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CULT MATERIAL
FROM ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPOSITS TO
INTERPRETATION OF EARLY GREEK RELIGION

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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

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 statues⁶ and tools of protective magic⁷ – 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

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 script¹⁷ and an extensive sealing system¹⁸ 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.

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 Ephraean 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, kouroutrophoi 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 tablets³⁰ 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 Age³² 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 conventions³⁴ especially in the case of the murals³⁵ – 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

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 Weilharter 2005.

³⁰ Hägg 1997.

³¹ For the problem of ‘Potnia’ being the epithet of several female deities or a single goddess, see Boëlle 2001; Trümper 2001. I favor Trümper’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 former³⁸ 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 figurine⁴¹ 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 miniatures⁴² 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

³⁶ For religious aspects in the Linear B documents, see Bendall 2007; Weihartner 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 Tylor 1999, 46–47, 89–93, pl. 11–12.

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

⁴⁰ Only two small handmade figurines are attested in phase VII of the Temple; Moore and Tylor 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

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 Mycenae⁵⁵. 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 ritual⁵⁸ 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

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-Papaoannou 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-Papaoannou 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 burials⁶¹ 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.

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

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 Aigina⁷⁴ or the mainly post-palatial open-air shrine at the site of the later Amyklaion near Sparta⁷⁵ 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

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 (Vettters 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: Peppas-Papaioannou 1985, 28 Cat.-No. A16, 70 Cat.-No. B15. Although E. Peppas-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 habitation⁷⁸ 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

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 mind⁸¹ 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

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.

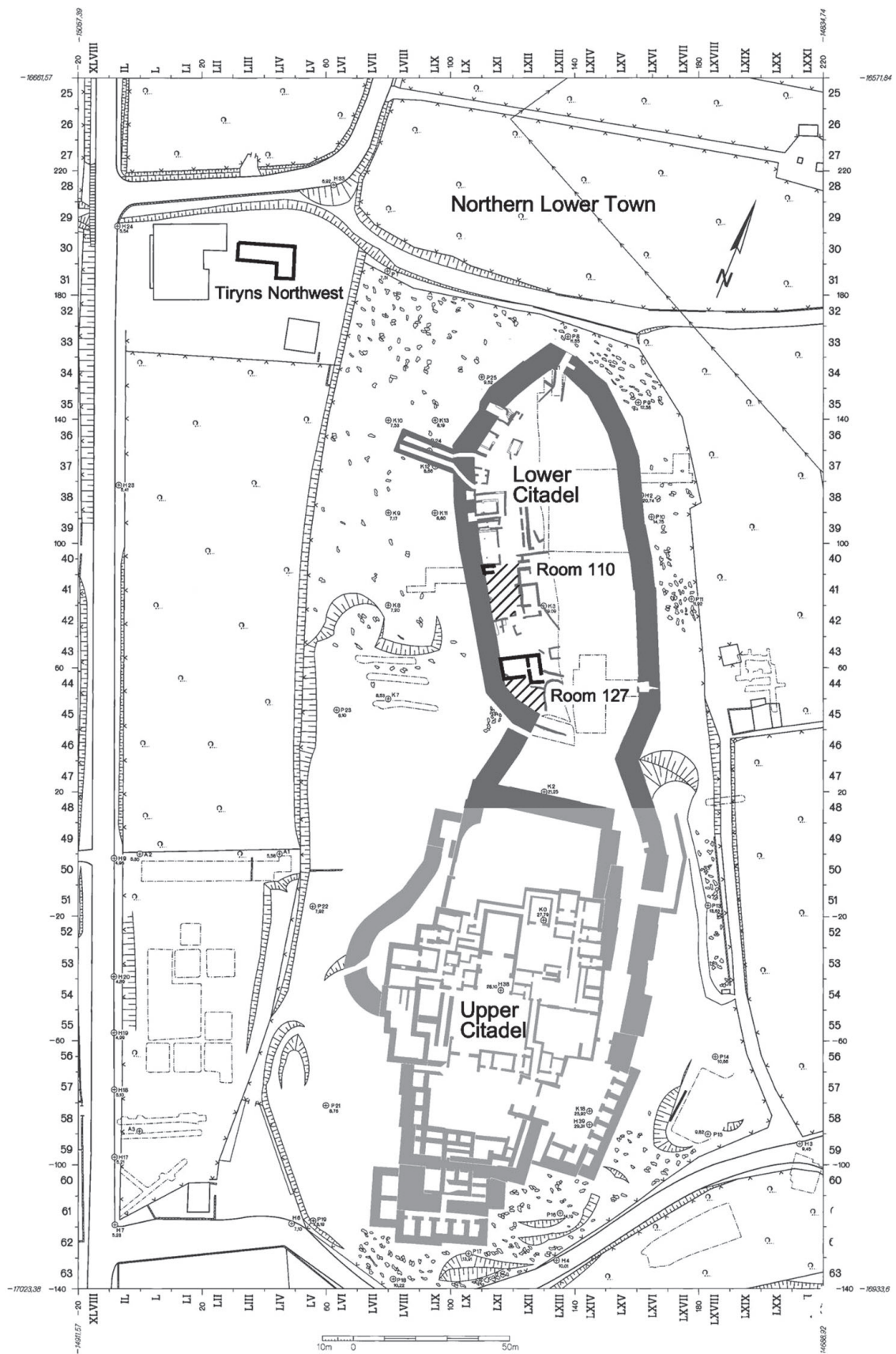


Fig. 5.2. Location of case studies within the settlement area and citadel of Mycenaean Tiryns. Hatched areas: Courtyard 1 (to the north) and Courtyard 3 (to the south).

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 anthropomorphic⁹⁰ and zoomorphic⁹¹ figurines respectively (Figure 5.3 and Plate 5.3). Out of these four fragments were found below the oldest floor levels⁹² and another five are small fragments of palatial types⁹³ 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 fragments⁹⁴ 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

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 Vetter 2009, chapter 5.6.1 for the small finds which include an ivory comb and two seals.

⁸⁹ Vetter 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.

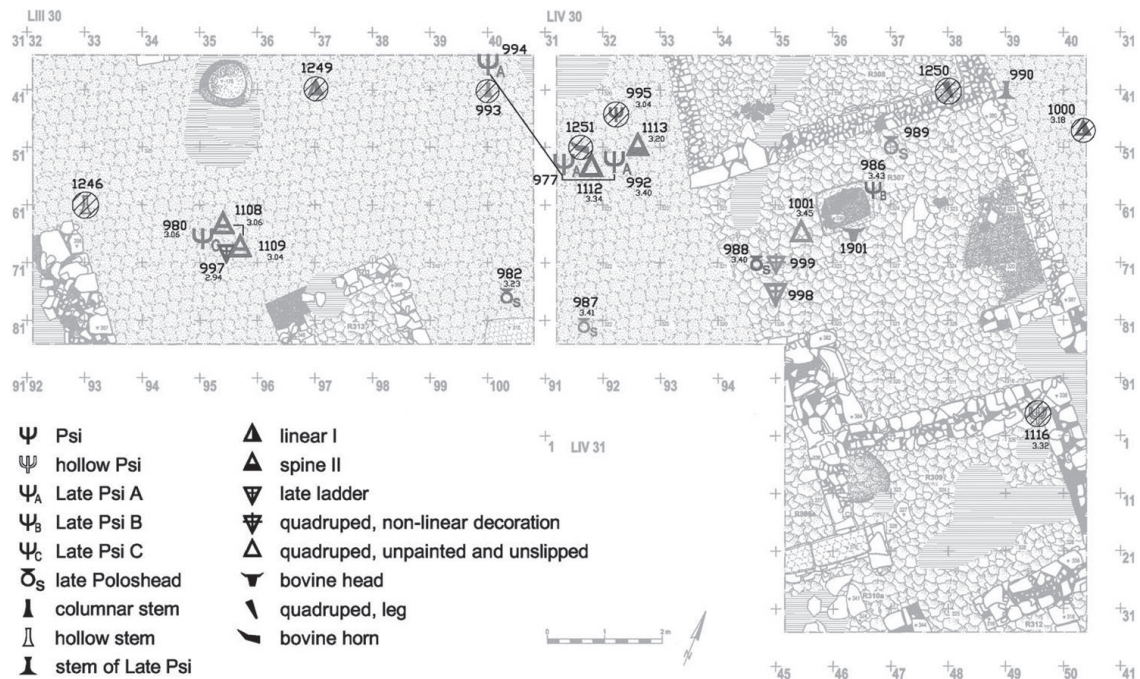


Fig. 5.3. Distribution of figurine fragments in the first post-palatial settlement phase of Tiryns Northwest (LH IIC Early, horizon 19A). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.3 at the end of this volume. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 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 hearth⁹⁶ 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 animal⁹⁸ and female figurine⁹⁹ 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 figurines¹⁰⁰ and one female terracotta¹⁰¹ 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 finds¹⁰² and ceramic vessels¹⁰³ were found in this area.

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.

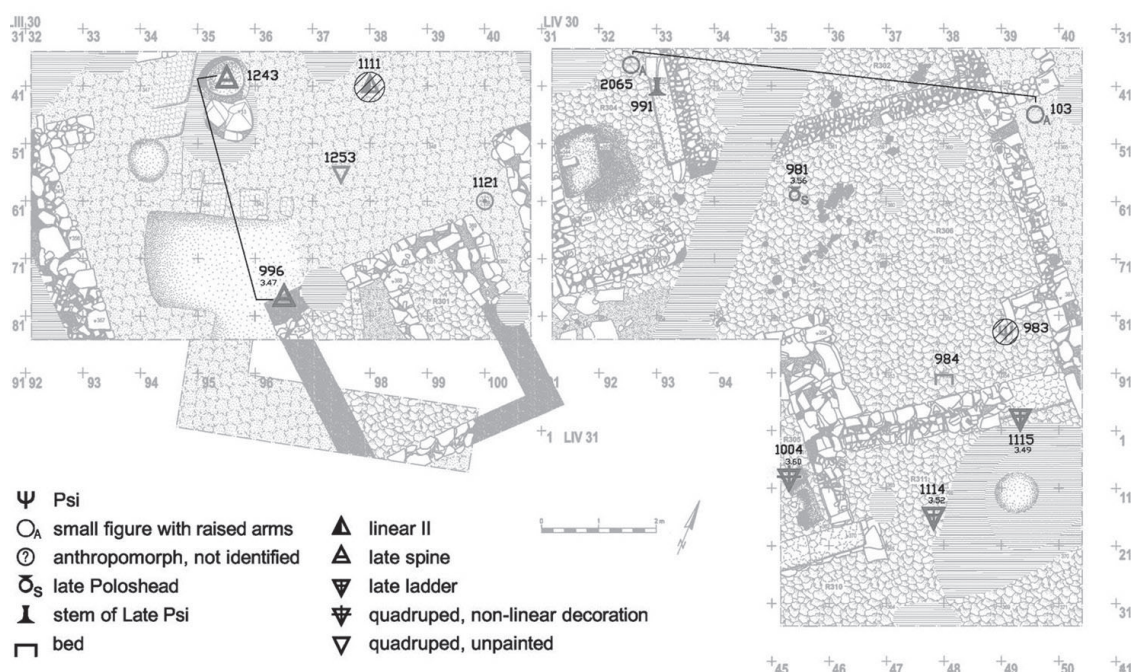


Fig. 5.4. Distribution of figurine fragments in the second post-palatial settlement phase of Tiryns Northwest (LH IIIC Early, horizon 19B). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.4. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 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 terracottas¹⁰⁶ 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 figurine¹⁰⁸ lay directly on top of the hearth in Room 305. An almost intact animal¹⁰⁹ was found at the threshold of Room 311 and another zoomorphic figurine¹¹⁰ 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 figure¹¹¹ with a hollow stem were found widely scattered in the fill of phase 2. One fragment¹¹² 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 figurine¹¹³ were excavated in the western courtyard. One part¹¹⁴ of this zoomorphic terracotta was found in the fill of a well, the other¹¹⁵ 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 types¹¹⁷ were scattered along the southern part of Room 127, and another one¹¹⁸ was found within the northern wall of the room (Figure 5.5 and Plate 5.5). Two fragments¹¹⁹ 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

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.

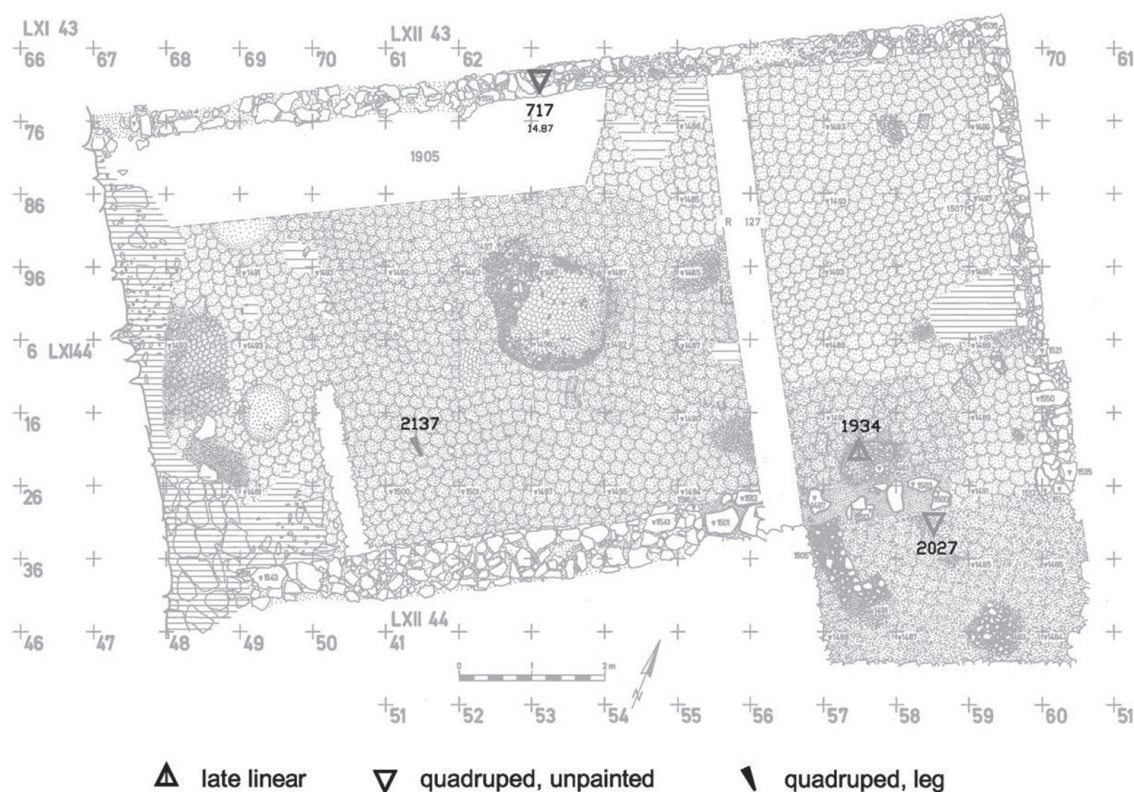


Fig. 5.5. Distribution of figurine fragments on the first floor of Room 127 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Advanced, horizon 21a1). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.5. Medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved.

to the entrance area and the hearth; to the north three steatite conuli¹²⁰ 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 figurines¹²² 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.

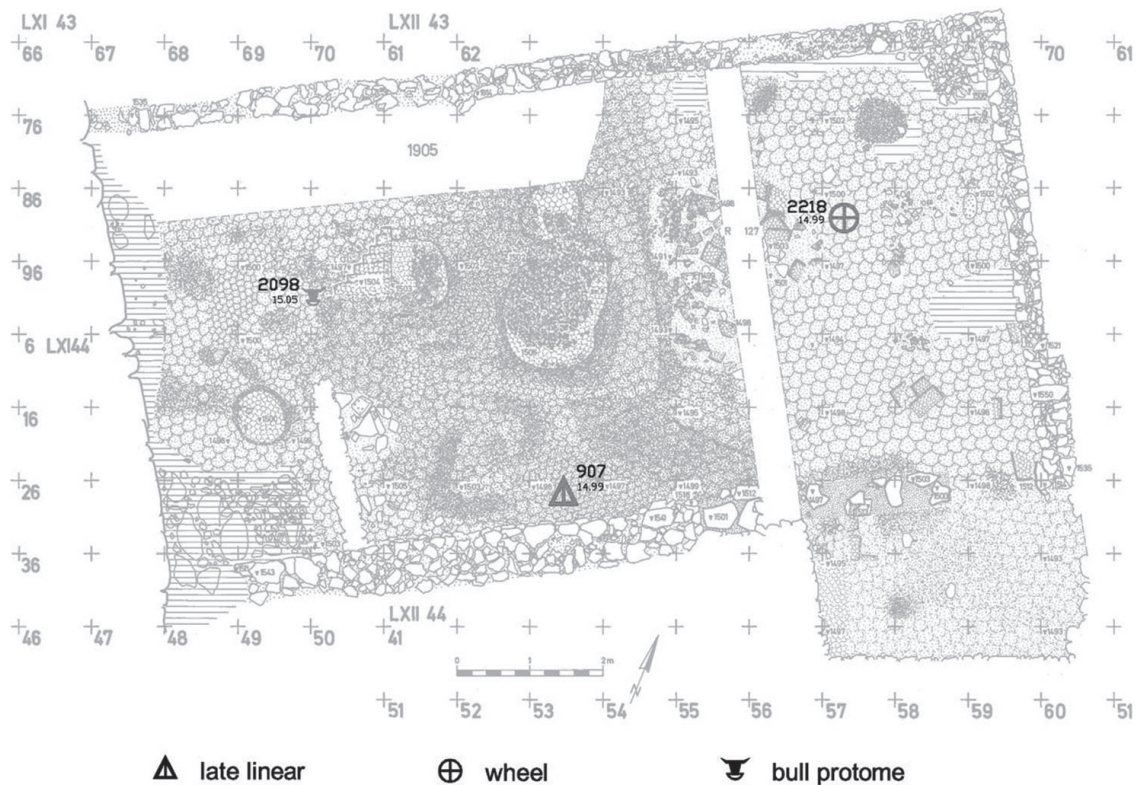


Fig. 5.6. Distribution of figurine fragments on the second floor of Room 127 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Advanced, horizon 21b1). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.6. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 preserved.

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-model¹²⁷ 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 whorls¹²⁸ 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).

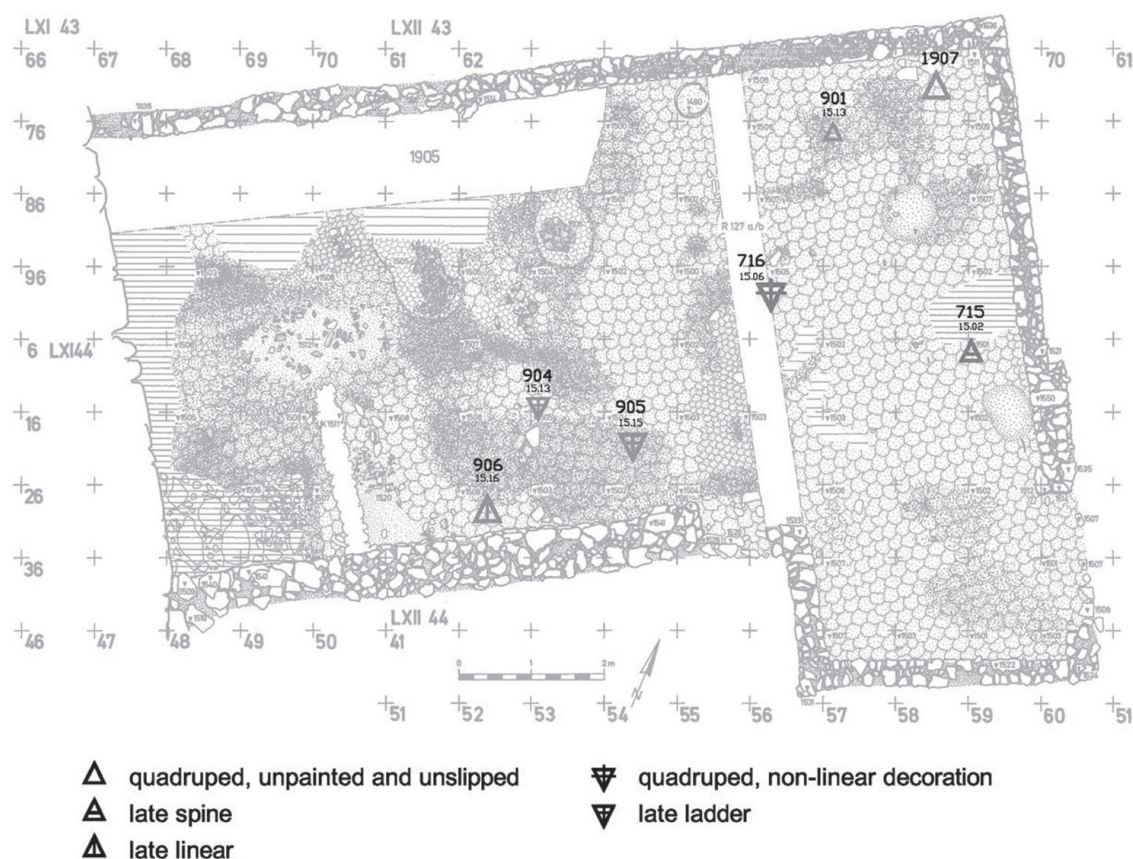


Fig. 5.7. Distribution of figurine fragments on the third floor of Room 127 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Advanced, horizon 21c1). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.7. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; small symbol = < 1/3 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 horse¹³⁰ was excavated in the fill above the floor (the species is marked by its withers). Another well-preserved animal figurine was found in the fill¹³¹ 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-compartments¹³⁵ – was already in use during this phase because the two objects¹³⁶ 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 light¹³⁸.

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 fragmentary¹⁴⁵ and again

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 animal¹⁴⁸ was found close to the door area linking the two room-compartment. Further southwest in front of the southern wall the second zoomorphic terracotta¹⁴⁹ 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-protomes¹⁵³ 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

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 maps¹⁶³ 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 figurines¹⁶⁴ and at least two large wheelmade female figures¹⁶⁵ with the same attire are attested within Room 117¹⁶⁶ 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 types¹⁷⁰ or are preserved in such fragmentary state that there is no evidence for their contemporary use.¹⁷¹ All zoomorphic fragments in the

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 shrine¹⁷² 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

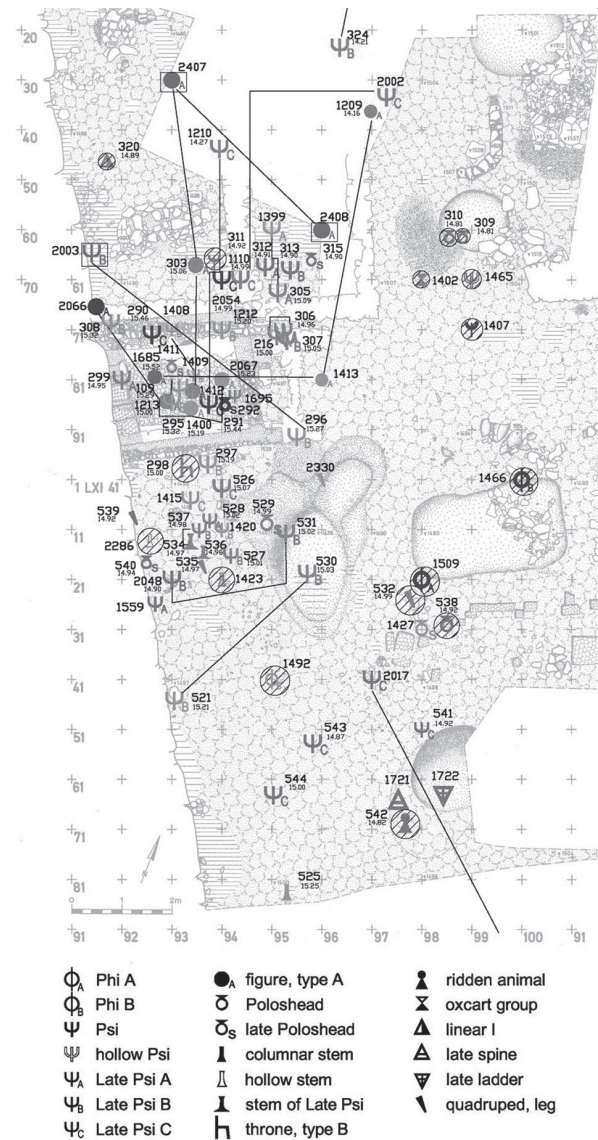


Fig. 5.9. Distribution of figurines and figures in Room 117 and the surrounding Courtyard 1 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Early–Developed, horizons 19b–20). For the plan in colour and explanation of the colour coding, see Plate 5.9. Large symbol = 2/3–1/1 preserved; medium-sized symbol = 1/3–1/2 preserved; 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 figures¹⁷⁶ were lying on the floor in front of the bench¹⁷⁷ 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 terracotta¹⁸⁰ and the miniature model

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 (Vetter 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.

Proto-Phi
Phi A
Phi B
Psi
ollow Psi
Psi, high-waisted
ate Psi A
ate Psi C
olumnar stem
ollow stem
Poloshead
ate Poloshead
figure, type A
small figure with raised arms
large Psi-figure

▼ wavy l
▲ linear l
▲ spine l
▲ late spine
▲ late linear
▼ quadruped, non-linear decoration

▼ bovine head
▼ quadruped, leg

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.

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 Tiryns¹⁸⁹ and Mycenae¹⁹⁰ 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 110¹⁹³ – 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 Tylor 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 Kritsili-Providi 1982, 41–42 B-2 pl. 6a.

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 terracotta¹⁹⁷ came to light next to a fireplace apparently not associated with the shrine.¹⁹⁸ Another animal figurine¹⁹⁹ 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

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 Vetter 2009, chapter 6; for throne models, see now Vetter 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 votives²⁰⁷ 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 rituals²⁰⁸ – 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.

²⁰⁹ The bibliography has only been updated until 2008 and does not include some recent publications on Mycenaean figurines.

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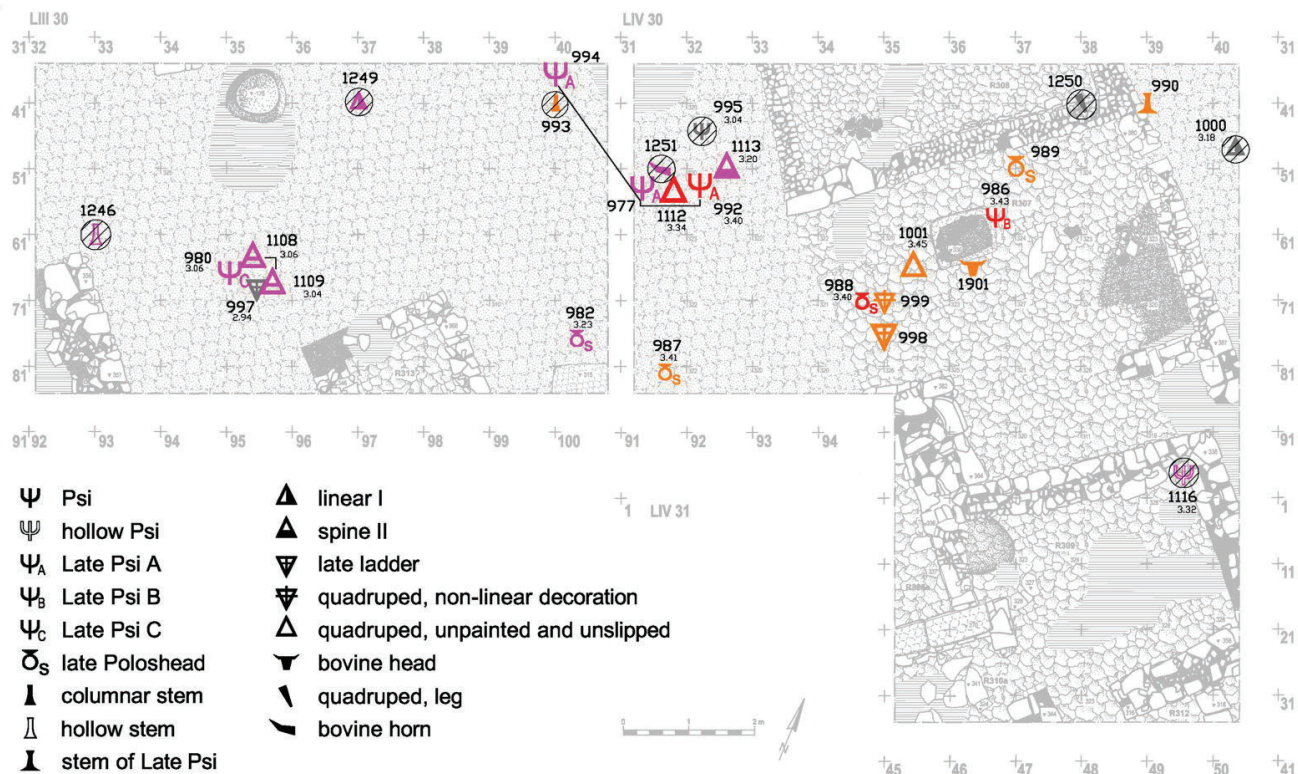
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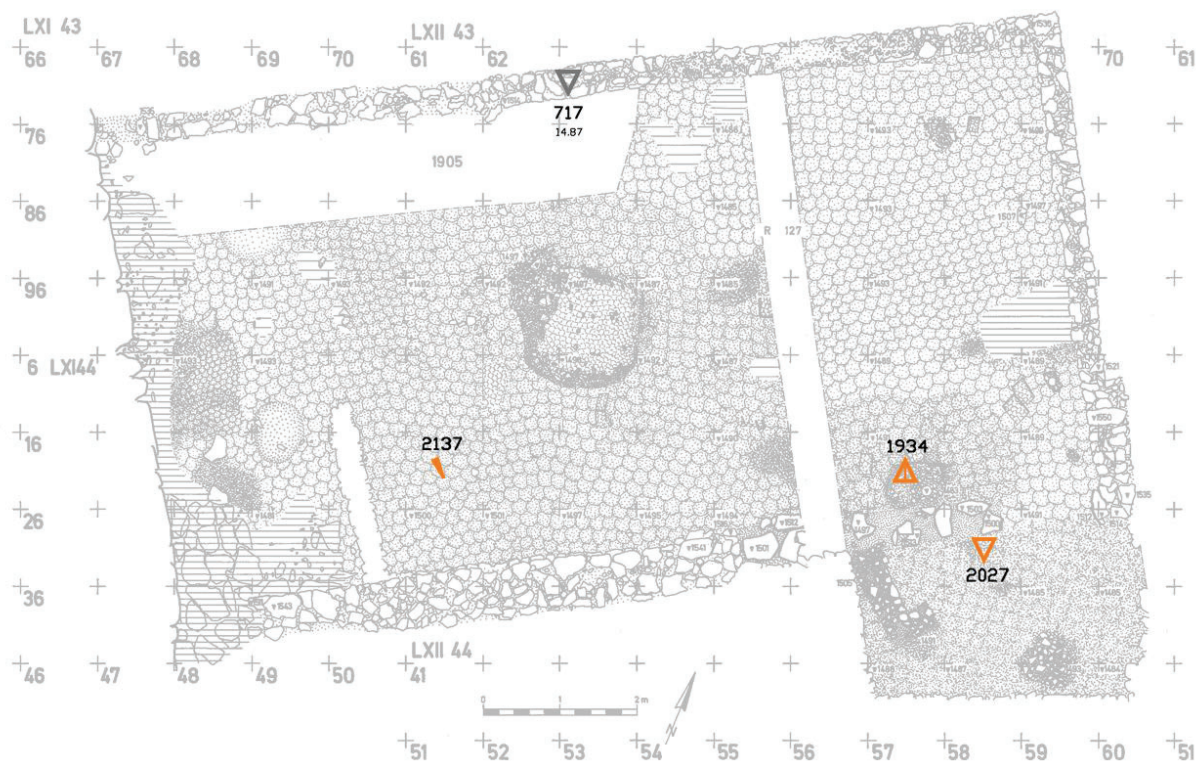
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▲ late linear ▽ quadruped, unpainted ↘ quadruped, leg

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.



▲ late linear ⊕ wheel 🐂 bull protome

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.



- △ quadruped, unpainted and unslipped
- ▲ late spine
- ▲ late linear
- ▽ quadruped, non-linear decoration
- ▽ late ladder

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.



- ▲ late linear
- ▽ late ladder
- ▽ bovine head
- ▽ bull protome
- anthropomorph, male
- ▽ quadruped, unpainted
- ▽ quadruped, non-linear decoration

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.

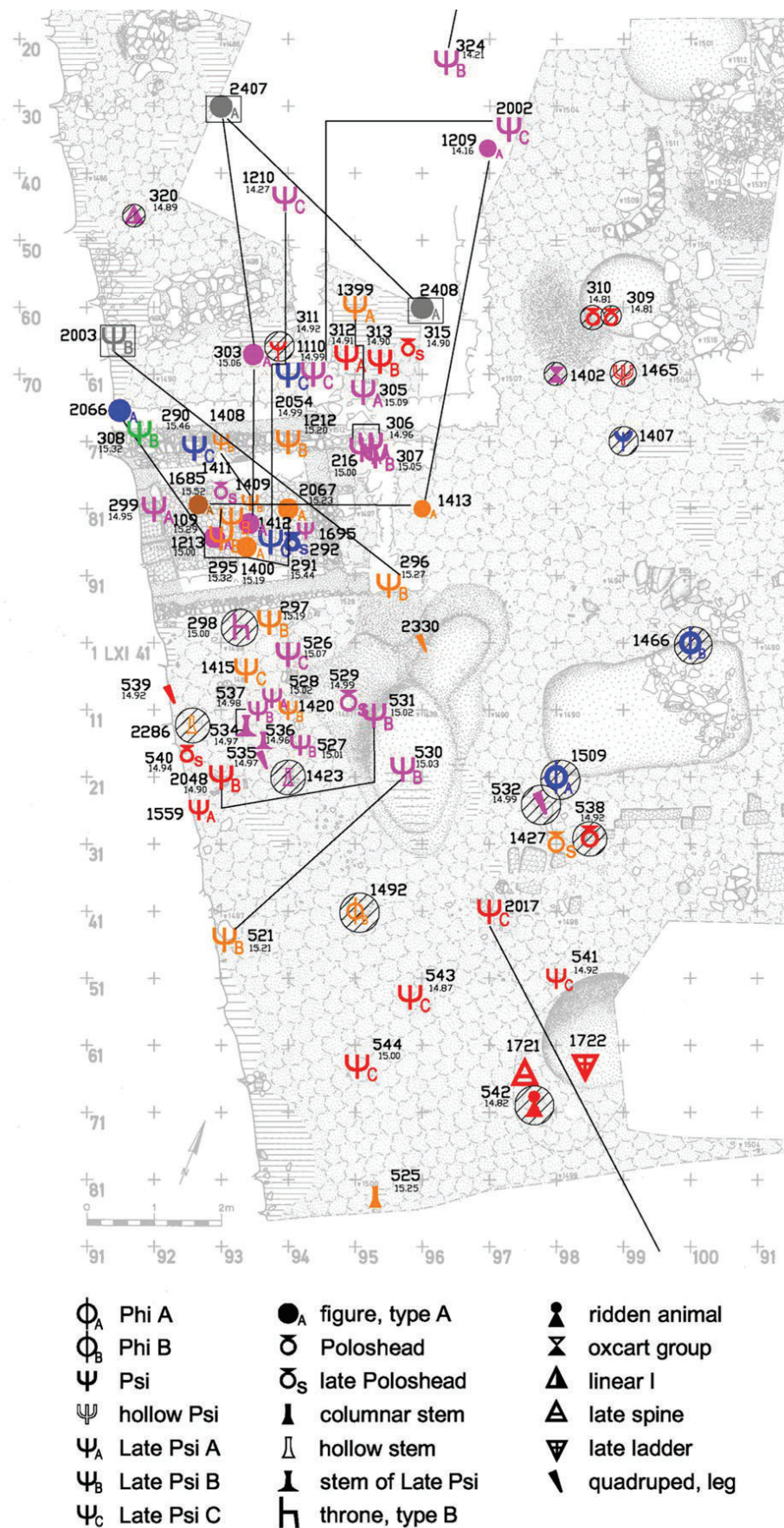


Plate 5.9. Distribution of figurines and figures in Room 117 and the surrounding Courtyard 1 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Early-Developed, horizons 19b–20). Red symbol = on earlier walking level of the Courtyard 1 (horizon 19ba); magenta symbol = on the floor of Room 117 or on the walking level of the 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.

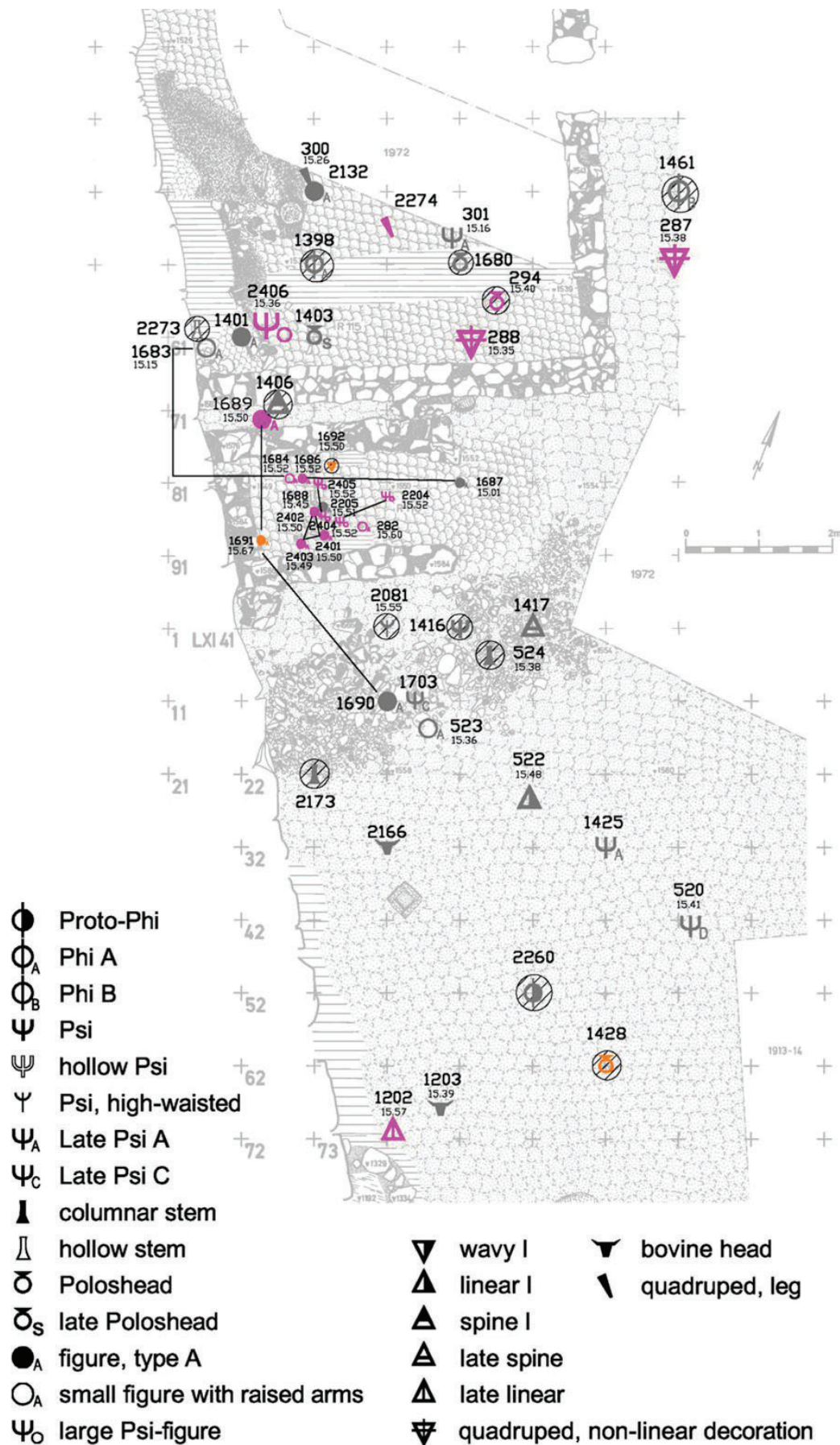


Plate 5.10. Distribution of figurines and figures in Room 110 and the surrounding Courtyard 1 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Developed–Advanced, horizons 20a3–21d). Grey symbol = below floor of Room 110 or below walking level of Courtyard 1 (horizons 19b1, 20a1, 20a2, 21, 21a0, 21b0); magenta symbol = 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.

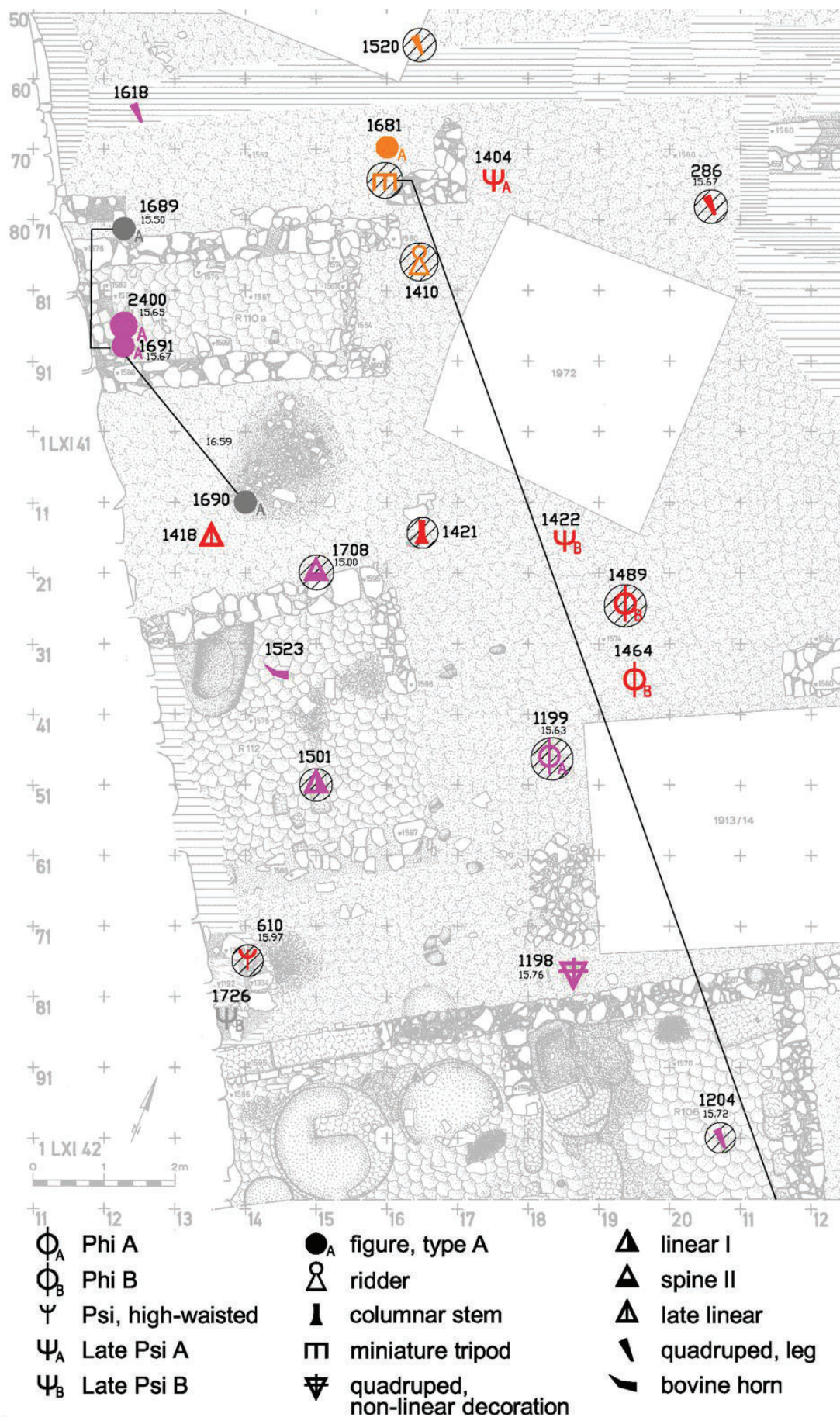


Plate 5.12. Distribution of figurines and figures in Room 110a and the surrounding Courtyard 1 in the Lower Citadel (LH IIIC Late, horizon 22). Grey symbol = below floor of Room 110a or below walking level of Courtyard 1 (horizon 21c0); magenta symbol = on the floor of Room 110a or on the walking level 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.