within archaeology there have been, however, differing, even contrasting, opinions which have pinpointed the futility of this approach. J. Brück (1999) and R. Bradley (2003), for example, proposed that instead of defining archaeological correlates for ritual, an archaeologist should explore how past conceptions of effective action may have completely differed from those enshrined in modern rationalist thought. This implies, naturally (an anthropological) questioning of our premises for rationality and directs archaeological focus from functionalist interests to a historiography of interpretations of the material culture. It seems, however, that both of these approaches and all in between are nevertheless fundamentally based on the same problem: what is our understanding of ritual? Archaeological conception of ritual has been criticised and its inappropriateness has been recognised,[2] but not solved so far. That is why it is worthwhile to elaborate a bit further, firstly, the distinction between ritual and cult, and, secondly, between cult and religion.

Ritual – Cult – Religion

Literature about ritual is vast; the most recent (2006–2007) two-volume presentation of the state of the study on the theory of ritual in anthropology and religious studies alone consists of 1,350 pages.[3] Different approaches in this respect can be differentiated, for example more theoretically oriented ones employed, amongst others, by the so-called *Ritualdynamik* studies[4] and the ones leaning traditionally towards cultural-historical understanding of ritual.[5] Bringing anthropological and archaeological discussion

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[1] Renfrew 1985, 18–20; Renfrew 1994, 51–52 and 2007, 114–119. Renfrew sustains that belief (in supernatural) is elementary and universal to religion (pp. 47–48). For him ritual consists of 'repeated actions of a symbolic nature which are directed towards non-terrestrial and therefore transcendental forces' (1994, 52). For difficulties in applying his criteria, particularly in the study of material related to other than Aegean (Bronze Age) archaeological record, see Biehl and Bertemes 2001, 13, and Darcque and van de Moortel 2009, 31–32 who criticise Renfrew's failure to make a distinction between ritual and cult; for more recent attempts to define contextual criteria for identifying cultic activity, see Barrowclough 2007 and Insoll 2007, 1–9.

[2] Esp. Bradley 2003, 5ff. who ascertains that the term ritual, along with some other problematic words frequently used in archaeology, has gained its ascendancy over the ideas it imparts; see also Insoll 2004a, 15–17; 2007, 3–4; Fogelin 2007, 58–59 and Kyriakidis 2007a, 290–294.

[3] Kreinath et al. 2006 and 2007.

[4] The *Ritualdynamik* programme is based in Heidelberg since 2002 and is entitled 'Socio-Cultural Processes from a Historical and Culturally Comparative Perspective'. It is a large interdisciplinary research association exclusively investigating rituals as well as their change and dynamics in terms of the cross-cultural construction of theories. See http://www.ritualdynamik.de and Harth and Schenk 2004; also Mylonopoulos and Roeder 2006, 12–13.

[5] See e.g. Belliger and Krieger 1998; Mylonopoulos and Roeder 2006.

concerning ritual closer to each other has recently been (re-)attempted;[6] for example, a 2007 volume *The Archaeology of Ritual*[7] and a 2009 volume *Archaeologies of Cult*[8] present papers equally from both disciplines, but the synthesis still remains rather non-explicit.[9] In the 2007 volume C. Bell, whose anthropological study *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practise* (1992) has been very influential among archaeologists, acknowledges the scarcity of attention the anthropologists have paid to archaeology's contribution to understanding ancient ritual, but she nevertheless states rather bluntly: 'We are never going to agree on a definition of ritual.'[10] What she means is that a single definition of ritual may rather be a restrictive factor in discussing it, whereas leaving the matter undefined may generate more fruitful insights to it: 'We do not want to (define a ritual), nor will doing so solve the problems we face.'[11] Have we, then, moved anywhere from the position which was summarised by E. Leach in his 'play of skittles', a paper commenting on the conference proceeding *Archaeology and Anthropology. Areas of Mutual interest* held in 1976: 'Even those who, in courtesy to their hosts, have paid lip service to the enterprise of "breaking down the parochial boundaries that often set up" between the two disciplines rather quickly get lost in the desert.'[12] Recently L. Fogelin (2007) elaborated the reasons for the dichotomy the archaeologists have created between religion and ritual, belief and action – the dichotomy which exemplifies the differences in the points of views that the anthropologists and the archaeologists have employed when studying ritual and religion. Anthropologists have theorised widely about ritual, regarding it variously as a form of communication of distinct meanings and symbols,[13] a performance,[14] a codified set of actions,[15] a force of establishing forms of heritage and social identity,[16] employing cognitive resources similar to what is employed in representations of ordinary actions,[17] or they have drawn a distinction between ritual and ritualisation.[18] Their basis differs, however, from that of archaeologists since they are observing rituals which have

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[6] An early condemning view on the possibility of finding a common ground for the two discourses was powerfully expressed by E. Leach (1977).
[7] Edited by E. Kyriakidis (2007a).
[8] Edited by A.L. d'Agata and A. van de Moortel. The volume brings together discussions on the nature, definition and different contexts for cult in the Bronze and Early Iron Age Crete.
[9] Cf. the volume *Archaeology and World Religion* (2007) edited by T. Insoll who rightly observes that archaeological approaches to religion have been piecemeal, and with few exceptions the components of religion have been only little considered in terms of archaeological approaches that might be employed to further the archaeological study of religion in general and its theoretical study in particular (pp. 3–4 with references to recent literature). It should be noted, however, that after the writing of this article, literature on the topic has been published on interpretative questions related to cult and ritual, and the definition of the central terms has naturally been one of the key issues. See especially d'Agata 2009, esp. 1.
[10] Bell 2007, 283.
[11] Bell 2007, 283.
[12] Leach 1977, 161.
[13] Esp. Leach 1976.
[14] E.g. Lewis 1980.
[15] See e.g. Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994.
[16] This line of theorising about ritual goes back to É. Durkheim's sociology of religion. For the phenomenon in modern and early modern contexts, see e.g. Clart 2007, 213–214; Strathern and Stewart 2007, 263.
[17] Cognitive approach to religious rituals is represented particularly by E.T. Lawson and McCauley (1990), P. Boyer (1994) and I. Pyysiäinen (2001).
[18] Particularly Bell 1992. Her theory has been very influential in archaeological interpretation of ritual (e.g. Bradley 2003).

a more or less clear connection to a 'script', i.e. the explanatory structure of a myth with which ritual is seen to have a close interrelated connection; the 'script' alone, it is argued, can give us an insight into what sustains belief.[19] On the contrary, when we are trying to understand ritual activity solely on the basis of archaeological material, we move within a skeleton or frame of performed past actions. The frame – our material evidence remaining at our disposal – naturally does not exhibit *per se* the other pole of the 'mythico-ritual' complex, namely the 'script' of belief or ideology.[20] This fact considerably reduces the possibilities of our interpretative task if it was to be compared with the exercises anthropologists have engaged themselves with for decades: decoding a system of meanings embodied in the symbols which make up the 'religion proper'.[21] Yet we should not fall into using incongruous or non-contextual written documents as proof of cultic nature of later or 'text-free' activities observable in material remains.[22] There is hope, however: archaeologists can learn about themselves and their practices, about the tradition of asking specific questions and finding answers to them by employing certain methodologies by observing themselves through the other, different questions which are posed in studying the same phenomena, a human being in his/her society. This is the only way to mutually see a 'constructive difference' between the disciplines.

What is, then, the relation between ritual and cult? It has been noted that rituals may be 'externalised' actions and, therefore, irrelevant to the whole set of meanings and ideas that the system of a certain religion includes and tends to communicate.[23] Thus, cult and religion are systems of which rituals form a part, but, importantly, meanings and indeed the significance of meanings given to them may vary and change over time. Rituals themselves can be regarded as elements that create, construct and modify religious beliefs.[24] Taking this view, the meaning of a ritual may be secondary for celebrants: it is the action which counts.[25] It has been noted that what makes an action ritual is its repetitiveness, formality, fixity, implicit symbolism and public attention that distinguishes it from the profane forms of actions.[26]

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[19] See e.g. Lewis 1980, 16–17; Fogelin 2007, 56.

[20] Cf., however, Insoll 2007, 9–10 advocating an acknowledgement of the element of numinous as a starting point also in the archaeological study of religion.

[21] Particularly (and influentially) C. Geertz stressed the aspect of symbolism in religion and regarded ritual as essentially symbolic behaviour. He was one of the last scholars of religion who aimed at formulating a universal (i.e. anthropological) definition of religion in his acclaimed 'Religion as a cultural system', originally published in 1966, reprinted in Geertz 1973, 125 (for his definition of religion, see p. 90). For critical evaluation, see esp. Asad 1993, 29–53. It is also noteworthy that the task of the so-called phenomenologists of religion, as presented particularly by M. Eliade and P. Ricoeur, is similar; in the words of Eliade 1977, viii: 'The materials at the disposal of the religious historian present a series of 'messages' awaiting decoding and comprehension.' See also Allen 1978, 159–160.

[22] See e.g. Papadopoulos 1999, 383–386 who strongly criticises the still common practice of privileging written documents over material evidence in Aegean prehistory and Classical archaeology by using them as direct historic analogues with material evidence; also Kyriakidis 2007b, 3.

[23] Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994, 64–65; 2007, 256–257.

[24] Fogelin 2007, 58.

[25] Price 1999, 3 rightly notes this in connection with ancient Greek religion, too: 'Practice not belief is the key, and to start from questions about faith or personal piety is to impose alien values on ancient Greece.'

[26] Cf. Lewis 1980, 7, 17. *The Archaeology of Ritual* (2007) discusses the matter of definition of ritual particularly from the point of view of archaeology. Formulating definitions of religion within cultural studies has fallen out of fashion since C. Geertz's definition of religion (see above n. 21). New attempts have, however, been made recently; for example, T.A. Tweed (2006, 54) gives a definition of religion which draws on aquatic and spatial tropes and is of some interest with regard to interpreting material evidence related to cult and religious practices.

Naturally, any of these characteristics could be applied to profane actions, and this is one of the main problems in discussions of ritual and its role in religion. Cult is like a long necklace made out of separate beads, rituals and rites. Adopting more anthropological language M. Fortes described ritual as 'the executive arm of magico-religious systems.'[27] Rites or rituals may be separated from the whole they are part of and carried out in a different context as singular occurrences. In such cases, however, they are no longer part of a regulated cycle of cultic life. Over time additional rites and rituals may become added to the whole, others forgotten. In a certain way we are deconstructing cult into its components, rites and rituals, and when as much information as possible is obtained about separate rituals, which may seem to have occurred as singular events, an analogical feature or similarity may start appearing among them. This, in turn, forms a unifying principle which may lead us to regard these rituals with uniformity, not as anomalies, and a picture of 'a cult' emerges. Nevertheless, past cultic life was dynamic regardless of the certain conservative nature of all ritualised activities: they are generally prone to slower and 'lazier' change than secular activities.[28] The scholarly community, particularly within archaeology studying cult practice ('archaeology of cult'), has often been willing to pay more attention to entire 'necklaces' than to separate 'beads' because it is more tempting to try to fit even enigmatic or anomalous features into the larger picture of already known cultic activities. Thus, C. Geertz's 'religion proper' easily achieves dominance over its separate components (rituals), even though paying attention to these rituals may pave us a way to even seeing totally new types of 'cults'. We should first try to see the trees for the forest, not the whole forest at once. In this view a ritual is an element of a wider whole, and its archaeological recovery is a reflection of this whole, i.e. religion, and concentration on ritual alone should not be a means to an end in itself: no ritual stands by itself, it sits inside the 'thick' context of religion.[29] This is a question of the primary importance of context, and this point has been recently underlined also in theoretical approaches to religion (and to the sacred): within the history and archaeology of religion one should not approach the issue of sacrality from the top down, from a theological or metaphysical standpoint, but instead by first delineating socio-cultural and cognitive structures of religious conceptualisation that lay the foundation for sacred-making behaviour in specific social contexts.[30] It is worth remembering that as concepts 'cult' and 'religion' are more ideologically loaded than a mere 'ritual'; they are regarded to reflect larger conceptual frameworks, and thus are more firmly embedded in the totality of culture. They are more holistic concepts. Naturally ritual is more concerned with action in relation to material objects.[31] Therefore, archaeology's focus on ritual over religion

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[27] Fortes 1966, 411.

[28] See e.g. Fogelin 2007, 57–58 who points out the danger of seeing religion as one of the most long-lasting and stable phenomena and the implied reasoning for using often historically incongruous ethnographic and historical accounts to explain ancient ritual. He regards, however (pp. 63, 66), the ethno-archaeological approach as advantageous in the explorations of material implications of ritual and ritual symbolism.

[29] Insoll 2004a, 11–12; 2004b, 3.

[30] Anttonen 2005, 187–189; Anttonen 2013, 13–32.

[31] Insoll 2004a, 77–80 regrets the absence of religion in post-processual archaeology and regards that absence more as a reflection of the practitioners of post-processualism themselves rather than any limitations in the evidence they discuss (p.80). See also Kyriakidis 2007a, 298; cf. Renfrew 2007, 109–110 about the notion of the link between 'archaeology of religion' and 'cognitive archaeology' and Fogelin 2007 who elaborates on the dichotomy the archaeologists have created when considering ritual as separate from religion and considers the relationship between ritual, belief and action.

is understandable: we have to employ caution in construing a complete picture of, say, prehistoric religion with panoplies of organised systems of beliefs and structured social institutions to support and keep them up[32] (these would inevitable reflect analogies from either our contemporary contexts or from better known historical ones). In archaeological discussion we should nevertheless retain the special character of cultic and ritual, but approach the definition-problem in a more detached way from anthropologically based ideas of ritual because in archaeology we often are dealing within 'text-free zones', whereas in anthropology the 'script' is of primary interpretative importance. How can we, then, talk about 'cult deposits' as this concept includes both an ideological and a technical dimension in archaeological vocabulary?

Ritual Deposits in the Archaeology of Cult

An archaeologist working on the archaeology of cult or a sanctuary context should be aware of the tradition that postulates our (archaeological) understanding of cult and ritual. The expectation about the nature of religion at a certain site is influenced by this framework; it is an initial set of definitions, a kind of prototypal core of the conception of religion within the scholarly community. Therefore, it reflects the prototypes which scholars regard should be being included in 'religion', of what it necessarily must entail.[33] Moreover, the context in which he or she works, the sanctuary setting, may affect both the questions asked of the material and the answers we are predisposed to regard reasonable and relevant.[34] This includes our ideas about cult deposits. Therefore, it is reasonable to start an investigation of cult in the archaeological record by paying attention to small units, separate parts of potentially larger units within entire cult settings, and not to forge separate ritual deposits into an often preconceived idea of ancient past cult as a whole. Drawing a larger picture of the cultic practice at certain site should be left to the last interpretative phase of a study, particularly in the case of large and more complex sites.

Interestingly, ritual itself seems to be in archaeology one of the accepted interpretations for features of the deposit itself.[35] It has been claimed that this is particularly the case with deposits that defy functionalist explanations, and as such they become an analogy for the cult-problem in general: all that is not understood or clearly non-functional (and hence non-symbolic) is ritual or cultic.[36] It has also been noted that particularly after the processual strand in archaeology became less attractive many archaeologists have fallen back on a fundamental dichotomy between utilitarian and non-utilitarian artefacts resulting in conceptualisations of ritual objects primarily as

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[32] Insoll 2004b, 3 and 2007, 2; also Insoll 2004a, 12 noting that ritual is often treated as the description for religion itself in archaeological parlance.

[33] I have called this starting point of conceptualisation a relative *a priori* approach which does not strive for a final definition of religion but examines some commonly shared pre-understanding of the confines of the concept 'past religion'; see Pakkanen 2000–2001, 76–78 with references; also Comstock 1984, 499–517 and Lakoff 1987, 17–21, 312, 327.

[34] Cf. e.g. Trigger 1989, 379.

[35] E.g. Brück 1999, 328–329; the session 'Beyond matalevel explanations of ritual' in the Theoretical Archaeology Group meeting in 2008 was convened by J. Morris and C. Randall.

[36] See e.g. Richards and Thomas 1984, 189; Hodder 1992, 222–223; Renfrew 1994, 52 ('residual nature of the archaeological category "ritual"'); Walker 1998, 249–250; Brück 1999, 313–314; Insoll 2004a, 11; 2004b, 1–2.

symbols, rather than as utensils used in behavioural patterns.[37] We read about deposits such as 'structured', 'special' or 'specialised', 'votive', 'deliberate', 'non-domestic' etc., and these attributes are in themselves quite vague and even paradoxical (for example, 'purposeful deposition': can any deposition, even of waste, be non-purposeful?).[38] The characteristic difference between deposits and mere accumulations of archaeological remains in this regard lies in intentionality of actions which created them. A strong material link between religion and the formation of archaeological deposits has been pointed out, and the co-existence of both non-utilitarian and utilitarian objects in these ritual deposits has been noticed.[39] In fact the development of the concept of 'structured deposition' has taken place in parallel with consideration of ritual and cult in archaeology.[40] This kind of deposition is explained to mean a 'meaningful deposition of articulated and disarticulated animal remains, human remains, and other deposits (e.g. pottery)'.[41] Another feature assigned to the 'structured deposit' is careful sampling and placing of certain types of artefacts to be deposited according to a number of conventions suggesting a certain degree of formality.[42] Formality itself provides grounds for associating such depositions with ritual, formality usually being regarded as one of the main components, perhaps the most important criteria for ritual in general.[43] For an archaeologist repetition of such formal or formalised acts is also important since repetition increases the likelihood that the material evidence linked with these actions can be discovered.[44] Archaeologists tend to emphasise similarities at the expense of differences. Analysing the ritual element in the context of a later Neolithic henge monument in Wessex, England, C. Richards and J. Thomas went as far as maintaining that since ritual activities involve highly formalised, repetitive behaviour, they may be detected archaeologically through the observation of highly *structured* mode of deposition.[45] This may go, however, also in the opposite direction and indeed form an interpretative pitfall: we recognise rituals which are highly patterned and this brings about a view of patterning in the archaeological record which excludes observations of possible exceptions and which could still be regarded as part of ritual activity. Thus, expecting a ritual to be an exclusively highly patterned and repetitive activity we easily fail to recognise an exceptional ritual activity which could even have been a singular occurrence in the past. It is noteworthy that behind the formality, which is often regarded as a characteristic of ritual activity, lies intentionality. Therefore, the result of mere accumulation cannot be regarded as a deposit.

The notion of a 'structured' or 'special' deposition and its almost automatic connection with 'cultic' is a result of focusing on special contexts in which, broadly

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[37] Walker 1998, 249.
[38] It could be noted here that the concept of a 'sealed deposit' is commonly used in archaeology for an undisturbed deposit completely separate from any possible intrusion. For example, a buried vessel containing coins, or a stratum completely sealed by an impervious upper level, such as a concrete floor, is defined as a sealed deposit. See e.g. Biers 1992, 20.
[39] Walker 1998, 259.
[40] Bradley 2003, 8.
[41] Insoll 2004a, 73.
[42] Bradley 2003, 8.
[43] In anthropological theory the formality of ritual and its central nature as a performance was influentially underlined especially by R. Rappaport who also viewed ritual as not necessarily a religious activity (e.g. 1999, esp. 24, 46–50).
[44] Marcus 2007, 46.
[45] Richards and Thomas 1984, 189, 215 (italics mine).

speaking, purely secular activities seem to be lacking. Naturally, this view of a ritual or cultic deposit is based on the strict demarcation between sacred and profane, and can as such be criticised.[46] Interestingly, even though far-fetched interpretations as sacred or ritual of anything which does not fall within the confines of 'ordinary' or 'domestic' have recently been rejected in archaeological debate. It has also been proposed that the strict demarcation between the sacred and profane should be abandoned because it reflects our western idea of religious and ritual being in opposition to every-day, profane, functional and as such beyond 'normal'.[47] The argumentation builds on the view that a ritual does not necessarily contain deeply-held or widely-shared beliefs but actions of a specialised kind rather than propositions about the world.[48] But at the same time this argumentation is circular and, in the end, turns against itself: everything cannot be accepted as ritual, but at the same time we should be ready to regard everything as ritual. Controversy is implicit whilst we continue to define the terms ritual and cult vaguely and interchangeably. Profane actions certainly can have ritualistic or ritualised characteristics (regularised formal acts, like communal feasting), but when we discuss cult, we become necessarily involved with components of ideology and belief (the 'script' in the large sense). I will illustrate this by presenting examples which introduce a dilemma of differentiation between the intentional (ritual) deposition and depositing waste or rubbish even if it was refuse from ritual actions. I begin from the ancient Greek context and after a detour of comparative examples return back 'home'.

Depositions of Ritual Waste: Cult Deposits or Not?

All my examples here ask a question about the difference between waste deposition and ritual deposition. As much as ritual, waste is a culture-specific concept, and cross-culturally attitudes to refuse and waste are extremely variable, but they still play an important role. M. Douglas (1966) famously paid attention to the significant role of pollution in framing social structures and boundaries due to their inner danger. In her assertion, pollution and filth are uncleanliness, dirt, and dirt is something, anything, which is out of place and a disturbance or a threat to the proper order of things. Therefore, behind dirt and pollution must lie a presumption of order: dirt is the reverse of the same coin and they are both related to questions of power – dirt is itself the by-product of systematic ordering and classification of matter.[49] Waste as residue even from ritual acts is inevitable; hence, for example, animal bones and ashes in primary sanctuary depositions are common. The impact of behaviour involving discard and abandonment has been emphasised as an important factor in the formation of archaeological deposits in general, and if cultural and social meanings of waste are considered in addition to archaeological classification of deposited objects, we may get closer to understanding certain types of ritual activities. Residues of ritual activities were pushed aside, recycled, thrown into wells and pits, purposefully destroyed or dutifully cleared away,[50] and in such cases the items naturally

[46] Cf. Brück 1999, 328–335; Insoll 2004a, 73–74.
[47] Especially Brück 1999; Bradley 2003; Insoll 2004a; 2004b; also Richards and Thomas 1984, 189–190.
[48] E.g. Bradley 2003, 12; Bell 1992; Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994; cf. Kyriakidis 2007b, 15–16.
[49] Douglas 1966 (1984), esp. 36–37.
[50] Kyriakidis 2007b, 20.

do not originate at the spot where they were discovered and where the rituals in which they were used took place. Why were they cleared away and 'secondarily deposited'? What distinguishes refuse from secondary depositions in archaeological terminology? What is the distinction between ritual and common, domestic trash? There could have been complex religious ideas and beliefs behind depositing residue or waste from ritual acts. We have examples of figurines having been discarded in pits intentionally dug for this purpose within the confines of a sanctuary after they had fulfilled their purpose.[51] Votive objects, particularly those which accumulated in excess at the sanctuaries, were often thrown into wells and springs as filling.[52] If archaeologically recovered objects were studied from the point of view of the 'life history of objects', final discarding of them, ritually or non-ritually, marks one point in their potentially multi-functional life span. This means that domestic, non-ritual objects may have gained ritual function, for example, only in the end of their object-life if they were ritually discarded and deposited away. Or, the objects with a high probability of having had ritual functions may have ended up having purely profane functions at the end of their use-life as recycled items: for example, two animal figurines from Mycenae were sharpened to be re-used as stoppers for vessels.[53] Acknowledging potentially multiple changes in functions of objects can be called a relational understanding of object function which indicates that functions of objects are ultimately relational properties defined by their interaction with other objects.[54]

We know of Greek rituals whose meaning was to purify polluted space in one way or another, to restore its sanctity by ritual repair. The blood of piglets in particular was used for this purpose, not only in sacred enclosures but also in public spaces such as in meetings of *bouleitai* in the *Bouleteria*, before dramatic performances, in households etc.[55] After the ritual the used carcasses (*katharmata/katharsia*[56]) were regarded as irredeemably polluted; they therefore had to be thrown outside the boundaries of the city into no-man's land between the boundaries of the *polis*, or into triangular spaces at *triodoi*, crossroads, to cisterns or to the sea. *Katharsia* seem to have included *oksythymia*, polluted remains of household purification rituals, which, therefore, were similar in essence and had also to be deposited in liminal places.[57] The Hippocratic writer, in the passage *On the Sacred Disease* from the early fourth century wrote about *katharmata* (used in healing

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[51] For example, at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth; see Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 159, 211, 380.
[52] See e.g. Kyrieleis 1993, 145–149 and Pedley 2005, 164–165 for Heraion at Samos; Sinn 1993, 96 for Olympia.
[53] Tzonou-Herbst 2009, 169.
[54] Walker 1998, 252, 254–255. Brysbaert 2011 develops and adds to the concept of the *chaîne opératoire* first deveped by the French anthropologist Leroi-Gourhan (1943) for understanding and interpreting acts of discard, abandonment, reclamation and refuse of material objects. She pays special attention to the cyclic nature of the life-cycle of materiality and studies the meaning, reuse, recycling, waste and discard of materiality in order to go beyond the linear understanding of *chaînes opératoires*. Brysbaert takes a holistic view which encompasses interpreting past actions, belief systems, politico-social organisation, settlement functions and also ritual behaviour of peoples and places through studying people's rubbish, reuse, recycling and refuse patterns. See also Tzonou-Herbst 2009, 170.
[55] The most common act of purification required cutting of the throat of a new-born piglet and walking around the designated area while letting the blood drip from the carcass. See Apollonius 4.700–709; Cole 2004, 47–48.
[56] Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 280c and 290d mentions purification materials called *katharsia* that were taken to crossroads specifying that dogs are carried out to Hecate with the other *katharsia* (purification refuse) and that puppies were used in cleansing rituals (*periskylakismos*). See also Johnston 1991, 221; Zografou 2005, 197–201, 205 and Pakkanen 2011, 127–128.
[57] Johnston 1991, 220–221.

purifications): 'They bury some of them in the ground, they throw some into the sea, and others they carry off to the mountains where nobody can touch or tread on them.'[58]

The problem here is whether an archaeologist excavating a deposit of possible refuse from, for example, sacrificial meals is dealing with a cult deposit and whether it is possible to identify such a deposition as belonging to a sacred sphere. Generally waste of refuse deposits defy the central idea behind the concept of a ritual deposit: it consists of intentionally laid out components resulting in a deposition which is characterised by formality and special care in spatial patterning, such as the layout, distribution and choice of deposited items or artefacts. In certain cases refuse disposal is clearly not a random act (as we shall see below), but instead depositing for example *katharmata* or *oksythymia*, waste and residue from purification rituals or meals, is intentional. It is also firmly rooted in the cultic framework and also the religious belief system of the Greeks because deposition of *oksythymia* is necessary: it has to be performed in order to maintain the structural equilibrium and continuation of the efficacy of cultic and domestic life as well as to ensure exclusion of presence and effects of *miasma*. Getting rid of such waste ensures the efficacy of any future rituals which in turn enforce the effectiveness of religion and cultic system as a whole. Residues of sacrifices and sacrificial meals such as animal bones, charcoal, cooking pots, often together with broken votives were almost customarily deposited inside the sanctuaries in pits and in cisterns and wells which had gone out of use as sources of drinking water.[59] Potentially, these kinds of deposits could tell us as much about the belief system and ideologies of conceptualising purity through understanding of *miasma* as they tell about separate ritual acts which produced this refuse and waste.[60] Is the deposit, therefore, a cult deposit, a ritual deposit or a waste deposit? It is all of these simultaneously. Revealing archaeologically these kinds of deposits could inform a number of issues such as maintenance of religious and social identities through, for example, recognition of laws concerning pollution, dietary regulations and food taboos and prohibitions, use of animals in sacrificial rituals or feasts, meals and festivals, animal exploitation patterns, the demarcation of space between sacral and profane areas, etc.

It is easy to see that Douglas' signification of pollution as an important factor in framing social structures and boundaries is pointing to the right direction. The archaeological problem here is that identifying a deposition as containing *katharma* and *oksythymia* or other 'sacred waste' is necessarily at least partly guess-work. It does not, however, differ much from other identifications of religious structures, naming functions for cultic or ritual objects in the contexts which lack written evidence to support such interpretations. What is different is that we should be prepared to see also the 'unclean' side of ritual and cultic life: powerful importance of residue and waste also in the forming of religious world-view. The so-called 'refuse archaeology' or 'garbology' itself is a relatively new field in archaeology and it concentrates mainly on studying modern or early modern contexts created by systematic mass disposal of urban waste. The first systematic archaeological-anthropological study of household refuse was set

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[58] *Mobr. Sacr*. 1.99–102; Parker 1983, 229 with references to laws restricting where *katharmata* might be thrown out (*LSCG* 108; *IG* I^3 257 = *LSS* 4); Cole 2004, 48.
[59] E.g. Pedley 2005, 164–166.
[60] For this issue from the point of view of demarcating between sacred and profane activities and between sacralised and profane space, see Pakkanen 2006–2007, 345–346, 350–351, 353–354.

up to determine patterns of urban consumption in the early 1970s.[61] Depositions of waste and refuse from supposed ritual activities have, however, puzzled archaeologists working also with more ancient contexts. For example, at the ancient site of Tiwanaku in the Andes, Akapana East is an extensive residential sector just outside of Tiwanaku's central monumental complex.[62] Excavations there revealed extensive refuse pits and refuse heaps (middens) associated with earlier compounds and structures, and dated to the phase AD 600–800. Numerous deep, amorphous pits perforated the area; they were filled with immense quantities of ash, camelid dung, gigantic numbers of splintered and butchered bones of camelids, guinea pigs, birds, and fish, broken stone tools, macro-botanical food remains including seeds, abundant ash, and thousands of broken ceremonial vessels. In many cases deposition of this refuse seems to have been carried out quickly, as 'major dumping events' which supposedly were parts of 'ritual meals' or major feasts. Refuse was also found as fillings of wells.[63] The vast quantity of this refuse and the nature of its deposition suggested to the excavator that it was non-domestic in nature, a part of ritual activity. Interestingly, in this view the deposition act itself seems to turn into a ritual. Ideologically, at Akapana East, cleanliness was critical to the maintenance of ritual purity. This was reflected also in the household structures, the floors of which were found impeccably clean, free of ash, stains, artefacts, or any other domestic residue. 'In effect, they were sterile,' writes the excavator.[64] Then, the deposits are, in fact, not only dumps of ritual waste, but also material evidence for the ritual activity itself. Cleaning is a part of the ritual whole, particularly when cleanliness has a capacity to be used as an instrument of power and coercion.[65] It becomes a 'cult of depositing', or a 'depositing cult', and *a ritual act itself*.

Another example of the peculiar nature of possible cult deposits is from the Late Aztec culture (after AD 1350) in the Basin of Mexico on the edges of Lake Texcoco and Morelos. In connection with the so-called New Fire Ceremony, a celebration of the cyclical renewal of the world every 52 years, the Aztecs are told to have broken 'all of the jars and pitchers, all of the cooking griddles and vessels they had used'[66] along with ritual items, such as figurines.[67] In trying to archaeologically identify the remains of the Fire Ceremony C.M. Elson and M.E. Smith defined the criteria for these 'cyclical ritual dumps' by comparing them with household middens: relatively unfragmented nature of

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[61] The United States was the first nation to introduce communal landfill sites in the 1880s, and in England this took place firstly in 1912. The first systematic study was called the Tucson Garbage Project under the direction of W. Rathje; for the results, see Rathje and Murphy 2001. Cf. Schmidt 2001, 210–213 who sees 'refuse archaeology' in the works of such persons as, for example H. Schliemann and an analogy of it in the psychoanalysis of S. Freud and Lacan; Schmidt regards R. Virchow's excavation in central Berlin in 1871–72 as the first actual case of refuse archaeology (pp. 213–218). The so-called 'rubbish-theory', on the other hand, has existed as an academic field of study (particularly with anthropological underpinnings) longer than archaeological 'garbology'; see e.g. Thompson 1979. More recently A. Brysbaert 2011 has paid attention to the issue of cyclic nature of the life-cycle of materiality within a wider theoretical perspcective and also within the Aegean Bronze Age contex.

[62] Janusek 2004, 183–184.

[63] Janusek 2004, 194.

[64] Janusek 2004, 191–192.

[65] Cf. Parker Pearson and Richards 1994, 25–26; also Douglas' (1966, 162) notion of the dangers of obsessive purity of not only the physical space but, for example, of racist 'cleanliness'.

[66] Elson and Smith 2001, 158–159 referring to *Codex Tudela.*

[67] Elson and Smith 2001, 159–163.

sherds, dense and unstratified contexts resulting from one-time event (ritual) activities, location of the dumps within the so-called patio-groups, and the type and proportion of items such as basic domestic wares when compared with middens.[68] Their analysis follows the assumption of ritual as a singular occurrence, though repeatable in cyclical (cosmological) intervals, and implies the idea that archaeologically identifiable 'ritual dumps' can only result from one-time ritual events as they are in effect sealed deposits. This echoes the idea of ritual as a formalised act, and if regarded in relation to religion or cult it can also be deduced that archaeologically only ritual can be excavated whereas its relation to cult and religion can only be speculated upon and interpreted with the aid of other material, such as historical and ethnohistorical data. If we were to follow this view *strictu sensu* we could only talk about ritual deposits, and not about cult deposits. I would suggest, however, that if only ritual can be studied based on excavated deposits whereas cult or religion cannot, our interpretative view remains rather restricted. Studying past ritual should nevertheless include wider parameters of the religious world view which push beyond understanding mere ritual acts. Even if ritual and cult cannot be equated, religious beliefs and cultic customs still strongly affect people's ritual behaviour.

My last example to illustrate the problem comes from the same cultural sphere as the previous examples and this time it relates to the so-called Terminal Classic period (AD 830/850–1000) of the Maya Centre of Blue Creek in Belize. S. Clayton and colleagues considered (and reconsidered) the so-called 'problematical deposits' which are related to ritual activity. They define a problematical deposit as an archaeological entity which resembles middens in composition but appears in a ritual context, and is often located at the centre or in the near vicinity of monumental, ceremonial architecture. These deposits are, furthermore, often connected with the ritual behaviour of 'termination rites' which marked the destruction or abandonment of the structures, buildings or whole sites.[69] Destruction rites themselves implied intentional smashing, layering and scattering of vast quantities of especially ceramics, particularly vessels, and as such would have been one-time singular occurrences. The archaeologists studied a deposit which comprised a dense concentration of sherds encountered on a stairway of a pyramid structure at a ceremonial centre. The assemblage contained a vast number of sherds from over 2 000 separate vessels, but no animal bones, and only 17 non-ceramic artefacts.[70] The ceramics vessels had, however, wide-ranging chronological distribution and the vessel fragments were scattered and partial in nature, sherds not generally stemming from reconstructable vessels. Thus, the archaeologists interpreted that this deposit represented ritual behaviour, but it was not created in situ as a single ritual event. Instead, on the basis of the ratio of the sherds from vessels for preparing, serving and consuming food against those for storing it, they suggest that the deposit accumulated from feasting rituals held at the spot (plaza) or in near vicinity.[71] The deposit seemed to be, therefore, a secondary deposit, and 'it appears that *only* this final act of secondary deposition could be assumed to have occurred as a single event.'[72] We can pinpoint some interesting details here: first, the interpretation

[68] Elson and Smith 2001, 159, 168–169.
[69] Clayton et al. 2005, 120, 123–126. For the first elaboration of the termination rituals, see Coe 1959, 94–96, 462.
[70] Clayton et al.2005, 123–124, 127 (Table 2).
[71] Clayton et al. 2005, 124, 126, 128.
[72] Clayton et al. 2005, 128.

of a 'problematical deposit' relates to ritual behaviour, but archaeologically traceable ritual act here could only be a rite which was a singular one-time event. This reveals that ritual is understood here as an act, an event which could, if we were lucky, be connected with 'complex termination activities' or 'ritual components of dedication rites',[73] but hardly with the large ideological scheme of 'religion': 'Interpretation of ritual behavior should not be confused with the reconstruction of aspects of Maya belief system', the archaeologists write.[74] This exemplifies how far archaeological understanding of ritual still is from that of anthropological, and how underlining formality and repetitiveness as an important feature of ritual can be turned into a counter-argument when studying ritual deposits archaeologically. I maintain, again, that studying deposits, ritual deposits or cult deposits, could and should take into consideration larger ideological factors and aspects of the belief system simply because of the close conceptual relationship between ritual and cult; studying ritual would be a rather empty enterprise if its connectedness with cult and religion was totally denied.

It is possible to draw some general remarks about the nature of archaeological deposits related to cultic and ritual activity in light of the above observations. First, when we discuss deposits, we imply intentionality in the act of depositing something; items or objects or remains of acts (like feasting) are removed, relocated, transported and sealed away. They are re-posited. When this act is connected with ritual and cult, it is shaped by an ideology: religious beliefs or ritual customs dictate these depositions as necessary, sometimes compulsory, and make the act of depositing a ritual one. In this sense random, non-ideological acts of cleaning or clearing of space cannot be regarded as depositing something even though these acts may well produce deposit-like structures, like refuse heaps. Slow accumulation of objects is naturally not depositing objects. This has, then, some bearing for archaeological understanding of ritual through deposits: archaeologically recoverable depositions related to ritual are often seen as singular, one-time occurrences. Controversially, archaeologists often acknowledge the anthropological understanding of ritual as something fundamentally involving regularity, formality and patterned repeated behaviour; this is implicit even in definitions of 'structured' deposits. Therefore, archaeological studies of ritual deposits should not refrain from taking into account larger ideological factors and religious world-views which largely dictate the ritual behaviour of people. On the surface this seems quite simple and self-evident. Thus, can only 'structured', 'deliberate', 'purposeful' etc. deposits be regarded as ritual deposits? Did we not note that all acts of depositing waste implies culturally specific beliefs of what is regarded as waste and refuse and what is not? Here we encounter the archaeological dilemma which crystallises when archaeological deposits have to be differentiated from ritual or cult deposits. It seems clear that artefacts themselves in assemblages, and particularly their categorisation indicating possible use-functions (food preparation or consumption, for example), cannot themselves reveal us possible rituals they may have been part of. The reason is that ritual acts are part of social and cultural behaviours and objects are agents in behavioural acts, both ritual and non-ritual. Therefore, the only way to find out possible ritual acts on the basis of studying deposits is to study ritual behaviour of a given society and to infer possible roles of deposited artefacts by looking beyond their mere (functional) form to ritual patterns in the society, to observe possible

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[73] Clayton et al. 2005, 128.
[74] Clayton et al. 2005, 129.

changing functions of artefacts, and to pay attention to the manner of their final discard.[75] Archaeologically recoverable ritual should not necessarily be understood only as a one-time occurrence since at least certain decree of formulaicness is characteristic to ritual. The material record that rituals leave behind is, of course, a result of individual acts which took place once in the past. However, if we are interested in learning about past ritual behaviour through material remains, we have to pay attention to patterns which can only emerge through comparisons and multiplicity.

This multiplicity is present also when an object is or objects are rendered sacred by consecrating them. This can take place in an act of giving or dedicating them at a sacred place to a sacred realm. Dedicated items turn in this process into religious objects; they become consecrated, or, to use another term 'sacralised'. Greek verbs such as ἱερόω, αφιερόω, καθιερόω and ἀνιερόω, 'I render something sacred', can be regarded to mean 'consecrating'.[76] Greek terminology sheds some light to the nuances related to dedicating and sacralising: forms of the words ἀνατίθημι or ἀνάθημα denote dedications, meaning variably 'to set up' or something that has been set up, whereas for sacralising the act of consecrating is rendered by καθιερόω, 'I consecrate', a verb only rarely used in a non-cultic context[77] or by κατατίθημι, 'I deposit', which is also used with no obvious religious associations.[78] Thus, dedications are set *up* for everyone to see on display and they had a communicative, public role, whereas some other items, probably of minor or more personal value, were simply deposited in a sacred place and left there as gifts to the gods. Setting up is here replaced by putting *down*. This difference is, however, very fluid and therefore dedications and votive offerings can be regarded to fall into a same category of sacralised items. The difference is nevertheless interesting from the point of view of archaeology: objects that are recovered archaeologically in sanctuary contexts tend to be more easily those which were deposited, put *down* rather that set up since the latter naturally were prone to get lost in various ways in the course of time and history. This means that our conception of the items categorised as votives, donations etc. from cult deposits and produced in archaeological excavations is rendered firstly by their initial nature as objects laid down (rather than set up) and secondly by the nature of their archaeological recovery.

In the following I will make a trial based on these ideas. It will inevitably be at least partly speculative just because studying archaeological deposits as ritual deposits is an interpretative enterprise due to the reasons outlined above.

So, let's return to ancient Greece and look at *oksythymia* again in order to show the difficulty that an archaeologist encounters when working on cult deposits: the dilemma of imposing information about ritual in ancient Greek literary evidence to interpretations

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[75] See also Brysbaert 2011 particularly with reference to Aegean Bronze Age context.

[76] There are other related verbs as well, for example καθοσιόω. Lambrinoudakis et al. 2005, 303 define consecrating as 'the procedure through which nature, objects, living creatures and the circumstances of human life were integrated into the divine domain by the will of the gods themselves, or by human will and the action approved by god. […] Human will and action accomplished consecration through dedication, by offering and entrusting the item to god.' The writers emphasise the identical nature of dedications and consecrated items: 'There was no substantial difference between consecration and dedication.' For further observations on the terminology and its relation to materiality of the sacred, see Pakkanen forthcoming.

[77] See e.g. Paz de Hoz 1998, 163.

[78] For example in Thucydides 1, 33.1 ('...you shall so place your benefit as to have a testimony of it'), or in Herodotus 6.41.3 where Miltiades' son is brought up to the king. See also Parker 2004, 270.

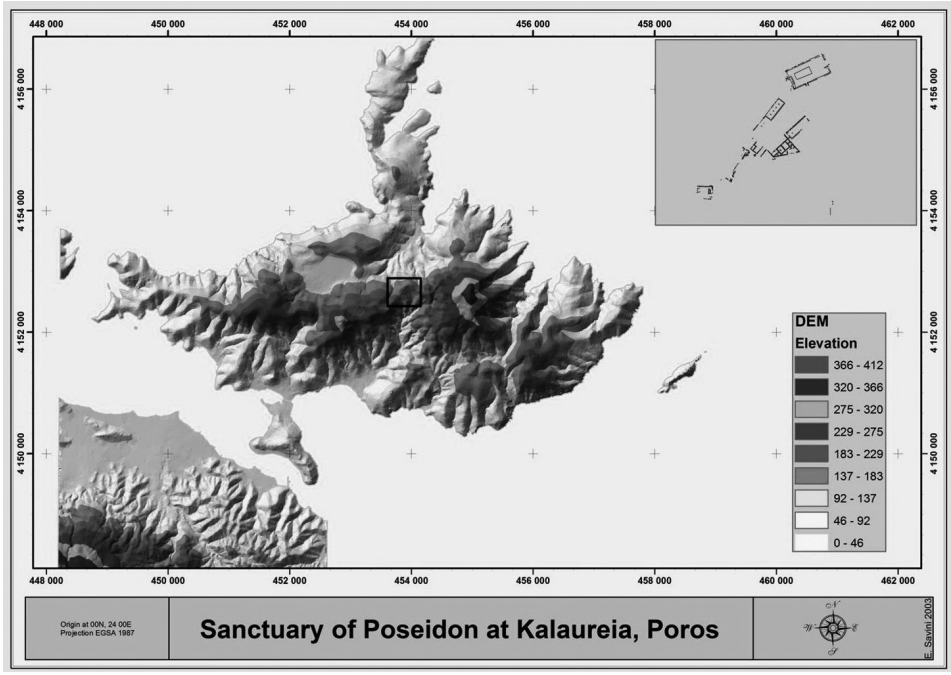

Fig. 3.1: Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia, Poros (Emmanuel Savini). For the figure in colour, see Plate 3.1.

of archaeological units, such like deposits, even within a clear sanctuary setting. The example is from the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia on the island of Poros.

The sanctuary of Poseidon is located on a saddle between the hilltops of Vigla and Profitis Elias, c. 185 m above the sea in the centre of the island of Kalaureia, the larger of the two islands that make up today's Poros (Figure 3.1 and Plate 3.1). The current, ongoing investigation at the sanctuary[79] has yielded material which shows that dining was an important activity here, especially in the Hellenistic period. Between the years 2004–2009 finds which have been defined as depositions, or deposits of the remnants of meals or eating in general have been found.[80] Deposits derive mainly from two locations: first, from the triangular area west of the so-called Building D[81] which is situated on the southern edge of the sanctuary close to its entrance (Figure 3.2), and from cistern(s) situated immediately to the north of the north-west corner of Building D.[82] Archaeologically the deposits are separate features, and the organic material they produced fall into different phases of the Hellenistic period, namely early Hellenistic in

[79] An international team of scholars is currently working at the site and on the island carrying out a long-term investigation funded by the Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond under the auspices of the Swedish Institute at Athens. (The project draw to its end in 2012 i.e. after this article was written.)

[80] For the Hellenistic finds, see Wells et al. 2005, 165–166. Dining as a predominant activity within Building D, however, has also been attested for the Archaic period: Wells et al. 2008, 78.

[81] For a potential cult building this structure is unconventional in form, consisting of a main building on the north side and an open irregular courtyard on the southern side (Wells et al. 2003 and 2005). New extensive excavations of the area have been carried out in 1997–2003. The architecture of the building is currently being studied by Jari Pakkanen. I am grateful for his comments.

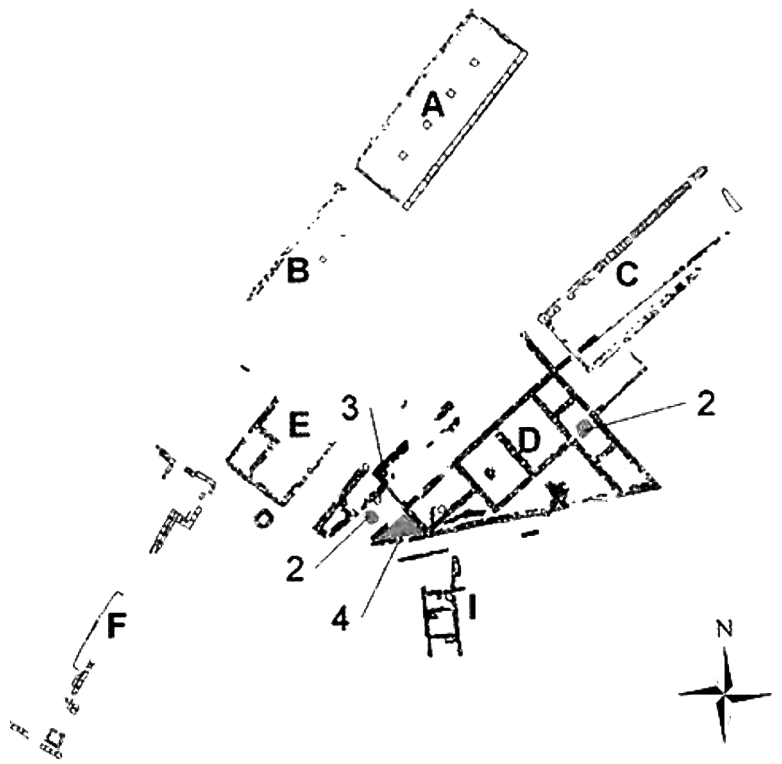

Fig. 3.2.: Plan of the excavated remains at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia (2007).
1: Temple 2: Altar 3: Cistern 4: Dining deposit (Emmanuel Savini).

the case of the 'dining deposit' in the triangular of the Building D, and late Hellenistic in the case of the cistern.[83] I have discussed the finds elsewhere,[84] and therefore will not give here detailed archaeological description of the structures. Instead, I will look at their nature as depositions or deposits and briefly discuss the question of depositing waste in a cultic context. The aforementioned corner of the area produced a deposit containing a very large number of potsherds, bones of a large number of animals including fish, shells of molluscs, and organic materials, such as carbonised seeds and charcoal.[85] Pottery

[82] Wells et al. 2005, 180; Wells et al. 2008, 36–38, 48, 64, 89–89. The finds from the cistern have not yet been published, though see Wells et al. 2008. 90. I am here, as in the case of the 'dining deposit', relying on the information provided to me by Dimitra Mylona concerning the animal finds, and on personal communication with Arto Penttinen and Berit Wells concerning other archaeological features.

[83] Wells et al. 2003, 79–80 (dating of the 'dining deposit') and Wells et al. 2008, 37–38, 41 (Fig. 14) (dating of the 'cistern deposit').

[84] Pakkanen 2006–2007, esp. 347–349, 354–355.

[85] Animal remains discovered and (preliminarily) studied from this assemblage consist of several thousand bones, most of them from medium and large size mammals; there are also more than one and half thousand from fish, a few from birds and about a dozen from small mammals. The deposit also produced several sea-shells. The fish bone assemblage from the 'dining deposit' is particularly rich in variation and species: at least 18 different species of fish, probably more, seem to have been consumed there. See Wells et al. 2008, 45, 88. All the details about animal bone analysis have been kindly provided by Dimitra Mylona who is responsible for their study, analysis and interpretation. I wish express my gratitude to her.

analysis narrowed down the deposition date to c. 165–160 BC,[86] and generally the finds were almost homogeneously of Hellenistic date.[87] Animal remains, including fish bones, and pottery which generally is domestic in character and vessels for drinking, preparing and serving of food outnumber all the other categories, seem to have been buried short time after the consumption of food as a single occurrence. The arguments for this are the homogeneous character and date of the pottery and the exceptionally good state of preservation of the animal bones which do not seem to have remained exposed, either to weathering or to scavengers as one would expect in the case of slow accumulation.[88] On these grounds the archaeologists argue 'that the deposition was thus contained within the triangle formed by the two walls [..and] as the deposition was found to have been made on bedrock, the area had evidently been cleared in preparation for it.'[89] This gives way to interpreting the action which could have produced the deposited dining refuse:

> All remains recovered in the deposit derive from a feast of gargantuan proportions. [...] During this event a number of animals would have been consumed most likely after a sacrifice to the divinities present in the sanctuary. Other foodstuffs, such as fish, would also have been consumed in large quantities. After the feast, all remains of it would have been buried in a spot.[90]

We can observe that a 'deposit' here is an archaeological feature which is regarded as a result of an intentional action and a singular occurrence in contrast to accumulation of objects or refuse. If it contains refuse it is not regarded as a 'structured' deposition. It is connected with sacrifice which presupposes veneration of deities. What remains unanswered is *why* did people feel need to bury or seal away the refuse of their dining or feasting. We may try to answer this after a brief look at the 'cistern deposit'.

The old cistern,[91] which is Archaic in construction, appears to have been filled with material the largest accumulation of which is datable to the late Hellenistic period, to c. 50BC.[92] The remains of dogs and snakes are a special characteristic of the late Hellenistic accumulation of the fill in the cistern. Majority of the identifiable bones are either of adult dogs or puppies, but also a significant number of snake remains, some of very large species were discovered.[93] The assumption here is that various adult dogs and snakes were

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[86] Wells et al. 2005, 169, 179, 182; Wells et al. 2008, 45.
[87] Wells et al. 2005, 169–78, Fig. 47, Appendix 2 and catalogue of finds from the area D03 (the south-western corner of the building).
[88] Wells et al. 2003, 166–168; Mylona (forthcoming) in Wells et al. forthcoming.
[89] Wells et al. 2005, 34. The term 'deposition' used here could be understood as 'deposit' due to an implicitly assumed intentional action of depositing (Arto Penttinen, personal communication).
[90] Wells et al. 2003, 168.
[91] Wells et al. 2005, 180; Wells et al. 2008, 36–38, 48, 64, 89. The finds from the cistern have not yet been published, though see Wells et al. 2008. 90. I am here, as in the case of the 'dining deposit', relying on the information provided to me by Dimitra Mylona concerning the animal finds, and on personal communication with Arto Penttinen and Berit Wells concerning other archaeological features.
[92] Wells et al. 2008, 37–38, 41 (Fig. 14).
[93] Remains of at least eight adult dogs and at least 26 puppies are present, adults with all anatomical parts present though not in the form of complete skeletons, and remains of whole carcasses of puppies are preserved although in disarticulated form. Some of them bear disarticulation and skinning cut marks. Here, as in the case of the 'dining deposit', I am relying on information provided to me by Dimitra Mylona concerning the animal finds which will be published in Wells et al. forthcoming.

eaten in the vicinity of the cistern, and unlike the adults, the puppies do not seem to have been char-grilled, but instead, were either cooked in another manner (boiled, stewed), or left uncooked. D. Mylona who studied the bones proposes a scenario in which an old cistern was filled up with soil and stones, and when the filling was almost complete a mass of animal remains were thrown in. In addition to dogs, puppies and snakes there were bits and parts of two horses, a pig and a piglet, a cow, four sheep and goats alongside birds, eggs, fish, frogs and a pile of sea-shells. On top of all this a number of complete or broken glass vessels were thrown in the cistern. From the point of view of the question of deposits, the cistern exhibits two special characteristics: first, as different types of finds were found at different levels in the cistern, they indicate some type of organization in the filling in of the structure: '[it] does not seem to be a random act of refuse disposal, as different types of finds were found on different levels'[94]; and secondly, as sherds from a vessel datable to around 50 BC were found all the way down to a depth of roughly three meters from the surface, it is argued that this, too, is a single deposition.[95]

The two examples of deposits from the Kalaureian site reflect the current understanding of deposits related to cult practice in general, and fulfil the characteristics expected from such deposits: a singular action of depositing can be argued for, certain organisation of the filling is observed (in the case of the cistern deposit) excluding the possibility of refuse deposition, and ritual or cultic behaviour is presumed to have prompted the action. Eating becomes ritual feasting, depositing refuse from it turns into a ritual act. I wish, however, to draw attention back to the question of refuse and rubbish. If we suppose that the remains of the meal found in the triangular area just outside Building D or those deposited in the cistern are the remains of a sacrificial meal, why were they thrown into the marginal space on the border between the sacred and profane or thrown into a cistern? Perhaps we can construct a speculative scenario, whereby our meals could have taken place within the confines of sacred space, *temenos* or *hieron*, but since they were not regulated sacred meals (*hieron deipnon*), the remnants had to be disposed away from the sacred place: the purity of the place was to be restored, pollution (*miasma*) had to be driven away.[96] Or, they were remains of (ritual) dining in the sanctuary which included consumption of 'impure' meat not regarded suitable as a 'proper' sacrifice. The eating of dogs as sacrificial animals was not an unheard-of practice in ancient Greece.[97] In Aristophanes' *Knights* (1399), Paphlagonian is advised to sell sausages of asses' and dogs' meat near the gates of the city, and Hippocratic writer (*Mobr. Sacr.*) mentions that dog's meat, along with the flesh of goat, stag and sow, is believed to be aptest to disorder of the bowels. The former is naturally poking fun and the sausages of dogs' and asses' meat have a special significance as not the greatest-selling item for Paphlagonian, and the latter is criticising the popular beliefs in purifications and the reliance of people on 'purifiers'. Nevertheless it is clear that dog meat as a part of Greek diet was nothing unusual, and ancient authors refer to it as a nutritional item with no specific acclamation. Proof of dog-eating has also been increasingly attested in Classical archaeology, and many examples come from sanctuary settings.[98] However, sacrificing dogs was not

[94] Wells et al. 2008, 90.
[95] Wells et al. 2008, 48.
[96] For more detailed discussion of the same, see Pakkanen 2006–2007, 351–352, 354–355.
[97] For more details on the eating of dogs and their role as sacrificial animals, see Ekroth 2007, 259–262.
[98] See discussion in Ekroth 2007, 257–259.

customarily included in the regulated, officially sanctified gallery of religious customs; rather, dogs (and snakes) in religious world-view were connected to the chthonic and 'dark' sphere, particularly through Hecate, and their carcasses are known to have been regarded as *katharsia*: 'meals' (*deipna*) set out for the goddess in the crossroads were called *hekataia*, and probably consisted of magides (bread used to clean hands after a meal), puppies, and perhaps certain fish.[99] In this particular sense meat associated with 'lower domains of life' could have been regarded as particularly unsuitable for 'proper' religious ritual. These meals could have produced ritual waste by turning the remains into *oksythymia*, polluted household refuse which was to be left at a liminal space of transition between defined, bounded areas. These are, of course, speculative possibilities, but they nevertheless take into account the religious conceptualisation of space and place as well as religious beliefs implicit in the definition of pure and impure matter, ritually correct and incorrect behaviour, components defining socially and culturally coded religious behaviour when trying to interpret ritual deposits. If we wish to speculate about the depositional history of archaeological remains in these deposits we have to look for interpretative possibilities within the realm of ritual and cultic behaviour which includes also the 'unclean' side of religious worldview of the Greeks. Understanding waste as an agent in both ritual behaviour and in the formation of archaeological ritual deposits is essential. Also, elaborating further the definition of deposition as a past *act* with possible meanings in cultic life may allow us to look at archaeological deposits not as mere units of objects and artefacts, but as remnants of possible ritual acts and, furthermore, deposits of a cult.

Conclusion: What Next?

To draw the above observations together we may note that in interpreting archaeological deposits related to ritual practice, acknowledgement of the following issues would be helpful: 1) clarification of what is terminologically and conceptually meant by a ritual/cult deposit in each specific context with particular attention to intentionality/non-intentionality of actions behind their formation, 2) elaboration of the relationship between ritual, cult and religion, 3) expanding the interpretive perspective of ritual deposits to encompass the ideological and religious factors of the studied past culture and society instead of merely paying attention to singular ritual actions, and 4) considering the relationship between refuse and remains of the past peoples' ritual practice.

Kalaureia Research Programme
Swedish Institute at Athens

[99] Parker 1983, 30; Johnston 1991, 219–220.

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Ash, Bones, Votives – Analysing the *Black Strata* in Early Greek Sanctuaries

Two Examples from Olympia – the *Schwarze Schicht* and the Altar of Artemis

Susanne Bocher

Abstract

The archaeological analysis of the so-called *black strata* can provide crucial information about early cult rituals and sacrificial practices in Greek sanctuaries as they often represent the earliest and only evidence for religious activities at a site. On the basis of two examples from Olympia, different elements characterising these layers are introduced and analysed. The chosen examples from Olympia show how the debris from the potential cultic fires provide us with knowledge about practices concerning the deposition of ritual remains in the sacred area, the sacrificing of animals at altars and the treatment, especially the intentional fragmentation and folding, of votive offerings.

Introduction

Ash, bones and votive objects are characteristic elements of the so-called *black strata*.[1] These thick layers of dark earth are quite frequent phenomena in early Greek sanctuaries. They appear either in early contexts that precede the earliest architectural structures or are connected with altars of later phases.[2] The analysis of these strata mostly revealed large amounts of ash, charcoal, animal bones and different kinds of votive objects. At first sight, these observations show many similarities between the different sites, but only a few of them have yet been systematically studied. Further investigations can provide crucial information concerning the reconstruction of the earliest phases of cultic activities in Greek sanctuaries, including votive cult, ritual practices, spatial questions and further religious aspects. For this reason, it is vital to get a closer look at each element of this topic, including the recent studies.

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[1] Bergquist 1988, 25: '…immense Iron Age strata, both pure and mixed ones, with black, fatty earth, animal bones, ashes and intact or broken cultic vases and votives'. The Iron Age layers around the structures at Kato Symi Viannou can serve as an example for this phenomenon.

[2] Cf. Simon 1997, 125–126: Concerning the observations in Ionia, 'a regular pattern emerges: first, a period with a limited range of offerings with no buildings, sometimes not even an altar; second, a period with altars; and third, in most cases after the end of the eighth century B.C., a phase when temples are constructed to house the gods'.

The Structure, the Elements and the Stratigraphic Formation of *Black Layers*

The first questions concern the origin and formation of these layers: Do they consist of ritual debris that derived from sacrifices at altars and had they been intentionally and systematically deposited in a sanctuary, or are they results of other taphonomic processes that took place over a long time span?

The three main elements composing the black layers are first introduced with some critical questions:

The remnants of **fire** are the most obvious elements when observing *black layers* and the following questions can be raised: Is the black colour a result of the remains of ritual fires on or at the altars? Was special wood used for such fires and were votive offerings, animals or other objects burnt in these fires? Concerning their deposition, how did the remnants of fires get transformed into the dark layers?

The second element is the **faunal remains** that are observed quite frequently in these strata, especially animal bones. They raise questions if and how animal sacrifices were executed: Were the bones parts of animals sacrificed at an altar? Can we distinguish between religious practices and non-ritual meals or even other practices? Is it possible to reconstruct special rituals: for example, are all the parts of an animal represented or are parts missing or overrepresented? How were these animal parts treated, were they burnt or do they show cut marks?[3]

The third element concerns the **votive offerings**. Is it possible to distinguish *votives* from *profane* finds in these layers?[4] What different kinds of offerings occur? Are potential *votives* treated in special ways, for example, were they destroyed or damaged on purpose?[5] Do we have such well-preserved and well-documented layers that we can observe a special arrangement in the finds?

The *Black Layer* (*Schwarze Schicht*) at Olympia

Like at several other Early Iron Age sanctuaries in Greece, the earliest cult activities at the sanctuary of Olympia date back to the Geometric period and are not directly related to architectural remains from that time. The phenomenon of a very thick black stratum covering a large area under the later temples and altars was first discovered during the systematic excavations carried out in 1875–1881. In the centre of the sanctuary (Figure 4.1 and Plate 4.1) the deepest trenches revealed – underneath many younger structures – a thick layer of dark earth that was interspersed with large amounts of ash, charcoal,

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[3] The history and interpretation of faunal remains in the context of animal sacrifices is described by Forstenpointner 2003, 203–213.

[4] Cf. Langdon 1997, 120: 'We have recently been reminded, however, that not every item found in a sanctuary is a dedication. There is a good chance that some material served human needs or was used in the conduct of ritual but was itself non-votive in character.'

[5] In this paper the very interesting topic of the treatment of pottery vessels in religious contexts is not examined. At Olympia, only few vessels and pottery sherds from the *black layer* were kept during the early excavation campaigns in the 19th century. Concerning this problem, see also Morgan 1990, 29; cf. Langdon 1997, 120. Special pottery finds from the black cultic layers that can be associated with drinking rites are known from some sanctuaries like Perachora; Morgan 2002, 50.

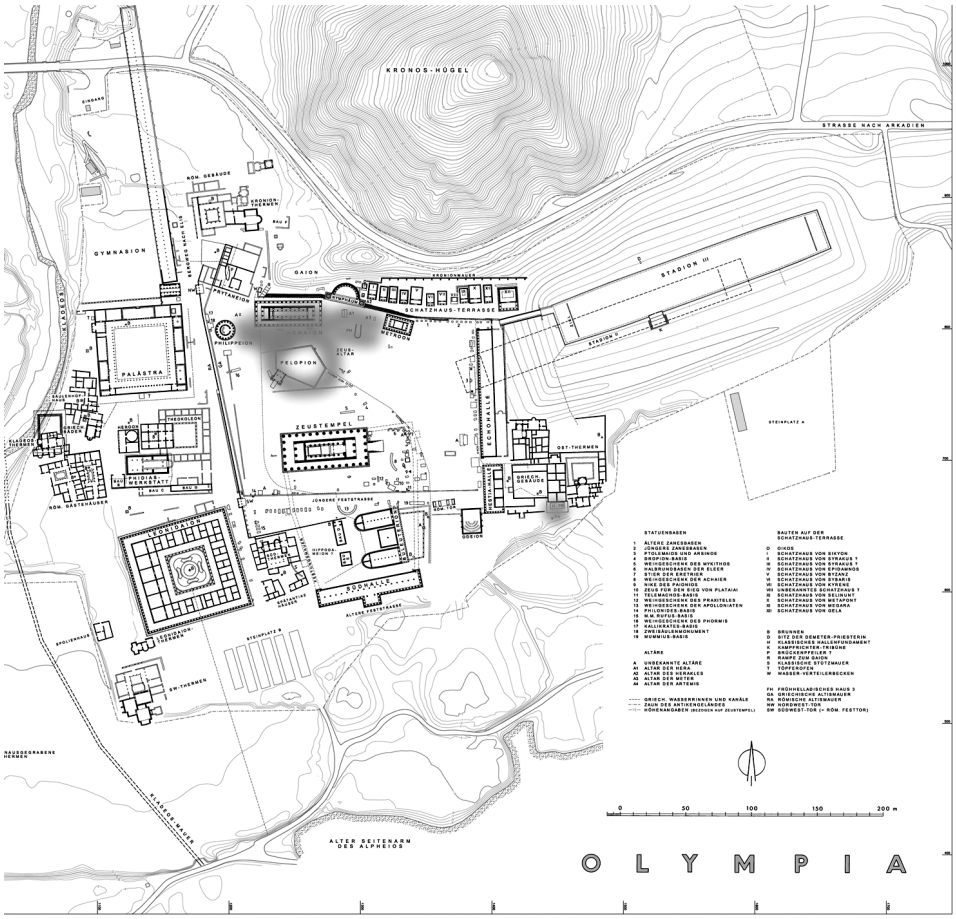

Fig. 4.1. Plan of the Sanctuary of Olympia. For the plan in colour, see Plate 4.1 where the *black layer* is marked with grey/green and the Altars of Artemis marked with grey/red (DAI Athens, H. Birk).

animal bone pieces, pottery fragments and an enormous number of metal and terracotta finds dating mostly to the Geometric period.[6] As its black colour was very characteristic, the early excavators named the layer the *schwarze Schicht* (*black layer*).[7] Among the finds that were interpreted as votive objects and thought to have been dedicated to a goddess, the largest number belong to small bronze and terracotta figurines (Figure 4.2): they are mostly animals such as bovines and horses,[8] but also some anthropomorphic statuettes. Moreover, jewellery and weapons were found as well as many fragments of bronze tripods of various sizes.[9] As these black layers continued under the foundations

[6] Kyrieleis 2006, 35.
[7] Similar observations were made in many other Greek sanctuaries e.g. at Syme, Isthmia, Perachora, Samos: Morgan 1999, 316 with a list of sanctuaries; see also Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 175.
[8] Cf. Heilmeyer 1979.
[9] Cf. Maaß 1978.

Fig. 4.2. Votive figurines from Olympia (photo S. Bocher).

of the Temple of Hera built around 600 BC, it was possible to establish a *terminus ante quem* for the strata. This date was also confirmed by the latest pottery finds in the layer.[10]

The documented extent of the *schwarze Schicht* is quite remarkable. It covers the extensive area between the Temple of Hera and the Metroon in the north and expands towards and around the Pelopion in the south. The thickest parts of the layer were found at the latter, around and north of the prehistoric tumulus that is located under the Pelopion.[11]

In order to get more detailed information about the constitution and formation of the *schwarze Schicht* and the above mentioned questions concerning the elements of the black layer, H. Kyrieleis re-examined the *black layer* around the Pelopion with modern excavation techniques and with the help of specialists for organic materials. Although it was difficult to find the still unexcavated parts of this stratum, the investigation revealed several interesting aspects of the early cult activities:[12] The new excavations could confirm that the layer contained finds and pottery dating from the eleventh to the late seventh or early sixth century BC without stratigraphic differentiation.[13] This shows that the sediments found there had been disturbed and mixed before their last deposition. In some areas, it was possible to differentiate two strata of black earth that were separated by a sand layer. The higher layer seemed to contain more bronze tripod fragments, the

[10] Kyrieleis 2006, 53–55.
[11] Kyrieleis 2006, 33; cf. Mallwitz 1988, 81.
[12] Undisturbed parts of the black layer could be identified under the stone blocks surrounding the Pelopion which had not been removed during the 19th century excavations; Kyrieleis 2006, 46–50.
[13] Kyrieleis 2006, 35, 46–50. Eder (2006, 197) argues that the latest pottery sherds found in the *black layer* at the Pelopion date to the early 7th century BC; see also Eder 2001, 201–209.

lower one more terracotta figurines.[14] The very high number of finds considered to be votive objects and remnants of sacrifices increase the likelihood that the layers belong to a context of cultic activities. According to the descriptions of Pausanias, one could think of an early cult place for Zeus with burnt animal sacrifices and votive offerings at an altar.[15] The reason for the vast extent of the layer might go back to levelling connected with the spatial reorganization and the construction of new buildings in the centre of the sacred area. The ash altar might have been levelled as part of a large-scale project in order to prepare the area for the new building activities like the construction of the Temple of Hera in the Archaic period.[16]

This case of an extensive and well-documented *dark layer* in one of the largest and well-known sanctuaries of ancient Greece serves as an appropriate starting point to examine the characteristic elements of such strata and to discuss whether it is possible to reconstruct ancient cult rituals in the context of activities during and after sacrifices at the altars.

Ash – the Fire Remains

The *schwarze Schicht* not only consists of black ash but also sand and earth that might have been used to extinguish the fires.[17] During the latest excavations at the Pelopion charcoal was examined by R. Neef.[18] Since the pieces found were very small, only one larger piece allowed the identification of the species of wood: broad-leaved oak.[19] According to Kyrieleis, this might be a hint of the preparation of the sacred meals, as according to Pausanias (5.14.2) the sacred fires were only lit by the wood of abele trees (*Populus alba*).

Votives – Dedications and Their Treatment in the Context of the Black Layer

In order to explain the close connection between ritual fires and votive offerings, I will start with the description of the votive offerings found in the *black layer* at Olympia before analysing the faunal remains.

As Pausanias does not mention specific rituals concerning the act of dedicating votive offerings at the sanctuary of Olympia, we are dependent on the archaeological evidence in order to reconstruct aspects of the early ritual activities. As mentioned above, the so-called *black layers* contained large numbers of objects interpreted as votive offerings. In order to examine their role in rituals, I will focus on some crucial observations concerning special groups of finds.

As a first example, the bronze tripod-legs excavated in large numbers especially in the context of the *black layer* should be mentioned. Most of the tripods were disassembled and intentionally cut into small pieces before their last deposition. The reasons for this practice have been discussed quite often: it is probable that the phenomenon goes back to the practice of so-called καθαίρεσις,[20] the regularly performed cleaning and removing of votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries. In this context re-use and also re-melting of votive

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[14] This phenomenon was already observed by the excavations in the 19th century and was confirmed in the new fieldwork; Kyrieleis 2006, 33–34.
[15] Paus. 5.13.8.
[16] Kyrieleis 2006, 33–40.
[17] Kyrieleis 2006, 43.
[18] Kyrieleis 2006, 43.
[19] Kyrieleis 2006, 43.
[20] For Olympia, see Kyrieleis 2006, 96 n. 406.

objects has been documented, despite the *ouk ekphora* rule that prohibits the removal of dedicated votive offerings outside the sanctuaries. For the tripods it has been suggested that most pieces had been re-used (in the sanctuary) and been cast into new (votive) objects. As the cast tripod-legs are extremely heavy and thus their material value was quite high, one could assume that at least one part of a specimen was placed *pars pro toto* in the cultic debris.[21] This thesis has also been supported by the examination of the pieces of the tripod-legs that showed almost no fitting fragments among the finds of the heavy cast legs. In contrast, the lighter hammered specimens of less value and weight showed more fitting pieces.[22]

Among the smaller finds, such as bronze and terracotta votive animals or human figurines, this phenomenon of intentional disassembly or destruction was not frequently observed. If such votive objects had been placed next to or into the fires on the altar, no traces of burning were observed in the finds excavated at Olympia. This might show that offerings were not placed into a fire, but at a place further away or protected from its impact, for example, on benches or offering tables.[23] The lack of fire traces might also derive from the very intrusive conservation techniques applied in the past which have removed the objects' original surface.[24]

Thus, only few groups of finds can provide us with interesting details on rituals concerning votive offerings in the sanctuary of Olympia.[25] Of special interest are the so-called punched sheet bronzes (*buckelverzierte Bleche*) with about 350 specimens found at Olympia. They are decorated with geometric motifs consisting of punched dots in different sizes that were hammered from the reverse side of the object. The majority of these objects seem to have been dress accessories or jewellery, like belts, headbands or bracelets. Most of these finds were discovered in the *black layers* of Olympia and indicate that they can be associated with early cult activities at the sanctuary. Especially one observation is quite remarkable, as the majority of these sheet bronzes had been treated in a special way: the longer bands in particular were folded several times into the compact shape of a small packet (Figure 4.3). It can be demonstrated that this was mostly done very carefully and, thus, was an intentional practice. About a hundred objects bear traces of this type of folding; in some cases even more than ten folds can be observed. The folds are systematic and prove that they were not accidental results of taphonomic circumstances but an intentional act resulting from ritual practices.[26] Similar observations are also known from other sanctuaries, but mostly they have not yet been systematically analysed.[27] The already mentioned *ouk ekphora* principle could have been one possible reason for this practice.[28] Thus, the act of folding the votive offerings could have stressed and confirmed that these objects were dedicated to a deity and were not to be used again

[21] Kyrieleis 2006, 97–98.
[22] Bocher 2013, 357–358.
[23] For the positioning of votive offerings, especially figurines, see Alroth 1988, 196–203.
[24] The original surfaces could have vanished e.g. after electrolytic conservation techniques were applied in the early years of excavation.
[25] For the tradition of ritual practices and their performance in Greek religion, see Auffarth 2005, 11–20.
[26] Bocher 2006–2007; Bocher 2013, 360–361.
[27] E.g. from Philia (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, pl. 66 nos. 1038 and 1039). Folded bronze and gold sheets have also been discovered in Late Bronze Age contexts at Roca in Italy (Maggiulli 2006, 128 fig. 4, 129) and at Pila del Brancón in Italy (Salzani 1994, 94, 90 pl. 6, 92 pl. 7).
[28] Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 198.

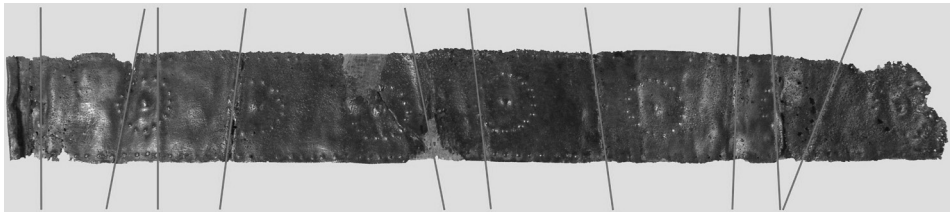

Fig. 4.3. Folded head-band (photo S. Bocher).

as personal belongings or for a second time as votive offerings.[29] The question whether the objects were folded by the person who dedicated their personal belongings at an altar[30] or whether this took place later, after they had been on display for a certain time, for example, during the cleaning of the altar – the above-mentioned *kathairesis* – cannot be answered by the archaeological context alone. Moreover, it is noticeable that the folding is done very precisely on several bands which could stress the importance of this practice and probably also demonstrate that the folding was carried out as an act of performance. In case of simple preparation for refuse deposit or re-use as raw material for new objects,[31] the folding could have been undertaken very quickly and carelessly.[32] Considering that many of these strips were part of head-bands from quite distant regions such as Northern Greece, the Balkans or Italy, it is possible to speculate whether people from these places visited Olympia in the early days and whether the bands can be interpreted as dedications of female dress accessories[33] or offerings to a female goddess.[34] The bracelets and head-bands might even have been parts of whole gown dedications as they are known from other Greek sanctuaries.[35]

Bones – the Faunal Remains in the Black Layer at Olympia

Concerning the faunal remains, osteological investigations have been carried out in relation to the recently excavated parts of the *black layer* at the Pelopion:[36] 800 animal bones have been examined from the excavation area P 16. The sample included sheep and goats (55 per cent), bovines (34 per cent) and pigs (9 per cent).[37] This shows that not only bovines were sacrificed as described by Pausanias in connection with the later cult at the Altar of Zeus.[38] Compared with area P 28 the bone fragments were quite large and thus allowed for their identification. The investigation of the skeletal remains has shown that all parts of the animals' bodies were present. N. Benecke concludes that the

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[29] Hansen (1996, 268 n. 66) mentions ritually destroyed objects found in Greece.
[30] Cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 222.
[31] Cf. Hansen 1996, 268.
[32] Kyrieleis 2006, 54.
[33] For votives with female characteristics, see also Hansen 1996, 271; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 219–223.
[34] Cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 222.
[35] For gown offerings, see Maaß and Kilian-Dirlmeier 1998, 59, 65; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 205; cf. Philipp 1981, 22. For examples from Ephesos, see Klebinder-Gauss in this volume.
[36] The so-called old excavations of the 19th century did not leave many unexcavated areas of the *schwarze Schicht* and, thus, the result is representative only for a small part of the layer (Benecke 2006a, 247); cf. Kyrieleis 2006, 20.
[37] Benecke 2006a, 247: moreover, only one specimen of a red deer was found and two fragments of cockles (*Cerastoderma edule*).
[38] Benecke 2006a, 247.

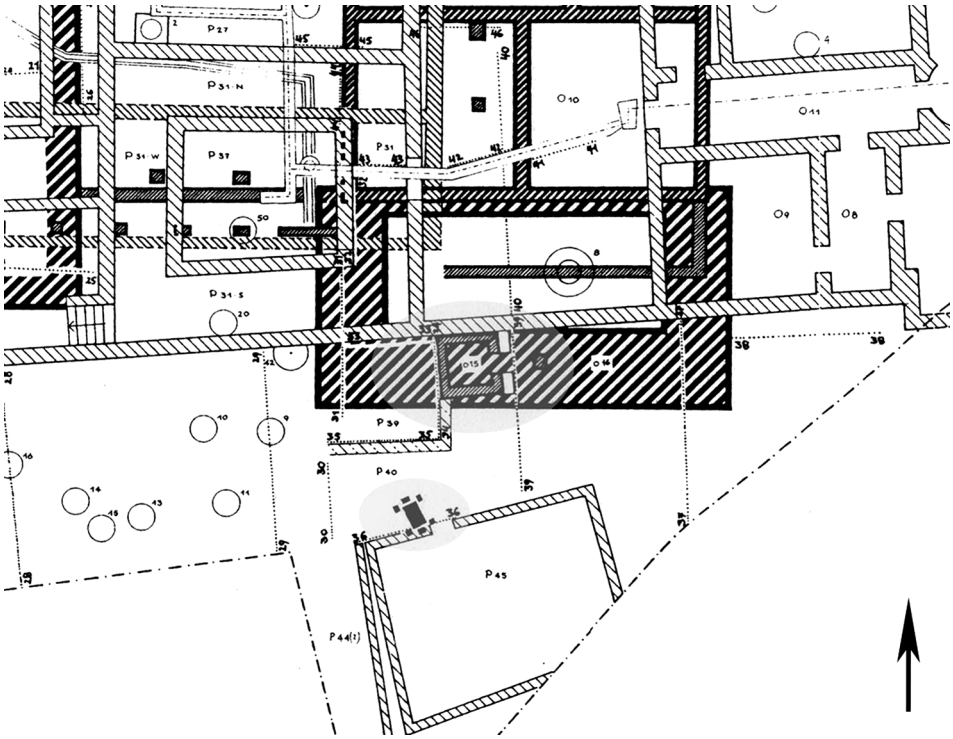

Fig. 4.4. Plan with the two Altars of Artemis at Olympia. For the plan in colour, see Plate 4.4 where the location is marked with light magenta (DAI Athens).

animals were sacrificed as complete bodies and not only the thighs or tails were used, as mentioned in written sources or observed at other altar sites, for example the altar of Artemis (see the next chapter). In area P 28 the pattern is quite different: most bone fragments were completely burnt and very fragmented. The maximum size of the bone fragments was typically only a few millimetres. Thus, it was not possible to specify to which species they belonged to or which parts of the animals' bodies were burnt. 95 per cent of the fragments from area P 28 were calcinated and 5 per cent were carbonized or partially calcinated.[39] Benecke assumed that the strong fragmentation might go back to an intentional procedure before the deposition.[40]

The Altar of Artemis at Olympia

As the second example of ritual debris with faunal remains at Olympia I will discuss the area of the Altar of Artemis at Olympia and compare these two depositions with the altar contexts excavated at the sanctuary at Eretria.

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[39] Benecke 2006a, 248.

[40] Cf. also Kyrieleis 2006, 44 nn. 148, 149: Kyrieleis refers to similar observations with extremely small bone fragments at the excavations of Kalapodi and Artemis Orthia at Sparta.

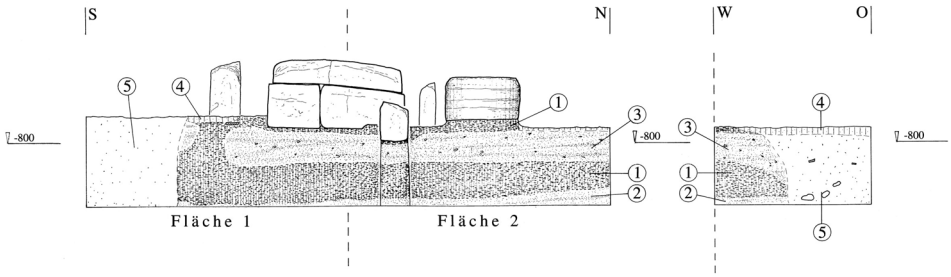

Fig. 4.5. Section of the Altar of Artemis; no. (1) marks the *black layers*, excavations by J. Heiden, 2002 (DAI Athens).

The altar of Artemis with its related layers is one of the few 'closed deposits' found at the sanctuary of Olympia. In the 1960s two succeeding altars were excavated by A. Mallwitz[41] and identified as the Altars of Artemis near the Hippodrome mentioned by Pausanias (Figure 4.4 and Plate 4.4).[42] In addition, an inscription on a plastered black limestone altar from the Roman period was preserved with the name of Artemis written on it.[43] The older late Archaic altar was in use until the early Hellenistic period and it was almost completely covered with the remains of the altar debris when excavated. This is one of the rare documented altar sites that had been found with their debris still *in situ*.[44] Moreover, it is quite interesting that such *black layers* – similar to those mentioned above in the central part of the sanctuary – were also found under the altar blocks (Figure 4.5), predating the first altar. These strata of dark earth under the altar of Artemis are up to 1m thick and based on the associated finds date back to the Geometric period.[45] In 2002, a small excavation was undertaken at this older altar of Artemis by J. Heiden in order to examine the last unexcavated parts of this *black layer*.[46] Beside the study of stratigraphic details, special emphasis was laid on the examination of the faunal remains with the aim of collecting more information about the cult practices at the altar.

The osteological material was examined by N. Benecke[47] with the following quite interesting results: most identified bones belonged to domestic animals such as sheep and/or goats (78.1 per cent), cattle (17.5 per cent) and some other species like pigs (3.6 per cent) and two bones of dogs, one chicken and three hare bones.[48] Among the 1,380 bone fragments only very few showed traces of burning,[49] whereas many bones carried visible cutting marks from butchering. Benecke could observe that there was a complete lack of thigh bones (*ossa femoris* and *patellae*) and only very few specimens of the caudal

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[41] Kunze 1963; Kunze 1964; Mallwitz 1972, 199–210; Kyrieleis 1994, 5–16.
[42] Paus. 5.15.6: 'going back from the stoa of Agnaptos is on the right an altar of Artemis'.
[43] Gropengiesser 1988, 125–126.
[44] Altars with their sacrificial debris *in situ*: e.g. Eretria (Huber 1991, 129), Kalapodi (Felsch 2001, 194–199); see also Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 193–194.
[45] Kyrieleis 2006, 5–16. Personal communication with J. Heiden.
[46] I want to thank J. Heiden for the information about the excavation results; see also Kyrieleis 2013, 6–7, figs. 9–10.
[47] Benecke 2006b, 153–159.
[48] Benecke 2006b, 154–155 with table 1.
[49] Benecke 2006b, 154: 'Traces of burning have been observed on 13 small specimens. Nine bones are only slightly burned whereas four bone fragments are carbonized or calcined.'

spine (*ossa sacralia* and *vertebrae caudales*).[50] This phenomenon concerns sheep and goats as well as cattle.[51] Benecke draws the following conclusion:[52] 'Obviously, these parts of the body (thigh, chine) were cut off from the carcass and underwent a special treatment in the course of the sacrifice, probably as offerings to the goddess'. This corresponds with written sources describing ritual practices at altars: the thigh bones and the caudal parts were offered to the deity and, therefore, were burnt in the fire on the altar.[53] Benecke concludes that 'the assemblage from the Artemision of Olympia provides indirect, negative evidence for the burning of thighbones and chines.'[54] The other parts were probably eaten by the participants of the sacrifice. After the meal, the bones were deposited in the sacral debris. Similar results concerning the observations of the animal bones have been made at other Greek sanctuaries, such as the Artemision at Ephesos, the Heraion on Samos or the sanctuary of Apollo at Halieis in the Argolid.[55]

Animal sacrifices at Eretria

Eretria on Euboea provides a similar and very remarkable example of animal bones in the context of sacrificial activities.[56] About 400 animal bone fragments were found in the debris next to a Geometric altar site[57] as well as from Archaic and Classical–Hellenistic layers succeeding these Geometric strata. The results were remarkably clear: the bones from the Geometric context directly linked with the sacrifices showed only thighs and tails from sheep and/or goats,[58] all of them with traces of heavy burning. This means that parts of the body were cut off and removed with special knives which left fine cutting marks. The bones found in the succeeding younger levels came from a range of different animals (not only caprids) and belonged to a variety of different parts of the animals' bodies, except femurs. None of these bone fragments showed traces of burning.[59] I. Chenal-Velarde and J. Studer interpreted these observations as follows: 'The comparative osteological examination of the different complexes shows that caprids' femurs are missing in the remains of food leftovers dating to the Archaic, Classical and

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[50] Benecke 2006b, 154; 157 with Tab. 2.
[51] Concerning the age of the animals he concludes that 'subadult individuals and animals that had reached bodily maturity were preferred as sacrifice, while in pig young animals were selected for this purpose': Benecke 2006b, 159.
[52] Benecke 2006b, 156.
[53] For depictions and textual sources about animal sacrifices, see Van Straten 1988, 51–68.
[54] Benecke 2006b, 156.
[55] Greek sites with black layers have often been compared to sacrificial mounds of bones, ashes and votives from Alpine contexts, such as the so-called 'Piller Sattel': see Tschurtschenthaler 1997, 167–176; Tschurtschenthaler and Wein 2002, 635–674; Gleirscher 2002, 591–634. Although there are many similarities concerning the deposition of burnt sacrificial debris, there are also clear differences between the two types of sites. Especially, the treatment of the sacrificed animals is quite different; at the Alpine sites it is e.g. quite common to burn the heads of bovines, a ritual that is not known at the Greek sites; see Kyrieleis 2006, 44; Forstenpointner 2003, 203–213; Benecke 2006b, 157.
[56] Chenal-Velarde and Studer 2003, 215–220.
[57] Chenal-Velarde and Studer 2003, 215: the altar is situated in the vicinity of the Temple of Apollo Daphnephoros.
[58] Chenal-Velarde and Studer 2003, 216: Femurs, patellae, and sacral and caudal vertebrae mostly from adult animals were identified. According to the number of femurs at least 32 animals were treated in a similar way.
[59] Chenal-Velarde and Studer 2003, 216; due to exposure to fire the burnt bones were lighter than the other bones; Chenal-Velarde and Studer 2003, 219.

Hellenistic periods. Bearing in mind that the offerings of the Geometric period comprised eminently caprids' femurs, we can infer that, despite the time difference, the remains of these two contexts are complementary, in the sense that the absence of femurs amid the food leftovers confirms that femurs were indeed a type of offering'.[60] In other words, it can be assumed that in the Geometric period the caprids' femurs were burnt at the altar for the gods and that later the same place was used to feast and to eat the leftovers of such an animal sacrifice. The place where the sacrifices could have later taken place has not yet been investigated.[61]

This and the two altars at Olympia show that rituals known from the written sources can be examined and reconstructed based on archaeological contexts. Cultic continuity can be argued for on the basis of these case studies and since the osteological analyses show similar results between the earlier and the later material, one can assume that cult practices did not change very much over time at these particular places. In order to get a more general picture of the cult activities more sanctuaries with early depositions need to be studied and compared with later contexts.[62]

Resuming Cult Activities at Early Altars

As the described *black strata* in the earliest phases of the sanctuaries were not connected to larger contemporaneous architectural remains, the layers are traditionally thought to relate to the remnants of activities at the altars.[63] As altars seem to be the earliest elements defining a sacred place[64] it has to be remarked that the definition for an altar is a functional and not a typological one: an altar is a somehow elevated place where sacrifices like burnt offerings or libations were carried out.[65] According to C. Yavis and D. Rupp an altar can be defined as 'any portable object or stationary structure, whether temporary or permanent, that was made, constructed or simply used for the purpose of receiving on a raised table of sacrifice a fire for the burning of animal flesh or other organic offerings and/or unburnt food offerings or liquid libations to an ouranian deity. Outcrops of bedrock or stray, unworked boulders used in this fashion as well as accumulations of ash, burnt animal bones, fragments of votive offerings and, sometimes, earth upon which sacrifices were made are included.'[66] Following this line of argument, the *black strata* without a connected built structure could represent the remnants of a 'rudimentary altar'.[67] As Rupp points out, these altars do not have to carry too much weight except for the sacrifices and votive objects and, thus, the structures could well have been quite simple and light.

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[60] Chenal-Velarde and Studer 2003, 219.
[61] Chenal-Velarde and Studer 2003, 219.
[62] See e.g. Reese (1989, 63–70) for an examination of the faunal remains of the Altar of Aphrodite Ourania at Athens from the Classical period.
[63] It has been argued that the first sacrifices were carried out without locally fixed altars: 'It is possible that animal sacrifice could take place anywhere within the sacred area of the *temenos* and was not, as it was in later Greek religion, firmly located in one spot, the place of the altar' (Simon 1997, 129). See also Sourvinou-Inwood (1993, 1–17) for the development of early Greek sanctuaries.
[64] Rupp 1983, 101.
[65] Yavis 1949; Rupp 1991, 303.
[66] Yavis 1949; Rupp 1991, 303; cf. Rupp 1974, 2.
[67] Simon 1997, 129 (for the quote, see note 63 above).

Such altars could almost completely consist of the debris of earlier animal sacrifices, i.e. ash, animal bones, charcoal and earth and grew higher with every new sacrifice that was carried out at the place. Traditionally, later altars were often built upon older ones following cult tradition and without leaving visible traces of the earlier phases in the archaeological context.[68]

Additionally, other kinds of depositions are also known from early sanctuaries, for example, the so-called *bothroi*: offering pits in which cultic debris and/or votive offerings were deposited and that are also known from the earliest phases in Greek sanctuaries.[69]

Traces of fire are mostly observed either in the context of places where fires were consistently lit over long periods of time or large-scale catastrophic events. As the *black layers* are mostly thicker than single destructions involving a fire and often even stratified, it can be argued that they are a result of a continuous fire or, more likely, due to fires that were lit again and again over decades or even centuries. Thus the ashes of these fires seem to be either still *in situ* at or near the place where they were lit. They could have also been intentionally deposited in such a way that they formed a large ash cone, as for example Pausanias described the Altar of Zeus at Olympia:[70] the altar consists of the debris of the burnt meat and bone sacrificed to Zeus and in addition the ash of the Prytaneion was brought once a year. These components were fixed with the waters of the river Alpheios to form the ash cone.[71]

The large extent of the layers is commonly explained with later levelling. Such later activities are very probable but there are also other hypotheses for the extent of the dark layers at early sanctuaries. For example, it is possible that the early sacrifices were carried out without a fixed locality for the altar.[72] Also, as we know from Pausanias,[73] a large number of different altars were in use at Olympia at the same time.

There is another aspect in the differentiation between the stratified and non-stratified *black layers*: if a layer is stratified with finds covering a large time span, it seems probable that there was a slow process of continuous accumulation due to a long ritual tradition. After the end of these cult practices the debris at the abandoned deposition area would be distributed over a wider area due to taphonomic processes. Such a hypothesis can be argued for by studying the continuity of the site occupation. If the layers are not stratified, we can think of a later levelling of accumulated sacrificial remains, maybe in the context of a new building programme at the sanctuary: the older accumulated cult remains had to be removed to make way for a new temple. This would also show that people did not hesitate to remove older cult deposits and to cover them in order to create a new tradition.[74]

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[68] Rupp 1991, 303.
[69] Cf. Rupp 1974, 2.
[70] Paus. 5.13.8.
[71] Paus. 5.13.11.
[72] Simon 1997, 129.
[73] Paus. 5.14.4.
[74] The question whether profane rituals could also be connected with these accumulated fire remains is discussed by P. Pakkanen in this volume.

In this article I have discussed the phenomenon of the so-called *black layers*: how they emerged, what components they contain, and I also presented the spectrum and the variety of possibilities of interpreting these layers. For the interpretation of the *black strata* at early Greek sanctuaries it is critical to study the contexts of these layers and, in addition, to carry out a detailed examination of both the organic and inorganic finds. The treatment of votive objects as well as the remains of animal sacrifices can provide vital information about early cult activities at altars, and a more systematic study of all the known contexts with *black strata* at Greek sanctuaries should be carried out.

Athens Department of the
German Archaeological Institute

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Private and Communal Ritual at Post-Palatial Tiryns

Melissa Vetters

Abstract

Mycenaean terracotta figurines constitute the main body of evidence analyzed in this paper.[1] This category of small finds can be used as an example of contextual approach to the interpretation of Mycenaean ritual remains in connection with a range of architectural and social spaces: The presence or absence of figurines has often been cited as an important material correlate of different social spheres of religious ritual on the Late Bronze Age Greek mainland. Whether figurines really form one of the core distinctions between 'official' or 'popular cult' as defined by Robin Hägg and other scholars is investigated through several case-studies in relation to different settlement contexts. The data presented here stem mainly from post-palatial strata of one of the largest and best-known Mycenaean sites – Tiryns in the Argolid.

Introduction

Framing archaeologically questions such as 'how to define ritual in the material record?' one is usually inclined to follow two optional courses: on the one hand, subscribing to a set of theoretical approaches about how to reconstruct activities and their potential meaning from excavated remains and, by dealing with the concept on a general level, to de-contextualize rituals from their individual historical backgrounds; or, on the other hand, to turn to a very detailed inquiry in a clearly definable historical horizon in order to give examples of certain aspects of the broader theme, thereby often losing the sight of the 'bigger picture' or over-generalizing from specific traits of a given context. Although in this paper I have chosen to concentrate on case-studies of figurine-frequencies and distributions within a settlement context during the Mycenaean post-palatial period on the Late Bronze Age Greek mainland, focusing exclusively on a specific type of objects and one site, I nevertheless aim to integrate the results into the wider discussion on Mycenaean religion. I will investigate how far the given data can be used to interpret ritual action and where the specific case studies fail to address the question posed at the outset.

Mycenaean terracotta figurines occur in changing proportions and types from the proto-palatial to the end of the post-palatial period in graves, sanctuaries and houses.[2] Since the first publication of this conspicuous category of small finds by H. Schliemann,[3]

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[1] This article was submitted in March 2009 and has not been updated since. Mycenaean terracotta figurines from Tiryns were the topic of my PhD thesis (Vetters 2009).

[2] For a general chronological and typological overview, see French 1971 (for all handmade figurines); French 1981 (for large wheelmade figures); see also Tamvaki 1973 (for group-figurines and exceptional pieces); Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 30–33 (for kourotrophoi); Weber-Hiden 1988, 125 (for a further differentiation of the transitional type into Proto-Psi and Proto-Tau); Weber-Hiden 1990, 84 (for animal-figurines of the late linear type).

[3] Schliemann 1878, 11–15, 22–25, 80–83; Schliemann 1886, 52–53, 182–186.

they have been interpreted as children's toys,[4] votives,[5] cult statues[6] and tools of protective magic[7] – often with little contextual support to back up any of their hypothetical functions. The terracotta figurines obviously do not fulfil a utilitarian need and no extant literary text contains information on how and why they were employed in contexts so diverse that to our minds they seem to constitute very different categories. As already stated by I. Tzonou-Herbst,[8] modes of figurine use can best be assessed by a careful contextual analysis of their find-spots, associated objects and surrounding architecture. Her reconstruction of activities involving figurine-use aimed at an integration of archaeological find-patterns and the theoretical discourse on object-biographies. In this paper I attempt to explore the role of Mycenaean figurines in religious rituals and their performative potential in more detail.

With this in mind some basic questions arise: What parameters could define religious ritual in the Mycenaean period on the basis of archaeological remains and scanty textual evidence? Does the material evidence allow a distinction between 'popular' and 'official' cults, and how are private and communal levels of ritual action related to the former two concepts which are widely accepted in the scholarly discourse on Mycenaean religion? And, more specifically, how are terracotta figurines linked to ritual action? What kinds of rituals were performed using figurines, and what might have been characteristic traits of post-palatial figurine-use after the collapse of the palatial societies on the Greek mainland and before the onset of the Early Iron Age?

Historical Background and Source Criticism

The Mycenaean period covers a time span of approximately six centuries, c. 1700–1070 BCE, according to the high chronology.[9] During the initial phase of the Late Bronze Age, the so-called Shaft Grave era which marks the transition from the Middle Helladic to the Late Helladic (LH) period and from a stratified society to a proto-urban level,[10] figurines are not yet attested on the Greek mainland. In the proto-palatial period, i.e. the LH IIB and LH IIIA:1 phases, handmade and painted terracotta figurines – which were totally unknown in the austere Middle Helladic material culture – start to appear in the Mycenaean archaeological record.[11] The next stage from approximately 1400 BCE onwards is the palatial period.[12] Its most characteristic traits are highlighted here to frame the ensuing discussion of Mycenaean religious ritual and to outline briefly the historical situation. During this period a highly stratified society on a proto-state level with the so-called wanax at the apex exists in the southern and central parts of the Greek mainland and

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[4] Blegen 1937, 256.
[5] Picard 1948, 246–248.
[6] Alexiou 1958 was the first to propose such a function for the Minoan female figures with upraised arms; his interpretation of these large figures has also influenced hypotheses regarding the function of the small Mycenaean Psi-figurines to some extent.
[7] Kilian 1992, 16, 21 n. 132.
[8] Tzonou-Herbst 2002.
[9] Manning 1999, ix, fig. 6 (chart of diverse chronological systems in use in Bronze Age Aegean archaeology), 339, fig. 62 (chart with proposed dates of the high chronology until the mid second millennium BCE); Shelmerdine 1997, 540, table 1; Wiener 2003 (concerning the absolute chronology of the early palatial period or LH IIIA phase); for the absolute dates of the end of the LBA, see Weninger and Jung 2009, 416, fig. 14.
[10] Graziadio 1991; Voutsaki 1999.

in most regions of the Peloponnese.[13] Concomitantly, a multi-layered settlement hierarchy can be observed in different regions and is especially pronounced in the core areas, such as Attica and Boeotia on the southern Greek mainland,[14] the Argolid,[15] Messenia and Laconia on the Peloponnese.[16] A complicated system of administrative palatial control over a wide range of goods and personnel accompanied by written records in the Linear B script[17] and an extensive sealing system[18] of goods, receipts, storage containers and rooms support a centralized economy which is partially redistributive, but mostly geared towards the needs of the palace.[19] International contacts with contemporaneous states in the Eastern Mediterranean (especially Hittite Anatolia, the city-states of the Levant and Pharaonic Egypt) are attested in various imports and can be glimpsed from certain mentions in the Near Eastern cuneiform texts and Egyptian hieroglyphic inscriptions.[20] The rather homogeneous material culture bears testimony of a strong cultural impact on (and possibly even political hegemony over) Crete,[21] the Cyclades, the Dodecanese and parts of Asia Minor.[22] Also, extensive trading relations with the West, especially Sicily and Southern Italy, are documented in the archaeological record of those regions.[23] The highly developed palatial ideology is, as far as it can be reconstructed from the written, archaeological and iconographical sources, based on the religious authority of the elites.[24] Yet, insights into ideology and religion are the hardest to disentangle from the material remains and are highly debated so far.

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[11] The transfer of these terracotta-objects which have a long history on Minoan Crete constitutes a second and slightly delayed wave of Minoan influences on the Greek mainland. Presumably, this 'wave' is the result of a Mycenaean takeover at Knossos and the ensuing melding of Minoan and Mycenaean material culture that one can also observe at the Minoan end in such items as the appearance of the Ephyraean goblet and Mycenaean forms of burials, as has been pointed out to me by J. Rutter; see also n. 21 below (the first such 'wave' is evident in the Shaft Grave era; Heitz 2008). Although the origin of such foreign objects and ideas can ultimately be traced back to Neopalatial Crete, the new genre, i.e. the figurines, is quickly absorbed and adapted to mainland requirements and concepts. If one considers the development of typical Mycenaean motives which are unknown or very sparse on Crete (for Cretan LBA terracotta figurines, see Rethemiotakis 1998) – especially enthroned figurines, kourotrophoi and chariot-models – as well as the wide-spread standardization of types within a few decades, it becomes obvious that this process does not constitute a direct transfer or wholesale cultural borrowing, but a very complex adaptation.

[12] For the general overview, see Shelmerdine 1997.

[13] Kilian 1988b, 139–141, figs. 12–14, 147.

[14] To the north this settlement hierarchy extends at least as far as the Pagasitic Gulf; Adrimi-Sismani 2007.

[15] Kilian 1981b.

[16] An intricate site hierarchy has been known for some time to have existed in Mycenaean Messenia and Laconia, but it has recently been documented in more detail by the intensive survey projects of the Pylos Regional Archaeological Project and the Laconia survey; Davis et al. 1997, 419–430 (for Messenia); Cavanagh 1995, esp. 85 (for Laconia).

[17] See the contributions in Duhoux and Morpurgo Davies 2008.

[18] Pini 1990.

[19] For aspects of the general economy which fall outside the interest of the palace administration and are therefore not recorded, see Halstead 2007, 68-71; Kardulias 2007, esp. 111–113; Parkinson 2007, 87–90.

[20] Cline 1994, 108–131, Catalogue I.

[21] Such a reconstruction of events seems to be at least very plausible in the case of Crete considering the demise of Minoan Neopalatial culture and early evidence for Mycenaean administration in the palace of Knossos; Driessen 2000.

[22] Niemeier 2005.

[23] Bettelli 2002, 11–18, 43–72; van Wijngaarden 2002, 203-259; Jung 2005, 59–60; see also Jung 2006a.

[24] Whittaker 2001; Bendall 2007, esp. 290–291.

In attempts to characterize a 'Mycenaean religion' lack of source-criticism is a dangerous pitfall.[25] Linear B documents, comprising only administrative texts regarding the organization of the palace economy, offer a welcome though not straightforward source for the study of Mycenaean palatial religion:[26] some of these records, such as Linear B tablet PY Tn 316,[27] contain the names of a few well-known deities of the later Olympic pantheon – Zeus, Poseidon, Ares, Hermes, Dionysos,[28] Hera and Artemis – but also names of deities unattested in the later sources.[29] The problem of interpreting the names concerns a number of Minoan deities documented in the Knossian tablets[30] as well as a Mycenaean goddess with the name of 'Potnia' who figures prominently in the Linear B tablets of Pylos and is closely associated with the palace, but is only attested as an epithet in historical times.[31] Despite the obvious importance of this goddess, Poseidon was apparently the major deity in Messenia already in the Late Bronze Age[32] as can be surmised from the Pylian texts – male deities did by no means play an inferior role in the Mycenaean pantheon. Except for these names next to nothing can be glimpsed from the tablets concerning the actual characteristics and responsibilities of the gods and goddesses – one is hard-pressed to define any specific cult on the basis of the extant written sources and even less equipped to characterize its material correlates in the archaeological remains.[33]

In contrast to the Linear B data, the rather uniform palatial iconography – which heavily reflects Minoan conventions[34] especially in the case of the murals[35] – shows a preponderance of female figures in cult scenes and very rarely male figures who (with a certain degree of reliability) could be characterized as super-human. The same holds true for the terracotta figurines: within the class of anthropomorphic figurines females predominate by far, thus reflecting the idiosyncrasies of the fresco paintings rather than the written evidence. Although Mycenaean religion lacks a body of literary texts informing us about its mythology, underlying beliefs and the religious practices of its followers, the

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[25] Although Nilsson 1927 did not yet treat Mycenaean religion as a distinct topic from the Minoan one, this was due to the then still existing dearth of data on the differences between Minoan and Mycenaean ritual and religion. That Minoan and Mycenaean religion share similarities but should be regarded separately has become obvious since the decipherment of the Linear B script. The problem of disentangling Minoan from Mycenaean ritual components in the archaeological record has recently been tackled to quite some extent, especially in the work of R. Hägg.

[26] Hiller 1981.

[27] Except for Dionysos the following deities are named on PY Tn 316.

[28] The BA derivation of Dionysos (whose origins have for long been suspected to lie in the east and who was supposed to have been introduced into the Greek pantheon only by the Orientalizing period) has been proven by the recently excavated offering tablet KH Gq 5 from Khania, naming Zeus and Dionysos as recipients of honey; see Hallager and Vlasaki 1997, 171–174; Palaima 1998, esp. 207–217.

[29] On the offering tablets, see most recently Weilhartner 2005.

[30] Hägg 1997.

[31] For the problem of 'Potnia' being the epithet of several female deities or a single goddess, see Boëlle 2001; Trümpy 2001. I favor Trümpy's arguments that the name 'Potnia' refers to one goddess only; her close relationship with the palace and especially the wanax is the topic of Maran and Stavrianopoulou 2007.

[32] This can be deduced from the Pylian tablets on landownership; de Fidio 1977.

[33] The same methodological problem applies to later cults of Classical Antiquity if the recipient deity is not epigraphically attested.

[34] See Immerwahr 1990 on the fresco paintings.

[35] This was already noted by Rodenwaldt 1912, 200, 202.

Linear B tablets and the iconographic record, in particular the fresco paintings, attest to a highly developed ideology based on the religious authority of the elites.[36]

If one turns to the archaeological remains of established sanctuary sites in the palatial period,[37] similarities in the artefactual material exist, but also pronounced differences which are hard to explain as regional or chronological variation: finds from the Room of the Frescoes and the so-called Temple in the Cult Centre of Mycenae comprise wheelmade female terracotta figures painted with canonical Mycenaean ceramic motives in the former[38] and even larger monochrome wheelmade terracotta figures in the latter,[39] but scarcely any small anthropomorphic or zoomorphic figurines.[40] In contrast to this, the terracotta assemblage from Room A at the roughly contemporaneous sanctuary at Aghios Konstantinos on Methana contains only one female figurine[41] and no wheelmade anthropomorphic figures, but a host of about 150 terracottas of bovines of the so-called driven oxen-type, rider-figurines and some furniture miniatures[42] as well as a ship model.[43] Hence, even in comparisons of two palatial-period sanctuary sites within the same region, i.e. the north-eastern Peloponnese, such a sketch of Mycenaean cult remains fuzzy, if one insists on forcing the data at hand into rigid models. Ostensibly, the extensive variability in the material assemblage may reflect different rituals or practices connected with specific divinities, or at least quite different kinds of cult observance.[44]

The palatial societies on the Greek Mainland, Crete, the Aegean islands as well as the Hittite, Levantine and Egyptian states either collapse around 1200 BCE or at least suffer a severe crisis due to a series of interlinked internal and external causes.[45] Gradually a new, less stratified and regionally more fragmented society evolves on the Greek mainland.[46] For more than a century this society features a host of continued traditions from the palatial period within its material culture, but lacks the central organization, written administration as well as most of the specialised craft production attached to the former palaces, and external contacts with the Near East and Egypt also decrease.[47]

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[36] For religious aspects in the Linear B documents, see Bendall 2007; Weilhartner 2005; for religious scenes in Mycenaean frescos, see Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996; on the probable depiction of a terracotta figure in the context of a procession, see Boulotis 1979.

[37] R. Hägg laid the ground for such studies. Although I criticize some of his concepts below, he is the pioneer of Mycenaean ritual studies and it should be acknowledged that most aspects of his work have stood the test of time.

[38] Moore and Taylour 1999, 46–47, 89–93, pl. 11–12.

[39] Moore and Taylour 1999, 47–50, 53–62, 93–101, pls. 13–22a; so far unique to Mycenae are also the terracotta-models of snakes; Moore and Taylour 1999, 63–69, pls. 23–25.

[40] Only two small handmade figurines are attested in phase VII of the Temple; Moore and Taylour 1999, 18, esp. chart 2, 46, 50, 62, pl. 22b–c.

[41] For the sanctuary see Konsolaki 2002; Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2003a; for the Psi-figurine *cf.* Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2003a, 381, 397, fig. 24α–β.

[42] Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2003a.

[43] Wedde 2003.

[44] On theoretical grounds the problem of orthodoxy and orthopraxy would also have to be tackled: In the first case everybody would believe in the same essence of a ritual, but would not be obliged to enact it precisely according to tradition or prescription. In the second case everybody would perform an identical ritual, but associate very different meanings with it.

[45] *E.g.* Kilian 1988b, 134–135; Dickinson 2006, 43–56; see also Maran 2009.

[46] Deger-Jalkotzy 1991, 55–58, 61–66; 1994, 14–16; 1995, 375–377; 2002, 444–450; *viz* Tiryns: Maran 2006; Mühlenbruch 2004, 444–450; Stockhammer 2008, 302–310.

[47] For post-palatial Tiryns and its continuing contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean, see most recently Maran 2004; Maran 2006.

Yet this post-palatial or Late Helladic IIIC period is not a time of constant decline leading to ultimate complete collapse: certain Mycenaean traits continue or even flourish during parts of this period or in specific regions of the Greek mainland and Peloponnese.[48] It is this post-palatial Mycenaean period – marking the transition from the Bronze Age societies of the Greek mainland to those of the Early Iron Age – on which the following case-studies focus.

Any attempt aimed at reconstructing the historical context of the religion practiced in the post-palatial period has to rely on a much narrower range of artefactual evidence, since frescoes,[49] seals, and Linear B texts do not continue to be produced during LH IIIC. The basic question is thus exacerbated: what is known about Mycenaean religion and how far do the theoretical concepts of Mycenaean religion – mainly inferred from palatial contexts – pertain to the post-palatial period with its lack of central administration and differences in socio-political organization?

General Remarks

Approaches to Mycenaean Ritual

Any reconstruction of ritual – for the palatial as well as the post-palatial period – depends heavily on the analysis of traces and patterns in the material remains which repeated rituals left in the archaeological record, and also on the interpretation of these data in their social context. A first step is often to categorize Mycenaean rituals broadly according to the places at which they were performed.

Funerary cults[50] are amply attested (yet very difficult to reconstruct in detail) in the rich furnishings of the shaft graves at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age and shortly afterwards in the emergence of the tholos tombs for elite burials, but are also evident in the common chamber tomb necropoleis en vogue during the palatial and post-palatial periods.

State or *palace cults*[51] have been deduced from the written and iconographic evidence of religious feasts and banquets as well as the architectural layout of the palatial megara with their throne area, central hearth and surrounding four columns.[52]

Hypaethral sanctuaries are testified, for example, by the Mycenaean remains on the Kynortion Hill (the later Apollon Maleatas sanctuary) at Epidauros.[53] The excavation

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[48] Rutter 1992.

[49] However, see the ambiguous case of the stratified paintings within the Cult Centre of Mycenae which are dated to the LH IIIC period, Kritseli-Providi 1982, 18–19, 37–40, 73–76, 80–89; also Maran 2006, 127, esp. n. 5, 128. Moreover, the painted stele from Mycenae which in all probability has been executed by the same hand as the famous warrior-vase and can thus be dated to LH IIIC Middle; Rutter 1992, 62, 65, 72 nn. 10, 12, points to a certain degree of continuity in the craft on a much diminished scale.

[50] Recently, see Gallou 2005.

[51] Hägg 1995.

[52] It is probably not the layout per se which has given rise to the notion that state cults are reflected in the architectural features of the innermost palace, but the painted plaster-embellishment of the central hearths in the megara of Tiryns and Mycenae, suggesting the existence of a Mycenaean concept of a 'sacred fire', and the cavities in the plastered floor next to the throne at Pylos that are often cited as evidence for libations. I thank Jeremy Rutter for this suggestion.

[53] Lambrinoudakis 1981; Whittaker 2002, 153–155.

unearthed ashy layers around an altar with animal bones, votives and cult paraphernalia (inter alia weapons, jewellery and a Minoan relief-carved stone vase) and abundant terracotta figurines.[54]

The best attested *settlement sanctuary* is the already mentioned Cult Centre in Mycenae[55]. So far unique in its scale and complexity, the Cult Centre comprises several buildings adjacent to the fortification wall which form an architectural ensemble; some rooms are equipped with benches and altars and in a few instances are also adorned with fresco paintings.[56]

Domestic cult has so far been defined mainly in exclusionary terms: when figurines have been found in habitation areas showing no signs of public use, when the amount of figurines excavated was small and not or sparsely associated with other ritual paraphernalia such as miniature vessels and rhyta, and, most commonly, by the absence of larger wheelmade figures.[57]

The case studies presented below focus on the find spots of figurines within settlement contexts, i.e. on the two categories of settlement sanctuary and domestic cult.

The differentiation of spheres of ritual behaviour

Before exploring the supposed links between figurines and ritual[58] in more detail, I would like to clarify my notions of religious ritual in the Mycenaean period: I define religious ritual as symbolic action performed with the aim to invoke and/or influence (i.e. to contact/worship/appease/gratify-or-oblige) supernatural powers. Many ritual actions are performed by a group of worshippers and repeated over time, the latter usually being a prerequisite for leaving recognizable traces in the archaeological record. When objects or

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[54] The earliest types of terracotta figurines from the Kynortion Hill commence slightly later than the first Mycenaean artefacts at the site; the figurines (Peppa-Papaioannou 1985) are apparently attested until the end of the palatial period, but to my mind obvious LH IIIC-types are absent, contra Guggisberg 1996, 31 who dates three fragments of the wheelmade bovids to LH IIIC on stylistic grounds (Guggisberg 1996, 27 Cat.-Nos. 11, 14, 15, *cf.* Peppa-Papaioannou 1985, 37 A 74, A76, pl. 13; 81 B 125, pl. 14). The decoration of these bovids consists inter alia of wavy lines which Guggisberg 1996, 31 n. 102 compares to the décor of LH IIIC Middle vessels. I do not agree with the proposed date since it relies on the tenuous stylistic comparison of a single motif. On the contrary, one could point out that a décor of wavy lines on small handmade bovids is a stylistic feature typical of the palatial period.

[55] *E.g.* Albers 1994, 13–49; Albers 2004, 121–131; French and Taylour 2007; Moore and Taylour 1999; Wardle 2003.

[56] Difficult to place within such a scheme are the material remains from sites as the Menelaion (Catling 1995) and Tsoungiza (Wright et al. 1990, 636–637, pl. 95e). On the latter site, a single figure, a few small figurines and a ceramic ensemble of proto-palatial or early palatial date which is best characterized as feasting equipment (for a detailed analysis of a later, i.e. LH IIIB:1, but in some respects comparable deposit see Thomas 2005; for the figurines see Thomas 2005, 531–534 and fig. 36), have been found in a secondary context; the figure from the Menelaion is not stratified at all, but its stylistic analysis points to a LH IIIA date. In both cases cited, the material is dated to the earlier palatial period, but cannot (yet?) be associated with any architecturally defined settlement sanctuary. In the case of Tsoungiza, for which we possess a more detailed archaeological record, one may propose that forms of ritual expression were not yet canonized to the degree we can observe in the later stages of the palatial period (cf. also Voutsaki 1997, 249 and J. Wright in Dabney and Wright 1990, 52: 'Perhaps these developments at Mycenae during the LH IIIB period signal the convergence of ideology and political centralization such that the establishment of the cult centre there was part of the final process of consolidating power in the hands of a single ruler').

[57] Hägg 1995, 389; cf. Kilian 1992, 15 and J. Wright's comment in Hägg 1995, 391.

[58] For a general overview on ritual studies, see Bell 1997; on ritual theory in archaeology, see Bell 2007.

specific installations are used in the enactment of these rituals, we expect most of them to be preserved in the forms of abandoned structures or rubbish. Yet religious paraphernalia and holy sites tend to have a depositional history which differs from other contexts.[59] They are sometimes ritually buried or purified. Cult equipment and votives are often deposited in special pits, or *bothroi*, within a defined cult area, or at least separated from ordinary settlement debris.[60]

Such depositional circumstances do not apply to the find patterns of Mycenaean terracotta figurines which are not separated from but rather typically intermixed with settlement debris. Mycenaean terracottas occur seemingly at random in houses, courts and open spaces within the settlements. In spite of this apparently random distribution, the figurines did not serve any utilitarian need and they cannot simply be characterized as toys, since they are not exclusively associated with children in burials[61] and they were not produced at the household-level.[62] Terracotta figurines are encountered not only in houses, but also in places which are best characterized as sanctuaries, because apart from figurines other votives (for example miniature vessels and jewellery), cult installations (i.e. benches or altars), and ritual paraphernalia such as rhyta occur. No single functional explanation emerges as a common denominator for all these find spots: Mycenaean terracotta figurines apparently did not possess a consistent function but are best explained as ritual objects whose meaning could well have varied depending on the specific circumstances of their use, in other words on their context.[63] Such an ambiguity in meaning raises a fundamental question: did a 'monolithic' Mycenaean religion exist at all?

To circumvent the problem of deciding whether the symbolic structure of a 'Mycenaean religion' was coherent, a phenomenological approach is generally chosen. Thus 'Mycenaean religion' has been characterized, first by R. Hägg and then by K. Kilian and others, as encompassing different social levels of ritual performance.[64] These are most commonly termed 'official' and 'popular' cults, a distinction purported to be evident in the artefactual remains of Mycenaean ritual (Figure 5.1). 'Official religion' is implicitly defined as the religion of the elites, since it is closely associated with the state religion of the palatial period. In contrast, 'popular religion' is perceived as the cult of the common people or folk-religion. Official cult is said to involve mainly Minoan concepts and a select range of Minoan or Minoanizing artefacts specific to the mainland, as well as large wheelmade anthropomorphic and bovine figures, whereas popular cult is seen as stemming from Middle Helladic traditions retained by commoners and reflected in the use of small terracotta figurines in hypaethral shrines and in household cults.

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[59] Walker 1995, esp. 68–77.
[60] See the discussion in Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 229–235.
[61] Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 76–79, 175, 179, 200–204.
[62] The social setting of figurine production has been disregarded in most studies of Late Bronze Age figurines (a notable exception is Pilali-Papasteriou 1992, 53–69, 192–197 on Middle Minoan figurines). The Mycenaean types are commonly assumed to have been modelled in pottery workshops also producing decorated fine ware. Yet this implicitly contradicts any hypothesis about their function as toys: to argue against a household production of these figurines would also exclude the option to assign an ultimate function as toys to the figurines, because in the case of toys, any scale larger than that of household production was presumably never attained in prehistoric societies and is only a very modern phenomenon (Vetters 2009, chapter 4.2).
[63] This has been eloquently demonstrated by Tzonou-Herbst 2002; 2003.
[64] Hägg 1981, esp. 36–39; Hägg 1995; Kilian 1990; Kilian 1992.

official cults	**popular cults**
religion of the elites, state cult during the palatial period	folk religion
Minoan concepts and Minoanizing artefacts	Middle Helladic traditions
megaron cult, settlement sanctuaries	hypaethral shrines, household cults
iconographic programs of wall paintings, processions, banqueting	central hearths as focus of domestic rituals, pottery assemblages exclusively containing kylikes, skyphoi and similar vessel-types comprising a dinning service
large wheelmade terracotta figures	small terracotta figurines of all types (anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, miniature models of furniture, group figurines)

Fig. 5.1. Characterization of Mycenaean ritual according to Hägg 1981; Hägg 1995; Kilian 1990, 193, 196.

Hägg first excluded small terracotta figurines from places of official worship, but later conceded that a range of types would eventually occur in official cult places by the end of the palatial and commonly in the post-palatial period,[65] although the palace itself, while it existed, and especially the megaron at its heart, would be free of any small terracottas.

Several points speak against such clear-cut theoretical divisions. Taking the supposed characteristics of 'official cult' at face-value, we may observe that Minoan concepts in Mycenaean religion are undisputedly reflected in the pictorial programs of palatial frescoes.[66] The concept of epiphany and the suggested intimate relationship of a female deity with the palace also have an obvious Minoan pedigree,[67] while processions and banquets constitute important parts of Minoan and Mycenaean rituals,[68] and specific vessel types of Minoan derivation, especially rhyta, are employed in such ritual acts as libations.[69] Yet the 'official sphere' consists not only of Minoan features, since traditional Helladic elements can be observed in the aggrandized hearth-cult inside the palatial megaron.[70]

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[65] Hägg 1995, 389–390; Kilian 1990, 195–196; Kilian 1992, 20–21.
[66] Peterson 1981; McCallum 1987.
[67] Maran and Stavrianopoulou 2007, 288–292.
[68] Wright 2004.
[69] Hägg 1985, 211–212; Koehl 2006, esp. 279, 316–317, 322–325, 360–361, 363–368.
[70] Wright 1994, 57–60.

The distribution of figurines, however, constitutes the core of my argument. While fewer small and handmade figurines can be attributed to the palace confines than to other settlement areas,[71] larger wheelmade terracotta figures are as yet also missing from the cores of Mycenaean palaces, the megaron and its immediate surroundings.[72] Moreover, if places of official worship – the settlement sanctuaries – are to be defined by the co-occurrence of both large figures and small figurines, such a definition would fail to correspond with the material remains recovered in Room A at Aghios Konstantinos or to the finds in the Cult Centre of Mycenae. And if popular cults are characterized by open-air sanctuaries and the use of small figurines only, this would not correspond with the assemblage of finds from the Mycenaean sanctuary at Epidauros, where quite a few Minoan and Minoanizing (i.e. elite) artefacts also came to light.[73] The same applies to the LH IIIB hypaethral sanctuary at the site of the Classical temple of Aphaia on Aigina[74] or the mainly post-palatial open-air shrine at the site of the later Amyklaion near Sparta[75] because fragments of large wheelmade female figures were excavated at all three sites.[76] Most importantly, if one defines popular religion mainly by its retention of a Helladic character, terracotta figurines are the artefacts least attributable to such indigenous mainland traditions, since they were totally absent from Middle Helladic material culture and were only (re)introduced to the mainland at the time of intense contacts with Minoan Crete.

I do not contest that different social strata probably practiced religious ritual during the Mycenaean period. I only doubt that these can be easily identified by a few 'artefactual markers'. Yet, I would definitely suppose that social practice varied over time and with changing socio-political conditions in particular, thereby creating new associations between ritual objects and ritual performers. As a consequence of the above discussion, it seems desirable to introduce an additional concept to discussions of Mycenaean ritual practices expressed in the polarity between the terms 'private' vs. 'communal' ritual. These terms will shift the focus from aspects of social rank and a strict check-list for

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[71] This can be demonstrated by comparing figurine frequencies in the so-called Tirynthian Epichosis and the Lower Citadel.

[72] In my thesis I argue for the identification of the Epichosis material as part of the original inventory of the last Mycenaean palace on the Upper Citadel of Tiryns (Vetters 2009, chapter 5.4.1–5). Consequently, the partially preserved wheelmade figure of a male (Voigtländer 2003, 130 Cat.-No. T 41a pl. 94; French 1985, 223–224, fig. 6. 10, pl. 37e–h) would constitute the only known evidence of a large terracotta figure associated with the innermost spaces of a palace. All evidence cited is drawn from Tiryns, where the palace area itself is comparatively poorly documented, although the more fully preserved and better published series of palatial contexts at Pylos would seem to be a better choice of reference. Yet, especially in the later stages of the palatial period, figurine distributions in the palace at Ano Englianos/Pylos cannot be considered as paradigmatic when compared to palatial sites in the Argolid or Boeotia; the same phenomenon applies to the decorated fine ware; Jung 2006b, 407.

[73] Lambrinoudakis 1981; Whittaker 2002, 153–155.

[74] Pilafidis-Williams 1998.

[75] Demakopoulou 1982.

[76] Fragments of wheelmade anthropomorphic figures at the Amyklaion: Demakopoulou 1982, 54–56 pl. 25–26; at Aphaia: Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 77–82 pl. 4 (No. 545); 5; 57–61; at Epidauros: Peppa-Papaioannou 1985, 28 Cat.-No. A16, 70 Cat.-No. B15. Although E. Peppa-Papaioannou does not identify them as such, these two fragmentary heads modelled in detail (approximately 6 cm and 4 cm in height respectively) probably belong to small wheelmade figures such as those cited in nn. 176 (DB-Nos. 1689+1690+1691) and 178 (DB-No. 2406) below.

artefacts towards the spaces in which ritual is performed in and to the gross numbers of participants in those religious rites, because I deem it easier to demonstrate the private as opposed to public nature of an action on the basis of the archaeological remains than to ascribe a social status to those participating or performing in it.

Once any bias due to different histories of deposition can be excluded, I would designate as communal ritual any context showing either traces of repeated performances by a group or a greater accumulation of ritual objects than in the usual habitation areas, whether in an open space, in a specially designed architectural unit, or even in a funerary setting. As evidence for private ritual I would interpret archaeological remains clearly linked to a household, i.e. a multifunctional room or rooms which are comparatively inaccessible to the public at large, which preserve few or no objects of worship, but instead contain artefacts which can be categorized as cult paraphernalia or at least as an accumulation of objects for which a purely utilitarian/functional explanation in toto is difficult to conceive.

Case studies

Figurines and Ritual in Post-Palatial Tiryns

The site of Tiryns with its three-tiered citadel, the remains of the Mycenaean palace on its summit and an extensive lower town around the fortified acropolis lies in the southern part of the Argive plain close to the former shore, having once been the main harbour of the Argolid.[77] Settlement on the citadel and surrounding plain shows a continuous stratigraphic sequence from the palatial to the end of the post-palatial period and thus qualifies for a detailed case study for investigating Mycenaean rituals in a settlement context. Due to its extensive LH IIIC habitation[78] the site is also well suited for tracing the development of ritual behaviour from the palatial into the post-palatial period. Moreover, Tiryns is one of the type sites of the Mycenaean period on the Late Bronze Age Greek mainland and has been excavated since 1876 first by Heinrich Schliemann and then by the German Archaeological Institute and the Greek Archaeological Service. Therefore, it offers a broad spectrum of artefacts, architecture and settlement data which form the basis of the contextual analysis of the figurines.[79]

Methodology

Regarding the methodology applied in the contextual study of the figurines, two aspects are important before presenting the actual case studies: first, the stratigraphical position of the figurine-types examined should be unequivocal, i.e. the figurines should have come to light in or slightly above a floor level; second, the terracottas should be preserved to

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[77] For the history of the site and the ongoing excavations, see Jantzen 1975; Papadimitriou 2001; Schliemann 1886; Kilian 1978; 1979; 1981a; 1982; 1983; 1988a; Maran 2001; Maran and Papadimitriou 2006; Maran 2008.
[78] Kilian 1978, 460–470; esp. Mühlenbruch 2004; for the recently excavated post-palatial settlement area in the sector of Tiryns Northeast, see Maran and Papadimitriou 2006; Stockhammer 2008.
[79] See the series *Tiryns Forschungen und Berichte* for synthetic excavation reports and catalogues of various artefact classes.

a considerable extent in order to be plausibly attributed to the inventory of the room in question.[80]

Problems of stratigraphy occur in every continuously inhabited settlement site. They are due to repeated intrusions into older strata during the construction of new dwellings or the digging of sub-surface features such as pits. Kick-ups of older material are frequently encountered – sometimes even right above floor levels in rooms because they were either incorporated into building material (for example, to strengthen the matrix of mudbricks) or they constitute rubbish deposited over a longer period of time in structures no longer used for habitation but having been cleaned of their original inventory before abandonment. Such kick-ups could also have been redeposited as foundation fill from older settlement strata by laying and levelling a new foundation for the next floor level.

With these problems in mind[81] specific areas and contexts, where the danger of contamination with older material is diminished, were selected as case studies (Figure 5.2): One of the areas under review is part of the settlement in the Northern Lower Town where habitation, commencing at the beginning of LH IIIC, was founded above a sterile layer which effectively blocked the dislocation of older settlement material.[82] Although situated in the Lower Citadel, an area continuously inhabited over centuries, the second example of a household-context, Room 127, was sealed by a sequence of superimposed floor-layers.[83] The levels sandwiched between these floors show a minimal increase in elevation between the successive floors, thus making it unlikely that additional fills from the outside were deposited inside the room. These and other closed contexts were reviewed for the range of figurine types prevalent in the LH IIIC period and were used as a typological check of other situations where material seemed to be heterogeneous and originated from strata with more complicated depositional histories. Such an approach proved valuable in the examination of figurine distributions in open spaces, such as the courtyard around the cult-rooms 117 to 110a in the Lower Citadel. Even within contexts from closed rooms the extent of a figurine's preservation was taken into account in establishing what to consider as remnants of the former terracotta inventory.

Private Ritual

In a settlement context such as Tiryns, instances of figurine fragments within the domestic sphere are often attested. When parts of figurines occur within multifunctional rooms, they are here taken as evidence of private ritual. According to my definition of private ritual, they are easier to identify than figurines which can unambiguously be associated with

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[80] See the discussion between E. French and K. Kilian: French 1981, 173; esp. French's comment on Kilian 1981c, 58; French 2003, 311–312. I tend to favour French's guideline (French 2003, 312) that at least two thirds of the original figurine should be preserved to constitute reliable quantitative evidence of type frequencies and amounts of figurines in a particular area. Yet, I disagree with her statement that fragments cannot be functionally interpreted in a settlement context (French 1961, 25–26). In my opinion, careful stratigraphical, topographical, contextual and finally stylistic analysis can reveal whether a fragment is likely to be part of a room's inventory or rather constitutes a kick-up from random artefact scatters which are due to the general dispersion of settlement waste within habitation areas.

[81] Therefore, the following case studies concentrate on the better preserved figurines from a specific area. They are used primarily to extract patterns of activities in the excavated record but all fragments are plotted (and thus interpreted to a certain extent) in the respective distribution maps.

[82] Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 99–104, 127–130.

[83] Kilian 1981a, 151 fig. 2, 154, 155 figs. 5 and 7, 156, 159; Kilian 1982, 395, fig. 3; Kilian 1983, 282–284, figs. 5–7, 287, fig. 9; Mühlenbruch 2004, chapters 2.2.3.4.3.1, 2.2.3.5.3.1, 2.5.2.3.3, 2.5.2.4.3.

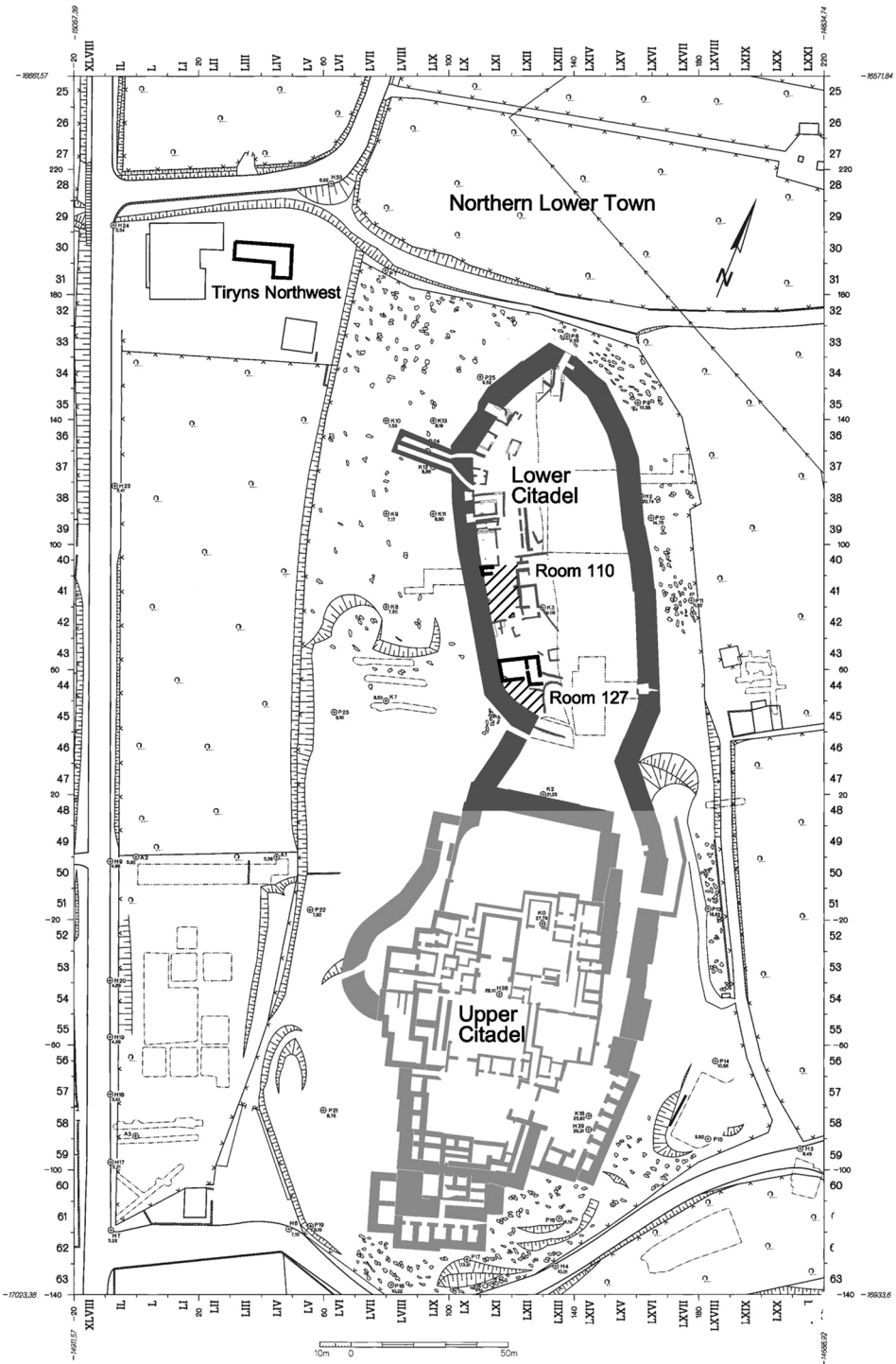

Fig. 5.2. Location of case studies within the settlement area and citadel of Mycenaean Tiryns. Hatched areas: Courtyard 1 (to the north) and Courtyard 3 (to the south).

communal cult,[84] where the use of a certain space for communal purposes and especially for ritual has to be ascertained first. Hence examples of what I would characterize as private ritual should be considered first.

Tiryns Northwest

Parts of the extensive post-palatial settlement of the Lower Town were uncovered north of the citadel. In the area Tiryns Northwest successive layers of LH IIIC Early to LH IIIC developed habitation can be observed.[85] Tiryns Northwest comprises three phases of at least one multi-room domestic structure with an adjacent courtyard.[86] The first two phases show minor architectural changes only;[87] the last one witnesses a reduction in rooms, but habitation continues on the same plot. In short, during the time of LH IIIC Early (the first two phases) Tiryns Northwest features a well-built architectural complex, the find assemblage or 'inventory' of which can be classified as slightly above average quality.[88]

A total of 46 individual terracotta figurines were found, out of which 22 are anthropomorphic, 23 zoomorphic and one is part of a miniature bed model.[89] The distribution map of figurine fragments during phase 1 in Tiryns Northwest shows 24 different terracottas comprising twelve anthropomorphic[90] and zoomorphic[91] figurines respectively (Figure 5.3 and Plate 5.3). Out of these four fragments were found below the oldest floor levels[92] and another five are small fragments of palatial types[93] which were probably incorporated in the mudbrick walls and cannot be counted as part of the actual figurine range in use during this phase. Only two of the seven figurine fragments[94] in the central Room 307 are preserved to some extent.[95] These two zoomorphic terracottas being characteristic for LH IIIC animal figurines were found together at the west side of Room

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[84] Cf. Renfrew 1985, 18–21 for how to identify the focus of cult activities in the archaeological record.

[85] Kilian 1978, 449–455; Podzuweit 1978, 471–495; on the slightly younger date for the third settlement-phase (i.e. within LH IIIC Developed instead of a late stage of LH IIIC Early), see Stockhammer 2008, 59, 61, 63, 193.

[86] The clustering of houses around open spaces or courtyards is a typical phenomenon of post-palatial settlement architecture which has been well studied in the Lower Citadel and in the settlement areas outside the walls known as Tiryns Northwest and Tiryns Northeast; Mühlenbruch 2004, chapter 2.3.

[87] The first phase comprises two floor levels within Rooms 307, 310a, 312; Mühlenbruch 2004, chapters 2.3.3.3 and 5. The second phase does not witness any major remodelling, yet additional rooms are added in the west and southeast.

[88] Stockhammer 2008, 279 on imported vessels; Rahmstorf 2008b, 3–9 (squares LIII.LIV 30, LIV 31) and Vetters 2009, chapter 5.6.1 for the small finds which include an ivory comb and two seals.

[89] Vetters 2009, chapter 5.6.1. The figurines belonging to the third phase of Tiryns Northwest have only been included into the summary statistics here since this phase was excavated immediately below the modern surface and has suffered from disturbances due to prolonged agricultural use of the area. A selection of figurines from Tiryns Northwest (from all three phases) is already published in Kilian 1978, 453 figs. 6–7. For the purpose of identifying specific figurine fragments in the distribution maps and in the final publication of the figurines the database-numbers (DB-No.) of the fragments are given in the footnotes and figures.

[90] DB-Nos. (977+992+994 = joints), 980, 982, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 993, 995, 1116, 1246.

[91] DB-Nos. 997, 998, 999, 1000, 1001, (1108+1109 = joints), 1112, 1113, 1249, 1250, 1251, 1901.

[92] DB-Nos. 995, 997, 1000, 1250 (light gray symbols in Figure 5.3 and in corresponding Plate 5.3 at the end of the volume).

[93] DB-Nos. 993, 1116, 1246, 1249, 1251.

[94] The stratigraphical position of the 5 poorly preserved figurines is as follows: 2 anthropomorphic fragments are attested on the second floor level (DB-No. 986 and 988); 2 further zoomorphic (DB-Nos. 999 and 1901) and 1 anthropomorphic fragment (DB-No. 989) come from the fill.

[95] Two thirds or completely preserved.

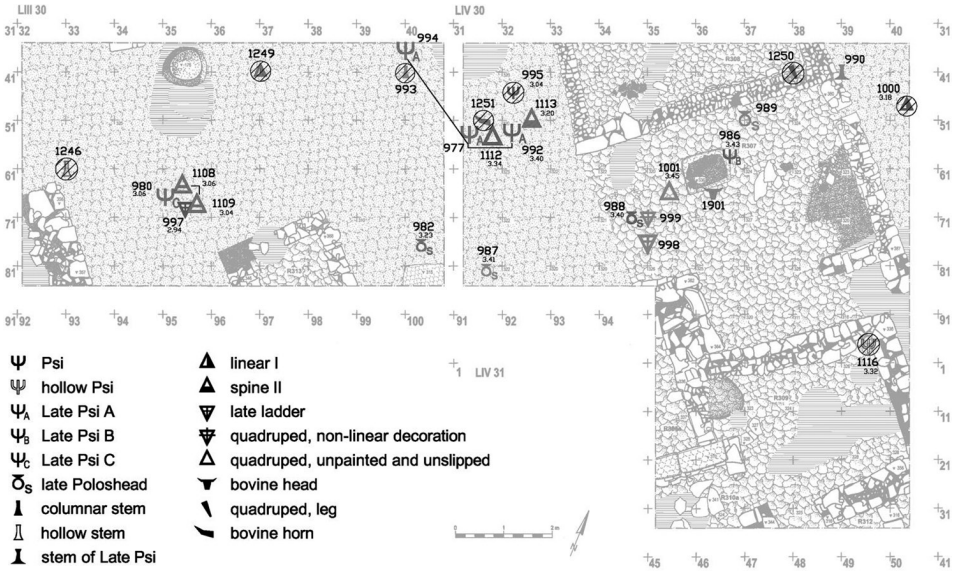

Fig. 5.3. Distribution of figurine fragments in the first post-palatial settlement phase of Tiryns Northwest (LH IIIC Early, horizon 19A). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.3 at the end of this volume. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved; linked line = figurine joints; hatched circle = older kick-ups.

307 in the fill above the floor, yet in close proximity to the central hearth[96] and the entrance area.[97] Concentrations of other well preserved figurines were also excavated in the western part of the courtyard and southwest of Room 308. The animal[98] and female figurine[99] in the yard northwest of Room 313 might either hint at an activity focus in front of Room 313 or, more likely, represent a refuse accumulation stemming from this structure. The same probably applies to two animal figurines[100] and one female terracotta[101] which came to light in the eastern yard close to Rooms 308 and 307: They seem to attest to the refuse behaviour of the inhabitants, i.e. waste disposal in the open spaces, rather than reflecting original activity foci involving figurines, because quite a few other fragmented small finds[102] and ceramic vessels[103] were found in this area.

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[96] DB-No. 1001.
[97] DB-No. 998.
[98] (DB-Nos. 1108+1109).
[99] DB-No. 980.
[100] DB-Nos. 1112, 1113. DB-No. 1113 is the only well preserved figurine of a clearly palatial type in the early post-palatial layers of Tiryns Northwest. This obviously reflects the quick stylistic and typological change in this class of objects after the collapse of the palatial system and also points to the fact that only a few figurines were retained, i.e. that figurines were not valued per se.
[101] (DB-Nos. 977+992+994).
[102] For fragments of bronze vessels, see Rahmstorf 2008b, 5 Cat.-No. 772, 7 Cat.-No. 773; a bronze-stylus, Rahmstorf 2008b, 5 Cat.-No. 564, a glass bead, Rahmstorf 2008b, 5 Cat.-No. 2437, part of a horse toggle made of bone, Rahmstorf 2008b, 6 Cat.-No. 1289, and an ivory pommel, Krzyszkowska 2005, 206 Cat.-No. 29 pl. 3, 6.
[103] Most notably is a wallbracket of Cypriote inspiration but local production; Rahmstorf 2008b, 6 Cat.-No. 1826; on wallbrackets in Tiryns, see Rahmstorf 2008a, 91–111.

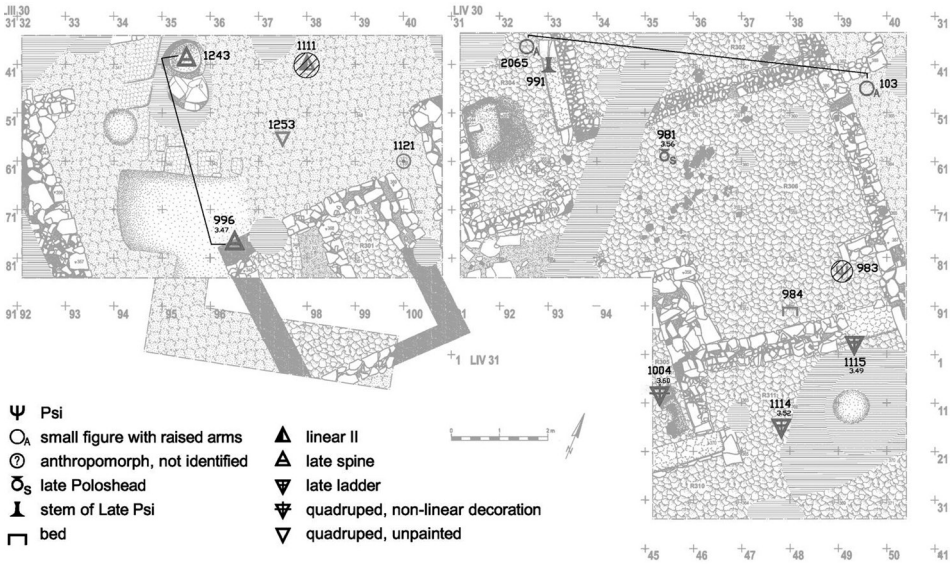

Fig. 5.4. Distribution of figurine fragments in the second post-palatial settlement phase of Tiryns Northwest (LH IIIC Early, horizon 19B). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.4. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved; linked line = figurine joints; hatched circle = older kick-ups.

The second phase demonstrates a slight modification of the previous architecture,[104] but still falls within LH IIIC Early (Figure 5.4 and Plate 5.4). During phase 2 of the settlement in Tiryns Northwest a total of 12 terracottas came to light. Five represent anthropomorphic types,[105] six animal terracottas[106] and one fragment is part of a miniature bed-model.[107] Out of the total of 12 figurines, five preserve more than half of the original and are therefore central to the contextual analysis. Three of them were found in rooms and the original location of the other two can be associated with rooms for good reason. One zoomorphic figurine[108] lay directly on top of the hearth in Room 305. An almost intact animal[109] was found at the threshold of Room 311 and another zoomorphic figurine[110] was excavated on the floor of the same room. Less direct is the reconstruction of the original use-contexts for the following two terracottas: two joining fragments of a slightly larger than usual, but handmade anthropomorphic figure[111] with a hollow stem were found widely scattered in the fill of phase 2. One fragment[112] came to light in the northern part of Room 304 close to the bench running along its eastern wall. The occurrence of a figure

[104] Mühlenbruch 2004, chapter 2.3 (horizon 19B).
[105] DB-Nos. (103+2065), 981, 983, 991, 1121.
[106] DB-Nos. (996+1243), 1004, 1111, 1114, 1115, 1253.
[107] DB-No. 984.
[108] DB-No. 1004.
[109] DB-No. 1115.
[110] DB-No. 1114, also completely preserved.
[111] (DB-Nos. 103+2065); less than half of the original figure is preserved.
[112] DB-No. 2065 (part of the stem). The larger fragment, DB-No. 103 (part of stem and torso), was found northeast of Room 306 close to the drain of this room.

close to a bench in this context might point to the common arrangement of such figures on benches, similar to what can be observed in cases of communal ritual in Tiryns. Two joining fragments of an almost completely preserved animal figurine[113] were excavated in the western courtyard. One part[114] of this zoomorphic terracotta was found in the fill of a well, the other[115] in the north-western corner of Room 301a. Although the find pattern only documents refuse deposition, the original animal figurine was probably associated with R301a which features a hearth along its eastern wall. The second phase of Tiryns Northwest offers the best contextual evidence for the original positioning of animal figurines in proximity to hearths and thresholds and probably of a female figure on a bench.

As outlined above, an important methodological point is exemplified by these two case studies: evidently, not every figurine fragment constitutes good contextual evidence for analyzing activity areas and tracing ritual behaviour. Thus, the overall distribution of terracotta fragments in any context will have to be interpreted with regard to the preservation of single fragments. Summarizing figurine distributions in Tiryns Northwest, twenty-four out of forty-six figurines of all three phases were found inside the rooms. Among these, zoomorphic figurines are better preserved than anthropomorphic types and clearly predominate inside the architectural complex. The contextual evidence supports an association of animal figurines with hearths in two successive phases and once of a zoomorphic terracotta with a threshold. Interestingly enough, rooms void of well-preserved figurine fragments do not seem to feature hearths either.

Room 127 in the Lower Citadel

Proceeding from the evidence for private cult in the early part of LH IIIC, figurine find spots in the Lower Citadel during the later phases of the post-palatial period are examined in the following. Room 127 is the largest domestic structure in the Lower Citadel erected around 1140 BCE. The dwelling features four superimposed floor-levels on the same plot spanning a period of about fifty years and represent one of the few LH IIIC Late habitation structures which contained figurine finds.[116]

The first floor during LH IIIC Advanced is equipped with a central hearth and another smaller one close to the entrance in the southeast of the room. Three figurine fragments of zoomorphic types[117] were scattered along the southern part of Room 127, and another one[118] was found within the northern wall of the room (Figure 5.5 and Plate 5.5). Two fragments[119] which preserve approximately one third of the original figurine and are clearly post-palatial in style were excavated in the southeastern part of the structure close

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[113] (DB-Nos. 996+1243).
[114] DB-No. 1243.
[115] DB-No. 996.
[116] Figurine fragments inside Room 127 are by far the most frequent in comparison with other domestic structures during LH IIIC Advanced and Late in the Lower Citadel.
[117] DB-Nos. 1934, 2027, 2137. The last is a tiny leg-fragment and thus does not constitute solid evidence for the use of the original figurine within Room 127.
[118] DB-No. 717. The fragment constitutes approximately one third of an unpainted animal. Despite its position within the wall, its documented elevation fits well with the heights of the surrounding floor-level of the room.
[119] DB-Nos. 1934, 2027. Since the elevations of the fragments were not recorded, they can only be assigned to this phase in general. They could derive from the foundation of the room, but were probably found in the fill above the first floor.

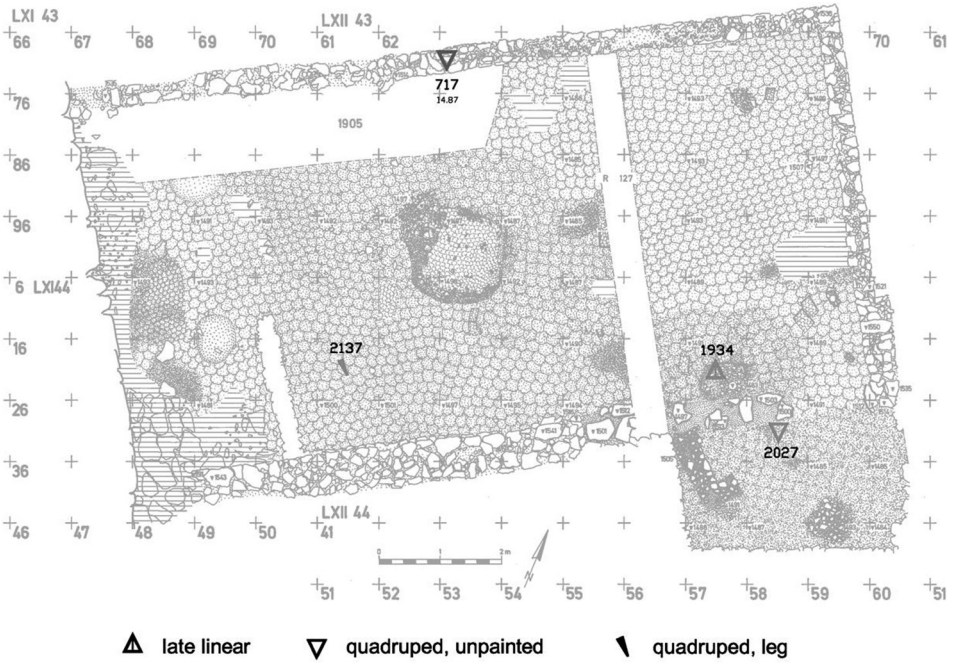

Fig. 5.5. Distribution of figurine fragments on the first floor of Room 127 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Advanced, horizon 21a1). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.5. Medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved.

to the entrance area and the hearth; to the north three steatite conuli[120] and two terracotta whorls have been located in the eastern centre of the room.[121] Regarding the size of the figurine fragments they could be considered as refuse to be swept out of the premises and might give the impression of a room stripped of its still functional inventory, if it were not for the accumulation of the other small finds in the same area. Therefore, I would tentatively characterize the finds as remnants of former activity areas.

The second floor lies c. 5 cm above the previous one and comprises a total of four hearths, three of them clustered in the centre of the room (Figure 5.6 and Plate 5.6). This phase ended in a conflagration which preserved a rich inventory of painted vessels, yet in spite of the numerous hearths, no cooking dishes and almost no unpainted ceramics are attested. Two figurines[122] found in this room are fairly well-preserved, another one is but a tiny fragment of a bull protome, having once formed the handle applique of a carinated cup.[123] It was found in the fill, yet closely associated with a mudbrick-dais bordering one

[120] For the position of the small finds within Room 127, see Rahmstorf 2008a, pl. 138.2. On the plan, 4 steatite conuli are plotted in the area, yet according to its documented height during excavation (15.15 m asl) Cat.-No. 92 has to be assigned to the last phase of Room 127 (horizon 22a1–b).
[121] The pottery consisted of predominantly painted and 20% plain ware, including plain kylikes; its composition represents a typical household-assemblage; Kilian 1983, 281.
[122] DB-Nos. 907, 2218.
[123] DB-No. 2098.

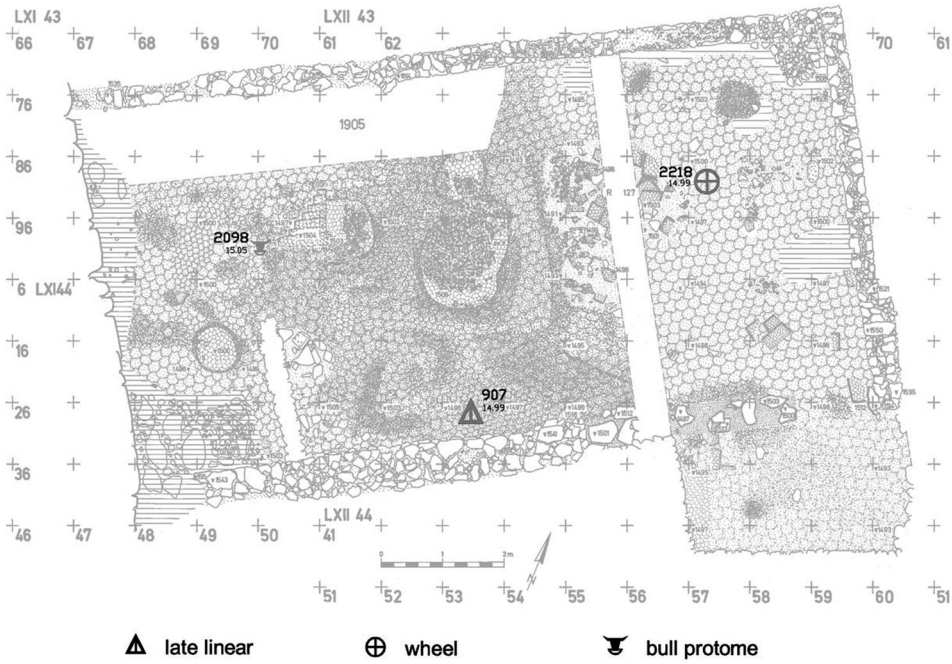

Fig. 5.6. Distribution of figurine fragments on the second floor of Room 127 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Advanced, horizon 21b1). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.6. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved.

of the hearths.[124] This is the earliest stratified occurrence of bull-protomes on carinated cups in Tiryns. They might represent ritual vessels but they are definitely derived from Italian prototypes.[125] In the southern centre of the structure an animal terracotta was situated close to the wall and approximately 2 m south of the central hearth.[126] A completely preserved wheel-model[127] came to light in the north-eastern part of the room – about one and a half metres southwest of a hearth within a conglomeration of burnt mudbrick and wooden beams. The same area also features a concentration of small finds linked to household tasks: terracotta whorls[128] and clay spools for textile production and a grinding stone south of a stone-paved area for grain storage in the north-eastern corner of

[124] Apparently, a bronze-knife came to light in the same spot; Rahmstorf 2008b, 84 Cat.-Nr. 588. According to the height recorded for this small find it should be assigned to the fill of the second floor, i.e. horizon 21c0, instead of the fill on top of third one (horizon 21d–22a0); for the small find distribution of the latter Rahmstorf 2008a, pl. 139. (N.B.: The caption of the plate assigns the plan erroneously to horizon 21b1; yet the small-finds and architecture represent the third phase of Room 127, i.e. horizon 21c1, see also note 128 below.)

[125] Kilian 1988b, 129 fig. 8a, 133; Kilian 2007, 34–36, 53; Jung 2006a, 47, 185–186, 215 pl. 16.1; Podzuweit 2007, 118–119, pl. 59.4–8.

[126] DB-No. 907. More than two thirds of the original figurine is preserved.

[127] DB-No. 2218. As a note of caution: the identification of the object is ambiguous; I would characterize it as a wheel-model of the handmade burnished ware-type, but the section of the piece shows that it is not pierced all the way through the centre. Yet this fact would seem to preclude its identification as a terracotta button or spindle whorl, too.

[128] Rahmstorf 2008a, pl. 142 (N.B.: The caption of the plate assigns the plan erroneously to horizon 21c1; yet the small-finds and architecture represent the second phase of Room 127, i.e. horizon 21b1).

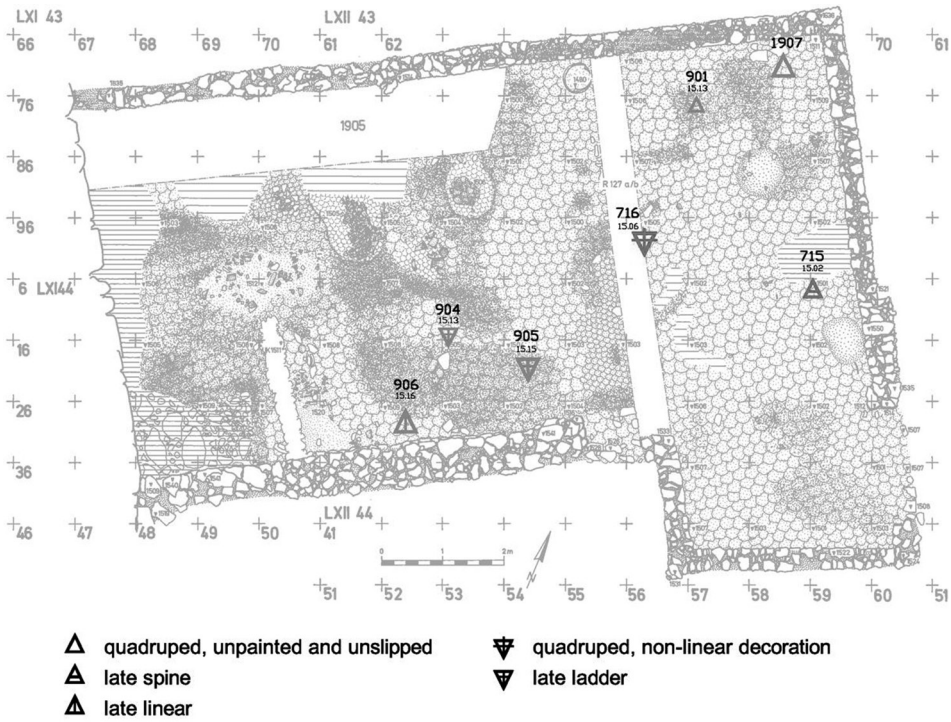

Fig. 5.7. Distribution of figurine fragments on the third floor of Room 127 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Advanced, horizon 21c1). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.7. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved.

the room. The find patterns of this phase seem to reveal former activity areas rather than refuse patterns – which might be expected in the case of a general conflagration. Again, a tendency for the association of figurines with hearths and the occurrence of steatite conuli and terracotta whorls in close proximity can be noted and was already observed during the previous phase.

Continued occupation after the burnt destruction level on the same plot and probably by the same family can be surmised on the third and last floor within LH IIIC advanced, because three of the former four hearths are located directly on top of the previous ones. Seven partially fragmented figurines are attested,[129] four of which are well preserved (Figure 5.7 and Plate 5.7): to the west side of the door towards court 3 – which could only be entered via Room 127 – one terracotta figurine of a horse[130] was excavated in the fill above the floor (the species is marked by its withers). Another well-preserved animal figurine was found in the fill[131] c. 2.5 m southwest of the previous one and close to the southern wall. Again, a completely preserved steatite conulus and a terracotta spindle whorl were associated with it.[132] In the western centre of the structure two thirds of yet

[129] DB-Nos. 715, 716, 901, 904, 905, 906, 1907.
[130] DB-No. 905. Only the head is missing.
[131] DB-No. 906. A third zoomorphic terracotta, DB-No. 904, of which merely one third is preserved, derives from the fill of this area, i.e. the southern centre of the room.
[132] Rahmstorf 2008a, pl. 139 (Cat.-Nos. 100, 831).

another animal figurine came to light, this time directly on the floor.[133] Since a steatite conulus was found in the fill above the floor,[134] this recurrent association of a figurine with a conulus points to a former activity area. It might also indicate that the partition wall – documented on the next floor and dividing the structure into two room-compartments[135] – was already in use during this phase because the two objects[136] are in close vicinity to the respective door of the wall. The hindquarters of a fifth zoomorphic figurine were excavated on the floor level close to the eastern wall of the structure.[137] The north-eastern corner of Room 127 probably continued to be used as a storage-area for grain as indicated by some charred remains, ashes and a well-made clay floor above the former cobble pavement. Here a small unpainted and unslipped animal terracotta came to light[138].

The ceramic inventory of this phase features again lots of serving vessels but almost no plain ware and no plain kylikes.[139] It might be stretching the evidence but the ceramics and hearth installations could point to the frequent use of Room 127 in preparations for communal banquets which would have taken place in the semi-private Courtyard 3 south of the house.[140] The end of this third phase was caused by an earthquake destroying most of the buildings in the Lower Citadel.[141]

The last floor of Room 127 dates to the LH IIIC Late phase and the building now definitively comprised two distinct sub-spaces divided by a mudbrick-wall.[142] In contrast to the previous phases only one small hearth west of the southern entrance can be securely identified.[143] In the eastern room close to the wall a clay-larnax was found sunk into the floor containing one steatite conulus, a spindle whorl of terracotta, an antler tool, a clay spool and a skyphos.[144] Eight figurines, whole or fragmentary[145] and again

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[133] DB-No. 716.
[134] Rahmstorf 2008a, pl. 139 (Cat.-No. 105).
[135] See Figure 5.8 and Plate 5.8.
[136] DB-No. 716 and the steatite conulus.
[137] DB-No. 715. It lay immediately south of a pit which cut from the top floor down to the foundation fill of the structure and contained a clay larnax in the last phase of the house.
[138] DB-No. 1907. The head of another unpainted and unslipped animal, DB-No. 901, was found approximately 1.5 m southwest of it. Despite constituting the same type and the only missing part of the zoomorphic figurine DB-Nr. 1907, differences in the clay paste of the two fragments point against their assignment to the same original.
[139] Kilian 1983, 281.
[140] Mühlenbruch 2007, 245, 247. Yet such an activity can only be postulated for the second, third and fourth phase of Room 127, since the pottery shapes of the first phase did not hint at any special function, see note 121 above. In the same vein, P. Stockhammer suggested an occasional use for communal banqueting of the courtyard surrounding Room 8/00 in post-palatial Lower Town settlement of Tiryns Northeast; Stockhammer 2008, 306-310, 327–328.
[141] Kilian 1981a, 159.
[142] The two rooms of the structure have been designated as Room 127a, i.e. the western part, and Room 127b to the east.
[143] Kilian 1981a, 155–156. Kilian 1981a, 156 also identified a pile of ashes in the north-eastern corner of Room 127b as remnants of a fireplace. Yet this could also represent the burnt remains of cereals traditionally stored in this area during the two previous phases (the above mentioned cobble pavement and subsequent clay floor).
[144] Kilian 1983, 280, 281 fig. 4. For the small finds, see Rahmstorf 2008b, 157–158 Cat.-No. 219, Cat.-No. 225, Cat.-No. 1306, Cat.-No. 1567. Rahmstorf 2008a, pl. 141 represents an outdated version of the room's last phase; on the one depicted in Figure 5.8 and Plate 5.8 the larnax has been added.
[145] DB-Nos. 887, 902, 903, 1545, 1928, 1939, 2221, 2267. A ninth fragment, DB-No. 2133 is a partially preserved head of an animal figurine of palatial type. Since it was found close to a trial trench dug in 1905 which cut deeply into the palatial and post-palatial and levels of this area, even reaching below the layer of the LH IIIB Middle architecture (Kilian 1988a, 134 fig. 28), this fragment should be regarded as a kick-up from older settlement strata.

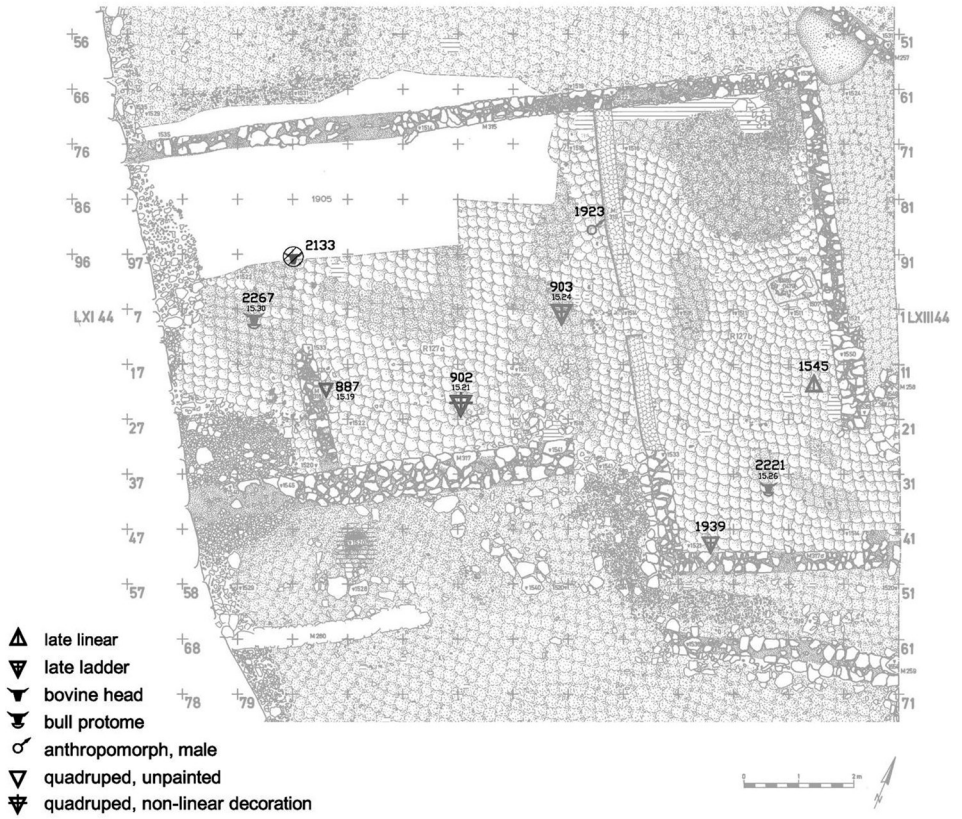

Fig. 5.8. Distribution of figurine fragments on the fourth floor of Room 127 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Late, horizon 22a1). For the plan in colour, see Plate 5.8. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved / hatched circle = older kick-up.

mostly zoomorphic, can be assigned to the floor or the fill directly above (Figure 5.8 and Plate 5.8). In the western room-compartment, Room 127a, three are well preserved.[146] For the first time, a human-shaped figurine can be traced in the terracotta-assemblage of Room 127. Inconspicuous and unpainted, this fragment of a male figurine,[147] identified by its separated legs, is a very rarely attested type, especially in post-palatial contexts. South of it, the first well-preserved animal[148] was found close to the door area linking the two room-compartments. Further southwest in front of the southern wall the second zoomorphic terracotta[149] was associated with a grinding stone pointing to the processing

[146] DB-Nos. 902, 903, 2267. The head of an unpainted and unslipped animal, DB-No. 887, was either found slightly below the floor level or directly above it in the southwest of Room 127a, immediately east of a short partition wall projecting into the room. Due to its size it does not constitute good contextual evidence and cannot be linked to specific activity areas.
[147] DB-No. 1928. Only one third of the original figurine is preserved.
[148] DB-No. 903. The animal was excavated approximately 10 cm above the floor level.
[149] DB-No. 902.

of cereals in the area west of the hearth.[150] The handle of a carinated cup with an attached protome of a bull's head was excavated in the fill above the floor in the westernmost area probably representing refuse upon abandonment.[151] Another fragment of the same type, though poorly preserved, was found in the southeast of the structure close to its main entrance.[152] Significantly, three bull-protomes[153] out of a total twelve known from Tiryns were found within Room 127,[154] including another two in the fill of the courtyard to the south and in the second entrance area east of the room.

What kind of rituals do the terracottas in Room 127 attest to? Female figurine fragments, perhaps significantly, are not attested in any phase of Room 127. This confirms the already noted predominance of animal figurines in private cult during the LH IIIC period. Some rituals of protective magic were probably performed in the household – indicated by the association of animals with either hearths, or doors and also areas of grain processing or storage. There is also slight evidence that the household of Room 127 provided for communal banquets, thus indicating a semi-private character of the structure which fits well with an assumed elitist lifestyle of its inhabitants based on the size of the house.[155]

Communal Ritual

After having established some characteristics and idiosyncrasies of private ritual in the post-palatial period,[156] case studies for communal ritual provide some significant contrasts.

Between 1976 and 1981 three successive shrines were excavated in the western centre of the Lower Citadel adjacent to the fortification wall. This cult area is often cited in discussions of post-palatial Mycenaean religion.[157] The sequence of Room 117, Room 110 and Room 110a covers all sub-phases of the LH IIIC period from Early to Late. The

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[150] One of the many clay spools attested in this phase of the structure was found in the fill above the floor, but in close spatial association with the quern and the zoomorphic figurine; Rahmstorf 2008a, pl. 140 (Cat.-No. 1543).

[151] DB-No. 2267. The handle and the applied protome are almost completely preserved, but the rest of the carinated cup is missing. Nevertheless, it could still be represented in the bulk of sherds which have been assigned to this type of vessel since numerous examples of the shape stem from this room.

[152] DB-No. 2221. The hindquarters of an animal figurine, DB-No. 1545, was located in the fill north of the entrance. Another zoomorphic fragment, also forming only one third of the original figurine (DB-No. 1939), was found in the fill close to the southwestern corner of Room 127b. The distribution of these figurine fragments in the fill and in proximity to the eastern entrance of the structure suggests that they are characterized as refuse of the room's former inventory.

[153] DB-Nos. 2098, 2221, 2267; contra Kilian 1981a, 156 who assigns 4 such carinated cups with handle appliques to Room 127.

[154] Kilian 1981a, 156 mentions explicitly that the pottery assemblage during the last phase of Room 127 contained again many cups, but almost no cooking vessels.

[155] As part of several case studies, one could perhaps integrate the ceramic evidence of Room 127 into a diachronic analysis of attitudes towards feasting with changing socio-political conditions in the Mycenaean Age and compare it e.g. with the material from Tsoungiza (cf. note 56 above), the pantries of the Pylian palace (see recently Hruby 2006, esp. chapter 5), the Epichosis material (Voigtländer 2003) and Room 8/00 in Tiryns Northeast (Stockhammer 2008, esp. 295–310). Similarly, differences in feasting equipment as reflected in the pottery and hence specific attitudes towards banqueting in certain macro-regions of the Eastern Mediterranean have already been the focus of a study by R. Jung (2006b).

[156] All patterns pointing to a selective use of specific figurine classes are derived from Tirynthian evidence. Therefore, I slightly hesitate to claim that such exclusive behaviour should be regarded as a general phenomenon throughout the post-palatial mainland before such evidence has been brought forward from other sites.

[157] E.g. Shelmerdine 1997, 573, 577, 579; Dickinson 2006, 225, 226 fig. 8, 2.1, 228, 229 fig. 8, 4.1.

shrines are small, one-room structures continuously occupying the same plot but varying in architectural layout.[158]

The first cult room, Room 117, was erected by the middle of LH IIIC Early. Its façade resembled that of a tripartite shrine. A plastered bench ran along the rear of the room and its floor was made of stucco.[159] After destruction by fire, Room 117 was thoroughly levelled in the following phase, LH IIIC Developed, and Room 110 was built on top of it, reusing its bench at the back of the room, but following a new ground plan for the whole structure.[160] This shrine collapsed in the earthquake destroying most buildings in the Lower Citadel by the end of LH IIIC Advanced.[161] Afterwards, Room 110a, even more diminished in size and featuring a megaroid architectural layout, continued to be used as a shrine for a few years during LH IIIC Late.[162] The distribution maps[163] of figurine fragments in this cult area highlight patterns which diverge clearly from those observed in domestic contexts.

Room 117

The first post-palatial shrine in the Lower Citadel is Room 117 (Figure 5.9 and Plate 5.9). Four anthropomorphic figurines[164] and at least two large wheelmade female figures[165] with the same attire are attested within Room 117[166] and to the north of it, next to an altar.[167] Joining fragments or whole figurines of 17 small female terracottas can be observed in and around the building and the surrounding Courtyard 1.[168] The extent of their preservation is far above average.[169] Most animal figurines found in this phase are either kick-ups of typologically and stylistically older types[170] or are preserved in such fragmentary state that there is no evidence for their contemporary use.[171] All zoomorphic fragments in the

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[158] Kilian 1978, 460-466, Kilian 1979, 389-394; Kilian 1981c, 52 fig. 4-5, 53-56; Kilian 1992, 21-23; Mühlenbruch 2004, chapters 2.2.3.2.2.9, 2.2.3.3.2.2, 2.2.3.4.2.4, 2.2.3.5.2.3; Mühlenbruch 2007, 245-247.

[159] Kilian 1981c, 52 fig. 4; for the small finds – mostly dedicated jewellery – see Rahmstorf 2008a, 266, pl. 128.

[160] Kilian 1981c, 52 fig. 5.

[161] Kilian 1978, 463; Kilian 1981c, 53–54. For the distribution of small finds in Room 110 and Courtyard 1 *cf.* Rahmstorf 2008a, 266–267, pl. 129.

[162] Kilian 1981c, 56 fig. 9. For the distribution of small finds in Room 110a and Courtyard 1, see Rahmstorf 2008a, 267, pl. 130.

[163] These differ in some respects from the distribution maps already published by Kilian 1992, pl. 5a–c, 6, 1, because the stratigraphical position of each fragment has been re-analyzed. Also, Kilian did not consider the extent of preservation for each figurine which constitutes a major point of divergence in my analysis of the material.

[164] DB-Nos. (109+295), 290, (291+1210+2054), 299. DB-No. 290 was found in the fill of Room 117 immediately below the floor of Room 110. Apart from these figurines which all preserve two thirds and more of the original, another six anthropomorphic fragments were recovered in Room 117: DB-Nos. 292, 1212, (1408+1409), 1411, 1412, 1695. DB-No. 292 was found in the fill of Room 117 immediately below the floor of Room 110.

[165] Several fragments join to form most parts of two upraised arms of one figure (DB-Nos. 1213+1400+2066+2067) – see also Kilian 1992, pl. 2.1, and the upraised arm of another figure (DB-Nos. 303+2407+2408) – see also Kilian 1992, pl. 4.1.

[166] DB-Nos. 1213, 1400, 2067.

[167] DB-Nos. 303, 2066 as well as DB-Nos. 2407, 2408 were already found during the excavations in 1972, prior to the standard practice of the recording in three dimensions of the exact find spot of the small finds.

[168] DB-Nos. (216+306), (296+2003), 297, (305+321+1399), 307, 313, (324+1783), (521+530), 526, 527, (531+2048), 543, 544, (1110+2002), 1212, 1415, (666+2017). DB-Nos. 666, 1783 are figurine fragments which were found 9 m southeast and 22 m northeast, respectively, of their joining parts and are not plotted on Figure 5.9 and Plate 5.9.

immediate neighbourhood of Room 117 were found within pits or below the floor level of the shrine[172] and thus cannot be meaningfully linked with communal rituals.[173] Two well-preserved animal figurines are located in the very south of the courtyard next to a pit.[174] They are, however, far removed from the focus of

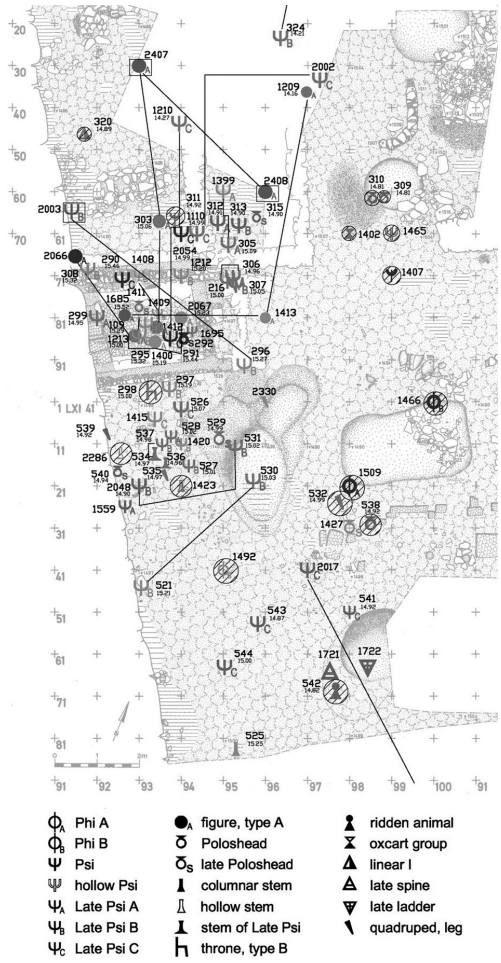

Fig. 5.9. Distribution of figurines and figures in Room 117 and the surrounding Courtyard 1 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Early–Developed, horizons 19b–20). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.9. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved / linked line = figurine joints; hatched circle = older kick-ups; rectangle = unstratified.

[169] They all preserve at least three quarters of the original and DB-Nos. (216+306), (296+2003), (305+321+1399), 313, (324+1783), 526, 527, (1110+2002) are complete, even if mended from fragments. One Late-Psi figurine, DB-No. 308, of which only the head is missing, was found below the south wall of the LH IIIC Advanced Room 115, but on approximately the same level as the floor of Room 115. Since its stratigraphical position does not allow it to be assigned definitively either to the dedicated terracottas in and around Room 117 or to the floor assemblage of the succeeding Room 115, it has not been counted as one of the well-preserved figurines (note 168 above) but has been plotted on the distribution map of the first phase (Figure 5.9 and Plate 5.9).

[170] DB-Nos. 320, 532, 535.

[171] DB-No. 539, 2330.

[172] DB-Nos. 186, 302, 304, 316, (317+976), 546, 550, 551, 1751, 2156. These are mostly tiny leg fragments. With regard to their stratigraphical position, they precede the construction and use of Room 117 and were thus not plotted on Figure 5.9 and Plate 5.9.

[173] The same applies to 14 fragmentary figurines, i.e. DB-Nos. 298, 309, 310, 311, 538, 542, 1402, 1407, 1423, 1465, 1466, 1492, 1509, 2286, which all represent less than half of the original figurine and are dated to the palatial period by stylistic criteria. Their interpretation as kick-ups is corroborated by the fact that most of them were found in pits or close to them and other disturbances. In one instance, stratigraphical evidence supports the stylistic argument. The tiny fragment of a throne, type B, DB-No. 298, is probably part of the same furniture model as another fragment which was found in an LH IIIB Final context.

[174] DB-Nos. 1721, 1722.

communal cult and should not be associated with rituals taking place in and around Room 117.[175]

Room 110

The best contextual data for a cult inventory can be gained from the subsequent Room 110. Favourable taphonomic circumstances created by earthquake destruction preserve a snap-shot of the original furnishings of this small shrine (Figure 5.10 and Plate 5.10).

Parts of at least three large wheelmade figures[176] were lying on the floor in front of the bench[177] and another smaller wheelmade Psi-figure was found propped up on a stone-slab in the adjacent Room 115.[178] Next to it two beads came to light which attest to the dedication of jewellery.[179] A well-preserved bovine terracotta[180] and the miniature model

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[175] The total amount of dedicated terracotta votives around Room 117 can be augmented with terracotta material from rubbish heaps west of the fortification wall. For a short overview on the objects excavated in the accumulated debris, see Kilian 1988a, 142–145. This material is highly relevant for interpreting ritual remains within the Lower Citadel: the strata excavated west of the fortification lie in close geographical proximity to the cult area in the western centre of the Lower Citadel and contained abundant figurines, but few animal terracottas. Moreover, fragments of at least 4 large wheelmade figures, part of a figure-vase and one medium-sized to large Psi-figure were found amongst those terracottas. Female figurines in this stratified debris have their closest stylistic parallels among terracottas from Courtyard 1 and Room 117 in the Lower Citadel. The extent of preservation and the sheer numbers of figurines point to an interpretation of the debris as ritual refuse. Unlike Kilian (1988a, 144; 1990, 196) I link most of the objects in the debris with ritual activities of the post-palatial period (Vetters 2009, chapter 5.5.14). The best date for the figurines' dedication would have been during the life-span of Room 117. Their final deposition beyond the fortification wall probably occurred when clearing the area of Courtyard 1 from votive deposits prior to the construction of Room 110.

[176] Two thirds of a wheelmade Psi-figure (DB-Nos. 2204+2205), see Kilian 1981c, 54 fig. 6 right; one figure with upraised arms (DB-Nos. 2401+2402+2403), see Kilian 1978, 464 fig. 20; Kilian 1981c, 54 fig. 6 second from left; another completely preserved Psi-figure (DB-Nos. 2404+2405), see Kilian 1978, 464 fig. 21; Kilian 1981c, 54 fig. 6 centre. A small handmade figurine with upraised arms, head missing, DB-No. 282, Kilian 1981c, 54 fig. 6 left, was recorded approximately 10 cm above the floor level of Room 110 in the fill. Directly on the floor of the room the left arm of a small wheelmade figure (DB-Nos. 1689+1690+1691); see Kilian 1981c, 54 fig. 7; Kilian 1992, pl. 4, 11, was found (DB-No. 1689), whereas its right arm (DB-No. 1690) was excavated c. 2 m southeast in the fill of the courtyard; the head of the figure (DB-No. 1691) was found in the subsequent Room 110a (see note 193 below).

[177] The one zoomorphic figurine, DB-No. 1692 (Kilian 1978, 465) attested in the cult rooms belongs to this phase. It is here characterized as a kick-up in Room 110 since only one third of the animal is preserved and because it belongs to the wavy I-type, which is clearly palatial in date, and because it was in addition located close to a disturbance. Other palatial-type and badly preserved kick-ups were identified in the courtyard: DB-Nos. 522 (+2007) found in an LH IIIC Early stratum more than 30 m to the southeast (and therefore not plotted on Figure 5.10 and Plate 5.10) 524, 1406 (between walls of Rooms 110 and 115), 1416, 1428, 1461, 2081, 2173, 2260. Two bovine heads, DB-Nos. 1203, 2166, were excavated south of Room 110, but these figurines are so fragmentary that they cannot be used as an argument for the use of animal terracottas in a public ritual. The same applies to another two zoomorphic figurines, DB-Nos. 1202, 1417. Although in both cases c. one third of the original figurine is preserved and both are post-palatial types, their degree of preservation and their stratigraphical position or spatial relation to the shrine argue against their original use in communal cults in or around Room 110: DB-No. 1202 was excavated approximately 8 m south of Room 110 close to a disturbed area; DB-No. 1417 was found only 2 m southeast of Room 110, but in an accumulation of small angular stones characterized as building debris (Kilian 1978, 463 and n. 29), which seems to constitute a secondary deposition.

[178] DB-No. 2406, *cf.* Kilian 1978, 465 fig. 23.

[179] Rahmstorf 2008a, pl. 121 (Cat.-Nos. 1648, 1752).

[180] DB-No. 288, two thirds preserved. Kilian 1978, 466 characterized it as a horse figurine, but the terracotta does not feature withers which could verify such an identification.

of a bird[181] were found within Room 115, and another animal directly east of it.[182] In respect to the figurine types associated with Room 115, this structure with its three-aisled ground plan appears to represent a functional hybrid that includes figurine types characteristic of both private and communal cult.[183] Yet

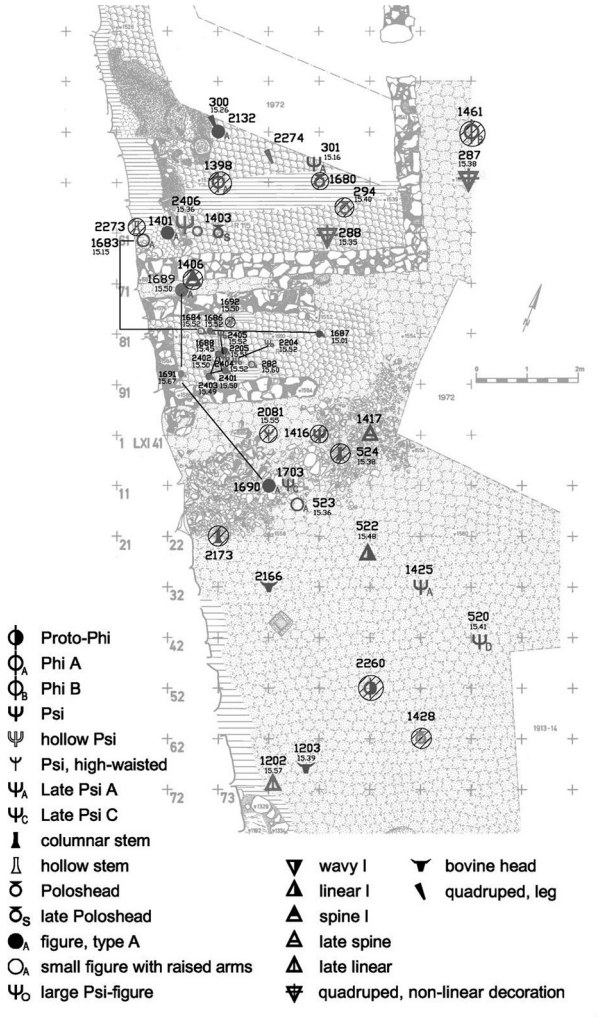

Fig. 5.10. Distribution of figurines and figures in Room 110 and the surrounding Courtyard 1 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Developed–Advanced, horizons 20a3–21d). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.10. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved (N.B. figures and figurines within Room 110 have not been scaled according to their extent of preservation); linked line = figurine joints; hatched circle = older kick-ups.

[181] DB-No. 1142, see Kilian 1978, 466. Although recorded on the floor level of the room it is located far north of the other terracottas documented in Room 115 and cannot be associated with an installation or other finds. This bird figurine is therefore not plotted on Figure 5.10 or Plate 5.10, because it was found more than 8 m north of the southwest corner of Room 115, where the concentration of figurines and figure was noted.

[182] DB-No. 287, head and parts of legs missing. This figurine was also identified by Kilian as that of a horse (note 180 above).

[183] See Mühlenbruch 2004, chapter 2.2.3.4.2.3 for the architecture and stratigraphy of Room 115. Most of the eastern half of the room had already been excavated in the early 1970s; Kilian discovered a pair of postholes in the southwest and northwest centre of the room respectively (Kilian 1978, 462 fig. 18, 465–466) which he reconstructed as remnants of two rows consisting of four posts each. Not much about the function of the room is known, but its internal posts point to elite habitation, cf. Tiryns Northeast Room 8/00 and see Maran and Papadimitriou 2006, 105–111. Since most parts of Room 115 are disturbed, no hearth or installations apart from the stone slab with accompanying figure and beads are known. Were it not for the wheelmade figure, the distribution of the other figurines would point to a domestic function of the room. Although this cannot be substantiated with the data at hand, the propped-up stone slab and its apparent function as an altar for the figure and the beads seem to be ephemeral: The setting could reflect an emergency ritual in Room 115 prior to its destruction, but at a time when Room 110 had already collapsed in an earthquake and its contents (i.e. all the ritual paraphernalia on the floor in front of the bench) had been covered by the debris.

when comparing the inventory of Room 110 and the surrounding courtyard,[184] one notices that there are no indications for such exuberant votive dedication of small figurines as observed during the previous phase.[185]

Ritual performance

So far I have mainly dealt with ritual refuse which does not attest clearly to the actual handling of figurines. There is one example where the ritual performance can be elucidated by traces left on the figure itself (Figure 5.11): one of the two large wheelmade Psi-figures found on the floor of Room 110 was completely preserved, but broken into three parts.[186] The fragments were closely associated with the bench in the back of the room.[187] This figure features a soft, chalky surface slip and paint and the surface of the stem clearly exhibit extensive abrasion which cannot be explained by post-depositional factors.[188] Such traces of wear in the area of the stem are best interpreted as originating from repeated handling, i.e. from gripping the stem of the figure while carrying it. Parts of the performed ritual can be reconstructed from a combination of textual and iconographic sources of the palatial period which – in this case – also pertain to post-palatial rituals.

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[184] The following figurines plotted on Figure 5.10 and Plate 5.10 have been excluded from the discussion of terracotta figurines in use during this phase: fragments DB-Nos. 294, 1398, 1680, 2273 of palatial types represent kick-ups in Room 115. Due to their very bad preservation, the leg fragments of bovines in Room 115, DB-Nos. 300, 2274, do not constitute reliable evidence for including them into the original inventory of terracottas in contemporaneous use within the room. Also excluded from the discussion are two fragments of anthropomorphic figurines, DB-Nos. 301, 1403, which are less than one-third preserved. In a few instances the stratigraphical position is ambiguous: 5 small fragments of anthropomorphic figurines – DB-Nos. 301, 1403 in Room 115, DB-Nos. 520, 1425, 1703 in Courtyard 1 – might stem from dedications, yet with regard to their documented elevations seem to have been recovered below the floor of Room 115 and the walking horizon of Courtyard 1 during this phase.

[185] There are a few fragments of badly preserved figures which were excavated in the fill of Room 117, in the surrounding courtyard and on the floor of Room 110, but cannot be ascribed with certainty to one or the other phase: (DB-Nos. 1413+1685), Kilian 1992, pl. 2.2. The torso-fragment DB-No. 1413 represents less than a fifth of the original wheelmade figure and was recorded in the fill of Room 117. The even tinier fragment of a breast, DB-No. 1685, lay on the floor of Room 110. Another arm-fragment, DB-No. 1209 (Kilian 1981a, 164 fig. 17 upper right) might belong to the same figure as the above mentioned fragments, but was found in the fill of the courtyard north of Room 117. (All three fragments are plotted on Figure 5.9 and Plate 5.9). Part of an arm of a small figure with upraised arms, DB-No. 523, came to light in a stone heap south of Room 110. A fragmentary wisp of hair, DB-Nos. 1686+1687 (Kilian 1992, pl. 4.10) is difficult to assign stratigraphically: DB-No. 1687 was located on the floor of Room 117, DB-No. 1686 was recorded on the floor of the subsequent Room 110. DB-No. 1688, which is another tiny hair fragment (Kilian 1992, pl. 4.8) might be of the same figure as the above mentioned and was found immediately below the floor level of Room 110, DB-No. 290; see note 164 above. DB-Nos. 1686, 1687, 1688 are plotted on Figure 5.10 and Plate 5.10. Two separate tiny hair fragments came to light below the floor level of Room 115 and are probably contemporary with Room 117: DB-No. 1401 (Kilian 1992, pl. 4.9) and DB-No. 2132. The hands of a small wheelmade figure (DB-Nos. 1683+1684), Kilian 1992, pl. 4.6 right (DB-No. 1683) and left (DB-No. 1684), were found in a pit within Room 115 and on the floor of Room 110, respectively. In contrast to Room 117, in which 4 beads of unusual shape and material are attested in front of the bench, Rahmstorf 2008a, pl. 128 (Cat.-Nos. 1638, 1640, 1646, 1652), only a steatite conulus and a bone awl were identified as votive objects in Room 110, *cf.* Rahmstorf 2008a, pl. 129 (Cat.-Nos. 2413, 2414). Thus, also the non-terracotta votives reflect a decrease in dedicated objects from LH IIIC Early to LH IIIC Advanced.

[186] DB-Nos. 2404+2405.

[187] Kilian 1978, 462 fig. 18, 463 fig. 19.

[188] In contrast to the stem, the slip and paint on the torso above the waist are well-preserved. Since the torso and the stem constitute one and the same fragment of the figure (only the head and a tiny fragment of the stem's base had broken off separately), the localized differences in the wear of the surface must be due to the figure's handling prior to deposition.

Fresco fragments from Tiryns[189] and Mycenae[190] show figures being carried during processions. Moreover, the entry of the above mentioned Linear-B tablet PY Tn 316 suggests that processions during which sacrificial offerings and votives were carried along did form a major part of Mycenaean communal rituals.[191]

Room 110a

The final phase of the cult buildings in the Lower Citadel is represented by Room 110a (Figure 5.12 and Plate 5.12). In this LH IIIC Late shrine merely one large figure was lying *in situ* at the foot of the bench.[192] There are some indications that at least the head of a smaller wheelmade figure – already in use during the previous phase, because parts of it were found on the floor of Room 110[193] – was salvaged and re-deposited on the bench at the rear of the shrine.[194] In the area surrounding the shrine most of the terracottas plotted on the distribution map are heavily fragmented and represent kick-ups from the palatial period due to accelerated erosion of earlier settlement strata.[195] Very few contemporary figurines were excavated in

Fig. 5.11. Traces of abrasion on the stem of the wheelmade figure (DB-Nos. 2403+2404+2405) from Room 110.

[189] Rodenwaldt 1912, pl. 2.2; Boulotis 1979, esp. 60 fig. 1. Boulotis 1979, 63 argues for the insertion of a wooden stick into the hollow stem to carry the figure. The use of such an aid has been rejected in the case of the figures from the Cult Centre in Mycenae (Moore and Taylour 1999, 101) and in my view does not seem to have been a necessary prerequisite, since the less schematic part of the figure, i.e. the torso and the head, would still have been clearly visible above the hand of its carrier.

[190] Kritseli-Providi 1982, 41–42 B-2 pl. 6α.

[191] For such an interpretation of the term PO-RE-NA, see Gallou 2005, 109; for processions as important parts of religious feasts, see Hägg 2001.

[192] DB-No. 2400; Kilian 1978, 461 fig.17.

[193] DB-No. 1691.

[194] A re-use of figurine parts is not otherwise attested in Tiryns, but was noted in the temples at Aghia Irini; Albers 1994, 118-119, 206 n. 542.

[195] DB-Nos. 286, 610, 1199, 1204, 1410, 1421, 1484, 1501, 1520, 1529, 1675, 1708. A fragmented zoomorphic leg, DB-No. 1204, was found on the floor of Room 106, but since it probably forms part of a palatial-type animal, it is considered a kick-up. DB-No. 1675 is part of a miniature offering-table and joins another fragment, DB-No. 1682, which was found in LH IIIC Early strata more than 30 m to the south (not plotted on Figure 5.12 or Plate 5.12).

the relevant strata of the court area.[196] South of Room 110a, two-thirds of a zoomorphic terracotta[197] came to light next to a fireplace apparently not associated with the shrine.[198] Another animal figurine[199] was found close to a stone-paved and clay-lined substructure north of Room 106.[200] Whatever the function of this installation, it is definitely far removed from Room 110a and not obviously linked to the shrine. What merits attention is the clear reduction in the overall numbers of figurines securely attributable to this phase.[201]

On the basis of the material evidence and contextual data one can conclude that Mycenaean communal ritual during the post-palatial period had the following characteristics: at least one specially designed small shrine or adyton served as housing for cult statues and votives. It was located on the same plot throughout the LH IIIC period, but changed its architectural layout over time. No hearths existed within the post-palatial sanctuaries in Tiryns,[202] but in each of the three buildings a bench was situated along the back of the room. Due to the very restricted space within the shrines, a larger group of participants in religious rituals could only assemble in the surrounding court.[203] Figures were set up on the bench inside the shrine and figurines probably in front of and along the outer walls of the sanctuary. The communal cult area was cleaned of its votives in at least one instance after a fire which destroyed the first sanctuary building.[204]

Conclusion

The case studies presented here point to significant differences in the distribution of figurine types in communal areas as opposed to domestic spaces. The examples for private ritual referred to in this article exhibit artefactual assemblages and/or architectural features which hint at elite habitation. Despite the elite character of the domestic case studies, communal ritual in Tiryns does not involve any of the zoomorphic types which are so common in household assemblages, but focuses exclusively on the use of female figurines and figures. Notable is the overall decrease in figurine frequencies over time in both private and communal ritual, but a continuous increase in the popularity of

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[196] DB-Nos. 1404, 1422, 1464, 1681. They all represent less than half of the original figurine or figure. DB-No. 1681 is the arm-fragment of a small figure with upraised arms; Kilian 1992, pl. 4.5. Apart from these a leg fragment of a quadruped, DB-No. 1618, was found north of Room 110a and a bovine horn, DB-No. 1523, in Room 112 to the south of Room 110a. Although they seem to be of LH IIIC types, both are probably best characterized as kick-ups from disintegrated mudbrick.

[197] DB-No. 1418.

[198] Judging from the six clay-spools connected with textile production and recorded immediately west of the fireplace (Rahmstorf 2008a, pl. 130; Cat.-Nos. 1690, 1698, 1715, 1728, 1732, 2482), the area seems to have been a focus for domestic activities; see Rahmstorf 2008a, 267; contra Albers 1994, 107.

[199] DB-No. 1198, almost completely preserved.

[200] Kilian 1978, 460.

[201] Contemporary with Room 110a might only be 4 fragments of anthropomorphic figurines, DB-Nos. 1404, 1422, 1464, 1726, although the last was found in a disturbed area and all constitute less than one third of the original figurine. Seemingly, the ritual focus and the place for dedication of terracottas during the last phase of the shrine were concentrated rather within the building than in the surrounding courtyard. The erection of Room 112 to the south of Room 110a, thereby diminishing the area of Courtyard 1 considerably, constitutes another point in favour of this hypothesis of a substantially reduced sphere of cult activity.

[202] Contra Shelmerdine 1997, 573; Thomatos 2006, 190 fig. 3.14.

[203] See also Albers 1994, 104–105, 124; Mühlenbruch 2007, 247.

[204] See note 175 above.

zoomorphic figurines towards the end of the Late Bronze Age in private cult. Once again, what are the differences between private and communal cults and what has changed since the LH III B period? How do post-palatial rituals foreshadow Early Iron Age ritual behaviour?

To summarize, I dismiss the widely accepted terms 'official' and 'popular' cults: to my mind, the correlation of artefacts with social status is not valid, since no clear-cut distinctions can be observed in the archaeological record. More importantly, rituals involving figurines did not stem from Middle Helladic traditions which are supposed to lie at the core of 'popular' cult. Instead, I believe that the use of Mycenaean figurines was both 'popular' and 'officially' sanctioned. At the start of the palatial society they were an effective means of transporting and – by an unmonitored emulation-process – ingraining a new ideology both in the privacy of one's home and in public that endorsed the religious superiority of the palatial elite.[205] After the collapse of the palatial system a few terracotta types directly linked to palatial ideology, such as chariot groups and enthroned figurines, stopped being produced.[206] At Tiryns, as at other sites, terracottas continued to be employed in private and communal ritual, but the overall numbers of terracottas decrease in the course of the post-palatial period. This phenomenon can be explained as a manifestation of political and ritual change: since the religious authority of the former elites disintegrated during the social transformations of the LH IIIC period,

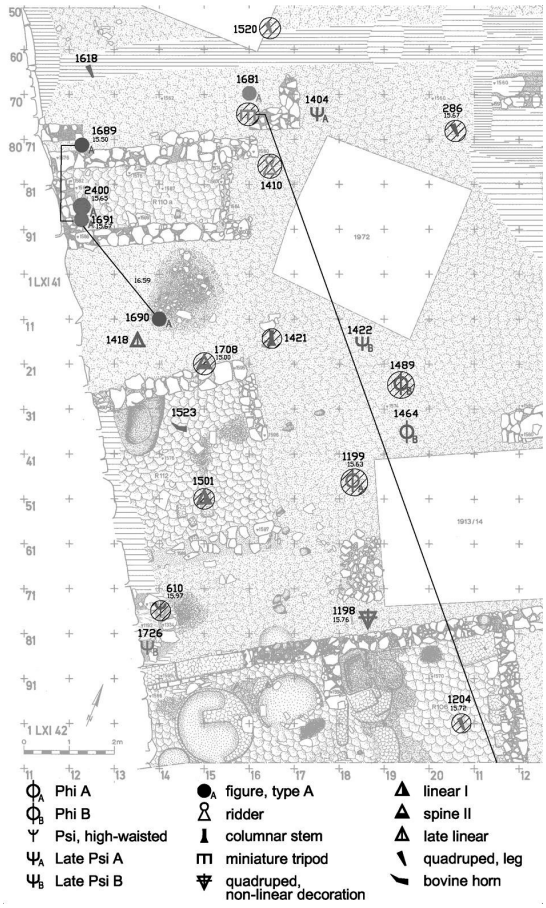

Fig. 5.12. Distribution of figurines and figures in Room 110a and the surrounding Courtyard 1 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Late, horizon 22). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.12. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved / linked line = figurine joints; hatched circle = older kick-ups.

[205] Contra Kilian (1992, 21) I believe that figurines were very apt media of mass communication, as O. Keel and C. Uehlinger (1996) have claimed for Near Eastern miniature art. Specifically, I reckon that the acceptance of such previously unknown three-dimensional images and the widespread distribution of figurines on the Greek mainland are the outcomes of changing religious attitudes. By way of holding terracotta figurines one was able literally to grasp new religious concepts and to internalize them; see Gladigow 1985–1986, esp. 120.
[206] Vetters 2009, chapter 6; for throne models, see now Vetters 2011.

figurines lost their 'Sitz im Leben' by the end of the Late Bronze Age. Especially the use of female figurines vanishes towards the Early Iron Age because they had been closely associated with a palatial ideology which gradually lost its impact on religious rituals during the post-palatial period.

The case studies also provide some tentative answers to the question of what role figurines played in rituals. Contextual data show a strong correlation of their find spots with hearths and thresholds in the household-sphere, indicating that animal figurines in particular functioned repeatedly as protective magic in private cult. Only female figurines and large wheelmade figures play a role in communal ritual at Tiryns. The sole evidence for ritual performance involving terracottas is indicated by traces preserved on one figure. These indications of wear attest to the palatial as well as post-palatial custom of parading large wheelmade figures in processions. The dedication of non-terracotta votives[207] and cult-statues on benches within shrines, or rather adyta, can be deduced from the find spots of figures in Room 110 and Room 110a. In the case of the preceding cult-room 117, it is even possible to trace the final deposition of ritual rubbish beyond the fortification wall.

Although only a few case studies from Tiryns have been presented here, I hope to have demonstrated that private and communal ritual progressively diverged in the post-palatial period: while public ritual with its roots in palatial ideology still involved the use of mostly female figurines, these lost their role in private ritual where zoomorphic terracottas became the dominant type. At a time when the post-palatial elites were succeeded by those of the Early Iron Age, remnants of Mycenaean ritual traditions survived in the votive practices of the new cults. Yet, instead of adhering to customs of Mycenaean communal rituals, the public cults of the Early Iron Age employed terracotta types of former private rituals[208] – bovines and equids – and incorporated a renascent type of the male rider figurines. Thus, both continuity and change in ritual behaviour can be observed via archaeological methods. It is my conviction that herein lies the great advantage of archaeology: We are provided with tools to closely monitor such transformation processes, in this case of Late Bronze Age societies metamorphosing into those of the Early Iron Age – although we cannot reconstruct the belief systems from the material remains, contextual analyses enable us to trace shifts in structural patterns which reflect on ritual behaviour and social agency.

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[207] See note 185 above and Rahmstorf 2008a, 266–267. The find-spots of two open serving vessels – a skyphos and a carinated bowl (Kilian 1978, 464 with further references) – indicate that these were set up on the bench as well.

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[208] An obvious stylistic relationship can be drawn between unpainted zoomorphic terracotta figurines found in the domestic context of Room 127 in the Tirynthian Lower Citadel and Early Iron Age terracottas excavated in the so-called 'black strata' at Olympia and dated on typological grounds; Heilmeyer 1972, 97 Cat.-No. 5, pl. 2–5 (early Protogeometric bovine terracotta) and DB-No. 717 from the first LH IIIC Advanced floor of Room 127, Heilmeyer 1972, 101 Cat.-No. 54, pl. 10–54 (late Protogeometric equine figurine from the black strata) and an unpainted quadruped, DB-No. 1742, found in a LH IIIC Late context north of Room 127; Heilmeyer 1972, 112 Cat.-No. 165, pl. 26–165 (Late Geometric male figurine from the black strata) with the fragment of an unpainted male figurine from the last phase of Room 127, DB-No. 1928. Such comparisons with Early Iron Age figurines from the black strata at Olympia as noted here would have to be analyzed in more detail, but they form an interesting starting point for further research into attitudes towards ritual paraphernalia at the interface between Late Bronze to Early Iron Age societies.

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Interpreting Votive Offerings from Early Archaic Deposits at the Artemision of Ephesos

Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß

Introduction

Our picture of Geometric and early Archaic sanctuaries is characterized by the large number of votive offerings: the range of humble and precious artefacts given to the gods by the worshippers.[1] In that period, the architectural appearance of these sanctuaries was usually still quite simple or sometimes even not evident, and relevant written sources are scant. The actual, discovered votive offerings, therefore, remain one of our most important – albeit not always easily accessible – sources of information on the cult traditions at a sanctuary. The problem of defining and interpreting votive offerings has already been discussed in great detail, particularly in recent years.[2] In this article I present some additional, more general observations on this question based on finds from the early Archaic Artemision at Ephesos, followed by a discussion of this sanctuary as a special case which explores whether or not these finds allow us to draw conclusions about the character of the cult and the honoured deity.[3]

All of the small finds from the Artemision mentioned in this paper come from deposits beneath the level of the Archaic marble dipteros, therefore providing a *terminus ante quem* for their deposition to around 575–570 BC.[4] This dipteros covered several small structures from the early Archaic period that, until then, had been in use simultaneously or successively.[5] The nature of these structures, and especially the accompanying finds,

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[1] The manuscript was submitted in 2009; publications since then are not incorporated. I wish to thank Walter Gauß and Svenja Soldovieri for their help and comments. This paper follows the terminology proposed by Van Straten 1981, 66, 70 using the term 'votive offering' for durable objects offered to the gods, whereas the term 'sacrifice' refers to transient objects intended for consumption; see also R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 270 using the term 'dedication' in the same sense as Van Straten uses the term 'votive offering'; R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 270–271 for the ancient terminology used in the context of dedicating gifts. A further differentiation between 'votive/votive offering' ('Votiv/Votivgabe') – an object offered in connection with taking a vow or redeeming a vow – and 'dedication' ('Weihegeschenk') – a pure deposition of a gift for the gods without being connected with a vow – is discussed especially by German-speaking scholars: e.g. Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 202–203; *NPauly* 12.2 (2002) *s.v.* Votivkult (Haase) 345. This seems not very useful, however, as it usually cannot be understood any more whether or not a worshipper connected his gift with a vow, and the dividing line between thanking generally for the god's favour and thanking for the fulfilment of a more orless general or specific request by redeeming a vow might be fluid; see also Frevel 2007, 201: 'Votive müssen nicht – das sei ausdrücklich betont – mit Gelübden verbunden werden, sind aber immer mit Heiligtümern oder besonderen (heiligen) Orten verbunden'.

[2] One of the earliest and still useful studies is by Rouse 1902; for more recent studies, see among others Van Straten 1981; Simon 1986; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 201–229; von Hesberg 2007; R. Parker and J. Boardman et al. in *ThesCRA* 2004, 269–318 with a detailed bibliography.

[3] I will mainly use the results of my own research on the bronzes from this site but, as far as they are available, also the research results from the other find groups: for the bronzes see Klebinder-Gauß 2007; for other find groups, see e.g. Muss 2001; Muss 2008; Seipel 2008; Pülz 2009 with further references.

[4] For this date of the beginning of the construction, see most recently Ohnesorg 2007, 127–129.

[5] Bammer and Muss 1996, 39–41, 43–44; Bammer 2008, 75–86 figs. 5–6; for the sequence of these structures, see also Weißl 2002.

prove their function as cult-places. There are two particularly important areas, each of which yielded numerous small finds of different shapes and materials. The first is the surroundings of a rectangular base in the interior of a small peripteros erected in the second quarter of the seventh century BC; the base was probably for a cult image.[6] The second interesting find spot is a square base from the late seventh or early sixth century BC flanked by a thick, ashy layer containing many small finds and animal bones;[7] this is most likely a 'black layer' as discussed by S. Bocher in this volume. Artemis is mentioned as patron of the sanctuary from the time of the erection of the Archaic marble dipteros. At present it is unclear whether or not this goddess had already played a dominant role in the earlier sanctuary or if, as suggested by the excavator, she replaced one or several other deities who were worshipped simultaneously at the several small areas for cult.[8]

Classification of Artefacts Discovered at Sanctuaries

Most of the small artefacts discovered in the early Archaic Artemision can be interpreted as votive offerings because of their shape, their often precious materials and, especially, their find context at an existing sacred place.[9] For some, it is possible to ascribe use as a votive offering simply by judging their specific type which suggests no meaningful use in everyday life. This category of votive offerings, which might best be labelled 'primary votives', can include objects like a horn, a barleycorn and eye-masks made of gold,[10] large bronze cauldrons with griffin protomes[11] and a hemispherical object with a lead core covered by a decorated sheet of bronze (the exact meaning of which is unclear).[12] Figurines representing goddesses or priestesses also fall within this category.[13] The same is true for the numerous representations of birds of prey, which in the Artemision appear especially among the gold finds as figurines, heads of needles, fibulas, decorated sheets and pendants. This points to a close connection between birds of prey and the honoured deity, and one must also keep in mind later sources mentioning the buzzard as a holy

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[6] For the architecture of the peripteros and its period of use, see most recently Weißl 2002, 321–327 with further references; Kerschner 2005, 134–142; Bammer 2008, 75–80.

[7] For this base, see Bammer 1988, esp. 2, 23, figs. 1–3; Bammer 1998, 37, fig. 9.

[8] Muss 1994, 26–27, 48; Bammer and Muss 1996, 41, 76–77.

[9] R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 274: '... dedication was primarily accomplished by the simple act of deposition in a sacred place'.

[10] Seipel 2008, 156–157 nos. 97–101; the golden barleycorn is interpreted as reminder of an offering of agricultural products.

[11] Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 270–271 nos. 869–876, pls. 77–82, 113–117; see *ibid*. 150–151 for the meaning of bronze cauldrons with griffin protomes as votive offerings; see also J. Boardman in *ThesCRA* 2004, 302–303.

[12] Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 190, 275 no. 966, pls. 97, 119; the object might be a miniature imitation of an omphalos or just a dedication of the precious metal presented in an appealing way.

[13] In the early Archaic Artemision a notable number of (with very few exceptions) female figurines made of gold, silver, bronze, ivory and clay were found; Bammer and Muss 1996, 41. Some of them have special attributes, like an ivory figurine standing on the head of a panther, an ivory figurine holding two birds of prey in her hands and another one carrying such a bird on a pole on her head (for the meaning of birds of prey, see below note 14); other ones are depicted simply with chiton and veil, without special iconographic details. The figurines are differently interpreted as goddesses or priestesses: for this question, see Muss 2007 with further references and Muss 1999, 598–601, who regards these figurines as the worshiped goddesses.

animal of Artemis as well as the sparrow hawk as a holy animal, first of the Anatolian Kubaba and later of Kybele.[14]

Usually the type of an object does not immediately indicate its function as a votive offering. At a sanctuary, objects frequently occur that could have been used just as well in everyday life and that are also found in settlements or graves. These include simple jewellery,[15] toiletry,[16] arrowheads,[17] horse-trappings[18] and flutes[19] as well as clay loom weights and spindle whorls.[20] Very simple artefacts of minor value, like humble wood carvings or naturalia, also might have been dedicated.[21] Ultimately only the context – meaning, the use and finding spot in a sanctuary – demonstrates that these objects were votive offerings. Whether these objects were primarily produced for the specific purpose of dedication or, rather, were dedicated personal belongings, is a question that usually cannot be answered.[22] One may assume that simple mass-produced objects found in great numbers at a sanctuary were most often not intended for personal use but were purchased by the donor to be dedicated.[23] The same would be true for miniatures or oversize models, as well as for models made of fragile, impractical materials.[24] In addition, some objects found at Greek sanctuaries show intense traces of use and may thus be regarded as gifts of personal belongings actually used by the owner before dedication.[25] The inventory lists of the fourth century from the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia demonstrate that also worn clothes could be offered, and one can imagine that the accompanying jewellery was likewise not new.[26]

In some cases it is difficult to decide whether an object found at a sanctuary was a votive gift or a part of the ritual equipment of the sanctuary, for example musical instruments could be played at celebrations, vessels used for libations or cultic meals, and wreaths worn at the sanctuary feasts.[27] Furthermore, these objects could also have been dedicated after use in a cultic ceremony. This question is especially well demonstrated

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[14] Bühler and Pülz 2008, 173–174 and Simon 1986, 37–38.
[15] Like simple bronze fibulas, needles, bracelets and earrings in Klebinder-Gauß 2007, pls. 1–42.
[16] Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 169–170 nos. 886–888, pls. 85–86.
[17] Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 171–175 nos. 890–897, pls. 86, 119.
[18] Klebinder–Gauß 2007, 175 nos. 898–899, pl. 87.
[19] Seipel 2008, 184 no. 161.
[20] Seipel 2008, 230 nos. 278–279; Brein 1978, 131–132, pl. 45, 30–32; Bammer 1984, 191, fig. 69; Hogarth 1908, 201, fig. 42.
[21] E.g. a tooth of a dog wrapped with a golden wire from the Artemision: Seipel 2008, 185 no. 163; for this issue, see especially Kyrieleis 1988 on offerings of special bones, a piece of a stalactite, a rock crystal, natural pine-cones and their imitations in clay found in the Heraion at Samos.
[22] Snodgrass 1989–1990, 291–292 differentiates between 'raw offerings' – objects of real, secular use, which might have been in use for a considerable time before their dedication – and 'converted offerings' – objects acquired and mostly also produced for the specific purpose of dedication thereby converting a part of the donor's wealth; see also R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 276.
[23] See Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 203 for the numerous uniform mass-produced fibulas, needles, bracelets and earrings found in the early Archaic Artemision of Ephesos.
[24] See e.g. miniature fibulas, bracelets and earrings from the Ephesian Artemision: Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 203, pls. 5, 68–69; 24, 329, 331; 37, 477; for the offering of simulacra, see Simon 1986, 202; J. Boardman in *ThesCRA* 2004, 316.
[25] See e.g. a bronze pendant with a rubbed off eye: Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 203, pl. 59, 797; for traces of use on belts, see below note 33; for the dedication of used objects, see also Philipp 1981, 19–20; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1981, 375; Strøm 1995 66–67 with n. 219.
[26] Romano 1988, 131–132.
[27] See also J. Boardman in *ThesCRA* 2004, 281.

by two find groups from the Ephesian Artemision. Several bronze fragments and an imitation in clay show that round-bottomed bowls with ring handles and banded rims existed at the sanctuary.[28] An ivory figurine interpreted as either a priestess or a goddess with a hawk standing on a pole on her head and holding a jug in one hand and a bowl of the above type in the other.[29] The fact that such a bowl is depicted together with a priestess or goddess stresses its special function in the cult of this sanctuary, and the discovered bronze bowls might, therefore, have been used in cultic ceremonies or meals. Observations of this kind can also be drawn from the solid bronze belts which have been discovered in the Artemision in considerable numbers:[30] a similar belt adorns one of the Roman copies of the cult image of Artemis Ephesia.[31] If this belt is – as one can assume with some certainty – a decorative element that was passed on over several centuries,[32] one may conclude that at least some of the Archaic bronze belts found were not merely votives but also could have belonged to the adornment of the cult image. This assumption is supported by the existence of several repairs on some of these belts that might derive from their repeated attachment to and removal from the cult image.[33]

These examples demonstrate very well that a clear and unambiguous distinction between the above-mentioned categories, namely 'primary votives', objects of secular use, offerings of private belongings and, finally, objects of cultic use, is often impossible and probably not the crucial point in the study of votive offerings. In any case, these objects were belongings of the sanctuary and of the deity, respectively, and are, therefore, proof of cultic activities in their sacrificial surroundings. More interesting for our discussion is the symbolic meaning of the objects found at a sanctuary which might allow us to draw conclusions about the nature of the goddess and her cult.

Interpreting Votive Offerings

We should, therefore, focus on the possibilities and problems in interpreting votive offerings. In the Geometric and early Archaic periods, inscriptions and other written sources or depictions are hardly available to provide us with information about the cult. The oldest texts that deal with the offering of votives appear in the first half of the seventh century as inscriptions on the dedicated objects. One of the earliest known examples is a male bronze figurine from early seventh century Thebes, dedicated by Mantiklos to Apollo as a tithe.[34] In the course of the following centuries, the written documents are numerous and show increasingly concrete connections between a certain occasion,

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[28] For the bronze bowls, see Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 140–143; for the imitation in clay see Kerschner 2008, 126, fig. 81.
[29] C. Smith, 'The Ivory Statuettes' in Hogarth 1908, 156–157 nos. 1, 172–176, pls. 21.6, 22; for an interpretation of the figurine as goddess, see Muss 1994, 55–56 with n. 384.
[30] Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 93–108 nos. 710–759, pls. 43–53, 108–109.
[31] Klebinder 2001, 119 fig. 7; Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 106–107; Fleischer 2008, 30.
[32] See below p. 116.
[33] Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 107–108 261 no. 710, 1–3; no. 711, 2–3, pls. 43–44, 46, 108; 263 no. 732, pl. 51; for traces of use on jewellery offered showing that they had been used private belongings, see also note 25 above.
[34] 'Mantiklos dedicated me to the Far-Shooter, the Silver-Bowed one, from his tithe; to you, Phoibos, give him a gracious return': R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 277 no. 30; see also Van Straten 1981, 73; Grottanelli 1989–1990, 52; Parker 1998, 110–111; Bremer 1998, 130–131; for the figurine, see Boardman 1978, fig. 10.

a certain votive type and a certain deity.[35] It seems, however, that votive traditions were not particularly differentiated in the Geometric and early Archaic periods;[36] thus, for an analysis of the preceding period, later written sources should be used very cautiously. Consequently, we depend mainly on the actual votive offerings for information of the cult traditions at the Geometric and early Archaic sanctuaries.

One can assume that the choice of a certain votive offering – its type, shape and material, in other words – was carefully considered or at least influenced by certain circumstances. Thus, a votive offering symbolizes a certain content or contains a certain message and the analysis of votives should provide us with information about the character of the cult at a sanctuary.

First of all, the interpretation of objects discovered at a sanctuary depends on the point of view of the modern observer who might employ religious, psychological, anthropological, economic or sociological approaches.[37] The economic consequence of the regular offering of small gifts, for example, is that the donor bestows a part of his personal belongings upon the deity. The sanctuary and, respectively, the community would, thereby, be in possession of a great part of the existing wealth. Yet, as the ancient sources show quite well, if an object, once transferred to the god's possession, remained there forever,[38] it was effectively out of circulation and no longer available.[39] Such a large accumulation of more or less valuable goods might, therefore, have been intended to demonstrate not only the significance and splendour of the sanctuary, but the piety, wealth and power of the community as well.[40] This was surely a reason for a sanctuary to be interested in lively cult activities and, consequently, in receiving plentiful votive offerings; to what extent the sanctuary encouraged people to make offerings remains unanswered. Because the religious community as a whole was involved in the activities of a sanctuary, a donation also had a certain public and social character. The public nature of dedicating might have given rise to conventions that encouraged, or even forced, the worshipers to visit the sanctuary to make offerings. Later written sources reveal how the donors judged not only the positioning of their own gifts, but also the appearance of someone else's gifts:[41] This may indicate the representative significance of a votive gift, and it is perfectly conceivable that already in the early Archaic period the community's opinion on

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[35] See Van Straten 1981, 69–77 and R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 271–278 with a representative selection of texts relating to dedication.

[36] See e.g. Simon 1986, 410–420, esp. 418; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 214; J. Boardman in *ThesCRA* 2004, 316–318.

[37] See, among others, Burkert 1987, 43–44 who discusses various theories regarding offering gifts such as psychological, sociological and economic models as well as his own historical-anthropological perspective; for an economic perspective, see Linders 1987, 115–156; for the religious and symbolic functions of gold offerings in the Artemision of Ephesos, see Pülz 2009, 202–206.

[38] Linders 1987, 116: '... everything in the temple inventories, from the prescripts and the administrative formulas to the manner of registering the items, intimates that once the offerings had entered the god's possession, they were regarded as staying there to the end of time'. Linders 1987 argues convincingly against assumptions that the true motive for dedicating votive offerings of precious metal was an economic one, whereas piety was only used as a pretext; Van Straten 1992, 272; R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 281.

[39] For that see Langdon 1987, 110, 112–123.

[40] See also Linders 1987, 121–122; R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 280: 'A temple rich in dedications was the temple of a powerful god ...'

[41] Van Straten 1992, 269; von Hesberg 2007, 283–285; see also Van Wees 1998, 30 emphasizing that by offering a gift the giver presents also his identity and with that his position in society is affected.

the votive behaviour of other individuals was an important motive for regularly bringing offerings to a sanctuary. Maintaining rituals and being included in common activities of the community probably also played an important role in the individual's need for security as well as the overall stability of the society.[42] The extent to which different aspects (the sociological, for example) influenced or determined a decision to make an offering to a deity can hardly be assessed. However, according to most scholars, the main impulse for making an offering was purely religious and individual: votives, like prayers and sacrifices, were a means through which to come into direct and personal contact with the worshipped deity, to establish and to keep up a relationship with him or her.[43] Numerous votive inscriptions and other written sources show that with the donation of a gift, the donor could request something from the deity or could express thanks for received favours.[44] The request and thanks could be of a very general nature, for example simply receiving the god's favour and benevolence; or it could pertain to a special matter. A votive offering could be presented on the occasion of a major change in life, the so-called 'rites de passage' such as marriage or childbirth for women or the transition to adulthood or retirement for men.[45] It could also be made for redeeming a vow,[46] as a memento of something[47] or as part – the god's share – of a profit or yield that the donor had obtained with the deity's assistance.[48] Votive inscriptions clearly demonstrate that the worshipper felt the obligation to give something to a deity in exchange for the favour he had received and possibly asked for, but they demonstrate as well that in exchange for the gift, the donor naturally expected something in return.[49] In this way a continuous cycle of requests, thanks for their gratification and new requests was created.[50] The unconcealed expectation of positive reciprocity seems to be a basic characteristic of early Greek

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[42] Simon 1986, 410: 'In part the offering of small gifts took place because it was important for the stability of the society that sanctuaries should flourish and that the whole community should take part, and should be seen to take part, in a varied number of activities within the sanctuary'; see also Langdon 1987, 109 for this problem.
[43] E.g. Van Straten 1981, 65; R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 270; Grottanelli 1989–1990, 48.
[44] For the different reasons for offering a gift, see esp. Van Straten 1981, 70–77; R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 278–280; see also Burkert's interpretation from an anthropological and historical perspective: He puts the development of offering to the gods with the notion of reciprocity at least partially far back in time in the evolution of life to the 'aboriginal device of surrender, of partial sacrifice in order to ward off major danger', so giving up or leaving behind something in a situation of threat and anxiety; Burkert 1987, esp. 44–45.
[45] See Van Straten 1981, 88–91; R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 279.
[46] See Van Straten 1981, 70; R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 276.
[47] See Van Straten 1981, 76–77; R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 276.
[48] For offerings of the 'first-fruit' or 'tithe', see Van Straten 1981, 92–93; R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 275–276; J. Boardman in *ThesCRA* 2004, 308.
[49] See Parker 1998, 106–114 for the basic significance in Greek cultic practice of the belief or hope that reciprocity between men and gods really existed with sources supporting this assumption; for the fundamental significance of gift exchange between humans in archaic societies, for the obligation to return the gift one has accepted and for the validity of the same rules in the exchange of gifts between man and deity, see Mauss 1999, esp. 18. 46; see Grottanelli 1989–1990, 45–48 for various theories about the meaning of exchange between humans and gods.
[50] See esp. Grottanelli 1989–1990, 53 referring to an Athenian votive inscription from the late 6th century, where the donor promises further dedications in the case of a grateful acceptance of his gift by the deity; see also Parker 1998, 110–111; R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 276, 280: '... as an ideal, votives belong within a cycle of gift and countergift which is potentially endless, whether the cycle was initiated by god or man'.

votive traditions.[51] Offering gifts to a god is, therefore, also explained as an investment in symbolic, imaginary capital by creating long-lasting ties, obligations and dependences, especially when a gift was not immediately returned.[52] The gift was a symbolic equivalent for the god's assistance and favour, and even if it was obvious that in reality the value of the offering could by no means be equivalent to whatever the donor received, he must have been convinced that the deity regarded his gift as adequate and appropriate.[53]

Regarding the religious aspect of an offering, the current meaning of a votive gift as a source of information about the honoured deity, the nature of her or his cult and about the donor him- or herself depends upon the quality of the gift relative to one of the following three components: the donor, his or her motives and the honoured deity.[54] The crucial point in the interpretation of votive offerings is, therefore, to analyse the circumstances that influenced the choice of a certain object; this means considering who offered the object, the reason for making the offering and identifying the deity receiving it. However, it is clear that these circumstances are usually difficult to determine. The male bronze figurine mentioned above offered by Mantiklos to Apollo as a tithe[55] demonstrates very well that the donor did not literally have to offer a certain share of the yield, but rather could bring a symbolic votive of any shape which did not necessarily have an obvious connection with the particular yield.[56] Consequently, almost anything could be presented as symbol for the share, for making a request, for thanking or for redeeming a vow, and it is precisely this freedom in the choice of an offering that makes the interpretation of a votive gift most difficult.[57]

The choice of a donation could be determined by the donor's wish to represent his personality or to improve his image by handing over a part of his material property to the deity. In this case, the votive offering would allow a conclusion to be drawn about his gender, his social and ethnic background and his profession. Under these preconditions, an arrowhead might be presented by a hunter, a fishhook by a fisherman, whorls and jewellery by female donors as these objects are usually associated with women. Craftsmen could

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[51] For the nature and definition of reciprocity, see Seaford 1998, esp. 1–4 and van Wees 1998, 15–20; see also Van Straten 1981, 72–73; Parker 1998; Frevel 2007, 201; Burkert 1987, 44, 47, 48–49 for the question of how the expectation of reciprocity could prevail regardless the return by an 'unclear' partner is by no means being guaranteed; Grottanelli 1989–1990, 48: '... humans and gods both give and take', 52: '... in the Greek inscriptions the divine and human sphere interact according to a simple, crude scheme of giving and returning, and the reciprocity is stressed even though the hierarchy is never forgotten.'

[52] Bammer 1984, 146–147; Burkert 1987, 43–44.

[53] See Parker 1998, 119 arguing that the value of an offering was not judged from a commercial point of view but was seen as a symbolic value; pp. 122–124 on the asymmetry within the reciprocal relation between gods and humans which the Greeks were thoroughly aware of but did not contemplate when offering a gift; see also Bremer 1998, 127, 133; Mauss 1999, 46: '... jene Götter, welche geben und erwidern, sind dazu da, etwas Großes für etwas Kleines zu geben'; Burkert 1998, 174–175 arguing that wealthy worshippers with rich donations were not supposed to have better chances for a good relationship with the gods.

[54] See also Van Straten 1981, 80–104.

[55] See above note 34.

[56] For this see also R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 275; J. Boardman in *ThesCRA* 2004, 308: 'Many tithes were simply converted into money, used to buy or have made offerings of various standard types such as tripods, or simply given as money'; see Hdt. 4.152.4 for the Samian Kolaios who made high profits in trade from his voyage to Tartessos and dedicated to the sanctuary of Hera on Samos as a tithe of these profits a large bronze vessel with griffin protomes and beneath kneeling giant bronze figures.

[57] See already Rouse 1902, 352: 'Neither is there anything in the world which cannot become a votive offering'; J. Boardman in *ThesCRA* 2004, 282: 'Virtually any object could be taken as suitable for dedication'.

offer a product of their own work.[58] Simple and inexpensive objects might have indicated less prosperous donors, whereas horse figurines could reflect wealth and status, as horses were usually connected with an aristocratic life-style.[59] This category also includes grand dedications made by prominent and wealthy people, such as the golden cows and the columns for the temple dedicated by the Lydian king Kroisos at the Artemision of Ephesos.[60] Gifts of this kind seem to have been presented mainly – or even exclusively – to demonstrate the donor's wealth and power, while the given sanctuary simultaneously gained some importance by displaying these valuable dedications.[61] However, the shape of an offering need not have referred, necessarily, to the donor's personality, but could have also represented the request made or the thanks given in his prayer. This is, for example, quite obvious for simulacra of parts of the body, probably offered to ask for health or in thanks for healing.[62] Similarly, the dedication of an animal figurine might be interpreted as a symbolic request for the protection of the whole herd or in gratitude for its well-being, just as the text on an arrowhead might ask or thank for a successful hunt and a craftsman's product might ask or thank for the deity's support of his work. Less obvious connections are also conceivable, for example, a bronze scarab could be interpreted as a request for flourishing, as scarabs are symbols for the protection of descendants and life.[63] It is also possible to imagine the shape of an offering as independent from the donor's personality and his or her request, and instead being exclusively related to the deity to whom it was offered, either by representing the deity itself, as with figurines, or an attribute of the deity, such as birds of prey in the case of the Artemision, or perhaps a particular characteristic of the deity, like special influence in the realm of birth, nature or warfare.[64] Consequently, regardless of the gender or profession of the donor, animal figurines would have been offered mainly to deities seen as protectors of nature or as rulers over the animals.[65] Jewellery would have indicated a female deity, with belts in particular offered to goddesses responsible for birth[66] and weapons to a deity closely connected with warfare or hunting.[67] A votive can also refer to sacrificial rites carried out at a sanctuary: Animal figurines like goats or piglets, especially those with slit bellies or feet bent together, might be seen as a substitute for real sacrificial animals or as a memorial of a sacrifice.[68] Special types of vessels, like the round-bottomed bronze bowls

[58] Van Straten 1981, 92–96.
[59] Kyrieleis 1988, 215 for the manifestation of the donor's social position in a gift; Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 201–202 for possible conclusions on the social position and ethnic background of the donors of bronze votives in the Ephesian Artemision; Simon 1986, 371–372 and J. Boardman in *ThesCRA* 2004, 308 for the meaning of the offering of horse figurines.
[60] Hdt. 1.92.
[61] Linders 1987, 118; Klebinder-Gauß and Pülz 2008, 201.
[62] Van Straten 1981, 100. 103. 105; B. Forsén in *ThesCRA* 2004, 311–313.
[63] Mitsopoulos-Leon 2006, 90–92 for a bronze scarab found in the sanctuary of Artemis at Lousoi.
[64] For the meaning of birds of prey in the Ephesian Artemision, see above note 14; for interpretations of female figurines from this sanctuary, see above note 13; see also Van Straten 1981, 81.
[65] Bol 1976, 35.
[66] For the offering of jewellery, see Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 199–200 with further references; for the offerings of belts, see pp. 106–108 and here below p. 116.
[67] For the offering of weapons, see Simon 1986, 253, 411.
[68] See Van Straten 1981, 87–88; J. Boardman in *ThesCRA* 2004, 308; Bammer and Muss 1996, 64, fig. 27 for an ivory ram with the front leg bound backwards.

with ring handles in the Artemision, could have been offered after ritual ceremonies or meals.[69]

These examples demonstrate quite well that there are virtually no general criteria for how to interpret an individual votive offering. It seems, therefore, more promising to identify the characteristics of the cult and its specific meaning for worshipers by starting from certain focal points of the complete spectrum of votive offerings discovered at a sanctuary.

Some Observations on Finds from the Artemision of Ephesos

In order to illustrate this, let us now use the example of the bronze finds from the Ephesian Artemision to discuss the degree of information we can acquire by interpreting them.[70] Jewellery by far dominates the bronzes: bracelets, earrings, needles, fibulas and rings – mostly mass-produced small simple shapes – were found in large numbers, as well as belts, pearls and pendants, and among those, several in the shape of birds and other animals. East Aegean, Ionian and West Anatolian shapes dominate by far, whereas imports are relatively rare.[71] The number of other kinds of bronzes is small in comparison to the jewellery; the share of vessels, including griffin cauldrons, is not very large. Other materials, such as gold and ivory, were preferred for free-standing animal and human figurines. Toiletries, such as ear-spoons, and household appliances, like ruffles, are also only rarely found. No weapons occurred aside from some arrowheads, and tools like fishhooks are completely lacking. A comparison between the bronze artefacts represented in the Artemision and those from other sites in Ionia and beyond makes clear that in the late Geometric and early Archaic periods there is some agreement in the general range of shapes of bronze votive offerings, independent of the honoured deity. Jewellery appears regularly as do double axes, ruffles, mirrors, arrowheads, miniature wheels, griffin protomes and omphalos bowls. It seems that at that time most shapes were considered to be appropriate gifts for different deities and that the votive offerings generally had no unambiguous relation to a specific receiver.[72] But it is also possible to detect special characteristics and significant concentrations of shapes in the different sanctuaries with certain shapes represented in great numbers and others rarely or not at all. This different approach to the evaluation of shapes probably reflects not only the nature of the cult but also the specific location of a sanctuary as well as typical customs of the region.

Among the small finds from the Artemision the previously mentioned large amount of jewellery is quite a remarkable feature, worthy of discussion in further detail. In addition to vast quantities of bronze jewellery also objects made of other materials

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[69] For these bowls, see above p. 110; for vessels found in sanctuaries see Simon 1986, 314–319, esp. 317; J. Boardman in *ThesCRA* 2004, 281, 305–308.

[70] The ca. 5,000 bronzes studied in Klebinder-Gauß 2007 are of course just a part of the real number of bronzes actually offered in the sanctuary, but nevertheless they can give an approximate idea of the range of shapes represented.

[71] For imported bronzes in the Ephesian Artemision, see Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 205–212.

[72] E.g. Simon 1986, 410, 412, 418–420; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 214; Sinn 1988, 150; Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 194–197.

such as gold, amber, ivory or glass have been discovered.[73] The large number of pieces, but also the extensive uniformity and the mostly simple style, suggest that these jewellery offerings refer less to the person of the donor than to a characteristic of the deity or a specific aspect of her cult. The frequent repetition of the same shapes can emphasize and reinforce their meaning and message.[74] Later written sources emphasize the importance of dress and adornment in the cult of the Ephesian Artemis and support this interpretation: several inscriptions mention the office of the κοσμήτειρα, the holder of which had to dress and adorn the cult image of Artemis.[75] Another inscription describes a festival called *Daitis* where the cult image of Artemis Ephesia was carried in procession and presented a new wardrobe; a σπειροφόρος and a κοσμοφόρος – persons carrying the clothes and the jewellery – also participated in this procession.[76] The ritual dressing and adorning of a cult image in certain intervals or at special occasions, together with the offering of clothing and jewellery, was a widespread tradition in ancient Greece.[77] The related practices in the Ephesian Artemision mentioned by later sources might have older roots hence can explain the strong tradition of jewellery offerings in the early Archaic sanctuary. The original cult image was probably made of wood and dressed with real clothes and adornment, and it is likely that at least a part of the jewellery found in the sanctuary belonged to the accoutrement of the cult image or was offered with the intention to be worn by it.[78] Belts obviously had a special meaning in the cult activities of the Artemision: parts of at least twenty examples have been found in the Archaic layers. Later ancient sources mentioning dedications of belts mainly refer to female deities and to women who offered their belts on the occasion of their marriage or after having given birth – the latter tradition can even be traced in Christianity.[79] Furthermore, a Roman copy of the cult image of Artemis Ephesia is depicted with a belt that includes elements of this type:[80] since belts of this type were not produced after the seventh century, it must be concluded that the artist of the Roman statue reproduced one of these belts, based either upon actually preserved ones or depictions that were passed on over the centuries through the cult image of Artemis Ephesia. The depiction on the cult image stresses the significance of these belts as a characteristic accessory of the deity worshipped in the Artemision, probably pointing to specific aspects of birth and marriage in her cult.

Another question should also be addressed briefly in connection with the offering of jewellery: how were these quantities of small objects offered and placed? While the ancient sources give accounts of particular dedications and special occasions for the offering of jewellery, not much is known about the practice or the act of offering it in general.[81] One can imagine that the objects were brought separately and laid down on

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[73] See e.g. Seipel 2008, 130–146 nos. 8–66 (gold), 182–183 nos. 146–156 (ivory), 187–190 nos. 167–191 (amber), 193–199 nos. 200–208 (glass, stone, faïence, clay).
[74] See also von Hesberg 2007, 306–307.
[75] Engelmann 2001, 38.
[76] Engelmann 2001, 39; Romano 1988, 128–129 and nn. 12, 14.
[77] Romano 1988; Scheer 2000, 55–57.
[78] See also Romano 1988, 130 and n. 30 for later sources suggesting that the Ephesian Artemis was a wooden xoanon; Fleicher 2008, esp. 26–27; Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 200–201 with nn. 1395–1396.
[79] Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 106–108 with further references.
[80] See above p. 110 and note 31.
[81] See R. Parker in *ThesCRA* 2004, 270–271; Alroth 1988, 195.

the altar or pinned on the cult image, or that they were offered as a complete set of jewellery and even together with dresses, as is well known from different inventory lists.[82] In any case, the impression of a cult-place or a cult-image covered layer upon layer with jewellery must have been overwhelming and demonstrated lively cult activity in the sanctuary.[83] Today's examples of richly adorned Christian figurines of the Virgin Mary or of Greek churches thickly hung with votive tablets might offer a suitable parallel.[84]

Taken together the above-mentioned facts and what later written sources reveal, a certain dominance of female elements in the early Archaic cult of the Artemision can be observed. The obvious importance of belts in particular suggests that the honoured deity was linked with female interests such as marriage and childbirth. This impression is also underscored by the fact that objects usually connected with the male sphere, such as tools and weapons, are almost absent, and aspects of warfare, hunting and fishing obviously were not matters of prime interest in the cult of this sanctuary. However, it can by no means be assumed that jewellery was exclusively offered by women and to female deities, as it is also found in sanctuaries of male deities or can bear votive inscriptions mentioning a male donor.[85] This question is again closely connected with the discussion of what, precisely, determined the choice of an offering: the honoured deity, the nature of the request or the personality of the donor.

Summary

Considering the range of possibilities and difficulties that arise in determining how to interpret a single votive offering, only rather general conclusions should – and can – be drawn about the donor, his motives for making the offering or the character of the deity. Rather, it is more informative and useful to analyse the main focal points within the complete spectrum of votives in a deposit or sanctuary and, thereby, derive a general idea of the nature of the cult.

The bronze votive offerings in the early Archaic Artemision show a specific focus in the female sphere. This indicates that already in the late Geometric and early Archaic period the deity worshipped at the sanctuary was female, despite the fact that the analysis of the bronze votives allows no unambiguous conclusions to be made regarding the name or number of the honoured deities. The range of shapes implies rather less-prosperous dedicators of local origin, and one might suggest that they belonged to different ethnic groups of immigrated Ionians and originally resident West Anatolian people. The general picture of the bronzes found in the early Archaic Artemision parallels nicely what we know from several other sites in Ionia and beyond. Furthermore, it confirms the impression that in this period analysis of votive offerings provides hardly more than a general idea of the nature of the cult in a specific sanctuary.

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[82] Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 200 and nn. 1387–1391 with further references.

[83] Descriptions of later authors like Strabo and Pausanias give a vague idea about how crammed with votive offerings the sanctuaries were sometimes resulting in the establishment of certain rules which restricted the placement of votive offerings; Van Straten 1981, 78; Van Straten 1992, 270–271.

[84] E.g. Van Straten 1992, 270; Muss 1999, 602.

[85] See Klebinder-Gauß 2007, 199–200; J. Boardman in *ThesCRA* 2004, 296.

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‘Meeting with Others and the Gods’: the Social Uses of Early Cretan Cult-Sites

Lena Sjögren

Abstract

The argument of this paper is that the cult-sites in early Crete (c. 800–500 BC) did not only function as places where people worshipped the gods but were also locations for different kinds of social interaction. In other words, as meeting-places cult-sites played an essential role as incentives for contacts between people, whether it is inhabitants in a particular settlement or groups of people from different regions of Crete. The social perspective of early Greek cult has often concerned votive display as a means for the aristocracy to manifest its position in society. The deposition of prestigious votives is regarded, thus, a political statement made by the élite. Instead, these kinds of votives are here interpreted as communal depositions. Furthermore, by de-emphasizing the notion of display, I choose to interpret votives as expressions of accessibility to a cult-site and, consequently, the space where the votives were deposited indicates to what degree social interactions could have occurred.

Introduction

Archaeological studies on cult-sites in prehistoric and ancient Greece usually concern religious and cultic issues. In the field of anthropology, however, rituals and cult have often been interpreted from a more social perspective which implies that cult-practices are integrated in the social life of people.[1] It is my purpose to explore the social aspects of votives further by examining cult-practices in Iron Age and Archaic Crete, here also referred to as early Crete. The choice of early Cretan cult as the topic of research gives rise to a number of questions. Firstly, I will consider how studies of early Cretan cult often follow a number of predetermined narratives and research-questions. Furthermore, I will also examine the archaeological prerequisites for identifying and interpreting early Cretan cult, mainly in connection with votives.

My second aim is to argue for an approach that encourages a theoretical and methodological discussion of how social archaeology can contribute to the interpretation of ancient Greek votive deposits.[2] From an archaeological perspective, the defining feature for many cult-sites is the presence of votives. A votive, in turn, is often defined based on its role as a gift to a supernatural power. This exchange embraces an elusive

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[1] This aspect is discussed by C. Renfrew (2007) in a recent article concerning the archaeological study of religion: he points at an interpretation where the archaeological record does not necessarily always reflect cult-practices or religious beliefs but instead an affirmation of social institutions.

[2] I have already elaborated on such an approach in Sjögren 2008, 144–150, on which much of this analysis is based.

relationship between the dedicator(s) and a supernatural recipient which is often difficult to grasp in archaeological terms.[3] However, in the sphere of cult-practices in an early Greek context it is not these kinds of cognitive aspects of votives that have been the focus in research. Instead, we find several studies that emphasize votives as displays pertaining to different identities, be it wealth display of the élite or the display of ethnic belongings, often in the sphere of aristocratic competition.[4] In other words, the cult-site becomes a place where hierarchical structures of early Greek societies are manifested. In such an interpretative framework, the social dimension of cult-sites is clearly emphasized since they are not exclusively treated as spaces for ritual action and communication with supernatural powers. As we shall see, the discourse of social display has also been applied to explain the meaning of certain votive types in early Cretan sanctuaries.

In this paper I will question the common notion of votive display in early Cretan sanctuaries as an exclusive expression of élite manifestation or as a means to visually articulate social status in a ranked society. In my interpretation, cult-sites are not only places where people communicated with the gods but also places that had the potential to induce social interaction between different groups of people. A number of different kinds of cult-sites will serve as examples where votive deposits and associated cultic space indicate the presence of various degrees of social interaction in early Cretan cult.

Master-Narratives of Early Cretan Religion

Crete has often been treated as an island imbued with religion. This view has, in particular, been relevant to our perceptions of Minoan Crete. However, it also applies to the study of Cretan religion in the Iron Age and Archaic periods. Studies of Cretan religion and cult-practices of these centuries have been shaped by a number of master-narratives. The analytical framework for all of these narratives can be associated with analytical foci that are commonplace in traditional studies of ancient Greek cult. Typical for such foci are issues like identification of the deities worshipped, the establishment of a chronological range and origins of cult, site-typologies referring to architectural form and placement of cult, and the classification of votives often based on art historical, stylistic and/or iconographic criteria.

The first narrative concerns the Minoan heritage. There has been a tendency to relate religious practices of early Crete with a Minoan religious tradition, which implies continuity in cult.[5] Many cultic features of the Iron Age and Archaic periods are consequently assigned an origin in the Minoan culture. The second master-narrative concerns the impact of Near Eastern influences on the religion of early Crete. Various religious features and cult-practices are compared with Near Eastern equivalents. It is a notion that has been treated in a way similar to the Minoan legacy and on many accounts the two narratives converge. This kind of convergence can be observed in the way archaeological remains have been interpreted in relation to a religious context. Motifs with religious connotations, like for instance the naked goddess present in seventh-

[3] Osborne 2004, 2–3.
[4] Morgan 1990, 46; Langdon 1987, 107–113; de Polignac 1996; Whitley 2001, 143–144.
[5] In Sjögren 2008, 64–69, I discuss the notion of cultic continuity from the Bronze Age to later times in Crete.

century contexts, have both been explained as an artistic influence from an Oriental motif and as an expression of a transformed older cultic tradition, in this case the worship of a Minoan goddess.[6]

Finally, a third master-narrative is often present in research on religion in Crete after the Bronze Age. It involves political implications of early Cretan cult, where cult-practices have been interpreted as part of developing political institutions within the early Cretan *polis*.[7] One example is the seventh century cult-building in the *polis*-settlement of Prinias in Central Crete, which has been connected with the Cretan *syssition* where communal meals were shared by men of the élite class. The frieze of the building, which displays horse-mounted warriors, has been seen as an expression of some kind of élite manifestation.[8] At the same time, other sculptures on this building have been interpreted from a Near Eastern horizon.[9]

Cult-sites in Early Crete

Although my primary concern is not with issues of definition, in the case of early Crete the character of the empirical material at hand, often fragmentary and remaining uncovered under different circumstances, is one reason why basic criteria for the archaeological identification of cult should be discussed. Therefore, a methodological account based on a few observations about cult-activities in the archaeological context of early Crete may be appropriate here.

A relatively large number of cult-sites are known in Crete from these centuries. During the Iron Age and Archaic periods religious practices took place at different kinds of cult-sites. Their archaeological character ranges from chance finds, sites discovered through survey work to sites that have undergone various degrees of excavations. In general, the largest bulk of sites have left us with relatively little remains and the presence of votives is often the main guiding feature in the identification of a cult-site. Most of these sites provide archaeologists with votive material of a kind that we would define as having unambiguous religious connotations, like figurines and plaques of terracotta and bronze, decorated full-scale versions of bronze armor (helmets, cuirasses, *mitrai*) or miniature versions of armor and pottery. It is finds like these that determine the designation of a cult-site especially when other material remains are scarce.[10] In other words, such votives become diagnostic elements in the identification of a cult-site. The practice of depositing votives must, however, also have included other kinds of remains beyond the obviously

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[6] Böhm 1990, 141–143, sees the frequency of this motif in seventh-century Crete both as a sign of cultic continuity from the Bronze Age and as a willingness to adopt an eastern mode of cult.

[7] Watrous 1996, 108 connects religious life, and a community's relationship with the gods, with the political development of Archaic *poleis* in Crete.

[8] D'Acunto 1995, 49–50 interprets the frieze as an aristocratic political statement related to the formation of the *polis* at Prinias.

[9] Carter (1997, 86–96) interprets the sculptural decoration of the building as a Cretan adaptation of iconography connected with the Syrio-Palestine institution *marzeah* which she believes is a close equivalent to the Cretan *syssition*. Carter, therefore, draws the conclusion that the building displayed not just a superficial, artistic inspiration from the East, but rather a deeper institutional connection between Crete and the Levant.

[10] These votives can be defined as 'primary votives', referring to the terminology used by Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß in this volume.

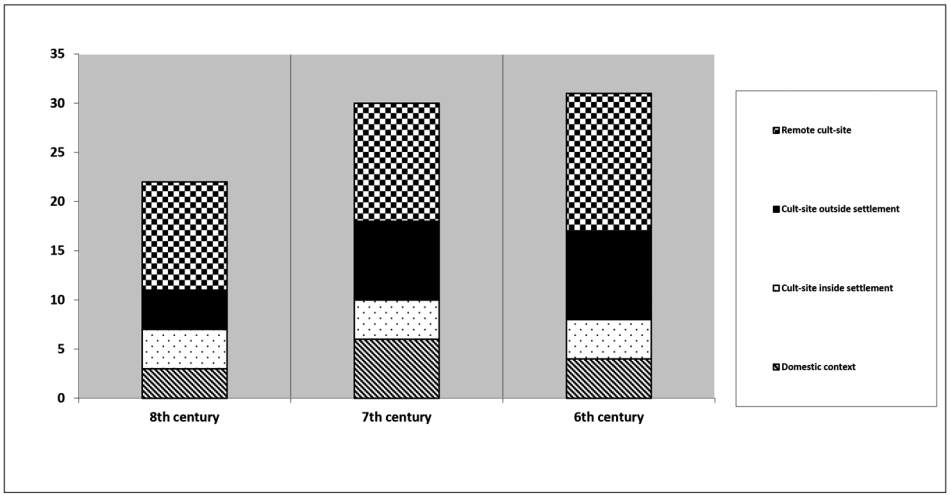

Fig. 7.1. Number of cult sites with votives, but with no indications of other cultic activities (data from Sjögren 2003).

cultic – artifacts like jewelry, pottery and bronze vessels that can also be found in other archaeological contexts. Thus, such objects could potentially have had another function (and value or meaning) in settings other than the cult-site. Furthermore, a cultic place did not necessarily have to involve the practice of depositing votives, which implies that cult-sites lacking votives run the risk of becoming invisible in the archaeological record. Other archaeological criteria for the identification of cult-sites must be applied, but beyond the presence of altars and remains of sacrifices this may be a difficult issue to solve.

Scrutinizing the archaeological situation shows that the largest part of Cretan cult-sites from this period have been identified through the presence of votives – and nothing else (Figure 7.1). All of these sites could, however, not have functioned as places where regular, long-term intentional cultic activities took place. Identification through mere presence of votives is fairly unproblematic in those cases where the deposits contain substantial amounts of votives which suggests an intentional cultic use of the site. One example is the large deposit inside the modern town of Sitia in eastern Crete, where up to 900 terracotta figurines and plaques dating to the eighth and seventh centuries were found in different pits.[11] Even though no architecture was discovered, the number of votives deposited indicates the existence of some kind of space intended for cultic activities (in this case the deposition of votives), either at the place where the deposit was discovered or somewhere close by.

In other cases the number of known votives is so small that the identification of a cult-site has rested on other criteria. For example, at Sta Lenika (Figure 7.2) in the region of Agios Nikolaos, south of modern Elounda, identification of the worshipped deity through an interpretation of the architecture established the function of the site. A cult-building dating to the Hellenistic period was excavated by French archaeologists in the 1930s and in connection to this an earlier simple one-room building of uncertain

[11] Papadakis 1980.

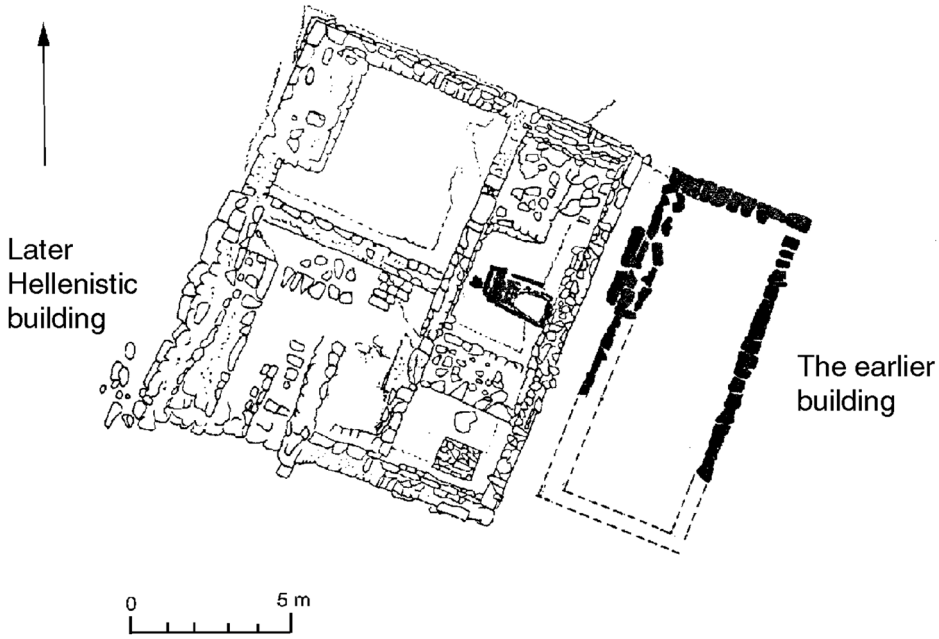

Fig. 7.2. Elounda: Sta Lenika (after Bousquet 1938, pl. 42 and Mazarakis Ainian 1997, fig. 452).

construction date was discovered.[12] Hellenistic inscriptions found at the site, and in the region, identified the cult-building as 'ancient Aphrodision' and since one Hellenistic inscription refers to the rebuilding of an earlier temple, it has been assumed that this excavated earlier building was the older version of the Hellenistic temple. Furthermore, on basis of an inscription dating to the sixth century found in modern Elounda mentioning a cult to Ares it was assumed that the temple involved a combined cult to Aphrodite and Ares (hence the double *cella* of the Hellenistic building).[13] This cult-site is an example where later unquestionable evidence of cult is projected onto an earlier situation where remains of cultic activities are nevertheless very few. Besides the building, a hearth, or assumed 'altar', together with Protogeometric and Geometric pottery was found outside the entrance. Found in a different context the cultic interpretation of the hearth may not have been so evident. Three associated deposits containing a small bronze figurine of a bull from the Archaic period, and terracotta masques and figurines of uncertain date, are perhaps more indicative of a cultic function for the site. However, the archaeological situation before the Hellenistic period is so vague that the cultic character of this site during the Iron Age and Archaic period cannot be determined.

Many Cretan cult-sites are only known through small-scale unsystematic excavations conducted a long time ago where the results have unfortunately not been properly published. Furthermore, cult-sites have been uncovered through discoveries by chance or through survey work. In these cases, it is consequently impossible to analyze any deeper cultic or social meanings in the activities that once took place. Illustrative

[12] Bousquet 1938.
[13] Prent 2005, 348.

of such circumstances are the many caves where their location, and the fact that they are caves, often qualifies them as cult-sites even when there are only one or two votives known from the site. To mention a few examples: the Lera cave on the Akrotiri peninsula in Western Crete where only one female terracotta figurine from the Archaic period has been found, a cave above the modern village Liliano in Central Crete where a terracotta bull figurine and a faïence head of the seventh century was found, and the Mavro Spelio cave at Knossos with one terracotta figurine from the Archaic period.[14]

In light of the above described archaeological circumstances the votive becomes the most important analytical element in the identification of a cult-site in early Crete even though location in the case of caves, and later cultic situations, are used to identify cult-sites. It is, however, not unproblematic to presuppose a presence of votives since activities related to cult do not necessarily have to comprise the deposition of votives. In other words, it is a particular kind of cult-site that we are able to identify archaeologically. For instance, traces of sacrificial activities could also be seen as a defining feature for cult-sites. In the case of early Crete, the archaeological evidence for sacrificial rituals is, however, fairly poor and when it exists there are only a few known cases in the form of scrappy indications.

Related to sacrifices are such activities as dining. In archaeological contexts, sacrificial dining has recently been interpreted as expressions of communal meals often associated with élite consumption.[15] Dining is, thus, a more direct illustration of the social uses of a cult-site. Particular pottery, such as drinking vessels and plates, and the remains of animal bones indicate a presence of dining activities. For early Crete this is, however, problematic since there is often a lack of reported animal bones, especially in older publications.[16] This hampers our understanding of communal dining and the focus is, therefore, often placed on the deposition of votives as expressions of cultic activities.

A Social Archaeology of Votive Deposits

Social space can be seen as the result of relations between individuals and groups, and such relationships are not always something concretely tangible in the archaeological remains. It is the associated activities, or human behavior, which shape the social meaning of cultic space. The deposition of votives implies a considerable number of participants in a ritual and the space where this ritual occurred would thus function as a place of assembly.[17] As I mentioned at the beginning of this paper, in this analytical setting votive

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[14] For information about the Lera Cave, see Guest-Papamanoli and Lambraki 1976, 212–237; on the Liliano Cave, see Hoffman 1997, 49 and Karetsou and Stampolidis 1998, 221, no. 258; for the Mavro Spelio, see Forsdyke 1926–1927, 248–250.

[15] In recent years there has been an increasing interest to study the concept of feasting and dining as a religious ritual in archaeological contexts. There has, however, been a particular focus on Minoan and Mycenaean settings as seen in a number of published conferences such as Wright 2004 and Hitchcock et al. 2008. For a later Dark Age example, see d'Agata 1997–2000 and d'Agata 1999 concerning the Early Iron Age site of Sybrita in western Crete where rubbish pits containing ash, charcoal, animal bones and pottery sherds have been interpreted as possible remains from dining connected with rituals.

[16] Dining associated with sacrificial activities occurred at the cult sites of Kommos, Amnisos, Kato Syme and possibly also the so-called Altar Hill at Praisos; Sjögren 2003, 54.

[17] Renfrew 2007, 115–116.

deposits are, therefore, interpreted not only as the results of cultic actions but also as reflections of social activities. In the study of early Greek cult, votives are often treated as social markers, i.e. the display of votives is seen as a means to manifest social status of an individual or possibly as some kind of political statement of a collective. The votive becomes an object of social prestige. There are, however, alternative ways to interpret the social meaning of votive deposits.

Certain votive types can be interpreted as private cult-offerings, while others probably functioned as part of a more communal cultic act. I have elsewhere argued that already by the late eighth century we see some kind of standardized manufacture of votives in Crete, mainly mold- or wheel-made terracotta figurines and plaques, and this is even more apparent in the following two centuries.[18] My interpretation of this increase in votives was that it may be a sign that more people were now able to acquire votive objects manufactured for the specific purpose of communicating with a deity at a cult-site. Votives like these may have had the same meaning as ordinary utility goods and it may, therefore, be possible to assign them a private, personal use. Moreover, the fact that most of them are small and portable implies that they were suitable as gifts from an individual and could therefore be described as 'personal votives'. It should be emphasized that what I mean by this term is that these votives were personal in the sense that many people had the possibility to acquire them not in the sense that they reflected personal characteristics of the votary. Besides representing communication between individuals and gods, the presences of such votives can also be seen as reflecting attendance at, and accessibility of, a cult-site. In other words, a high number of 'personal votives' would perhaps indicate that the cult-site had the potential to bring about a high degree of social interaction.

Other types of votives can be contrasted with these kinds of smaller, portable and standardized votives. I am here primarily referring to votives where size, material and/or execution of their manufacture clearly separate them from 'personal votives'. Examples are decorated tripods, cauldrons, bronze shields and helmets. It is possible that these were the votives offered by high-ranking, wealthy individuals and can, therefore, be regarded as objects enforcing, or reflecting, some kind of unbalanced power-relationship within a society. Armor and weapons could, in such an interpretation, represent the offerings from an élite warrior class and in this context tripods-cauldrons have become symbols that represent political power in early Greece.[19] This statement mirrors a well-known, and basically accepted, view on how the early Greek aristocracy manifested their position in society through élite display. An alternative hypothesis concerning these kinds of votives could, however, be that they functioned as collective votives and, therefore, did not automatically represent élite display but were rather the communal offerings at a cult-site.[20] In other words, a communal aspect could be ascribed to the prestigious votive and the presence of these offerings would suggest that the cult-site also functioned as a place for social interaction.

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[18] Sjögren 2008, 145–150.

[19] For example, see Morgan (1990, 45–47) and Osborne (1996, 96–98) on the idea that offerings of tripods and arms were displays of wealth. Bearing on the statements of Homer that tripods were the prizes and gifts of the aristocracy Morris (2000, 278) and Whitley (2001, 144) connect the tripod-cauldron to a heroic setting of early Greece. Papalexandrou (2005, 4) states that tripods should be seen as 'the symbol par excellence of authoritative discourse and, hence, of political power and territorial domination'.

[20] That tripods could be interpreted as collective dedications has also been suggested by Papalexandrou 2005, 162–163.

Thus, from a different interpretative perspective, votives could represent other social activities than the display of status. To assume other kinds of social meaning into votives we must also look at their associated cultic spaces. I will here consider a few different kinds of cult-sites. Depositions of votives may have been done by one person at a place which was not accessible to many people, i.e. a private place. The best example would be a votive offering found in a domestic setting, which could then be defined as a house-cult. The few known cases of private cult-activities in early Crete often involve occasional examples of 'personal votives'. The most obvious instance of private cult in a domestic setting is found in the large building-complex at Phaistos, dating to the eighth and seventh centuries (Figure 7.3).[21] This complex probably functioned as house-quarters for several different households. The fact that it was organized around a large open courtyard and that a large elliptic hearth was placed in the middle of a room measuring 35 square meters (room AA) suggests social interaction at some kind of communal level. This room may have been used for communal gatherings for people living in the settlement of Phaistos or in this particular house-block. The hearth and associated pottery suggests that communal dining took place in room AA. Singular, fragmentary, examples of terracotta figurines are found in rooms P, Q and CC which surround room AA. The condition of the votive material, and their uncertain archaeological context, does not indicate that we are here dealing with examples of regular house-shrines. Rather, it could be seen as sporadic cases of private offerings at different times of the house-quarter's life-history since some were found at floor-level and others at surface-level.[22] So, despite the fact that the house-quarter at Phaistos had communal localities for social interaction, the domestic nature of the architecture and the sporadic presences of votives suggest that the extent of social interaction must have remained small and within a closed group of people.

While the domestic setting at Phaistos implies that cult-activities were of a private kind, most cult-sites should have functioned as places where many people could meet. The seventh century cult-site on the acropolis of Gortyn in central Crete is an example where 'personal votives' are the most frequent votive type found. During the period after the ninth century, this cult-site, which included a cult-building on the summit and an assumed large altar on a terrace at the eastern slope, was located outside the settlement itself.[23] However, the cult-site is intimately connected with the settlement. Gortyn from the eighth century onward can be interpreted as a settlement with a developing urban expansion which by the sixth century could be defined as a town.[24] It was a settlement that spread at various locations on the hills to the east of the acropolis and on the fringe of the Mesara plain below.

The main interest of scholarship has been to determine the deity worshipped at this site. The connection to Athena Poliouchos is, however, mainly based on the iconography of later Classical and Hellenistic terracotta figurines and since it is not certain to what extent the seventh century cult related to the later fourth century cult one should perhaps

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[21] Rocchetti 1974–1975, 169–300; Cucuzza 2000.

[22] For an account of the find-material and find-circumstances, see Sjögren 2003, 128–129.

[23] The interpretation that the upper wall-construction of the terrace was an altar, as suggested by the excavators (Rizza and Scrinari 1968, 102–103), has recently been questioned by d'Acunto 2002, 209–211.

[24] For a description of the archaeological situation at Gortyn from the 10th to the 6th century, see Sjögren 2003, 34 and references; Sjögren 2008, 176, n. 518.

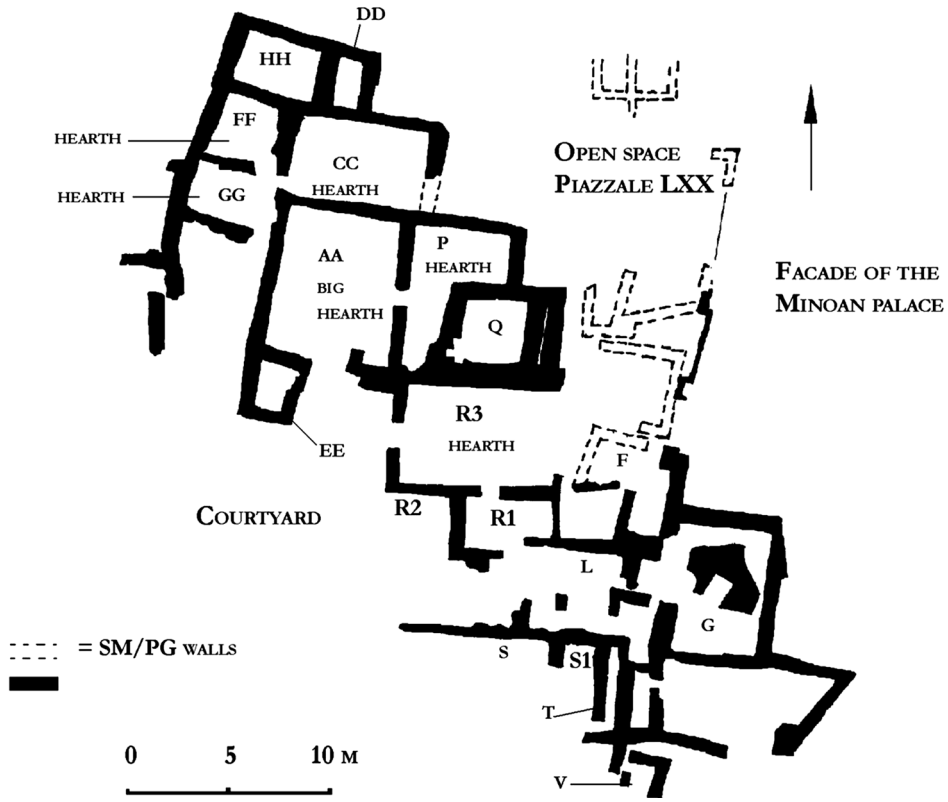

Fig. 7.3. House quarter from Phaistos (after Rocchetti 1974–75, fig. 1).

leave this issue aside.[25] Even if the seventh century votive material to a great extent is represented by female terracotta figures, there is such a variety in iconography and material types that the votives cannot be used to determine the main deity at this early period. What can be established is, however, that the 'personal votive' dominates and we should, therefore, be able to draw some conclusions about the social use of this cult-site.

Since the bulk of votives were found in connection with the wall of the so-called altar it may have been this terrace that functioned as the main social space for the cult-site, even though I would suggest that the area around the cult-building on the summit may have been equally important for communal gatherings. Hand-, mold and wheel-made terracotta figurines make up the majority of the votive material.[26] In addition, votives like a few small limestone statues, miniature bronzes (tripod-legs and armor), a few fragments of life-size *mitrai*, some fibulae and pins, clay versions of miniature helmets, and several hundreds of terracotta votive shields were uncovered at the terrace and in a large votive pit.[27] Thus, the personal kind of votives is virtually the exclusive offering type at this cult-

[25] D'Acunto 2002, 215–221 and Prent 2005, 273 both assume that Athena Poliouchos was worshipped in the 7th century.
[26] Sjögren 2003, 130–131. In total 413 terracotta figurines and plaques and the majority date to 7th century. The figurines mainly represent nude women, while there are some male warriors and youths. 39 are animal figurines. The plaques depict women, sphinxes, antithetical animals, lions and a few warrior scenes.
[27] Prent 2005, 268–269; Rizza and Scrinari 1968, *passim*.

site. The presence of such votives in large quantities would probably denote a communal accessibility to the cult-site.[28] So, the social interaction of this cult-site basically involved the inhabitants of Gortyn where the make-up of the votive material indicates depositions of offerings made by individuals and not by a particular group of people. Since there is no conclusive evidence of animal sacrifices and communal dining at this site it is the deposition of votives by individuals that must have enabled the social interaction.[29] I would suggest that while the meeting with the gods was a pre-planned undertaking, the meeting with others was of a more spontaneous nature.

Thus, the cult-site on the acropolis of Gortyn would have involved participation by the inhabitants of the adjacent settlement. A common feature of early Cretan cult-sites seems to be that locations associated with a particular settlement infer to a large extent private use, as indicated by a great presence of 'personal votives'.[30] The earlier mentioned cult-site at Sitia, with its high number of small terracotta figurines and plaques, is a comparable example. On the other hand, a different situation can be observed at cult-sites that were more regional in character. I am referring to places which may have attracted participants from different settlements in a region, or even the entire island, such as, for instance, Kato Syme, the Idaean Cave, Palaikastro and Psychro. There is a tendency that we at such sites find prestigious votives of high investment that I earlier defined as communal, such as tripod-cauldrons, bronze shields and weapons. However, keeping with the idea that the prestigious votives belonged to an aristocracy, a common suggestion is that sanctuaries like these were not only regional meeting-places, but also arenas for conspicuous display. Thus, the votives on display functioned as the political statements of a regional aristocracy. It is an interpretation that concurs with the political narrative that has characterized the study of early Cretan cult.[31] On the other hand, at most of these regional cult-sites we also find 'personal votives' which would indicate a communal accessibility. For instance, at such regional sites as the Psychro Cave in Lasithi or Kato Syme, the 'personal votives' actually dominate in the votive assemblage.[32] So, a possible diverging interpretation is that these sites in the first place should not be seen as cultic institutions where individual political ambitions were realized, but rather as places that enabled social interaction with groups of people from different settlements. In such an interpretation, the prestigious votives become collective offerings rather than denoting aristocratic display.

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[28] Prent (2005, 267) defines the cult-practices as communal without taking the private, individual aspect into account.

[29] Questioning the interpretation that the wall on the terrace represented an altar, d'Acunto (2002, 212–213) suggests that the terrace was an area where votives were placed. Thus, calling the terrace a 'donario', it would have had a similar function to that of the treasuries in later sanctuaries.

[30] On this idea, together with data from cult-sites, see Sjögren 2003, 59–60.

[31] Prent (2005, 355–356) works from this kind of hypothesis, which is shown in several of her interpretations of so-called extra-urban sanctuaries. A case-in-point is Palaikastro (pp. 532–554) on the eastern coast where the prestigious votives are interpreted as expressions of regional aristocratic competition.

[32] Sjögren 2003, 158–159.

Conclusion

In this article, I have questioned the common notion that regional sanctuaries in early Crete were places for aristocratic competition and individual political manifestations through the display of prestigious votives. Instead, different cult-sites, whether domestic, urban or rural, are seen as places where, besides religious rituals, social interactions at various levels took place. I de-emphasize the concept of display as the all-inclusive social signification associated with votives at early Cretan cult-sites. Furthermore, my approach to votive deposits at early Cretan cult-sites shows that it is difficult to separate religious practices from social behavior. Archaeological record associated with cult, and their interpretations, do not always present an expected dichotomy between religious and secular life.

Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies
Stockholm University

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New Beginnings? Preparations of Renewal of Cult at Kalaureia and Asine

Berit Wells†
edited by Petra Pakkanen, Arto Penttinen and Jari Pakkanen

Introduction

Garbage, refuse, debris, accumulations of archaeological material, depositions and deposits? These terms relate to what we actually are investigating in the field. What some of us throw away can be invested with meaning by others and as highly valued items with symbolism. For my purposes here I will differentiate between depositions (a general term) and deposits (the more specific). I will designate all accumulations of archaeological material in an excavation as depositions, whether they accumulated over time or are fills for landscaping or for building purposes. In my view depositions that are manipulated by man, bounded, sealed or which can be tied to acts displaying specific meanings, as we understand it, are deposits. In this paper I will discuss three deposits of late Early Iron Age excavated at Kalaureia and a contemporary unpublished assemblage of material excavated on the Barbouna Hill at Asine in 1924 and 1926. These eighth-century BC deposits are all associated with cult. What these depositions have in common is the total absence of what perhaps most readily comes to mind when cult deposits are discussed, namely figurines, miniature vessels and metal objects. Nonetheless, I would like to define them as 'cult deposits' because of their contents and the way the material assemblages were created and followed by cult installations. Hence, I admit that cult deposits can be very different in kind; it is the circumstances of their deposition in tandem with their contents that make them special.

Kalaureia

Before the currently ongoing research program at the site, the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia on the island of Poros had attracted little scholarly attention but for a one-season investigation in 1894. The reason behind that is surely the poor preservation of its monuments which offered little to generations of archaeologists who had been brought up in a tradition where architecture was at the core of sanctuary studies. When the investigations were resumed in the 1990s, it was realized that the cultural layers in the sanctuary had been little interfered with in the 1894 excavations. They, therefore, now present a treasure of materials, which earlier generations could not extract and did not have the tools to investigate.

The Sanctuary of Poseidon is located on a saddle at 190 masl in the center of the island of Kalaureia, the larger of the two islands that make up today's Poros (Figures 8.1 and 8.2). In antiquity the sanctuary was known as the refuge of the orator Demosthenes, who was persecuted by the Macedonians after their take-over of Athens. Demosthenes took poison in the sanctuary in 322 BC. In the eyes of the contemporaries this also signaled the end to the golden age of Greek freedom and democracy. All Greek sanctuaries could

Fig. 8.1. An aerial view of the Sanctuary of Poseidon in 2012. Photograph S. Stournaras.

function as places of asylum for supplicants seeking refuge from their enemies, but Kalaureia is considered to have been particularly advantageous as an asylum due to its peripheral location on an island.[1] Poseidon's sanctuary at Kalaureia was also the seat of an amphictyony, i.e. of a religious federation of city-states, whose members came together at specific occasions to sacrifice to the god and feast together. The amphictyony has been dated variously to the Late Bronze Age, the Archaic period (seventh century BC) or possibly even to the Hellenistic period (fourth to first centuries BC).[2] In 1894 Samuel Wide and Lennart Kjellberg excavated at Kalaureia (published in 1895) and in the 1930s Gabriel Welter studied the architecture (published in 1941).[3] The obvious reason for the discontinued investigations is the lack of spectacular finds, such as standing remains of buildings or statuary. When the Swedish Institute at Athens in 1997 resumed excavations at the site, this was rather seen as an advantage, as we wished to explore daily life in a Greek sanctuary in its widest sense, i.e. how those who lived there (provided asylum seekers were regular customers) and those who visited it to sacrifice interacted with each other and the gods.[4]

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[1] See e.g. Sinn 1993; Schumacher 1993. For the ancient sources on the death of Demosthenes, see Wells et al. 2003, 30 n. 10.

[2] For a summary of the discussion see esp. Kelly 1966, 113–115, with references; more recently Tausend 1992, 12–19; Schumacher 1993, 74–76; Mylonopoulos 2003, 427–431; Figueira 2004, 622–623; Pakkanen 2008, 238–239.

[3] For the results, see Wide and Kjellberg 1894, 248–282 and Welter 1941.

[4] The 3-year research program (2003–2005) 'Physical Environment and Daily life in the Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia (Poros)' was directed by B. Wells. It was funded by The Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond. For the results, see Wells et al. 2003; Wells et al. 2005; Wells et al. 2006–2007. The current research program 'The Sea, the City and the God' is also funded by the Riksbankens Jubileumsfond and is now directed by Arto Penttinen.

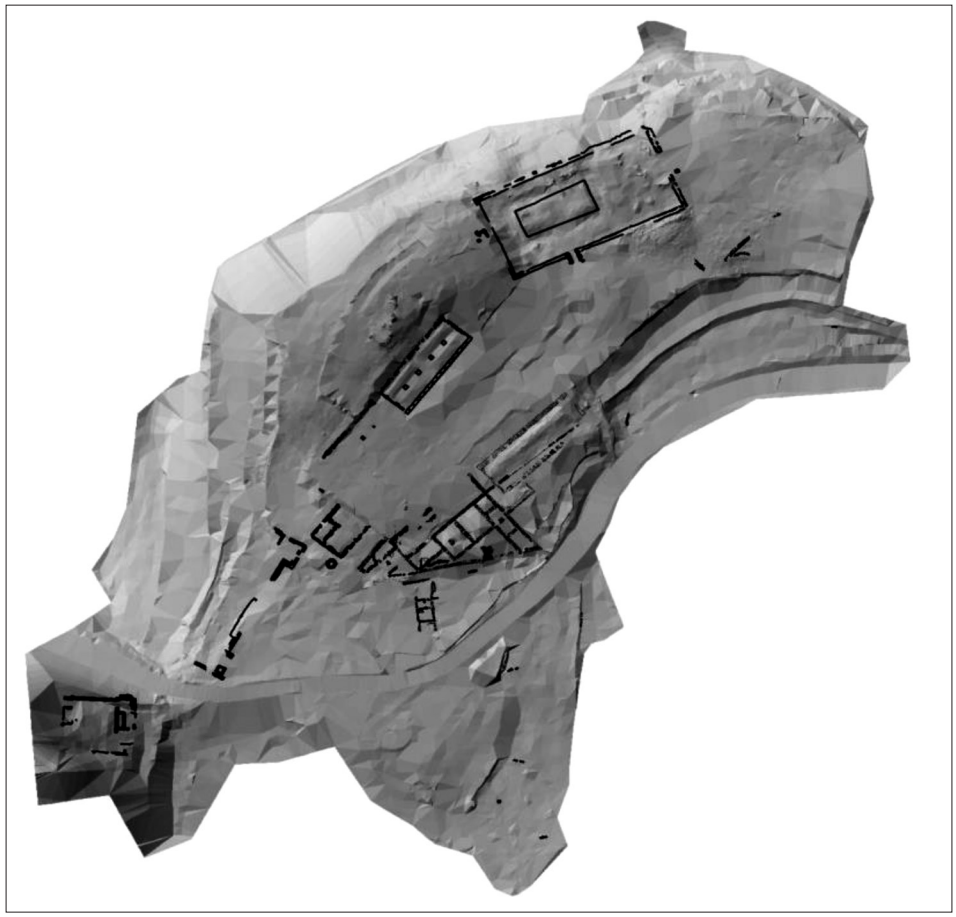

Fig. 8.2. Plan of the Sanctuary of Poseidon after 2008 excavation season. E. Savini. For the figure in color, see Plate 8.2.

The Kalaureia deposits I shall discuss here are in the three pits cut into bedrock around 750 BC, Features 07, 08 and 09 shown on Figure 8.3 and Plate 8.3.[5] They were investigated in the excavations between 2003 and 2005.[6] The pits are situated in close proximity to each other in the Area D in the southwestern part of the sanctuary (Figure 8.3 and Plate 8.3).

The northern part of Building D has now been assigned a late sixth century BC date, whereas its triangular, southern extension was only constructed in the late fourth century BC.[7] In 2003 and 2004, excavation into accumulations underneath the Archaic

[5] Fig. 18 in Wells et al. 2006–2007, 46.

[6] They have been published in two final reports on our investigations in the *Opuscula Atheniensia*: Wells et al. 2005 and 2006–2007.

[7] Wells et al. 2003; Wells et al. 2005, 135. The existence of the stoa is strongly questioned in these excavation reports, but all the observed architectural features are consistent with the interpretation that Stoa D was the first monumental building in the area; see Pakkanen forthcoming.

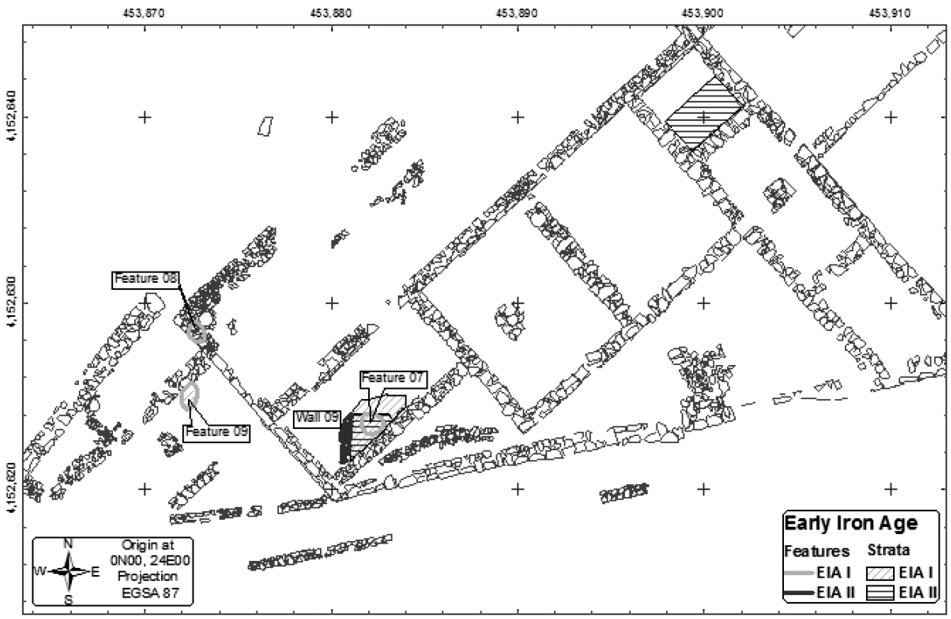

Fig. 8.3. Area of Building D, with walls, features and strata dated to the Early Iron Age. For the plan in color, see Plate 8.3. E. Savini.

and Classical structures in the southwestern corner of the area brought to light stratified material datable to the eighth century BC, an Early Iron age structure[8] and the pits described below. The pits were obviously created at the same point in time, and the circumstances of the depositions in them were, I believe, the same. They are clearly interconnected and also associated with other Early Iron Age strata.[9] However, they are differently preserved: Feature 08 was severely damaged when a cistern was dug through in the Archaic construction phase of the building. It is now a cavity in the western wall of the cistern, and it was discovered loosely packed with stones, some large and flat, and with large fragments of Late Geometric pottery. The cavity continued for 0.5 m to the west, where it ended in bedrock and a tight stone-packing above it, perhaps a sealing of the pit, or, more probably, blocks from the overlying wall. It contained fragments of large vessels only.[10] Feature 09 disappeared during extensive later activities in the area west of Building D. It was found dug into the fairly soft bedrock, and contained fist-sized stones mixed with large fragments of Late Geometric pottery (Figure 8.4 and Plate 8.4).[11]

My contention of contemporaneousness is not only based upon stratigraphy but also upon the fact that fragments of one and the same pot occur through the fills of the pits and in the fill underneath the later building constructed above Feature 07. The distribution of the fragments retrieved throughout the Early Iron Age I depositions of the fragments of three Late Geometric, large amphorae and of three LH IIIC Late kraters is shown in Figure 8.5 and Plate 8.5.

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[8] Wells et al. 2005, 150–159; Wells et al. 2006–2007, 49–51.
[9] Wells et al. 2006–2007, 68.
[10] Wells et al. 2006–2007, 64, 68.
[11] Wells et al. 2006–2007, 58–59, fig. 30.

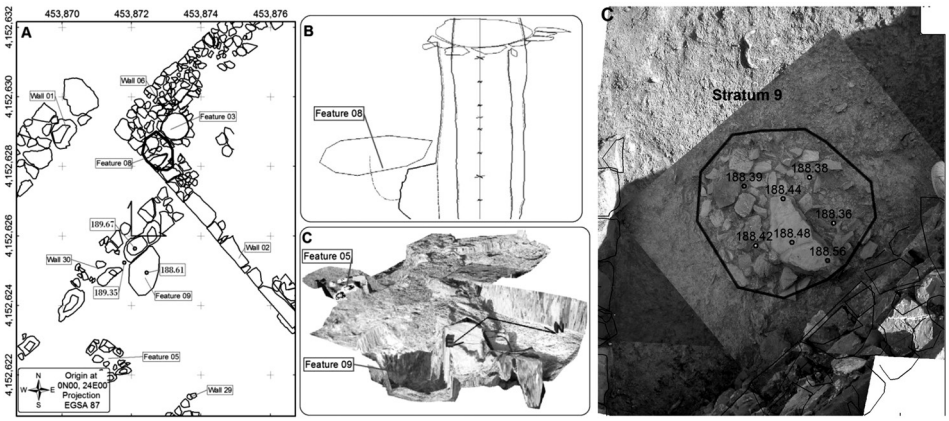

Figure 8.4. (a) The EIA II phase with Wall 09 and the associated; (B) the EIA I fill underneath the floor of the EIA II structure; (C) the fill, Stratum 9, which equals Feature 07 (C) with the big boulder in the center. For the figure in color, see Plate 8.4. E. Savini.

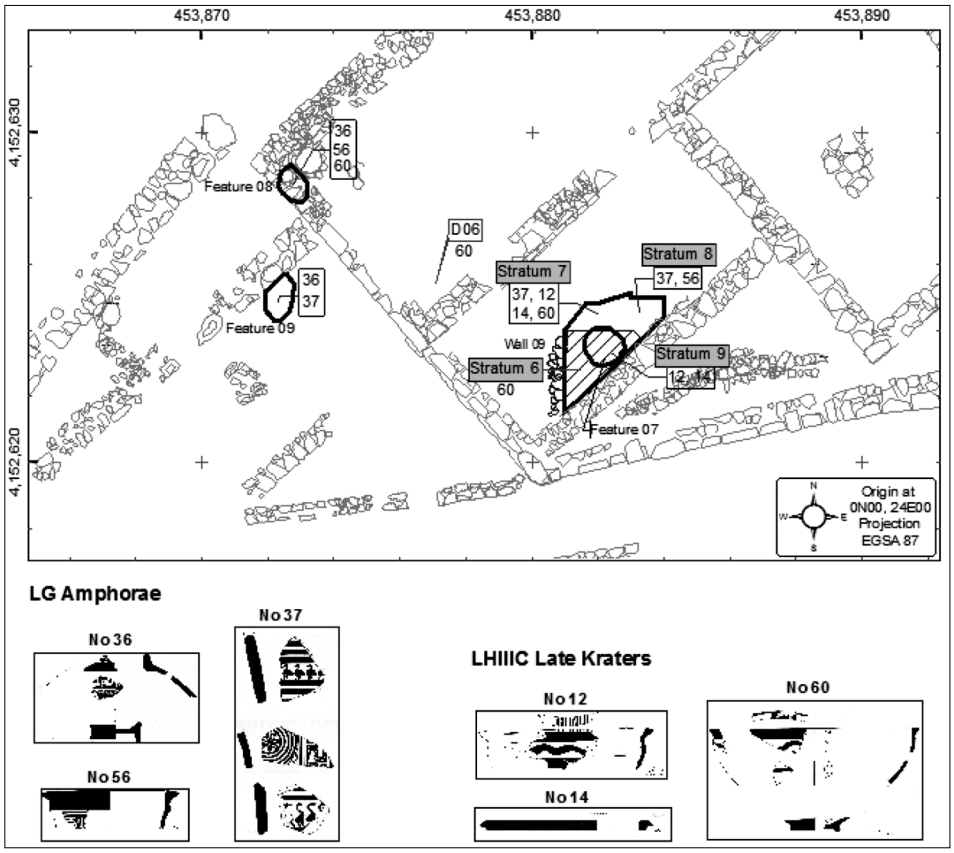

Fig. 8.5. Distribution of the fragments retrieved throughout the EIA I depositions of the LH IIIC Late kraters and of the fragments of the LG large amphorae. For the figure in color, see Plate 8.5. Illustration E. Savini.

Feature 07 is a circular pit, c. 20 cm deep with steep sides and an almost flat bottom, intentionally cut into bedrock. At the top it was filled with tightly packed stones. The stone packing was noticed as deviating from the surrounding fill, and, therefore, the pit must have been consciously sealed before, or perhaps rather at the time of the bringing in of the fill.[12] The Early Iron Age phase II building was built above it, and a preserved remnant of its wall is stratigraphically associated with a floor layer (C2 in Figure 8.4 and Plate 8.4). We are in the lucky position to be able to reconstruct in detail the series of events which led up to its construction.

The earliest evidence of interference with the landscape in the area was probably the cutting of the pits into bedrock. We cannot establish with certainty whether there was an original soil cover on the bedrock or not. If there was, it may have been this layer that was cleared away in anticipation of the following steps of reorganizing the area and used both to fill the pits and to create the deposition on which the building was erected. Obviously the building site was meticulously prepared: the sloping bedrock was levelled with soil mixed with stones and refuse.[13] The fill of Feature 07 comprised small stones, soil, pot fragments, and bones; some bones were abraded, others were in mint condition. This fact, according to our bone specialist Dimitra Mylona, reveals different depositional histories for them. The abraded bones were part and parcel of the soils used for the fills whereas the well-preserved bones were added at the time of deposition. Such bones were the several fragments of a goat skull and a goat horn core found at the top of Feature 07. They had in all likelihood been consciously deposited at the moment of the filling of the pit.[14] A large, fairly flat oval-shaped stone stands out in the center of the pit in close proximity to Wall 09 and visible already in the floor stratum. It had been placed on bedrock, as had the uneven, large boulder further east.[15] We believe the goat bones stem from a sacrifice executed at the time of the deposition and perhaps the flat stone was employed in the ritual act, after which the pit was sealed with field stones and, finally, an up to 20 cm thick layer was spread over the area. This layer was created for drainage for the ensuing structure: the lower part of the fill consisted of larger stones and the upper part of smaller stones and more soil and ceramic fragments. The ground slopes towards the south and the fill was thicker in there than in the north. Here the stony fill stretched outside the building. The building was constructed on top of the fill; its floor accumulation was intact.[16] I suggest that the debris of previous activities from phase EIA I was cleared away, collected and then redeposited in pits, the Features 07, 08 and 09 as a preamble to the construction of the EIA II building.

The cutting of the pits, the assumed sacrifice of a goat and deposition of some of its bones, the sealing of the pit and the levelling and drainage of the building site – all these circumstances cannot be coincidental. The various steps had been carefully calculated before initiating the building project. The entire area was thus reorganized but what came before was not forgotten or done away with; instead, it was incorporated into the new. The ritualizing of the construction of a new building is hard to imagine outside a cult context and the contents of the pits also underscore such a notion. Not only do we have

[12] Wells et al. 2006–2007, 56.
[13] Wells et al. 2006–2007, 68.
[14] Mylona in Wells et al. 2006–2007, 57, 69.
[15] Wells et al. 2006–2007, 55, 68.
[16] Wells et al. 2005, 150–159; Wells et al. 2006–2007, 49.

a set type of vessel shapes for storage and consumption[17] but they come from all corners of the eastern Aegean. In the following I will discuss the large Attic vessels from this context excavated in 2003. The gigantic Attic amphorae were costly and prestigious vessels only affordable by the élite. They seem to have been transported to Kalaureia across the Saronic Gulf.[18] I should say a word about their chronology in relation to the sanctuary of Kalaureia. The Dipylon amphorae, both those produced probably by the master himself or at least coming from his workshop, and the Hirschfeld amphora (Figure 8.6) belong to around the middle to the third quarter of the eighth century BC, whereby the first phase of the Early Iron Age in this specific area falls within this spectrum.[19]

Fig. 8.6. Fragments of large amphora (no. 36) by the Hirschfeld Painter. Photograph C.Mauzy.

It is noteworthy that of the five amphorae, one of which could theoretically also have been a large pyxis, four are of very large proportions. Regarding the ceramic material excavated in the Early Iron Age stratum it cannot be ascertained whether the material originated at this exact location or whether it was brought in from somewhere else. The large Geometric vessels, however, can be traced to Attica. The amphorae and the probable pyxis were spectacular vessels of very large proportions: the diameter of the belly of one of the amphorae can be estimated as c. 70 centimeters and its neck is 40.0 cm tall.[20] Its decoration is a triple meander which, according to N. Coldstream, was developed by the Dipylon Master for his vast funerary vases,[21] and the one on our amphora is an exact parallel to the one on the neck of Athens 804. Similarly, the decorative scheme of the pyxis points to Attica as the neatly executed composite parts and the overall decorative scheme are in all details Attic. The large amphorae have two smaller counterparts which may have been manufactured in Athens as well.[22] The large

[17] Kraters in particular seem to abound at the site; Wells et al. 2005, 148. For parallels, see Langdon 1995, 58–59, fig. 62.
[18] Cf. Wells et al. 2005, 182.
[19] Wells et al. 2006–2007, 58, 62, 64, 66 (no. 36), figs. 31, 33, 34. See Coldstream 1968, 43.
[20] Wells et al. 2005, 150 (nos. 51 [amphora] and 54 [pyxis]), fig. 27; Wells et al. 2006–2007, 58, 63–64, 67–68 (nos. 37, 57, 58) and figs. 31, 34, 38; Wells 2011, 213–214 and fig. 9; cf. Coldstream 1968, 41–43 and pl. 8.
[21] Coldstream 1968, 36 and pls. 6 and 7.
[22] Wells et al. 2006–2007, 50, 54, 62 (nos. 3 and 4), fig. 24.

Fig. 8.7. Fragments of large amphora. Photograph C. Mauzy, illustration A. Hooton.

Attic amphora shown on Figure 8.6 displays dotted lozenge chain with dots above and below the interconnections, a hallmark of the Hirschfeld Painter and his workshop, and metopes, which can be discerned on our amphora below the lozenge chain, are more common there than in the Dipylon workshop.[23] The large amphora shown on Figure 8.7, on the other hand, displays bird file, has dot rosettes and squiggles underneath the rumps of the birds. I would suggest, therefore, that this vessel was produced in a different Attic workshop, where the sloping rim and the raised ridge are also known to have been employed. The comparative severity of the decoration points to the Dipylon workshop in LG Ib.[24]

It is noteworthy that large amphorae like the ones excavated in the Late Geometric stratum were manufactured not only in Athens but also in the Argolid, for example at Argos,[25] and they have turned up also in southern Argolid.[26] I will show below that at Asine they were found in the deposit discovered south of the remains of the early cult building in the sanctuary to Apollo Pythaeus on the Barbouna Hill.

Early Iron Age pottery gives an approximate *terminus post quem* for the construction of the building.[27] It was constructed on the fill of probably local origin. The

[23] An amphora by the Hirschfeld Painter in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens, NM 18062 of LG Ib date (740–735 BC), can be compared with ours; it is published by Kourou 2002, 37–38, 82–83 and pls. 98–99.
[24] Wells et al. 2006–2007, 68; Wells 2011, 213–214; Coldstream 1968, pl. 8.
[25] Courbin 1966, 129–130, pls. 100–104.
[26] Langdon 1995, 67 and fig. 58, no. 1129.
[27] Wells et al. 2005, 155, 159.

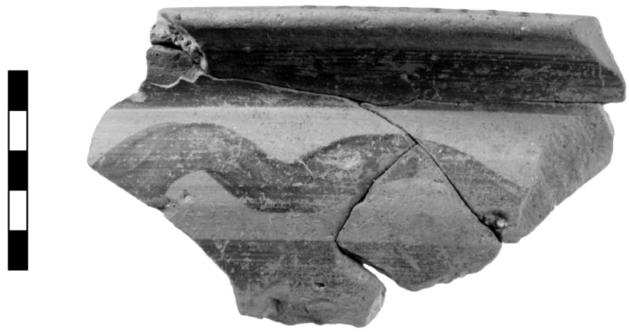

Fig. 8.8. Fragment of LH IIIC Late krater (no. 12). Photograph C. Mauzy.

fill, therefore, gives the *terminus post quem* for the date of this event in the ceramic phase LG Ia or just before the middle of the eighth century BC. Certainly in the ceramic phase LG II the building was in use and continued to be so until the end of the phase. In absolute years this takes us down to around 700 BC according to the traditional dating.[28] It is noteworthy here that also several fragments from a large LH IIIC Late krater were excavated in 2004 in the continuation of the stratum 07 fill.[29] They are the earliest pieces in this assemblage, and were part of the fill, but there is no way of knowing whether the vessels were already in fragments when the cultural material constituting the fill accumulated or whether they were still complete vessels at that time. The krater shown in Figure 8.8, because of its thick wavy band in the handle zone, can be securely dated to the very end of the Bronze Age. This attests to earlier activities in this particular part of the sanctuary.[30] It is tempting to suggest, however, that the LH IIIC Late krater fragments ended up in the EIA I horizon for a reason: they may have still been complete vessels at the time, a reminder of the past of which people probably never lost sight. The rest of the material from this same horizon, datable to around 750 BC and found in the pits and in the fill utilized to prepare the site for a new building in EIA II, is the result of a conscious manipulation of the past to restructure the present.[31]

The large, decorated containers such as our vessels represent great value. They were obviously shattered in the area, but only a few fragments of each vessel ended up in any of the excavated contexts. Only members of leading social classes could afford such display and conspicuous consumption.[32] Overall the shapes of the Early Iron Age pottery from our context are for storage of food and liquids, and for serving and drinking. It seems clear that dining or feasting was always the main activity in the area of the Building D. Generally, the large amphorae occur mainly in two contexts: as grave markers and in sanctuaries, as we know well from Athens, Argos and Asine. In the sanctuary to Apollo Pythaeus on the Barbouna Hill at Asine they are closely linked with serving and drinking vessels, as I will show below, and in this respect Kalaureia resembles Asine.[33] During the Early Iron Age, feasting here seems to have involved some element of displaying richly decorated, oversized vessels. Here I have also associated this activity, which I wish to regard as part of ritual practices of the sanctuary, with ritualizing of the construction of a new building. Contemporary parallels can be found at Asine, the location of the next case study.

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[28] Wells et al. 2005, 159, 182.
[29] Wells et al. 2005, 154–155 (no. 61), fig. 29; Wells et al. 2006–2007, 53, 56, 70 (nos. 12 and 14), fig. 25.
[30] Wells et al. 2005, 155, 159, fig. 30.
[31] Wells et al. 2006–2007, 70–71.
[32] Wells et al. 2005, 182.
[33] Wells et al. 2006–2007, 71.

Fig. 8.9. The Kastraki promontory seen from the Barbouna Hill during the 1920s excavations. Photograph from the Asine Archive at Uppsala University.

Asine

The archaeological site, conventionally identified as ancient Asine, consists of the rocky Kastraki promontory (Figure 8.9) and the nearby Barbouna Hill (Figure 8.10). The site controls the outer entrance to the Bay of Argolis, while Nauplion (ancient Nauplia) dominates the inner and narrower part of the bay.

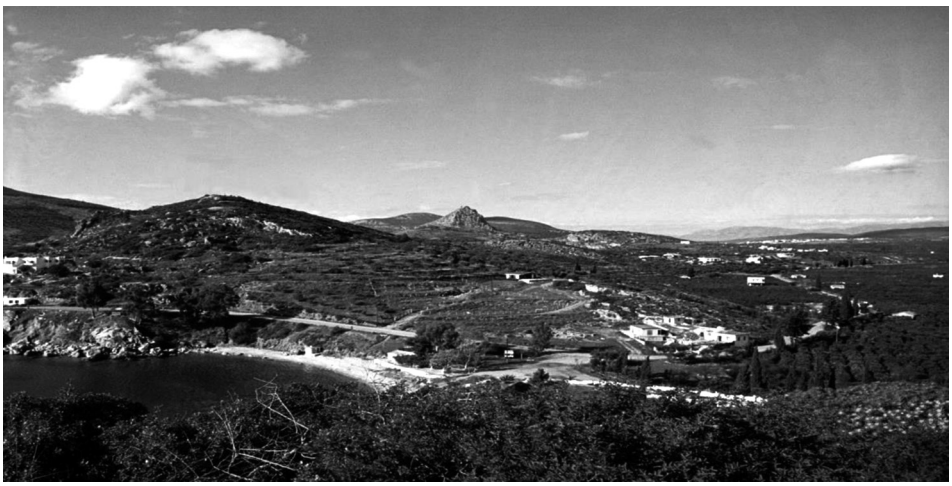

Fig. 8.10. The Barbouna Hill. Photograph Berit Wells.

Fig 8.11. Top Terrace of the Barbouna Hill during the excavations. Photograph from the Asine Archive at the Uppsala University.

During two campaigns in 1924 and 1926 the remains of a rectangular building on a partly artificial and fortified terrace on the top of the Barbouna Hill were investigated by Swedish archaeologists (Figure 8.11).[34] Now little remains of what was extant in the 1920s, mostly due to activities during the war when advantage was taken of Asine's strategic position once again. It is, however, still possible to trace part of the northern wall of the ancient rectangular structure, but the supportive terrace walls have decayed and the additional ancient walls on the terrace do not exist any more.[35]

In the 1938 publication of the excavations, the architecture is described and illustrated,[36] but of the rest of the material only a lead statuette and a terracotta figurine are briefly mentioned.[37] The sherd material on the whole, mentioned in passing in the architectural survey, was never studied and published due to some unfortunate circumstances. After the first season in 1922, the excavators were generously permitted to transport all the excavation finds to Sweden for study on the condition that they were returned to Greece before the second campaign. The arrangement was repeated in 1926, whereas it was prevented in 1924 by the political situation in Greece.[38] Apparently this meant that less time and money could be spent on studying the finds from that year which, in turn, had further consequences. When the Greek government eventually presented the various departments of Classical Archaeology at the Swedish universities with the bulk of the sherd material from the excavations as a part of an exchange agreement between

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[34] Frödin and Persson 1938, 146–151.
[35] Cf. Frödin and Persson 1938, 148, fig. 129.
[36] Frödin and Persson 1938, 148–151 with fig. 130.
[37] Frödin and Persson 1938, 133–134 with fig. 225, 1 and 3; nos. 4 and 5 were both found in the Geometric house on the acropolis.
[38] Frödin and Persson 1938, 12.

the governments,[39] the material from the excavations in 1924 which had not been studied for publication remained in the Nauplion Museum. The present day state of affairs is, therefore, that the finds from the top of the Barbouna Hill are divided between Uppsala University (where the entire sherd collection ended up and now forms the bulk of the Asine Collection) and the Nauplion Museum. In Nauplion material was first stored in the basement of the mosque where between the years 1825 and 1828 the Parliament of the newly born Greek state assembled, and then moved to the old *medrese*, the present storerooms.

The Architectural Remains

The ancient remains on the Top Terrace of the Barbouna Hill cannot, however, be isolated from their surroundings. On the northern slopes of the hill a number of walls have remained totally unnoticed since the 1920s. They consist of the foundations of a rectangular building A, referred to by the excavators as a temple, almost certainly positioned on the terrace, and, to the west of it, the curved wall B, and to its south, the straight wall C, apparently damaged in places (Figure 8.12). Today merely a part of the northern wall of the rectangular structure can be made out. To establish the relative chronology of the three units we have the recorded levels to solve the issue: it can be established that B and C are stratigraphically contemporaneous and earlier than A. The curved, apsidal wall B and the straight wall C both lay in ruins when building A was erected, and it is likely that they provided at least some of the building material for A. The plan (Figure 8.12) demonstrates how the foundations of the three constructions were laid in the same manner. Therefore, they undoubtedly belong to the same building tradition. All these hypotheses can be verified through the groups of pottery still extant from the 1926 excavations and now in Uppsala. Rather, what material there is appears to contradict the observations made in the field as the pottery ranges from Early Helladic to Archaic/Classical. Manifestly therefore, the Top Terrace attracted people before Geometric times, although none of the once exposed architectural remains can be ascribed to them. Also, the assortment of post-Geometric pottery demonstrated that whatever activities took place on the Terrace, it did not cease at the end of the eighth century BC. However, the presence of the most of the later material can most likely be associated with the use of the rectangular building A. It is worth asking what was the function of the wall C? As the ground level rises towards the north it seems natural to assume that it was constructed as the retaining wall for the northern part of the terrace on which stood building B. But it may in addition have served the further function of delimiting the area connected with building B; in other words, it may have been a temenos wall. According to the old diary notes stones had fallen from the easternmost part of wall C along its southern side and towards building A. It is added that 'underneath and between the stones Geometric sherds were found'. This certainly makes a Geometric date for wall C plausible. The excavators noted that the temple (A) stood on a partly artificial terrace with thick, buttress walls in the south and in the north where terracing had been carried out. They also saw design in the placement of the entrances to the open area: they are aligned with the orientation of the temple and the excavators drew the conclusion that the temple and the buttresses were parts of the same building program. What they did not understand was that these activities

[39] Frödin and Persson 1938, 12; Wells 2002, 13–17.

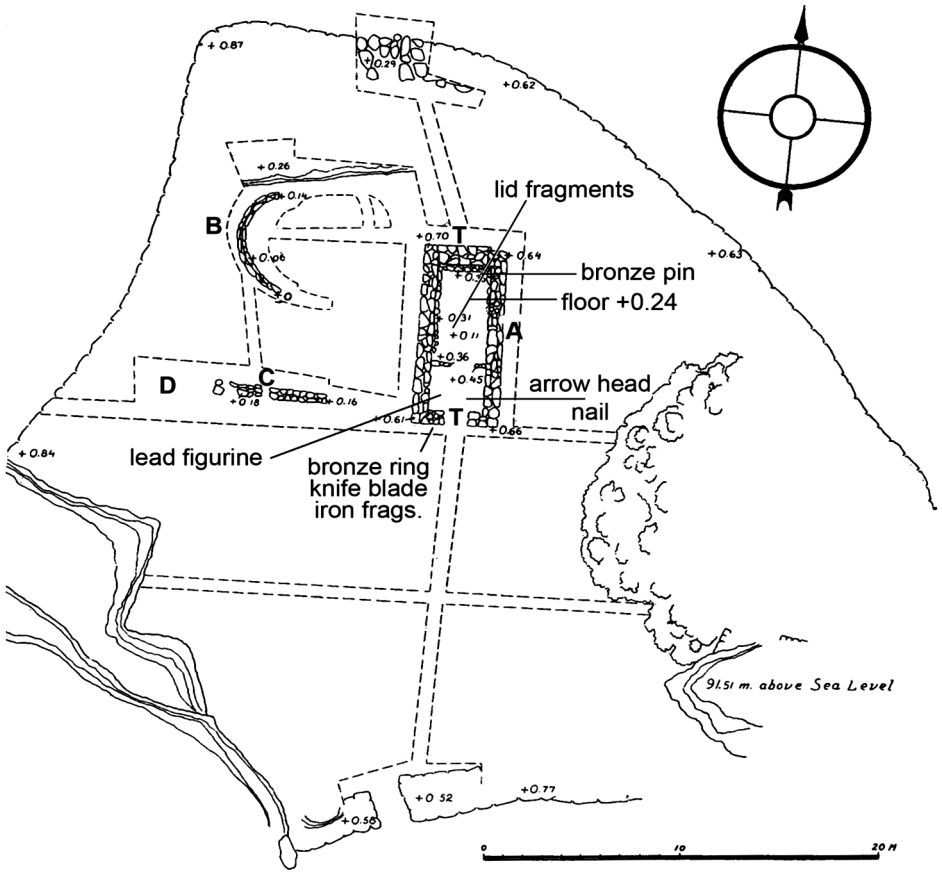

Fig. 8.12. Plan of the remains on the Top Terrace of the Barbouna Hill (based on Frödin and Persson 1938, 150, fig. 130).

may also have been the result of a reorganization of space on the top of the hill and that there was a predecessor to the west of the temple.

The excavators described the curved wall B in the west as an exedra, but they note that the ends of the walls are not finished. At the point of excavation apsidal buildings from the Early Iron Age were more or less an unknown phenomenon. What they make clear, however, is that the material connected with the remains is overwhelmingly Geometric and, I might add, actually Late Geometric. The curved wall is, of course, nothing but the apse of an apsidal structure built close to the rocky outcrops in the north; the straight wall to its south (C) served as a terrace wall. This probably meant that the area on the top of the hill was considerably smaller at this earlier point in time and was felt to be too small for the later building and activities associated with it. The plan illustrates the trial trenches dug across the later terrace and nowhere else did any architectural elements come to light, but this is not to say that none existed. In my study of the material assemblages from the Barbouna terrace twenty years ago I reached the conclusion that the apsidal building (wall B) may have been as early as the end of the eighth century due to pottery found in association with it. The rectangular building (A), its immediate successor probably existed for close to two hundred years receiving new roofs ever so often as indicated by the

tile and sima fragments found. It has been identified as the temple to Apollo Pythaios mentioned by Pausanias in 2.36.5 and was dated after excavation to the seventh century BC.[40]

Fig. 8.13. Large kraters from the Barbouna deposit. Photograph C. Mauzy.

The Finds

At this point a formidable assemblage of material must be introduced, namely the so-called 'Vase Deposit' (or 'sherd deposit'). It is an accumulation of pottery which as such has a role in my analysis of date and function of the apsidal structure under discussion. The deposit was mentioned in passing in the publication of 1938: 'At the western end of the east-west trench was found a great accumulation of sherds of mostly very large, Geometric vessels'.[41] Luckily the excavation diaries are somewhat more explicit and the old shoe-size boxes, where the pottery from this 'accumulation' had been kept since the 1920s, were in some cases marked 'Vase Deposit'. Clearly the excavators understood the accumulation of pottery as a deposit. The vases found in it are demonstrably closely connected with activities in the apsidal building: fragments of some large vessels found inside the apse belong to vessels found in the accumulation; whether or not the deposition was a deposit according to the definition I give here at the beginning, or merely broken pots disposed of in a more haphazard manner cannot now be ascertained. What can be speculated, however, is the role the material may have had in association of the buildings and structures at the site.

The vessels in the deposition are spectacular, indeed, but almost all of them in such a state of preservation that illustrations of the fragments cannot do justice to them. We have to study them together with the slips of paper stemming from the 1924 excavation among the A.W. Person Papers in the Library of the Uppsala University. They record the

[40] Frödin and Persson 1938, 148–151; Wells 1987–1988.
[41] Frödin and Persson 1938, 149. Cf. the diary entry from June 12th, 1924: 'At the western end of the trial trench was found an accumulation of sherds of mostly very large vessels'.

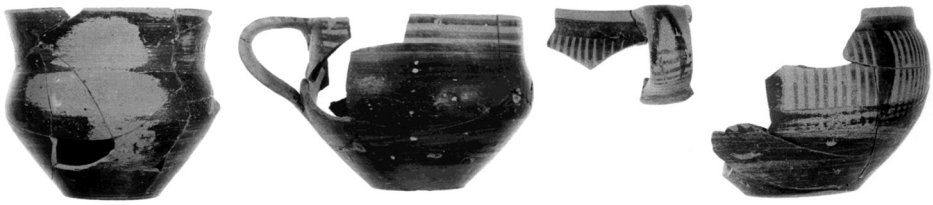

Fig. 8.14. Cups from the Barbouna deposit. Photograph C. Mauzy.

contents of the 52 shoe-box size boxes with material excavated on the Top Terrace of the Barbouna Hill. 'All the boxes contained Geometric ware, sherds from mainly large, coarse vessels' runs the general description of the lot. The material is still in existence in Nauplion today, and as already noted, complies with the evidence, now stored in Uppsala, from the 1926 excavations. In fact both of the pottery units associated with the apsidal building B comprise many fragments of very large vessels, both wheel-made and coarse hand-made. The nature of the pottery in the two groups of material, namely the one in Nauplion and the other in Uppsala, is similar, and sherds from one and the same vessel are in fact included in both. This allows us to link the sherd deposit with apsidal building B and it is also of consequence for our interpretation of its function. Before presenting some examples it must be noted that the presence of the pre- and post-Geometric material in the deposit warrants an explanation. Obviously it cannot originally have constituted part of the deposit, but must be considered as intrusive, and the presence of the Mycenaean sherds are in fact witnesses to activities on the terrace before Late Geometric times, and the Late Corinthian to Hellenistic sherds to activities after the period in question. Even though the rectangular building A can hardly have survived the fifth century BC, the cult could have done so, even without a cult building. And it may be that the scattered Hellenistic evidence from the terrace testifies to a revival of the cult after Asine was resettled in the early Hellenistic period.[42]

Among the Late Geometric vessels from the deposit, there are fragments from six or possibly more loop-legged amphorae of a type that inspired P. Courbin to describe Argos as having its own 'Dipylon style'.[43] To these can be added a number of very large kraters (Figure 8.13), jugs and probably also a great number of cups (Figure 8.14).

There is a problem with the cups, altogether 53 more or less complete ones of various types, as none of them was stored in the boxes labelled 'Vase Deposit'. However, since complete vessels are generally few in settlement material, I am convinced that some, if not all, of the more or less complete cups found in other boxes originated in the deposition. There is also a small number of vases manufactured at Corinth, such as the Late Geometric kotyle shown in Figure 8.15. It is technically of superb execution with its hatched meander which is an unorthodox motif in Corinthian LG except on the Thapsos class of pottery.[44]

The vessels enclosed in the deposition can be broadly dated to the third quarter of the eighth century BC. There is not a single piece datable to Courbin's 'degenerate style' or, in

[42] Frödin and Persson 1938, 431. For the date of Asine's Hellenistic fortifications, see Penttinen 1996, 166–167 and n. 26.
[43] E.g. Nauplion 10006, see Courbin 1966, 450, and pl. 11.
[44] Cf. Blegen et al. 1964, pls. 9–11 for similar examples; see also Courbin 1966, 98–104.

more technical terminology, GR 2c.[45] The whole deposit can, therefore, be dated in Courbin's terminology to GR 2a and b which in Coldstream's terminology would be approximately early LG II.[46] We should note that no figurines were found and only one miniature, which may be an intrusion as are undoubtedly some earlier and some later pottery sherds. I, therefore, believe that we can be fairly confident in our assessment of the material. Differences in building type in the phases represented on the terrace are coupled with an even greater difference in the artefact assemblage. Furnishings associated with the apsidal structure are, as we have seen, extraordinarily large pots, richly decorated with above all horses, and other both large and small vessels for storage and consumption. With the later building come miniatures, figurines of terracotta and lead, terracotta plaques, weapons and regular size vessels.

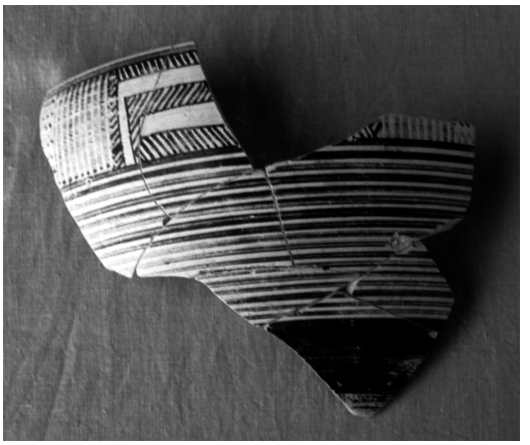

Fig. 8.15. Late Geometric Corinthian kotyle. Photograph C. Mauzy.

Interpretation and Conclusions

The changes that took place in architecture and material goods were drastic as was the reorganization of the whole area at Asine. Organization is evident through the actual physical boundedness of the Barbouna Hill: walls were erected to demarcate the boundaries for special-purpose locations and these walls were, therefore, invested with symbolic meaning. The terrace was enlarged and the earlier site for the cult building abandoned and a new one (A) built. What could have caused such modifications of architecture and cult paraphernalia? Namely, there is a marked change between the activities we can surmise associated with building B and those performed in building A. In the former were found no figurines, no miniature vessels, except for one miniature cup base, whereas in A numerous metal fragments came to light, as well as figurines of terracotta and lead, aryballoi, miniature drinking cups and terracotta pinakes.[47] As building B obviously went out of use in Courbin's GR 2b, it is my contention that the marked difference between the furnishings of B and those of its immediate successor A must be ascribed to a drastic change in the conditions for the existence of the sanctuary.

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[45] Courbin 1966, 563–564.

[46] Courbin 1966, 117; Coldstream 1968, 132 who notes that Courbin's phase GR 2a is not very clearly defined.

[47] The metal finds are lost since the war, but other objects found in 1924 along the south wall of the building A are still extant. In addition, a diary entry on June the 12th 1924 reads: 'Along the whole stretch of the wall a great number of sherds were discovered: Geometric, Protocorinthian (aryballoi and skyphoi) and one Corinthian. Further there lay a couple of idols of archaic type and a horse, a thin fragmentary bronxe ring, some pieces of iron of tubular shape, and some fragments of blade and knife.' The extant objects include 3 6th-century aryballoi, 6 Archaic fragmentary figurines (human and animal), and 2 6th-century pinakes.

What most readily comes to mind is the Argive attack and ensuing destruction of Asine, at which time, according to Pausanias (2.36.5.) the sanctuary to Apollo was spared by the Argives and the rest of the Asine razed to the ground. Maybe the early cult building was destroyed but the sacred area spared. We can only guess. However, I think that for such a total shift in material goods to take place this explanation is not sufficient. Societal, economic or spiritual transformations in the society must have been at work. In the eighth century there is a general and drastic change in the organization of cultic space for which also Asine gives evidence. This is when the sanctuary on the Top Terrace of the Barbouna Hill has its beginning. The prestigious vessels decorated with horses in the Late Geometric Argive manner could only have been acquired by the élite and we may surmise the existence of an aristocracy buying and bringing these pots to a sanctuary, with or without their contents. In the case of Kalaureia we know that at some point one of the large Attic amphorae had legumes in it.[48] The presence of the drinking services (kraters, oinochoai, skyphoi, cups) preclude an interpretation of the Barbouna building B as a mere storage for food and drink, and the spectacular loop-legged vessels and some of the kraters could not possibly have been intended as receptacles only but must have served as a means of displaying wealth and rank of the givers. As such they should obviously be seen and duly admired, not hidden away in dark corners.[49] Therefore, I suggest that the apsidal structure accommodated people bringing containers with food and drink and who consumed the food stuffs and drank together in the assumed presence of a deity or god.[50] In other words, building B served as a dining hall for those who could afford to exert themselves materially and who had the incentive to gather in a secluded spot, which the Top Terrace provided. The building seems to have been large enough to house a good number of people: its width was approximately 4 to 5 meters, but its length is uncertain. The only institution that would answer these requirements is the *symposion* in which the aristocracy of the period assembled as a political and military body, as rulers of the community. *Symposion* was a cohesive force in early Greek society.[51] In this society religion was all pervasive, which allows us to suggest that the sympotic group was always sanctioned in a cult. This manifests itself archaeologically in prestigious goods being deposited in sanctuaries by the aristocracy, such as the large richly decorated vessels associated with building B.

Communal consumption with a deity may be imagined both on the Top Terrace of Barbouna Hill and in the sanctuary at Kalaureia: eating and drinking were also acts of religious deference and as such inherent in cult, a ritual performed inside a *temenos*. In the second phase in both sanctuaries a change occurred. Did society become a more egalitarian one? Did other strata of society take control of cult? If the early cult building at Asine were destroyed by the Argives, maybe they reorganized both sanctuary and cult on the Barbouna Hill, and at Kalaureia they may have marked new beginnings by ritualizing of the construction of a new building.

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[48] Wells 2011, 220 and n. 8.
[49] Cf. Osborne 1994, 153–154, 159–160; also Bergquist 1990; Whitley 2001, 197–220; Mylonopoulos 2006, 87–89.
[50] Cf. Cook 1953, 39 for the votives from the *Agamemnoneion.* Literature on communal dining and feasting in sanctuaries is vast. For an overview, see e.g. discussions in Murray 1990, especially the articles by Schmitt-Pantel and Murray.
[51] Murray 1983, 195–200.

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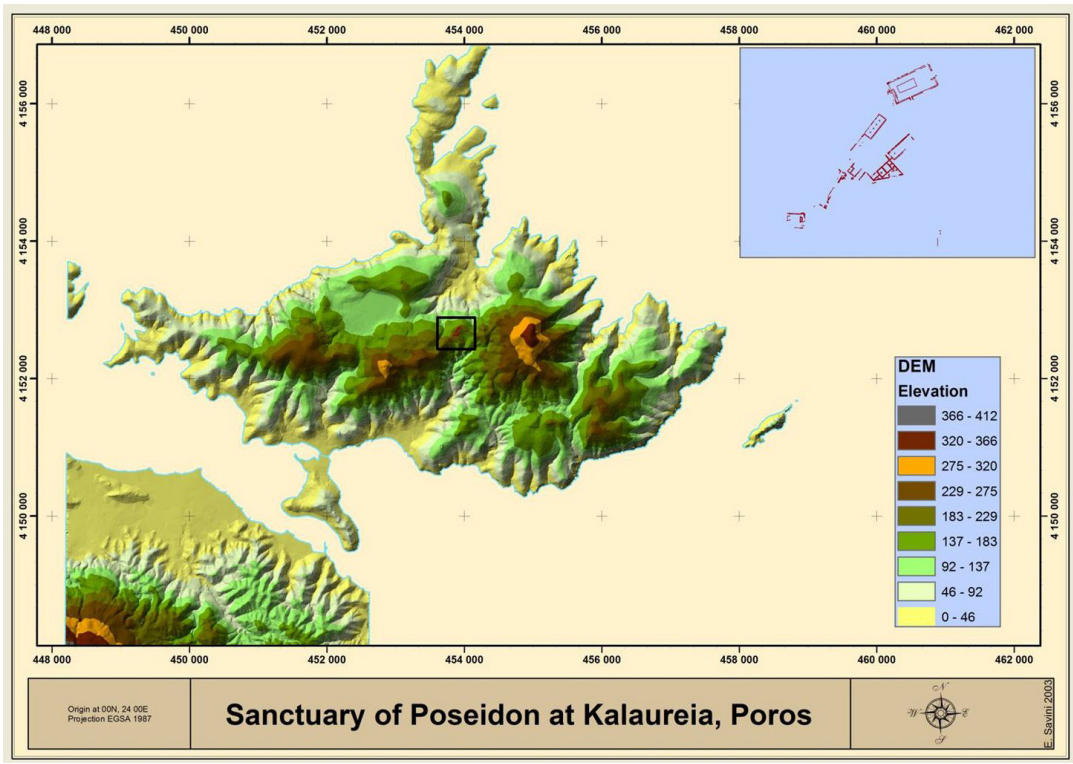

Plate 3.1. Sanctuary of Poseidon at Kalaureia, Poros (Emmanuel Savini).

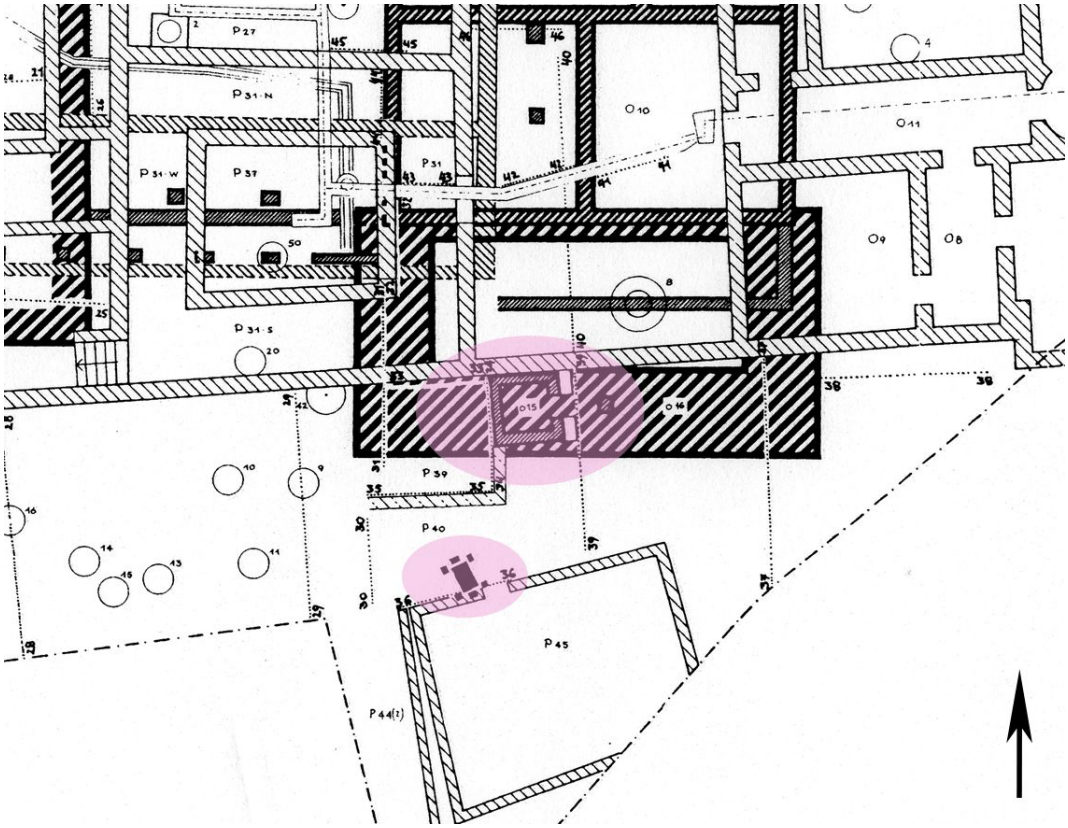

Plate 4.4. Plan with the two Altars of Artemis at Olympia (DAI Athens).

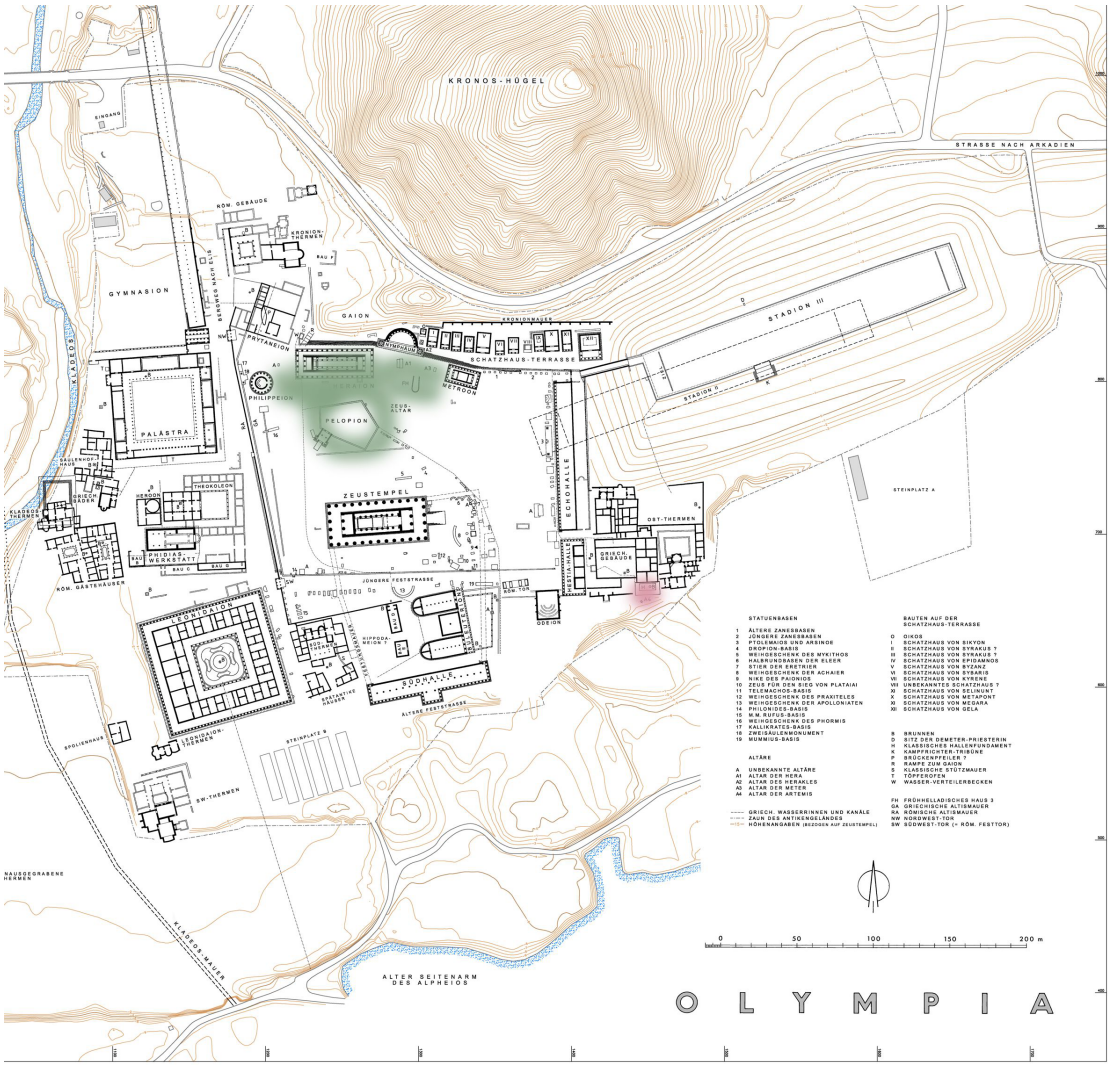

Plate 4.1. Plan of the Sanctuary of Olympia. The *black layer* is marked with grey/green and the Altars of Artemis marked with red (DAI Athens, H. Birk).

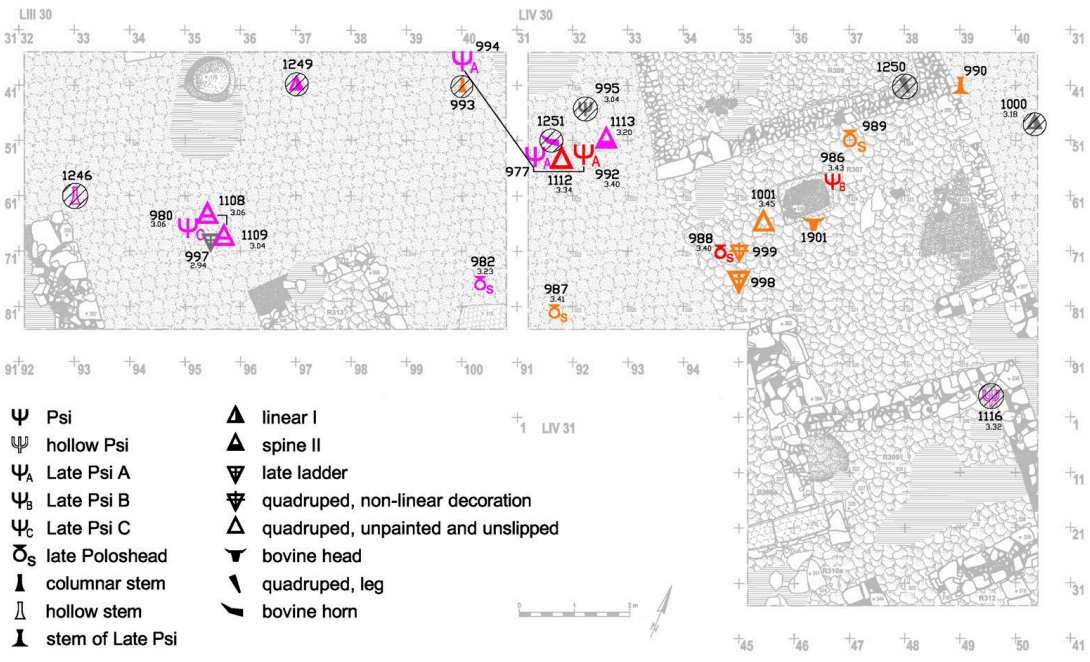

Plate 5.3. Distribution of figurine fragments in the first post-palatial settlement phase of Tiryns Northwest (LH IIIC Early, horizon 19A). Grey symbol = within foundation (horizon 19A0); magenta symbol = on first floor or walking level (horizon 19A1); orange symbol = within fill (horizon 19B0); red symbol = on intermediate floor (horizon 19A2) / large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved/ linked line = figurine joints; hatched circle = older kick-ups.

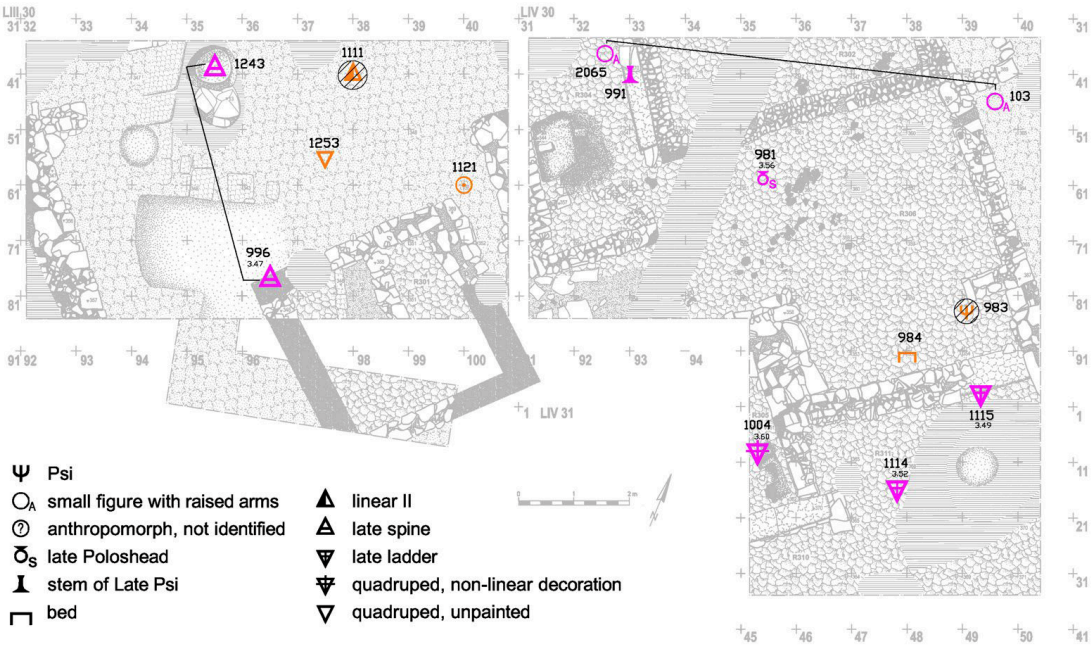

Plate 5.4. Distribution of figurine fragments in the second post-palatial settlement phase of Tiryns Northwest (LH IIIC Early, horizon 19B). Magenta symbol = on floor or walking level (horizon 19B1); orange symbol = within fill (horizon 19C) / large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved/ linked line = figurine joints; hatched circle = older kick-ups.

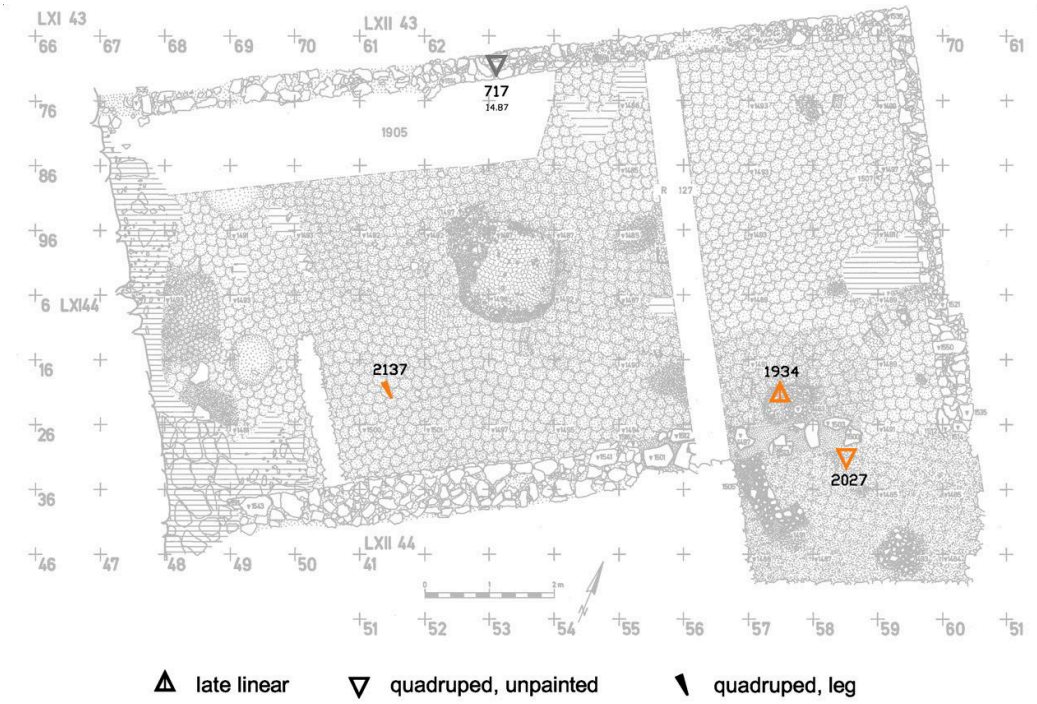

Plate 5.5. Distribution of figurine fragments on the first floor of Room 127 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Advanced, horizon 21a1). Grey symbol = within foundation (horizon 21a0); orange symbol = within fill (horizon 21 b0) / medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved.

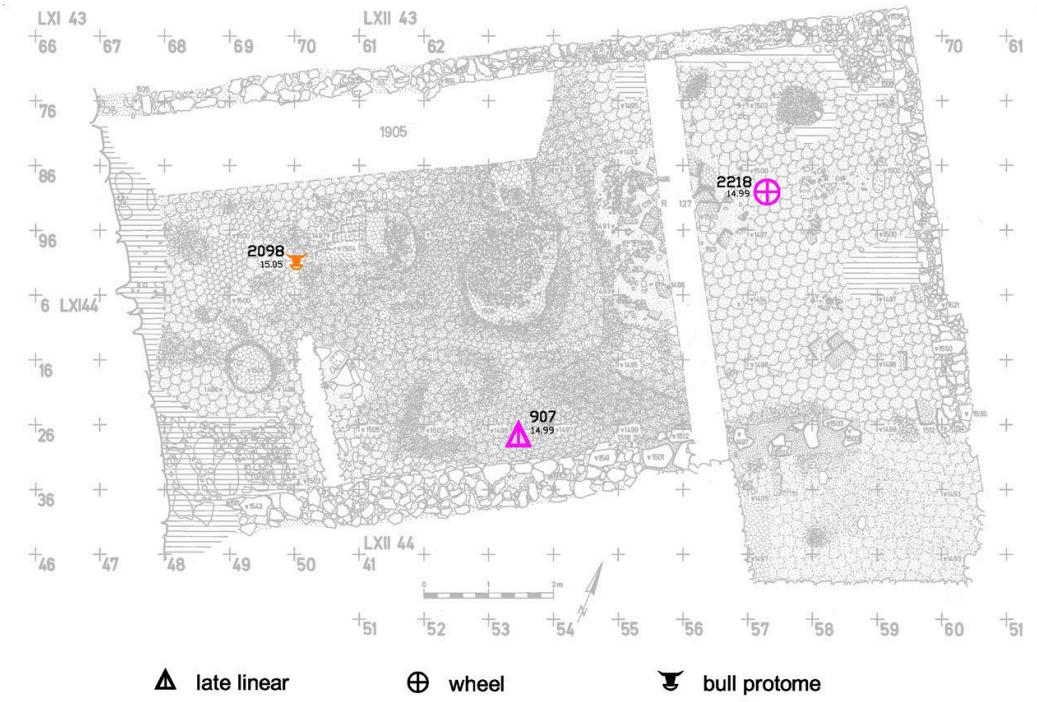

Plate 5.6. Distribution of figurine fragments on the second floor of Room 127 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Advanced, horizon 21b1). Magenta symbol = on second floor (horizon 21b1); orange symbol = within fill (horizon 21 c0) / large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved.

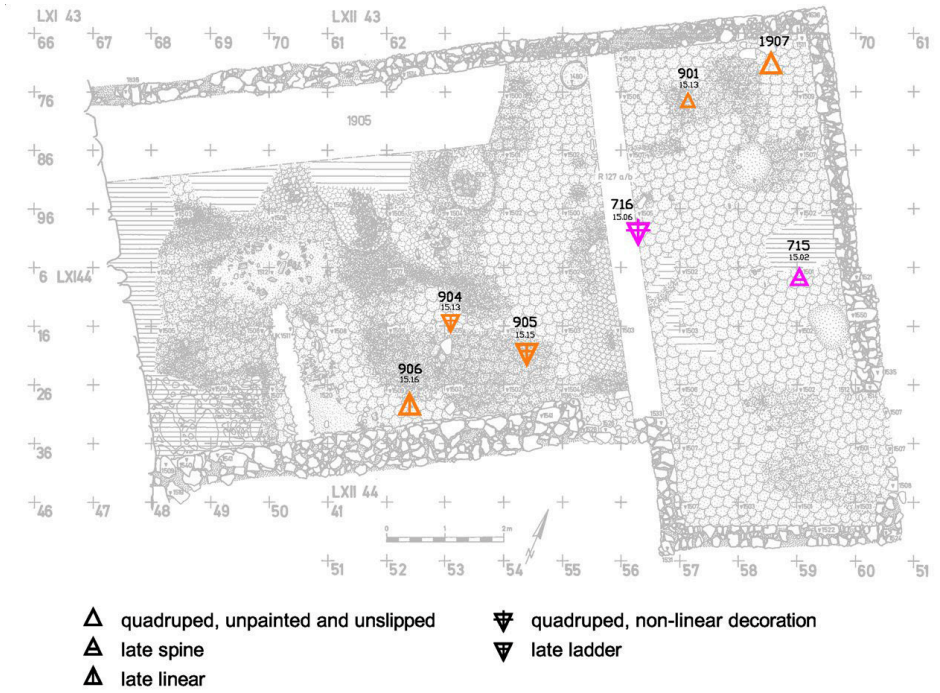

Plate 5.7. Distribution of figurine fragments on the third floor of Room 127 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Advanced, horizon 21c1). Magenta symbol = on third floor (horizon 21c1); orange symbol = within fill (horizon 21 d) / large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved.

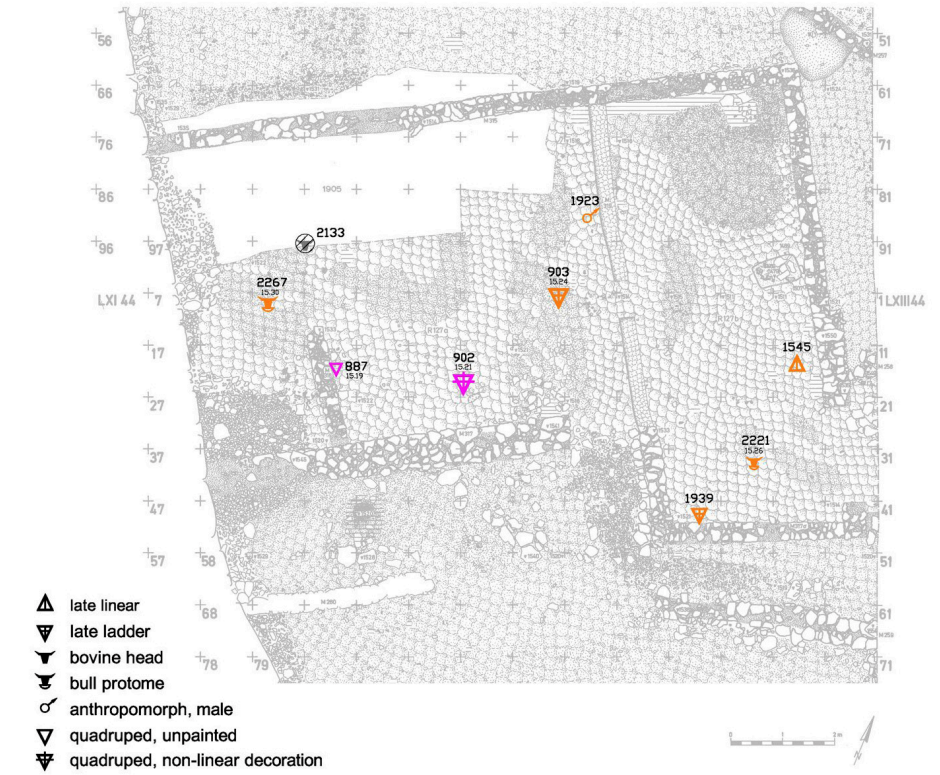

Plate 5.8. Distribution of figurine fragments on the fourth floor of Room 127 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Late, horizon 22a1). Magenta symbol = on fourth floor (horizon 22a1); orange symbol = within fill (horizon 22 b) / large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved / hatched circle = older kick-up.

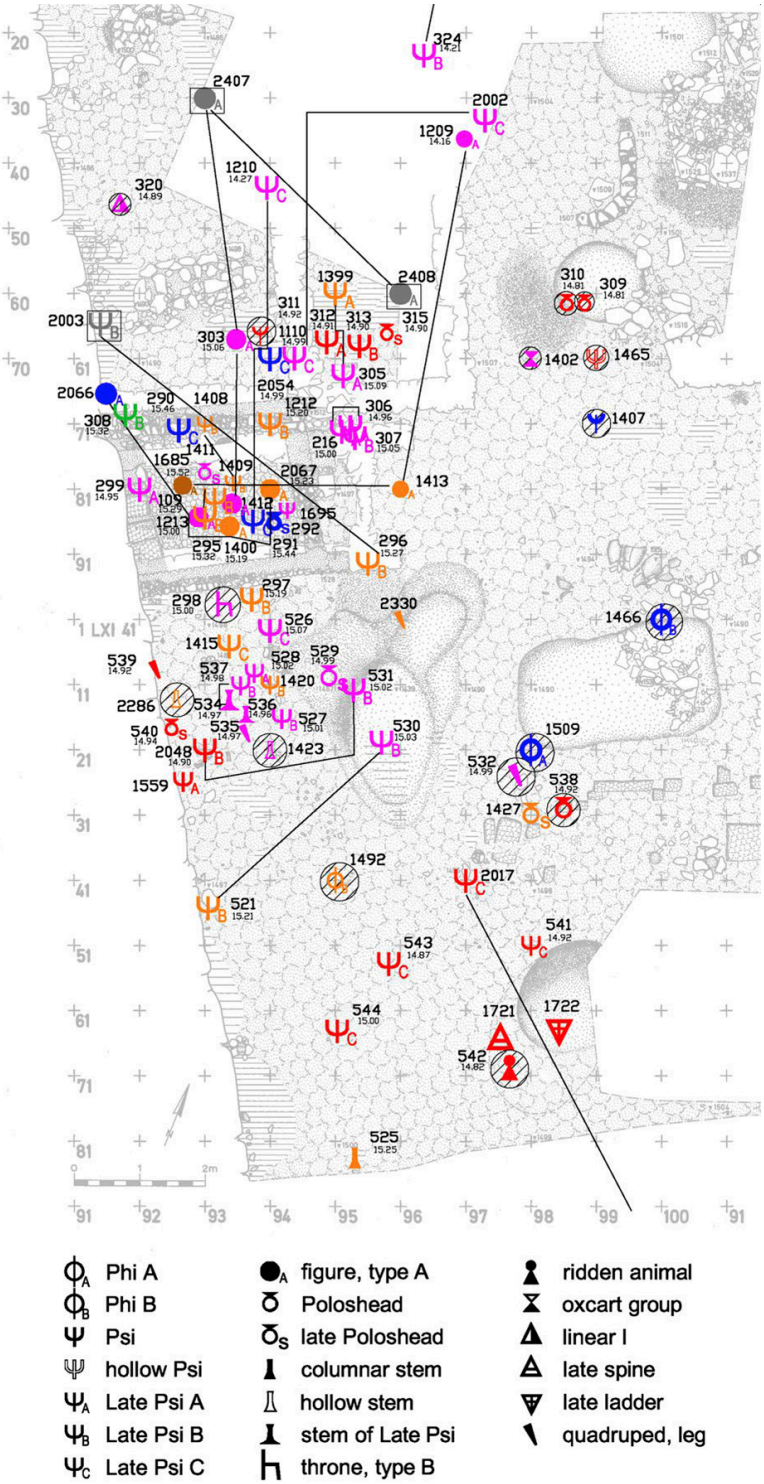

Plate 5.9. Distribution of figurines and figures in Room 117 and the surrounding Courtyard 1 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Early–Developed, horizons 19b–20). Red symbol = on earlier walking level of the Courtyard 1 (horizon 19ba); magenta symbol = on the floor of Room 117 or on the walking level of the Courtyard 1 (horizon 19b1); orange symbol = within fill (horizon 19c); blue symbol = in higher fills (horizons 20a0–21c0); green symbol = in higher level/on higher floor (horizon 21c1); brown symbol = in higher destruction deposit (horizon 21d); dark grey symbol = unstratified / large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved / linked line = figurine joints; hatched circle = older kick-ups; rectangle = unstratified.

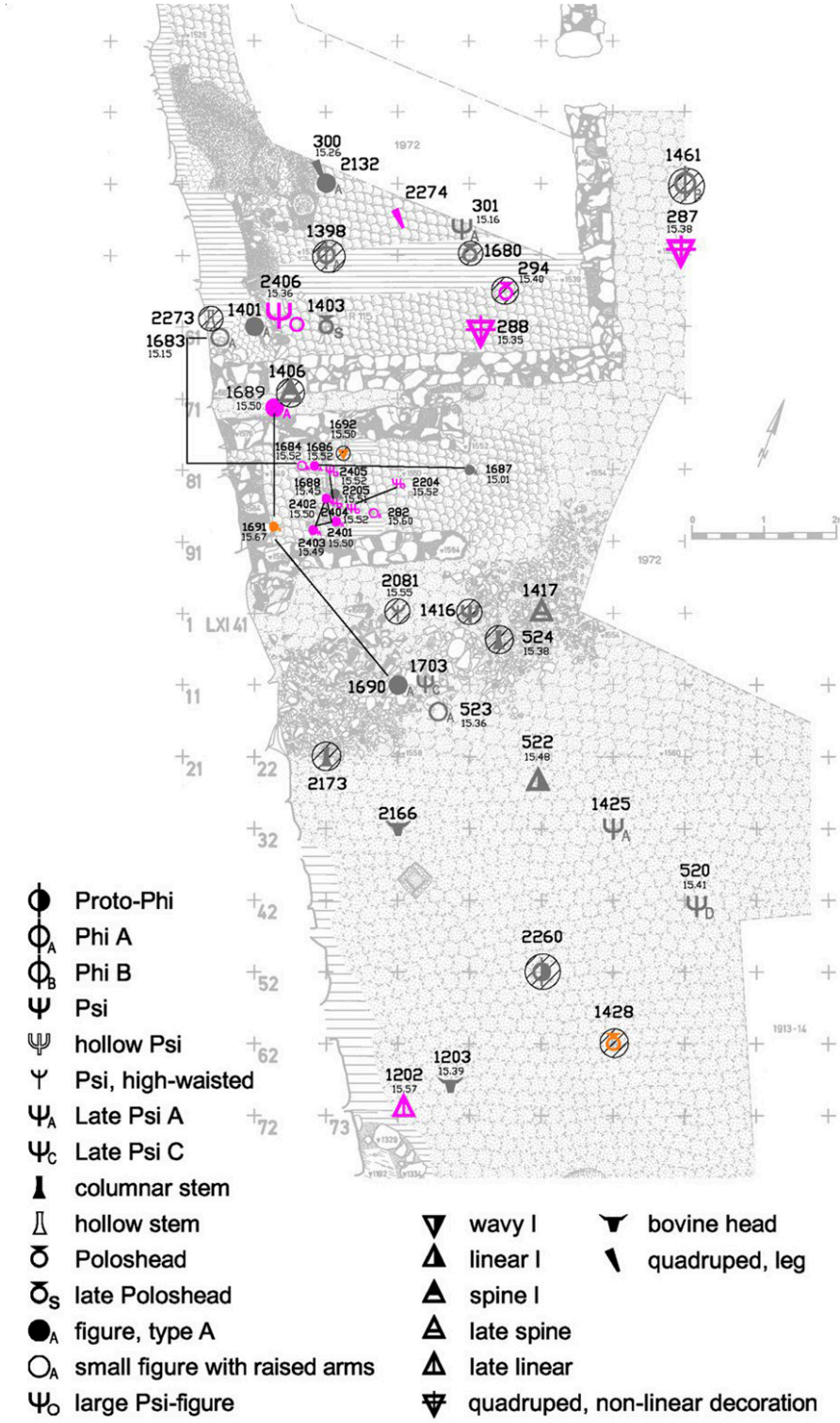

Plate 5.10. Distribution of figurines and figures in Room 110 and the surrounding Courtyard 1 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Developed–Advanced, horizons 20a3–21d). Grey symbol = below floor of Room 110 or below walking level of Courtyard 1 (horizons 19b1, 20a1, 20a2, 21, 21a0, 21b0); magenta symbol = on the floor of Room 110 or on the walking level of the Courtyard 1 (horizon 21d); orange symbol = within fill (horizon 22c0) / large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved (N.B. figures and figurines within Room 110 have not been scaled according to their extent of preservation) / linked line = figurine joints; hatched circle = older kick-ups.

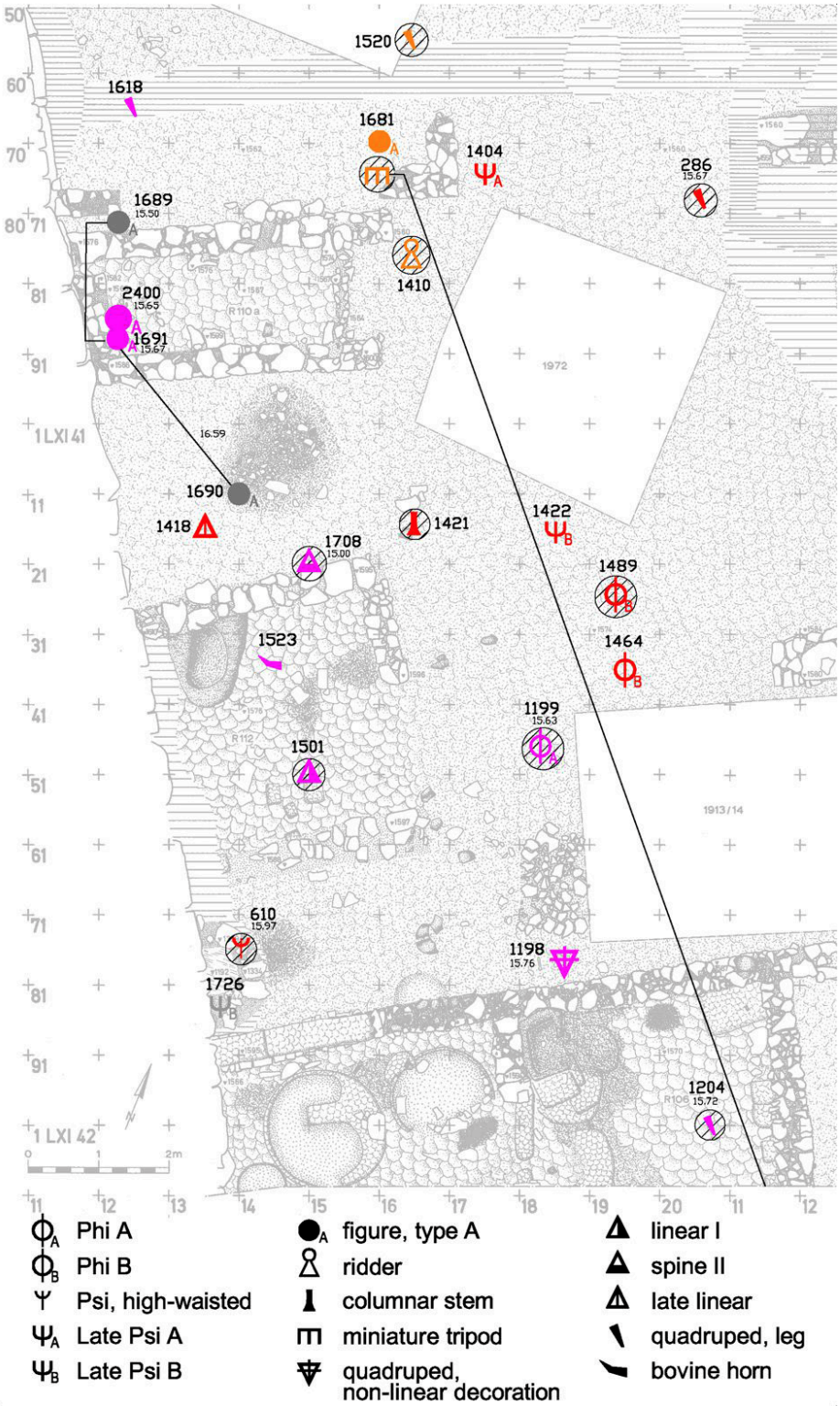

Plate 5.12. Distribution of figurines and figures in Room 110a and the surrounding Courtyard 1 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Late, horizon 22). Grey symbol = below floor of Room 110a or below walking level of Courtyard 1 (horizon 21c0); magenta symbol = on the floor of Room 110a or on the walking level of the Courtyard 1 (horizon 22a1); red symbol = within fill (horizon 22 d); orange symbol = within eroded settlement fill (horizon 23) / large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved / linked line = figurine joints; hatched circle = older kick-ups.

Plate 8.2. Plan of the Sanctuary of Poseidon after 2008 excavation season. E. Savini.

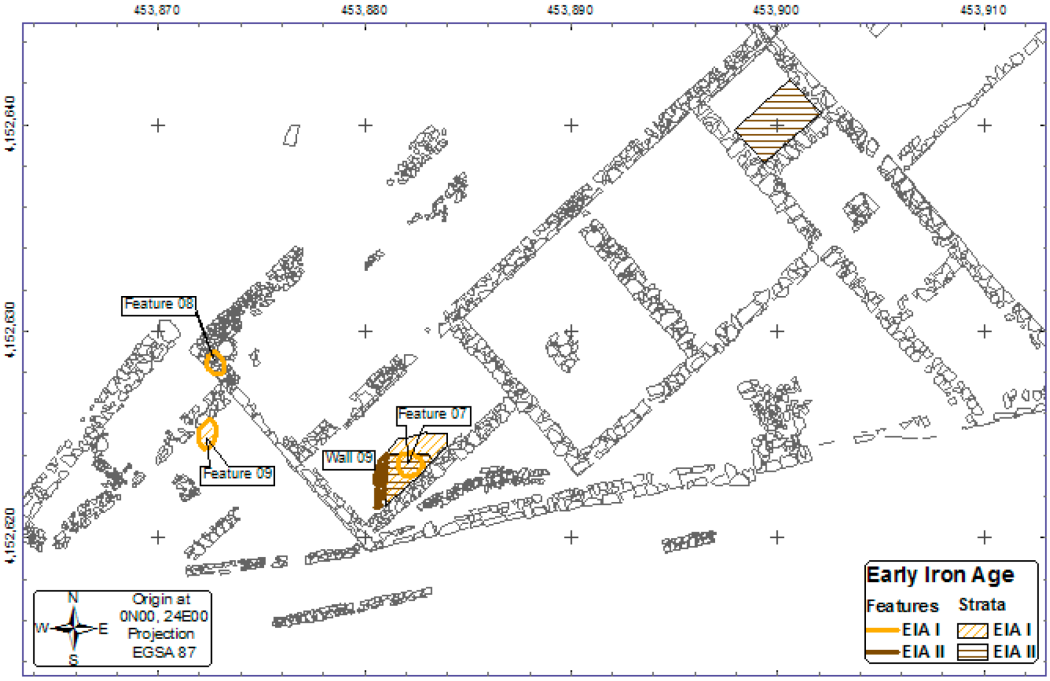

Plate 8.3. Area of Building D, with walls, features and strata dated to the Early Iron Age. E. Savini.

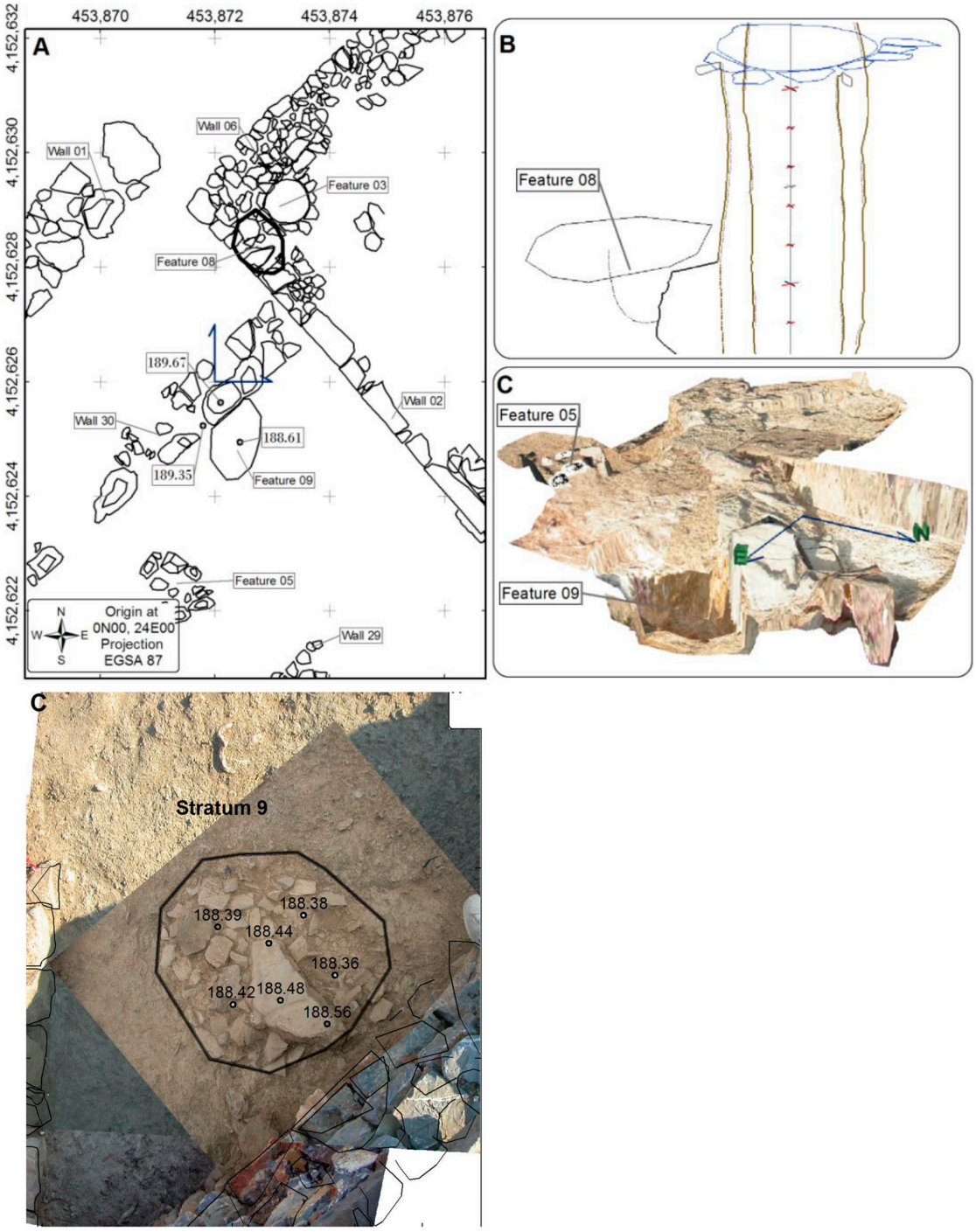

Plate 8.4. (a) The EIA II phase with Wall 09 and the associated; (B) the EIA I fill underneath the floor of the EIA II structure; (C) the fill, Stratum 9, which equals Feature 07 (C) with the big boulder in the center. E. Savini.

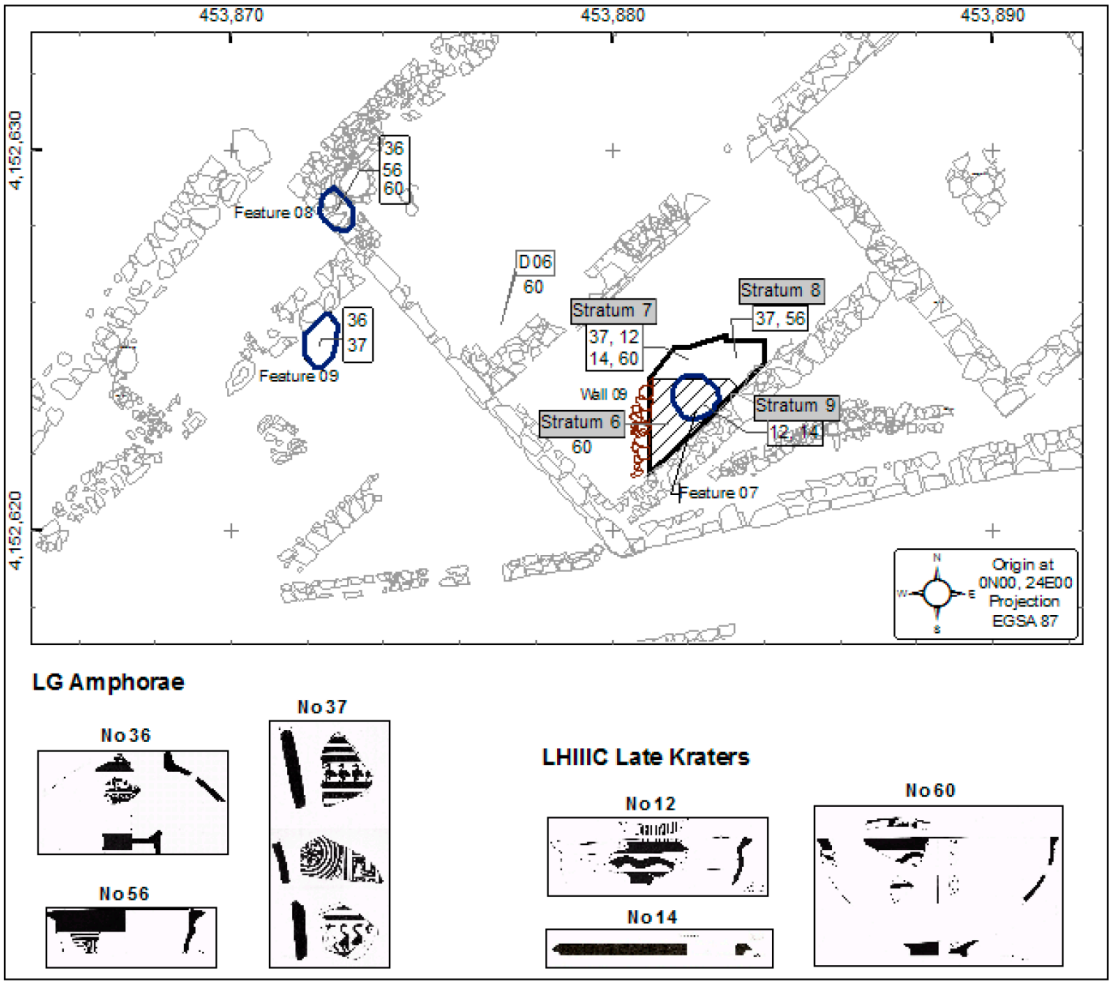

Plate 8.5. Distribution of the fragments retrieved throughout the EIA I depositions of the LH IIIC Late kraters and of the fragments of the LG large amphorae. Illustration E. Savini.