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Patterns of Production & Practice:
The LH IIIA2 Terracotta Figurines from Petsas House, Mycenae

By

Maribelisa Gillespie

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Classical Archaeology

in the

Graduate Division

of the

University of California, Berkeley

Committee in charge:

Professor Kim Shelton
Professor Nikolaos Papazarkadas
Professor Emily Mackil

Summer 2024

Patterns of Production & Practice: The LH IIIA2 Terracotta Figurines from Petsas House, Mycenae

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Abstract

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The LH IIIA2 Terracotta Figurines from Petsas House, Mycenae

By

Maribelisa Gillespie

Doctor of Philosophy in Classical Archaeology

University of California, Berkeley

Professor Kim Shelton, Chair

Terracotta figurines of humans and animals, in their ubiquity and uniformity, have become quite emblematic of Mycenaean culture and civilization. Their schematic, but evocative forms have captured academic and public imagination since their discovery in the late nineteenth century. Ever since then, we have tended to associate figurines with ancient religious practices. In our attempt to work out their exact relationships to ancient deities, archaeologists have constructed rigorous typologies and meticulous catalogues, but we have yet to hit upon their specific role in Mycenaean religion or society. We know even less about the circumstances of their creation or about how they were used by the people who acquired them. My dissertation introduces a collection of recently excavated and unpublished legacy examples of terracotta figurines from the LH IIIA2 Petsas House ceramic workshop at Mycenae. This collection is important because it reveals new information about how figurines were made and by whom. It also offers an opportunity to trace the decisions made by craftspeople back to the consumers who selected and used figurines in graves and sanctuaries.

The first half of this project presents the collection of over 1,100 figurines from the Petsas House workshop. The corpus includes female and bovine terracottas in great quantity, but also smaller numbers of furniture models, other animals, and combinations of humans and animals. With some exceptions, most figurines were newly made, like the other pottery products in the shop. That is, they comprise part of the production output of the locale, not part of an active domestic or religious installation. The Petsas House collection demonstrates how female and bovine terracottas were systematically standardized for high-volume production while other types required more time and labor investment. The ability of craftspeople to both conform and create when making figurines reveals that they were both skilled and specialized in their endeavors to meet customer demands.

The second half of the dissertation explores how and why customers were making those demands. Death and burial in chamber tombs were one social practice which motivated the production of terracotta figurines at Mycenae. On the island of Aegina, new commodities and social practices (including burial) were actively being adopted in LH IIIA2 – the same period of time in which the Petsas House workshop was in operation – and locals both imported figurines from Mycenae and emulated them in local workshops for use in those new settings. On the Methana peninsula, the settlers at Agios Konstantinos had very specific ideas about which types of figurines were appropriate for their local religious and burial traditions. My project concludes by bringing together the observations made about figurine production at Petsas House and consumption in graves

and sanctuaries. Instead of relying on the long-standing tradition of interpreting figurines as focal points of cult and goddess worship, I restore creative agency to their makers and powers of decision-making (individual and collective) to their users. Figurines may well have been ideologically charged objects, but they were also commodities embedded in the same socioeconomic transactions that motivated the exchange of goods, ideas, and even people.

In memory of Elizabeth B. French

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ABBREVIATIONS

AIA	Archaeological Institute of America
ASCSA	American School of Classical Studies in Athens
BSA	The British School at Athens
FM	Furumark Motif
FS	Furumark Shape
GCA	Grave Circle A
GCB	Grave Circle B
LH	Late Helladic
MH	Middle Helladic
MNI	Minimum Number of Individuals
NAM	National Archaeological Museum (Athens, Greece)
SF	Small Find
T	Tomb

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Throughout the course of conducting this research, I have been sustained physically, financially, emotionally, energetically, and academically by *many* people and institutions. For my advisor and mentor, Dr. Kim Shelton, there are not enough thanks in this world to give. In addition to introducing me to the world of archaeology, to Greece, and to Mycenae, she also tolerated my successive returns to Petsas House (and Aidonia, Nemea, etc.) summer after summer. Sometimes I wonder why she kept letting me come back… I was a lot to handle from day one. From late assignments to lost luggage, she endured more than any teacher should have to. She put me to work too, though. During my first field season, she introduced me to her family, the Demopoulos family, in Mycenae. To Dimitris, Kassandra, Maria, and Katerina Demopoulos, I extend my deepest possible gratitude. Dimitris provided endless rides to the airport (in both countries) and fun weekends at the beach. Kassie served as my very first translator and Greek teacher at the age of four. I would not have made it through two years of the Covid pandemic without Maria and Katerina. They fed me (a lot), prepared my firewood (a lot), helped me figure out how to get important paperwork, how to buy a car, how to buy food from the right places, and so much more. Stella Darsinou, Marion Dassis, Kostas Dassis, and Gogo Oikonomou kept me company, fed me (a lot), and were genuinely awesome neighbors. Hector the horse was also a great neighbor and constant observer. Up at the site, the guards and museum staff provided help, access, advice, and general camaraderie. My thanks especially go to Nikos Mitrovgenis, Grigoris Chronis, Giorgos Chronis, and the downstairs crew: Dimitris Argyropoulos and Nikos Katsoulieris. The site dogs cannot be left out of these acknowledgments, of course. They were my constant companions during lockdown and they made the days pass more enjoyably than they would have otherwise.

When I wasn't at Mycenae, I was generally haunting the halls of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. My research in the Archives was facilitated by the knowledgeable and generous Eleftheria Daleziou and Leda Costaki. I extend additional thanks to the entire ASCSA staff and especially to Katerina and Georgia for tolerating my sometimes unorthodox schedule and for keeping food warm for me.

There are other institutions to thank too, of course. In Greece, the Ephorate of Antiquities of the Argolid, the Ephorate of Antiquities of Piraeus and Islands, and the National Archaeological Museum. I am deeply grateful for the permissions granted to access materials from Mycenae and Aegina. At home in the U.S.A., generous funding was provided by the Archaeological Institute of America and U.C. Berkeley. The faculty and staff of the Department of Ancient Greek & Roman Studies have provided unwavering support in various forms throughout my time there. In particular, I would like to single out the other two members of my committee: Nikolaos Papazarkadas and Emily Mackil (History) for offering their time and valuable comments on this project. They have shown great faith in me over the years and I am more than grateful. Thanks are also due to the Classics Library staff and student workers at the University of Cincinnati. They helped me make it through the last months of research and writing.

During my time in Greece and in the U.S.A., I have been continuously renewed and uplifted by friends and colleagues. I am indebted to Alice Crow, Haley Bertram, Grace Erny, Nick Romeo, Evan Vance, David Wheeler, and Jesse Obert. Each of these wonderful humans made me laugh (a lot), fed me (a lot), housed me, went on adventures with me, and generally made doing research fun (in both

countries). One drawback of spending so much time abroad (and being locked down during a global pandemic) was that I missed some weddings, births, deaths, and other milestone events at home. I am so grateful to my family and best friends for keeping me in the loop, sending photos and videos, sharing their support and encouragement, and letting me crash on their sofas when I finally was able to visit them.

Teachers, librarians, guards, neighbors, students, roommates, friends, and family, thank you one and all! Two laptops and three desk chairs lost their lives during the making of this dissertation. May they rest in pieces.

αὐτίκα δ᾽ ἀντὶ πυρὸς τεῦξεν κακὸν ἀνθρώποισιν
γαίης γὰρ σύμπλασσε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις
παρθένῳ αἰδοίῃ ἴκελον Κρονίδεω διὰ βουλάς.
ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη
ἀργυφέῃ ἐσθῆτι: κατὰ κρῆθεν δὲ καλύπτρην
δαιδαλέην χείρεσσι κατέσχεθε, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι:
ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ στεφάνους, νεοθηλέος ἄνθεα ποίης,
ἱμερτοὺς περίθηκε καρήατι Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη.
ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ στεφάνην χρυσέην κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε,
τὴν αὐτὸς ποίησε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις
ἀσκήσας παλάμῃσι, χαριζόμενος Διὶ πατρί.
τῇ δ᾽ ἐνὶ δαίδαλα πολλὰ τετεύχατο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,
κνώδαλ᾽, ὅσ᾽ ἤπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἠδὲ θάλασσα,
τῶν ὅ γε πόλλ᾽ ἐνέθηκε,—χάρις δ᾽ ἀπελάμπετο πολλή,—
θαυμάσια, ζώοισιν ἐοικότα φωνήεσσιν.

- Hesiod, *Theogony* 570-584



ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ τούτοις χρόνος ἦλθεν εἱμαρμένος γενέσεως, τυποῦσιν αὐτὰ θεοὶ γῆς ἔνδον ἐκ γῆς καὶ πυρὸς μείξαντες καὶ τῶν ὅσα πυρὶ καὶ γῇ κεράννυται.

- Plato, *Protagoras* 320d

I. FIGURINE PRODUCTION AND PRACTICE: AN INTRODUCTION



Terracotta figurines of humans and animals, in their ubiquity and uniformity, have become quite emblematic of Mycenaean culture and civilization. Their images grace academic journal covers, site guides, and poster ads; mass-produced replicas line the shelves of tourist shops everywhere in Greece and take their pride of place alongside miniature models of Aphrodite or the Parthenon. Their schematic, yet recognizable forms seem to capture the right combination of antiquity, humility, and mystery that continues to inspire scholars, artists, and travelers alike.

Mycenaean figurines remain enigmatic to archaeologists, too. For all our meticulous catalogues and rigorous adherence to scientific terminology, we have yet to hit upon their specific role in Mycenaean society or even upon the particular circumstances of their creation and use. We too feel drawn in by their familiar human or animal shapes and gestures – and that makes it too easy for us to project our own cultural values upon them. We have carefully unearthed these small terracotta objects in tombs, settlements, sanctuaries, and refuse deposits and have therefore bestowed upon them such titles as 'guardians,' 'nurses,' 'goddesses,' and 'sacrificial substitutes.' Sometimes we reduce their manufacture and meaning to mere 'toys,' or 'trinkets.' Terminological persuasion notwithstanding, we continually lean on them for help identifying types of sites and archaeological contexts in which they occur. Once removed from their findspots, we reverently disassociate them from their lesser sherd brethren and enshrine them in museum cases for all to admire. There they carry on their work of inspiring and mystifying all who stop to gaze upon them.

Still, as strict adherents to classification schemes of any kind, archaeologists relish their canonical forms and prescriptive linear decoration – it makes them easy for us to identify in artifact assemblages and easy to categorize for storage or display afterwards. As an added bonus, their relatively short lifespan (primarily restricted to the second half of the Late Bronze Age) makes them useful chronological markers and we enjoy notching them into our established sequences. Even though we can *identify* them and describe them easily enough, even though we can exploit their charm to lure in visitors or funders, we still know almost nothing about who made terracotta figurines. We know still less about where or how they were made; for whom they were made; or what they meant to anyone in possession of one. Previous scholarship, based on models of ceramic classification, has produced reliable outlines of the chronological *sequence* of figurines, but we lack synchronic data that allow us to appreciate how many types coexisted at any one time. How many different types did any one craftsperson produce? How many different types did one customer acquire and use? How many different types were considered appropriate in specific settings and why?

This project addresses these questions by presenting and examining recently excavated and unpublished legacy examples of terracotta figurines from the Petsas House ceramic workshop, located just northwest of the citadel at Mycenae. The corpus includes female and bovine figurines in great quantity, but also smaller numbers of furniture models, other animals, and combinations of humans and animals (such as driven oxen). With some exceptions, most figurines were newly made, like the other pottery products in the warehouse, and comprise part of the production output of the locale,

not part of an active domestic or cultic installation. This collection is novel in terms of its sheer size and in terms of this very context – it is one of few ceramic production centers known from the Mycenaean world. Its chronological integrity sets it apart from other Late Bronze Age figurine collections as well – the workshop's main period of use lies squarely within the LH IIIA2 period, ca. 1370–1315 BC.[1] Other contemporary workshops have been identified but are known mainly through scattered dumps or the presence of kilns; no other site preserves the production *output* of a workshop at this scale.[2] The assemblage thereby allows us to (finally) explore new questions and methodologies in coroplastic studies.

Following this introduction, Chapter II sets up the project by laying out the existing narratives and methodologies connected to prehistoric figurines in Greece, especially anthropomorphic figurines. Chapter II lays bare some of the late modern scientific and theological thinking that led to the zealous collection and circulation of figurines by antiquarians and scholars of the nineteenth century.[3] Those practices directly resulted in the interpretation, display, and curation methods we employ in museums today. The pioneer of Aegean archaeology himself, Heinrich Schliemann, used Mycenaean figurines to promote his theories about Troy and Mycenae. Throughout the course of his excavations at both sites, Schliemann engaged in both academic and popular discourse on the meaning and use of figurines. His publications and his correspondence with contemporary scholars show how he gradually shaped a narrative about figurines that bolstered his interpretations of the sites and their Homeric relevance. He improved upon his methods of excavation and analysis as he worked, but he always tempered his explanations with his deep knowledge of Homeric poetry and the Classics in general. The result was his own signature blend of "scientific" fervor and Classical romanticism, with terracotta figurines serving as the connective tissue between the two. Schliemann branded Aegean archaeology in this way – and we continue to work within that framework, even if many scholars of Aegean prehistory have differed in the particulars of their interpretation or methodology. After exploring some of Schliemann's early thoughts on figurines, Ch. II outlines the work of his successors at Mycenae. Some opposed his interpretations of figurines, but they also implicitly maintained his brand of scholarship. The second half of Chapter II shows how intellectual movements of the twentieth century have continued to shape interpretations of prehistoric figurines in Greece (and elsewhere). In particular, it emphasizes how feminist anthropology (especially of the 1990s) has begun to dissolve the interpretive frameworks we inherited from nineteenth-century scholarship. It calls for context-based interpretation of archaeological assemblages and it criticizes globalizing narratives that erase the agency of men, women, and children in ancient societies. Contemporary work on Mycenaean figurines has made some attempts to employ those newer methodological approaches to coroplastic studies that were championed by feminist archaeologists. I. Tzonou, for example, explored both figurines and their contexts at Mycenae using the object biography approach.[4] Chapter II concludes by bridging the intervening thirty-plus years since the height of the feminist movement and the present by highlighting important new and ongoing work on Mycenaean figurines.[5] Current projects are utilizing updated versions of feminist methodologies and implementing new digital imaging and scientific techniques to achieve deeper understanding of their creation and use.

Ch. III opens with an introduction to the new context at Mycenae that has yielded terracotta figurines: the Petsas House storage and workshop facility. After describing the site and its history of

[1] Or 1390-1330 BC. See Manning 2010: esp. 18-28.

[2] Other LH III ceramic workshops include Berbati (for which see Akerstrom 1968, 1987; Schallin 2002), Zygouries (but this is now understood as a mixed domestic and workshop structure with the workshop producing some other type of product, not pottery [Blegen 1928; Thomas 1992: Pullen 2013]), and Kontopigado-Alimou (Kaza-Papageorgiou 2011).

[3] Fotiadis 2006.

[4] Tzonou-Herbst 2002.

[5] Such as Vetters 2009, 2011, 2016; Brysbaert & Vetters 2015.

excavation, this chapter details the higher standards of excavation and documentation employed throughout the life of the project under the direction of K. Shelton. It also shows how the project's archival practices were digitally adapted for the purpose of carrying out this dissertation. Considering that the terracottas analyzed here were discovered in a ceramic production context, some time is devoted to defining terminology associated with the study of ancient craft as well as the dissemination of those crafts in antiquity and the challenges of interpreting those actions in the archaeological record. Petsas House is here understood as a specialized workshop manufacturing ceramic commodities for both an institutional and individual consumer base. Because developments in Mycenaean figurine typology are important for understanding artisan responses to shifting customer demands, I also lay out a brief outline of the history of typological classification before adopting E. French's system of description and dating.[6] I make slight adjustments to French's terminology and developmental schemata as I go. The biggest differences are that I use the term "combination figurine" instead of her "group figurine" (see Ch. III.7) and I interpret the female Transitional type as a variation of the other standard types in the developmental sequence – not its own type. The Petsas House collection has also opened up a new possibility in Mycenaean coroplastics: attribution. The history of the practice is outlined in Ch. III.8 as is my approach to attribution in this dissertation. My attributions of some figurines at Petsas House to "artist groups" are not fully understood yet. Most of the time, I believe they represent the artistic endeavors of a single artisan, but sometimes a more complex interpretation is a probability. Some figurine groups could be the result of a particular firing batch, for example. I try to address multiple possibilities throughout this dissertation, but I repeatedly refer to and rely on the "artist groups" to reveal nuances of practice when making and distributing figurines. On the topic of distribution, Ch. III closes by describing my rationale for choosing the distribution/consumption contexts against which I compare the Petsas House data in the second half of this thesis.

Chapter IV continues the discussion of craft production, specifically terracotta figurine production at Petsas House, by analyzing the collection as a whole. It quantifies and qualifies the figurine categories and types that have been found so far. Female figurines represent about 50% of the collection, bovines about 35%, and all other types about 15%. Viewed collectively, the preserved figurines yield much information about their typological development and about aspects of their production. For example, the terracottas in the Petsas corpus illustrate well the gradual simplification and standardization of certain types of figurines as their rates of production increased. Due to that high-volume standardization and stylization of the terracottas, we can also see the work of individual artisans (or teams). So far, craftspeople (and/or discrete batches) can only be securely identified within general categories of figurines (bovines or females), but not between categories or between figurines and vessels. Still, the fact that they are identifiable at all provides valuable insight into the organization of labor within the workshop. Given the chronological integrity of the collection, the second goal in this chapter is to define the full range of figurines produced and available to consumers at the time of its destruction at the end of LH IIIA2. Chapter IV concludes by focusing on the primary deposit of figurines (and vessels) in Room Γ because the context and content of the room represent the physical and conceptual interface between craftsperson and consumer.

Chapter V picks up where the previous had left off: in Room Γ. It details the important circumstances of discovery and interpretation of that room before presenting the full range of types found there.[7] Those figurines really provide the basis for the entire project because they are the most intact pieces, they preserve a wide range of types, they include several "artist groups," and they comprise an intentional arrangement of newly made ceramic commodities for distribution to consumers. How the figurines in Room Γ compare and contrast with the terracottas discovered in the

[6] French 1971.

[7] See also Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 203–233; 1951: 192–196; and Shelton 2009: 55-60.

other rooms at Petsas House is the subject of the rest of the chapter. Aside from the important primary context of Room Γ, the collection described in Ch. IV derives from an interesting array of contexts. Just about every room in the facility yielded some quantity of figurines. Some represent debris from a ruined upper story or even detritus from decomposed building materials. Many more were recovered from a chronologically sealed refuse deposit in the southeast corner of the excavated area (the well in Room Π). Others characterize part of the original contents of a room at the time of its destruction. Some of the oldest terracottas were preserved due to their inclusion in leveling fills. The chapter moves room-by-room following the layout of the building as presented in Ch. III.4. The idea behind this is to both honor previous scholarship which stresses the importance of a context-based approach, but also to define the interpretive limits and challenges of this collection.

Equipped with the data from Petsas House, Chapter VI turns outward and reconsiders previously excavated assemblages of terracotta figurines in chamber tomb cemeteries around Mycenae. Close inspection of the figurines – their typologies, shared traits, and associated assemblages – exposes patterns of use in connection with burial practices. A marked preference for female figurines demonstrates that their inclusion in funerary activities was likely a motivating factor behind their production. Chapter VI suggests not only that specific types of figurines were preferred within individual family tombs, but also that they were acquired in sets from workshops specifically for deposition with the deceased. This suggestion contradicts previous scholarship which has assumed that figurines were keepsakes cherished by the deceased during life or that they served as divine guardians in a presumed afterlife.[8] Nuances in the patterns recognized at Mycenae occur within individual family tombs, but also within and between discrete cemeteries at local and regional levels. Future studies will certainly help to clarify the patterns recognized here and define their spatial and chronological parameters.

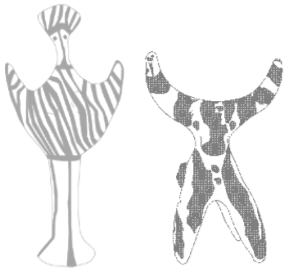
Whereas Chapter VI focuses on figurines that are common in grave assemblages, Chapter VII takes a closer look at the standard and highly specialized types (such as Kourotrophoi and chariots) that have led previous scholars to interpret sites as sanctuaries. In particular, I focus on the major Argo-Saronic sanctuaries at the site of the historical temple of Aphaia on the island of Aegina as well as the Mycenaean shrine at Agios Konstantinos on the Methana peninsula.[9] In the case of the Aphaia Sanctuary, a thorough restudy of the figurine collection, in particular of the Kourotrophos type, calls for a reconsideration of using terracottas to identify characteristics of the prehistoric deity worshiped there. When nearly all examples of Kourotrophoi (and other types) were manufactured in the Argolid and make up a very small percentage of the assemblage, their presence cannot carry the weight of an entire sanctuary. At Agios Konstantinos, on the other hand, the highly specialized selection of types and the extremely customized architectural context in which they were found does support the probability of ritualized action on site. A limited macroscopic analysis of the terracottas through publications and museum displays points out that many of the figurines shared production traits and were likely made by one (or few) workshops. The specialized assemblage's connections to local and regional practices, moreover, invites continued study in the future.

The project concludes in Chapter VIII by bringing together the observations made about figurine production at Petsas House and consumption in graves and sanctuaries. Instead of relying on the long-standing tradition of interpreting figurines as focal points of cult and goddess worship, I try to restore creative agency to their makers and powers of decision-making (individual and collective) to their users. Figurines may well be ideologically charged objects, but they are also commodities embedded in the same socioeconomic transactions that motivated the exchange of goods, ideas, and

[8] For example, Tsountas 1888: 170-171. Relevant theories are summarized in Ch. II.3 as well as in Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 73-79. Figurines have also been described as "childhood memorabilia" by Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 126.
[9] Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 2009; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a, 2016a.

even people. Petsas House alone shows us that the ceramic industry responsible for the creation of specialty containers for use at home and abroad was also responsible for the manufacture of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and skeuomorphic figurines. This means that figurines were a part of the industrial practices that greased the wheels of local and regional economies. The exact mechanism(s) of transmission from producer to consumer are not known, but the fact that figurines are commonplace equipment at social activity centers like cemeteries and sanctuaries (presumably accessed by multiple segments of the population) implies that their circulation was extensive and intensive in certain cases, maybe even regulated by interested political or religious institutions. In sum, this dissertation calls for a reconfiguration of our existing socioeconomic models to include terracottas and to fit our archaeological evidence more accurately. I model this for LH IIIA2, but I hope that future investigations can improve upon and expand the ideas presented here. This study has not stripped away all of the mystery that still clouds our understanding of figurines, but it has begun to demystify scholarly practice and to lay a solid foundation upon which to build in future studies.

II. MYCENAEAN FIGURINES IN THE SPOTLIGHT: DISCOVERY & PREVIOUS RESEARCH



Terracotta figurines have been at the forefront of Mycenaean studies since their discovery in great quantities by Heinrich Schliemann at Mycenae[10] during his inaugural excavations there in 1874 and 1876.[11] Schliemann himself was fascinated by these miniature representations of women and cows and immediately linked them to well-known formulaic epithets in Homeric poetry and to the worship of the later Greek goddess Hera in the Argolid.[12] His fixation on figurines stemmed not only from his desire to archaeologically demonstrate the historicity of the Homeric epics, but also from his experiences in Troy (see below). Scholars who continued Schliemann's work at mainland palatial centers (Mycenae, Tiryns, Orchomenos) and other sites in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries for the most part perpetuated Schliemann's interpretation of figurines as representations of deities. It has only been in the last fifty years or so that archaeologists and specialists have begun to apply more rigorous methodologies to the identification, interpretation, and documentation of terracotta figurines and to study them as a class of artifact that can yield more information than just prehistoric "goddess worship." Most of the post-Schliemann research and interpretation of figurines has been expertly summarized by I. Tzonou in her 2002 doctoral dissertation.[13] The following synopsis, therefore, goes back to 'the beginning,' as it were, back to Heinrich Schliemann and his early investigations at Mycenae. The idea is to both expose and contextualize Schliemann's interpretations and to trace his legacy and impact in figurine studies down to the present day. I do briefly summarize Schliemann's successors and some of the theories they advanced, but I refer the reader to I. Tzonou's work for a fuller discussion.[14] I close this chapter by introducing some of the recent (post-2002) advances in coroplastic studies that have also influenced this project.

II.1 HEINRICH SCHLIEMANN AND HIS "HORNED IDOLS"

Heinrich Schliemann has been described as "the most famous archaeologist in the world."[15] His story is well known: a polyglot entrepreneur of humble origins who accumulated vast riches before the age of forty-six through international business dealings in the Netherlands, Russia, France, and the

[10] And soon afterwards at Tiryns, Orchomenos, and other contemporary sites.
[11] Schliemann excavated thirty-four large, but illegal test trenches on the citadel of Mycenae in 1874 at which time he uncovered numerous terracotta figurines. His official, legal excavations began in August of 1876. See American School of Classical Studies at Athens (ASCSA) Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Max-Müller, 12 March, 1874; 25 August, 28 August, 6 September, 25 September, 20 October 1876; French 2002: 18-23.
[12] Schliemann 1878: 19-22.
[13] Tzonou-Herbst 2002.
[14] Tzonou-Hebrst 2002: 60-102.
[15] Runnels 2007: 1; 2020: 381.

United States.[16] After that point he devoted his life to "his true passion," to his love of Homer and to archaeology. He channeled his vast financial resources into uncovering the world of Homer at the sites of Troy (Hissarlik) in Turkey and Mycenae in Greece.[17] His powerful belief in the validity of Homer's words and worlds led Schliemann to essentially discover a new world himself: that which we now call Aegean prehistory.[18] In his short, twenty-year career, Schliemann's spectacular discoveries revealed "a new chapter in human history: the Aegean Bronze Age."[19] It wasn't just the quality and quantity of his findings that made him famous, though, it was his personality, his fervent conviction, and the many reports (with images) about his progress with which he flooded contemporary media outlets: popular newspapers and magazines as well as academic publications.[20] Schliemann managed to capture public fascination and hold onto it during (and after) his lifetime. When he began his explorations, he was an amateur archaeologist, but by the time he died, he had become a professional (as defined by the times, of course) who employed scientific methods and enlisted the support of other respected professionals and academics.[21] Even though his identification of and adherence to archaeological context was not to modern standards, he did make an attempt to incorporate *everything* he found into his interpretations, even the "humblest of artifacts."[22] He was, in fact, just as delighted by the mundane and common artifacts as he was by the spectacular jewelry, weapons, and precious stones he found at both Troy and Mycenae. He understood they were of "capital importance to science."[23] Schliemann's published works speak for themselves and the extensive bibliography about the man, his discoveries, controversies about his life and work, and his legacies evince continued fascination – both public and scholarly.[24]

In the following few pages, I draw attention to the importance that terracotta figurines held for Schliemann. Surprisingly, figurines played a leading role in his transformation from amateur to professional because they represented, in Schliemann's view, "tangible proofs" of Homer's epithets. He developed a strong defense of this position over the course of his excavations and through the many letters he exchanged with leading scholars of the time.[25] Below, I highlight a representative sample of such correspondence with Friedrich Max Müller, a professor of comparative philology, mythology, and the history of religion at Oxford.[26] I chose to foreground Schliemann's personal correspondence because it was written contemporaneously with his discoveries – in real time, as it were – as opposed to his major publications which were published later, after he had time to reflect upon his discoveries and self-edit. The letters reveal that figurines occupied a significant portion of Schliemann's intellectual real estate and that they even motivated some of his decisions.

Schliemann initiated correspondence with Müller in October of 1873 – while he was still digging at Troy – because Müller had published an article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in which he criticized

[16] Runnels 2020: 381.
[17] Runnels 2020: 381.
[18] Fitton 1991: 1.
[19] His sensational finds led him to explore other Bronze Age sites in Greece as well, especially Tiryns and Orchomenos. Runnels 2020: 381.
[20] See Traill 1995 and Runnels 2007 for more on this topic.
[21] Runnels 2020: 382-383.
[22] Runnels 2020: 382. Schliemann also was among the first to comprehend and base his interpretations on stratigraphic sequencing, Hoffman 2023: 18.
[23] Schliemann 1878: 10.
[24] Fitton 1991; Runnels 2007; Korres et al. 2012; Laffineur. & Perna 2024.
[25] See, for example, Korres et al. 2012: 259-356.
[26] Meyer 1962: 78.

Schliemann's attribution of the spectacular gold treasure found at Troy to the mythical King Priam.[27] Schliemann took offense, of course.[28] In his first response letter, Schliemann rather cogently defended his own position. In so doing, he shaped a narrative – one that he had begun to formulate in earlier correspondence with noted scholars – and he utilized that narrative as a template for his subsequent letters and publications in which he spilled copious amounts of ink defending his oft-controversial interpretations.[29] He justified pulling King Priam out of myth and situating him in history by explaining to Müller about the *very* deep stratigraphy at the site of Hissarlik (Troy) – deep enough to reach right past known history and into the realm of myth. He further elaborated that each of the "prehistoric nations" that he uncovered were unified by common cultural threads from bottom to top. According to Schliemann, it was the frayed ends of those threads that were preserved in Homer's descriptions of the city, its heroes, and its gods. Architecturally, he argued, this was evident in the bard's accurate depictions of the city's "high walls" and Scaean Gates. Artifactually, – and this is where the figurine discourse starts – a female divinity with "helmeted owlshead" in clay idols and vases at *every* level of the mound provided further proof. This "sole divinity represented by plastic art" could be none other than Homer's θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη who was sacred to the city.[30] Owl-headed idols proved that the worship of Athena extended far back to the earliest prehistory of the site. Each stratum, he argued, represented a step in the continuum of worship of the goddess with owl attributes. This worship culminated in the Greco-Roman 'Minerva Temple' at the top – yet another architectural incarnation of poetic truth.[31] He concluded his argument by asserting that when these "tangible proofs" in the form of architecture and artifacts were held up against Homer's descriptions, there could be absolutely no reason *not* to believe that the names of the epic heroes (including Priam) should remain purely 'mythical.' At Troy, myth became history.

Schliemann would more or less follow this template for years to come in his correspondence and scholarship about Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns, and Orchomenos. Despite his own vehement convictions, however, he understood that he needed the support of the scholarly community to achieve public acceptance. For this reason, he took great care in laying out his rationale and providing "tangible proofs" for his claims even in his unofficial correspondence with contemporary scholars, including Müller. Schliemann made it known in his letters that he stayed abreast of current scholarship on related topics and that he was in communication with many respected scholars. In that first letter to Müller in October of 1873, for example, he included the names of two eminent philologists who had accepted and "warmly applauded" his interpretation of γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη. He even summarized one of their recent publications concerning the meaning of Athena's epithet.[32] The final element of nearly every letter sent by Schliemann to Müller was the solicitation of help in securing speedy (and

[27] Meyer 1962: 79-80, 82-83; ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 18 October 1873. Sadly, it was later proven that the gold treasure dated to the Early Bronze Age – long before Priam would have or could have existed.

[28] Not for the first or last time. Schliemann complains about Müller to C.T. Newton in letters written during the following months: 30 January, 5 February, and 19 March 1874. Fitton 1991: 25-26.

[29] For example, a *very* similar letter to this one had been written by Schliemann to C.T. Newton (Director of the British Museum) a few months prior: 26 July 1873 (see Fitton 1991: 9-11).

[30] *Iliad* I.206, for example.

[31] ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 1873-1876. See also on this topic the long letters dated to 28 December 1872; 26 July, 4 September, and 6 November 1873 addressed to C.T. Newton in Fitton 1991: 14-17, 19-21; and Schliemann's own (self-edited) descriptions (1976: 112-115, 233-258, 343-350).

[32] Meyer 1962: 83. ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 18 October 1873.

accurate) publication of his progress in the English press, especially in *The Times*.[33] Schliemann routinely urged Müller to review his articles, forward them with his own recommendation to the publisher, or even to write his own articles with his own opinions of Schliemann's finds (preferably with favorable language, of course).[34] Earning Müller's approval and depending on him for publication assistance were major steps on Schliemann's path to acceptance.[35] The letter from October 1873 constituted the beginning of *many* years of correspondence between the two men over which time Schliemann devoted many hand-written pages to defending his hypothesis about the "owl-headed idols" at Troy and tightly spinning the narrative that would serve him in his next excavation too.[36]

Upon considering the evidence laid out by Schliemann in his letter(s), Müller published another article stating that he could accept that γλαυκῶπις originally meant "owl-headed" (and, by extension, that Athena had been the patron deity of Troy as memorialized in the epithet) if only it could be proven that βοῶπις originally meant "cow-headed."[37] The prospect of definitively gaining Müller's scholarly support sent Schliemann into a sort of frenzy. He vowed to uncover cow-headed idols at places connected to Hera in Greece. He stated in his response to Müller dated February of 1874 that he was considering beginning his work in Greece at the Heraion on Samos "where I shall dig you up lots of Junos with cow heads."[38] He concluded that same letter, however, by stating "Of the Trojan War I feel sanguine to find proofs in the depth of Μυκῆναι, but for the excavations there I must needs wait for a good ministry in Greece."[39] But he couldn't wait. He admitted in his *next* letter to Müller that instead of waiting for the permission that would surely never come, he had hoodwinked local authorities into letting him dig 34 trial trenches to ascertain the depth of "rubbish" on top of the citadel.[40] In those "insignificant excavations," Schliemann "dug up there very wonderful pottery with splendidly painted ornamentation, 2 stone axes, a flint arrow, a number of idols of which not less than 5 are Junos with a 'polos' on the head and a number of little red cows of terracotta." A few lines later he went on to predict that he would find *many* more in future excavation: "If I have gathered so many idols of Juno and so many cows in those quite insignificant excavations I must find many hundreds and very likely thousands of them in clearing away the 15000 cubic metres of rubbish which cover the 1st terrace. Thus it is evident that Juno was the patron deity of Mykene and that the cow was her sacred animal."[41] Greek authorities did actually grant Schliemann his permit a very short while later, in April of 1874. His correspondence from that month assured Müller that "I shall commence the works this week and where I am hopeful to bring to light, in less than a month's time, among many many interesting objects, hundred tangible proofs that *Here* βοῶπις was originally a cow-headed

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[33] For example: ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 18 October 1873; 8 February 1874; 9 July, 12 August, 23 August, 6 September, 25 September, 8 October, 20 October, 15 November, 19 November, 27 November, 6 December, 10 December, 31 December 1876 and more.

[34] He did the same with C.T. Newton, see Fitton 1991.

[35] Meyer 1962: 75-80 and 82-83.

[36] For example, ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 18 October, 9 November, 13 November 1873; 12 March 1874.

[37] I have not been able to track down this article written by Müller, but Schliemann's February 1874 letter is a passionate response to it (as Schliemann himself states in the letter). In it he covers the whole of three pages justifying his interpretation of the idols and γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη, and then promises to give Müller the proof that he is looking for with regard to βοῶπις Ἥρη ("βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη," for ex. *Iliad* I.551) in his future excavations in Greece. ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 8 February, 1874.

[38] ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 8 February, 1874.

[39] ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 8 February, 1874.

[40] ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 12 March, 1874. See also the same confession in his letter to C.T. Newton dated 19 March 1874, see Fitton 1991: 27.

[41] ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 12 March, 1874. See also similar wording in his letter to C.T. Newton dated 19 March 1874, see Fitton 1991: 27.

monster."[42] Unfortunately for Schliemann, however, legal battles with Turkish authorities about his excavations at Hissarlik as well as personal matters in the United States delayed him from beginning work on the acropolis at Mycenae for another two years. As soon as he *did* begin formal excavations at Mycenae in August of 1876, he was careful to include in his letters regular updates regarding how many "idols" had been collected.[43] His early predictions held true. In a letter dated to the 6th of September, Schliemann exclaimed "Of cow and horned female idols, already more than 700 have been found."[44]

Only a few excerpts from Schliemann's correspondence with Müller have been highlighted here, but the letters reveal that finding "idols" was not only a welcome *result* of his work at Mycenae, it was a primary objective of his even before obtaining permission to work there. Schliemann believed that figurines legitimized his connection of Homer's epithets with the archaeological evidence. If he could obtain the backing of respected scholars, such as Friedrich Max Müller,[45] and garner their support in proving Hera's early affiliation with Mycenae, then it would also strengthen his position about the Trojan terracottas – and the two together would be the 'smoking gun' proving prehistoric belief in those deities whose most important aspects were crystallized in the Homeric epithets.[46] Figurines served as one of the primary conduits through which Schliemann channeled myth and made it history.[47]

II.2 SCHLIEMANN & HIS CONTEMPORARIES

The exchange of letters between Schliemann and Müller fits with general academic practice of the time. The philological, archaeological, and even ethnographic evidence that Schliemann was able to marshal in support of his ideas in each letter was not only impressive, but also part of a broader scientific movement. Before Schliemann first put shovel to soil, antiquarians and academics in Greece had already begun collecting prehistoric artifacts and reporting their finds in journals in the 1860s and

[42] ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 5 April 1874. He repeated this same line in a letter to C.T. Newton in a letter written the very same day: "In less than a month I hope to bring to light hundreds of tangible proofs that Here Βωόπις has originally been represented with a cow's face." Fitton 1991: 29.

[43] ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller: 25 August, 28 August, 6 September, 25 September, 20 October 1876.

[44] ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 6 September 1876. Might also read "800," the handwritten text has both 7 and 8 superimposed one upon the other.

[45] Including R.C. Jebb, C.T. Newton, E. Curtius, R. Virchow, A. Conze, and many, many others. See Deuel 1977: 1-18; ASCSA Archives: Heinrich Schliemann Papers.

[46] Schliemann was originally met with mixed reviews about his interpretation of the Trojan idols. With his work at Mycenae, however, Müller (and others) did, ultimately, concede and accept Schliemman's interpretations of the Homeric epithets and the earlier stages of worship of those deities as evidenced through the terracotta figurines at both sites. Meyer 1962: 75-80.

[47] Schliemann's zeal for terracotta idols subsided temporarily upon the discovery of Grave Circle A at Mycenae in the autumn of 1876. Still, once media attention and 'Grave Circle A fever' died down, Schliemann took the time to reflect upon his work at Mycenae and Tiryns in his 1878 publication. About his finds at Tiryns, he stated "Among the objects discovered I must first mention the small terra-cotta cows, ... for they seem to solve a great problem, and are, at all events, of capital importance to science." A few lines later, he continued "I therefore do not hesitate to declare that both the cows and the horned female figures found at Mycenae and Tiryns must needs be idols of Hera, who was the tutelar deity of both cities." Schliemann, H. 1878: 10ff. Even after recovering heaps of gold and exotic imports at Mycenae, these humble clay figurines remained of primary importance to Schliemann and were crucial components in his quest to prove the validity of Homer's epics.

early 1870s.[48] Such artifacts included stone, pottery, and "primitive" figurines – some of them from the Bronze Age.[49] Finds of prehistoric figurines elsewhere in southeastern Europe, especially female figurines of the Paleolithic and Neolithic periods, had also sparked broad scholarly interest in the "primitive" religions and societies to which they belonged.[50] Figurines in stone and clay were circulated as tokens in the practice of gift-exchange among the scientific elite in their active fabrication of European prehistory through seminars, short articles, letters, and telegrams.[51] Schliemann himself participated in this practice and mailed sherds and figurines along with his letters to academics and museums in England and Germany as part of his quest for their approval and scientific support.[52] As Schliemann was working hard to prove the association of terracotta "idols" from Troy and Mycenae with Athena and Hera, respectively, narratives about early matriarchal societies had begun to gain wide acceptance in the scholarly community – and they used prehistoric figurines as their archaeological touchstone.[53] By the mid- to late-1800s, deep antiquity was perceived as the "childhood of humanity: early peoples started life with mother (the goddess) and then moved on to the grown-up world of father (God) as their societies developed."[54] Prehistoric figurines were utilized in cultivating intellectual models and theoretical frameworks that ultimately served to legitimize European and British imperial ideologies. Social evolutionary theory, Freudian psychology, and the construction of the female body in medicine, among other intellectual genres, drew from archaeological findings and worked together to spin a tight narrative centered on motherhood and womanhood.[55] At the same time, prehistoric finds from across Europe were playing a role in scholarly rejection of the notion of "ex oriente lux," the idea that Europe's prehistory was indebted to Asia.[56] The 1890s in particular were a radical turning point when leading scholars of the time were breaking with the idea that monumental architecture, writing, mythology, and metallurgy were Asian inventions – and they were using prehistoric archaeological finds to do so.[57]

It was in this context of using archaeology to legitimize patriarchy and colonial imperialism as well as to reject the "eastern" origins of western society that Schliemann found himself working. His discoveries at Mycenae in 1876 essentially caused the "proofs" of these notions and the substance of these intellectual debates to leak out of the academic circles in which they had been contained and into the public realm.[58] Scholarly work, as a result, focused instead on the chronologies, origins, and "ethnological affinities of the Trojan and Mycenaean finds," as well as on their connection to Homeric

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[48] Fotiadis 2016: 91. Schliemann was also acquainted with G. Fiorelli who was directing systematic excavations at Pompeii in the 1860s and who was applying scientific methodologies there for the first time. Deuel 1977: 15.

[49] Fotiadis 2016: 96.

[50] Bailey 2010.

[51] Fotiadis 2006, 2016.

[52] In his correspondence with Müller, Schliemann regularly promises to send him examples of his finds – and inquires after their arrival once he's sent them. He does the same with C.T. Newton, see Fitton 1991; French 1961: 10; 1971: 102.

[53] For example, Johann Jakob Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht. Eine Untersuchung uber die Gynaikokratie der alten Welt nach ihrer religiösen und rechtlichen Natur* (1861) and Lewis Morgan's *Ancient Society: Or, Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery, through Barbarism to Civilization* (1877). See more in Goodison 1998; Bailey 2010; and Goodison & Morris 2013: esp. 268.

[54] Goodison & Morris 2013: 268 (with further references). The idea being that the transition to monotheism, and Christianity in particular, marked both evolution of the human species as well as societal progression. So, the "matriarchy" theories of this era (and subsequent eras) ultimately served the goals of patriarchy.

[55] Morris 2006; Cherry 2007.

[56] Fotiadis 2006: 10-11; Morris 2006; Cherry 2007.

[57] Arthur Evans was one such scholar working on this problem *before* he began excavating at Knossos on Crete. It was in the context of this movement that his interpretations of the Minoans, their "great mother goddess" and their nature-loving, peaceful character were developed. See Fotiadis 2006 for a truly excellent essay on this topic.

[58] Between G. Fiorelli at Pompeii and H. Schliemann at Troy and Mycenae in the 1860s and 1870s, archaeology became a "popular science" right from the beginning. Deuel 1977: 7.

epic and the Greek "heroic age."[59] Schliemann's work at Mycenae and Tiryns motivated (at least in part) another important academic shift, too: that prehistoric research in Greece was important not only for Greece, but also for the whole of Europe.[60] Between the late 1870s and the end of that century, "Mycenaean culture acquired the status of the 'substratum' upon which Classical Greece grew."[61] As a further consequence, research pertaining to Mycenae (and soon Crete and the rest of the Aegean) held a certain level of academic prestige that gained state sponsorship in Greece and in other countries in western Europe.[62] That prestige and state/institutional support encouraged and sustained philologists, historians, and archaeologists studying early Greece.[63] Schliemann's correspondence with Müller (and other scholars) in the 1870s and 1880s documents the first wave of this movement toward contextualizing and prioritizing Greek prehistory. They also capture Schliemann's signature blend of "scientific" fervor and Classical romanticism, with terracotta figurines serving as the connective tissue between the two. The result was that Schliemann branded Aegean prehistory in this way and his successors continued to maintain his brand – even when differing in the particulars of interpretation and methodology.

II.3 SCHLIEMANN'S SUCCESSORS

The wake left by Schliemann engulfed not only the physical remains of the citadels of Troy and Mycenae, but also the interpretive frameworks connected to the sites and their artifacts – as briefly explored in the previous section. Subsequent scholars who have worked at both sites have criticized Schliemann's reliance on Homer and his "over enthusiastic" excavation methods, to be sure, but in the case of Mycenaean figurines, most archaeologists have followed in his footsteps. Most have relied on later Greek religious practices to illuminate Mycenaean material and to continue the tradition of exposing the foundations of "western" practices and beliefs.

The first archaeologist to follow Schliemann at Mycenae, Ch. Tsountas (1884-1903),[64] operated within generally the same intellectual milieu. He readily accepted Schliemann's interpretation of female Psi figurines as "images of the deity" (i.e. Hera) when he began excavations on the citadel.[65] Unlike Schliemann, however, Tsountas also discovered great numbers of figurines in the many chamber tombs he excavated outside the citadel (Ch. VI.2). Their frequent appearance in tombs caused him to question and develop Schliemann's ideas further. At first, he wondered if the different types of female figurines might represent *multiple* deities and not just Hera.[66] When he observed that the wealthiest graves did not have terracottas in them, but the poorer ones did, he concluded that they must not have maintained a religious significance upon an individual's death – otherwise why wouldn't the wealthy also have them? They must, instead, be keepsakes cherished by the deceased during their

[59] Fotiadis 2016: 112-113.
[60] Fotiadis 2016: 112.
[61] Fotiadis 2016: 113.
[62] Fotiadis 2016: 113.
[63] Fotiadis 2016: 113.
[64] I realize that I am leaving out P. Stamatakis when I say this, but since he did not weigh in on figurine interpretation, I refer the reader to other scholars' accounts of his great importance to the site of Mycenae. See, for example, Trail 1993: 205-213; Βασιλικού 2011: *passim*, but esp. 181-223; Konstantinidi-Syvridi & Paschalidis 2018-2019. For helpful summaries of Tsountas' work at Mycenae and for further bibliography, see Shelton 2006 and Pliatsika 2020. French (2002: 21) says that Tsountas worked at Mycenae from 1884-1902 while Pliatsika (2020: 292) says 1886-1903.
[65] Tsountas 1888: 169; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 66.
[66] Tsountas 1888: 168.

lifetime.[67] Continued work at Mycenae over the following decade – especially in the tombs where he frequently found figurines in new types – as well as in other regions like Thessaly and the Cyclades, motivated Tsountas to develop his own interpretations of terracottas. He backtracked a little and critiqued Schliemann for his "simple trust in Homer."[68] But he only slightly nuanced Schliemann's original hypothesis. He maintained that "Of the function of these figures there can be no reasonable doubt; they are images of deity, the first awkward attempts of faith to body forth its object."[69] He decided that Mycenaean figurines, like their Near Eastern counterparts, should instead represent "maternal figures" who were "goddesses of generation" that could also be connected to more than one female deity from the later Greek pantheon.[70] Tsountas was not averse to sharing prehistoric roots with "the orient," it seems, but the interpretation of generative, maternal figures lined up nicely with contemporary scholarship about prehistoric figurines and society (not to mention contemporary gender roles). Bovine figurines were reduced to "cheap substitutes" for sacrificial victims in his theorem.[71] Even though Tsountas did devote considerable energy to questioning the form(s) and meaning(s) of figurines with respect to the general contexts in which he found them, he ultimately did not stray far from Schliemann's strategy of relying on later Greek practice to interpret the Mycenaean ones. He also adopted Schliemann's term for figurines: idols, ειδώλια. This label continues in use in Greek today and still carries the anti-polytheistic/pro-Christian connotations that were current during the time that Schliemann and Tsountas were excavating.

M.P. Nilsson, who followed closely upon the heels of the pioneers in Aegean prehistory such as H. Schliemann, A. Evans, and Ch. Tsountas in the 1920s, decided to try something new. He noticed the implicit assumptions being made in interpreting "idols" as religious figures.[72] In direct response to earlier interpretations championed by the pioneers, he stated that "it is our task to collect and sift this evidence without allowing ourselves to be influenced by analogies from Greek or any other religion."[73] In his seminal work of 1927, Nilsson extolled the importance of "circumstances of discovery" and highlighted how artifact assemblages changed according to the "monuments" with which they were associated. Mycenaean figurines played a big part in this methodological advancement (which E. French would later build upon): that context must determine meaning.[74] He had picked up on Tsountas' keen insights into the possibility of multiple deities as well as the differential use of figurines in tombs. So, he adjusted Tsountas' interpretations. Nilsson thought that the "cheap figures" in poor tombs represented the deceased's desire to "procure a luxurious after life."[75] He went on to say that such an interpretation "dispose[d] of the hypothesis that these idols must represent a goddess."[76] So much for tombs. The appearance of figurines in such a variety of contexts, though, unlike Bronze Age figurines from Crete and the Cyclades, prevented him from finding an explanation that encompassed their typological and contextual range.[77] Thus he determined that context could be the only way to

[67] Tsountas 1888: 170-171. At this time, of course, Mycenaean chronology had not been worked out yet, so Tsountas did not quite grasp the fact that the "wealthy" tombs belonged (mostly) to the LH II period while the "poor" tombs belonged primarily to LH III and that the difference in wealth was connected to changes in social practice.
[68] Tsountas and Manatt 1897: 297.
[69] Tsountas and Manatt 1897: 297.
[70] Tsountas and Manatt 1897: 297-298.
[71] Tsountas and Manatt 1897: 306; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 66.
[72] See, for example, Nilsson 1927: 247.
[73] Nilsson 1927: 247.
[74] Nilsson 1927: 265. Nilsson's discussion is very interesting and he lightly shames unprovenanced material, pointing out that without "circumstances of discovery," the finds are "unknown or not illuminating." French, E. 1961, 1971.
[75] Nilsson 1927: 264.
[76] Nilsson 1927: 264.
[77] More recent work, however, has shown that Cycladic figurines occur in a great variety of contexts as well. For a recent synopsis of this, see Renfrew 2017.

arrive at meaning. Still, throughout his work Nilsson never abandoned the term "idol" or the idea that "idols" were connected to religion, even if he had given up on identifying the *specific* goddess(es) which they represented (his book, after all, was about the Minoan-Mycenaean religion). Importantly, Nilsson was also the first to rely on figurines (and location) to draw out the possibilities and probabilities of continuity of cult between the Bronze and Iron Ages, especially at important religious sites of later periods such as Delphi, the Argive Heraion, and Mycenae among many others.[78] His work is still influential in this matter today.

Other archaeologists inherited this confusion and indecision in connection with figurines. For example, S. Marinatos conceded that some types could represent everyday people, but maintained that the female Psi figurines had to belong to a long-lived religious type because of the stylized and abbreviated form.[79] C. Picard just synthesized the various contexts and figurine types and interpreted all female figurines as "goddesses of life," but also "protectresses of the underworld.[80] Their occurrence in tombs *and* houses meant only that cult was practiced in each of those settings.[81]

The two eminent anglophone scholars of Aegean prehistory, C. Blegen and A.J.B. Wace, united in so many of their ideas about the Mycenaeans, diverged in their interpretations of figurines. Blegen did *not* assume a religious function for figurines.[82] Based on his findings at the Mycenaean cemetery at Prosymna (Argolid), he instead proposed that figurines were specifically associated with children's burials and that females likely served as symbolic substitutes for nurses while cows ensured a steady supply of milk.[83] Alternatively, he thought, they could represent toys.[84] In a separate article about an unprovenanced "breadmaker" figurine in a private collection, Blegen suggested that it (and others) represented ordinary individuals undertaking mundane tasks.[85] His long-time friend and colleague, A.J.B. Wace, on the other hand, could not provide confirmation of Blegen's interpretations based on his own tomb findings at Mycenae (Ch. VI.3). He voted in favor of a cultic reading of terracottas. In particular regard to female figurines, he echoed Schliemann in considering them personifications of one divinity and/or some of its aspects, but since he understood the Mycenaean pantheon to be a polytheistic one, they could also be interpreted as representing more than one deity.[86] He also believed that terracottas functioned as votive dedications made by worshipers.[87] The two scholars did not agree on the matter of figurines, but they both maintained the implicit assumption that there was a separation between sacred and secular and that figurines belonged to one realm or the other.

In the 1950s and 60s, G. Mylonas mixed and matched the theories advanced by his predecessors. Like Blegen, he believed that figurines were primarily associated with children's burials.[88] He rejected Tsountas' assertion that figurines were only found in 'poor tombs' as well as Nilsson's

[78] Nilsson 1927: 385-414; 1932: *passim.*
[79] Marinatos 1927-1928: 20-21; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 67.
[80] Using especially the figurines from Marmaria at Delphi in his conclusions. Picard 1948: 247; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 67.
[81] Picard 1948: 247; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 67.
[82] Blegen had continued using the term "idol" in connection with his own and Schliemann's finds at Troy, but he switched to "figurine" when working in the Mycenaean world.
[83] Blegen 1937: 256; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 74.
[84] Blegen 1937: 256; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 74.
[85] Blegen 1950; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 68.
[86] Which echoes Tsountas, again, and is important because Linear B had not yet been deciphered. Wace 1949: 115; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 68.
[87] Wace 1949: 115; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 68.
[88] He based his opinion on Blegen's finds at Prosymna, Papadimitriou's in Attica, Iakovides' at Perati, and his own at Eleusis. Mylonas 1966: 115; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 73-77.

conclusions that they were meant to procure a profitable afterlife for the deceased.[89] He thought that female Phi-type figurines found in graves must always represent divine nurses (as did Kourotrophoi and group figurines).[90] Following Blegen's lead, he accepted that cows were providers of milk and chariots were toys.[91] By way of acknowledging and explaining the frequent occurrence of figurines in other contexts besides funerary ones, he simply stated that all female Psi figurines, regardless of where they were found, represented divinities – just as S. Marinatos had done before him.[92] I should note that Mylonas and his immediate predecessors were likely also influenced by contemporary scholarship regarding prehistoric figurines which was essentially a distillation of the intellectual movements described in the previous section. Contemporary scholar, E.O. James, for example, published around this time his influential *The Cult of the Mother-Goddess* (1959). James' work focused on figurines such as the "Venus of Willendorf," but he concluded that "the main purpose of the cultus" and its objects (figurines) was the representation of "the giving of life through the outward signs of maternal fecundity."[93] He connected all such figurines to a primeval cult related to the fertility of humans and animals, an interpretation that is still in frequent use today.[94]

By the 1960s and 70s, most archaeologists fell into one of two camps: those that viewed figurines as representations of female deities with maternal/generative qualities (following Schliemann, etc.) or as votive dedications (following Wace).[95] It was during this period that E. French (1961, 1971) picked up Nilsson's call for prioritizing archaeological context in determining the meaning(s) of figurines. French may have been inspired by the contemporary works of P. Ucko and L.R. Binford – or at least arrived at similar conclusions as they did over the course of her own investigations. Ucko had studied Egyptian and Cretan figurines and made a point to draw attention to the inconsistencies in interpretations of figurines.[96] Female figurines, Ucko noted, were almost universally interpreted as religious emblems while male and animal figurines from similar contexts were not.[97] Simultaneously, Binford promoted an anthropological approach to archaeology in which not just objects, but their contexts were studied. "The formal structure of artifact assemblages together with the between elemental contextual relationships should and do present a systematic and understandable picture the total extinct cultural system."[98] Ucko and French, turned away from "the mother goddess" and began prioritizing archaeological context, holistic assemblage analysis, and appreciation of variation of types.[99] French applied rigorous methodology in classifying figurines in conjunction with Mycenaean pottery. She built upon previously established observations and basic typologies of figurines, most notably those of C.W. Blegen, A.J.B. Wace, and A. Furumark (more

[89] Mylonas 1966: 115. He also rejected A. Persson's equation of figurines with Egyptian ushebtis at length. I do not discuss that theory in this project, but I refer the reader to an excellent summary of it in Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 60-95.
[90] Mylonas 1954-1955; 1956; 1966: 115-116.
[91] Mylonas 1966: 116.
[92] Mylonas 1966: 115.
[93] James 1959: 13-15; Goodison & Morris 2013: 267.
[94] Goodison & Morris 2013: 267.
[95] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 68.
[96] Ucko 1968; Goodison & Morris 2013: 269.
[97] Ucko 1968; Goodison & Morris 2013: 269.
[98] Binford also distinguished between primary and secondary archaeological contexts and believed that both recorded testimonia of human activities in the archaeological record. He called attention to "post-depositional processes" where natural and anthropogenic phenomena affected artifacts, contexts, and sites. Binford 1962: 219; 1964: 431. Binford's ideas were picked up and built on shortly after by M. Schiffer (1972, 1975) who emphasized processes that led to the formation of archaeological deposits and coined the term "behavioral archaeology." Classical archaeology suffered somewhat more than Aegean prehistory in the lack of application of these theoretical approaches. See the helpful recent summary in Hoffman 2023: 18-20.
[99] Goodison & Morris 2013: 269.

about this in Ch. III.7).[100] The important work by French and Ucko was applauded in academic circles, but was somewhat eclipsed by the genesis of a new intellectual movement (the "goddess movement," see below) as well as by new excavations on Crete, the Cyclades, and Turkey. Most relevant to Mycenaean figurines was the discovery of the Sanctuary at Phylakopi.[101]

C. Renfrew and his team excavated the "East and West Shrines" located within the Late Bronze Age town at Phylakopi on the Cycladic Island of Melos. The two "shrines" contained numerous terracotta figurines (and figures) of diverse (and, in some cases, unique) character. The discovery of the figurines, in fact, led to the characterization of the rooms as "shrines," but they also contained some unusual architectural features like wall niches and platforms. Each "shrine" also showed clear phases of use and reuse throughout the Late Bronze Age.[102] In the publication of the excavation, Renfrew laid out a series of "material correlates" that could be utilized by any researcher when trying to identify evidence of "cult" in the archaeological record. Figures and figurines featured prominently in these correlates, in particular as "repeated symbols" and as "attention-focusing devices."[103] Renfrew's study reasoned that the identification of an archaeological context as "religious" was essentially impossible without the presence of figurines.[104] Terracottas were, in his view, the "finds which [might] most plausibly be used to suggest the possible presence of the transcendent. Without them, the proposal would depend on the much less direct evidence of the layout of the buildings with their platforms."[105] Ultimately, after comparison with "shrines" and votive deposits elsewhere in the Aegean world, Renfrew concluded that the large-scale figures could be interpreted as either cult images or votives while the figurines were votives. Renfrew's reasonings as to the function of figures and figurines was circular and, sometimes, unclear. He stated that figurines "do not confer sanctity on the context," but he also identified the two areas as shrines because of the figures and figurines within them – and he described them as objects of cult.[106] The publication of the entire excavation, moreover, was titled *The Archaeology of Cult: The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* even though there was much, much more to the settlement than just the two shrines. In the end, Renfrew's approach did not help in extricating figurines from religious discourse, removing the presumption of sacred vs. profane, or changing the differential treatment of female vs. bovine figures and figurines.

At roughly the same time, R. Hägg proposed two distinct strata for the organization of Mycenaean cult practice: an official level and a popular level.[107] The "official" or state level cult belonged to the palaces and their elite classes (whom he considered to be Indo-European immigrants under Minoan influence) and was evidenced by specialized architecture and by artifacts in luxury materials such as ivory, gold, precious stone, etc., but also by wheel-made figures.[108] Popular cult, on the other hand, ranged more widely in architectural forms and natural settings, but was identifiable by the quantities of terracotta figurines in their canonical shapes.[109] Following Hägg, K. Kilian supported this theory and developed it further in light of the many figures and figurines discovered at Tiryns and nearby sites.[110]

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[100] I refer the interested reader also to the excellent discussion of figurine typological development in Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 60-64.
[101] Renfrew 1981, 1985.
[102] See Renfrew 1981 for a concise summary of the two shrines and their phases of use.
[103] Renfrew 1985: 11-26, 393-444.
[104] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 69.
[105] Renfrew 1985: 364; quoted also in Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 69.
[106] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 70.
[107] Hägg based this idea on a theory proposed previously by S. Marinatos (1927-1928) who, in turn, was building off of Tsountas' observations about differential tomb use (1888). Hägg 1981; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 70-71.
[108] Hägg 1981: 36; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 71.
[109] Hägg 1981: 38-39; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 71.
[110] Kilian 1981, 1988, 1990.

Renfrew's, but especially Hägg's and Kilian's work were – and still are – foundational studies in the meaning and use of figurines in the Mycenaean world. Even though none of their studies moved beyond situating figurines within religious frameworks, they utilized well-excavated contexts to explore the possibilities of meaning and use connected to different types of figurines at specific locations and at specific moments in time. Even very recent scholarship has followed these models and developed them further.[111]

In parallel with these important discoveries and studies in Greece, another intellectual movement was gaining ground with respect to prehistoric figurines: the "goddess movement." Spearheaded by M. Gimbutas, the "goddess movement" began in the 1970s, but built momentum in the 1980s and 90s.[112] The "goddess movement" promoted a general account of prehistoric life in what Gimbutas called "Old Europe" that began in the Upper Palaeolithic and developed more or less unbroken until the Neolithic period (roughly 40,000 to 5,000 years ago).[113] Societies of "Old Europe" were described collectively as "matrifocal, sedentary, peaceful, art-loving, earth-and-sea bound."[114] At the transition to the Copper/Bronze Ages, beginning ca. 3,500 B.C. (but following repeated incursions during the preceding millennium), according to Gimbutas, "Old Europe" was deposed by a "patrifocal, mobile, warlike, ideologically sky-oriented society" that was "indifferent to art."[115] Gimbutas' model treated European prehistory as monolithic, homogeneous. She essentially took the scientific ideologies of the late 1800s and upgraded them to "pure" and "original" truths. Female figurines, again, played a major role in providing archaeological justification of her ideas. She was later criticized for allowing the "figurine and clay-rich archaeological record of Neolithic south-east Europe (ca. 6,500-3,500 B.C.)," to stand for the continent as a whole.[116] Gimbutas' rendering of prehistoric societies homogenized gender roles, completely ignoring the individual agencies of ancient men, women, and children.[117] Closer to the Mycenaean world, Gimbutas and her supporters latched onto A. Evans' interpretations of "mother goddess" figurines and Minoan Cretan society as well as on to J. Mellaart's discoveries of figurines at the Neolithic – Copper Age city of Çatalhöyük (Turkey).[118] Mellaart interpreted figurines as representations of the "supreme deity, the "Great Mother Goddess," conscientiously aligning the site with existing narratives about the foundation of western Europe (see above).[119] The goddess movement spread beyond academic circles, too. Knossos and Çatalhöyük even became popular pilgrimage destinations for "Goddess feminists" in the 1970s-90s.[120]

The tendency to fall back on "mother goddess" (or just "goddess") interpretations of Mycenaean figurines during these decades is not surprising considering the prevailing academic

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[111] For example, both K. Pilafidis-Williams and E. Konsolaki who studied the terracottas from the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina and the Sanctuary of Agios Konstantinos on Methana (see Ch. VII.2) relied heavily on Renfrew's archaeological correlates and Hägg's differentiation between the use of figures (elite/official) vs. figurines (popular). Pilafidis-Williams 1998; Konsolaki 2002, 2003a, 2016a.

[112] Gimbutas 1974, 1989a, 1989b, 1991.

[113] Tringham & Conkey 1998: 23.

[114] Gimbutas 1989b: 63; Tringham & Conkey 1998: 23.

[115] Gimbutas 1989b: 63; Tringham & Conkey 1998: 23. Interestingly, in the chapter following Gimbutas' 1989b piece, C. Spretnak (re-)interpreted Greek literary evidence for the cult of Demeter and Persephone in light of Gimbutas' (and supporters') reconstruction of prehistoric societies.

[116] Tringham & Conkey 1998: 23.

[117] Tringham & Conkey 1998: 23.

[118] For a fantastic discussion of Evans and the making of the "divine mother," see Lapatin 2002: 66-90. Lapatin also reviews the intellectual movements and major scientific figures of the 1860s-1920s that influenced Evans (and that were influenced *by* Evans).

[119] Mellaart 1964, 1965. Excellent summaries of how the "goddess movement" impacted the interpretation of the finds from Crete and from Çatalhöyük can be found in Goodison & Morris 2013 as well as in Meskell 1995, 1998 (with references).

[120] Goodison & Morris 2013: 276.

discourse of the 1960s – early 1990s. Scholars of other cultures, however, did not have to grapple with quite the same level of contextual variety as Mycenaean scholars did. Figurines did not occur in great numbers in Minoan graves or in the Neolithic – Copper Age burials at Çatalhöyük, for instance.[121] Credit must therefore be given to the scholars discussed above for their serious and learned attempts to interpret the many different types of figurines that they discovered in tombs, settlements, fills, dumps, palaces, caves, and more. Several other interpretations of Mycenaean figurines were put forward during this period, too. K. Kilian considered an apotropaic function for them, A. Persson equated them to Egyptian ushabtis, and I. Kilian-Dirlmeier believed that elaborate decoration on some figures and figurines implied a religious function.[122] These additional theories are summarized by I. Tzonou, so I do not repeat them here. Just about every theory that was put forward, however, connected figurines to deities and/or dedicators and operated under the assumption that there was a clear distinction between sacred and secular and that there was a continuity of belief and practice between the Bronze and Iron Ages. Schliemann's legacy was still very much in play.

II.4 UNRAVELING SCHLIEMANN'S NARRATIVE

More than a century *after* Schliemann's important discoveries at Mycenae and his initial connection of terracotta figurines to goddesses, feminist archaeologists (largely reacting to the "goddess movement") initiated a new wave of theory and practice in connection with figurines during the 1990s.[123] Renewed excavation and study at Çatalhöyük under the direction of I. Hodder, moreover, called attention to the fact that females represented only small percentages of large figurine assemblages.[124] Both the Çatalhöyük team and contemporary feminist archaeologists emphasized the materiality of the objects (their inherent tangibility and usability) and they respun the old narratives connected to motherhood and fertility around concepts like abundance and maturity.[125] Leading feminist scholars such as R. Tringham and M. Conkey criticized Gimbutas for removing artifacts from their archaeological contexts when referring to them.[126] They pointed out that she rarely offered any justification at all for her interpretations of attributes or forms of temples, altars, and figurines as "the goddess."[127] Instead of regarding depictions of biological female traits (figurines) as indicators that women themselves were objects of social control and male desire, Tringham and Conkey petitioned archaeologists to allow context to illuminate aspects of figurine manufacture, use, and discard.[128] Close study of such characteristics could bring nuance to scholarly understanding of figurine makers and users within specific social circumstances. Figurines (female and other types) could also be studied

[121] This trend changed somewhat in the Late Minoan period, but never seems to have been a widespread practice. Vetters 2016: 39. Meskell reports that at Çatalhöyük "figurines were never cached or placed in burials." Meskell 2017: 27.
[122] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 60-100.
[123] Goodison & Morris 2013: 275-279. On feminist archaeology in general, see Conkey & Gero 1991; Wylie 1991; and Conkey 2007 (all with further references). A joint initiative between the Ancient Studies & Archaeology majors at Barnard College and Columbia University has also produced a helpful website on this topic that includes Mycenaean figurines, *Engendering the Past: Practices and Potentials of an Explicitly Feminist Archaeology*: https://barnard.edu/engendering-past-practices-and-potentials-explicitly-feminist-archaeology.
[123] Goodison & Morris 2013: 277.
[124] Hodder did not engage with the concept or context of 'votive deposition,' which is relevant to later Greek archaeology and, likely, Mycenaean as well. This was brought to attention by R. Bradley and R. Osborne. Goodison & Morris 2013: 277; Hoffman 2023: 21.
[125] Goodison & Morris 2013: 277.
[126] Tringham & Conkey 1998: 24.
[127] Tringham & Conkey 1998: 24.
[128] Tringham & Conkey 1998: 24-28.

through the lens of social meaning(s) of visual imagery and representation.[129] Tringham and Conkey contended that one of the most important aspects of feminist practice in archaeology was to begin "demystifying facts" about the past as presented by "authorities."[130] Importantly, feminist theory encouraged "a celebration and discussion of ambiguity rather than mystification."[131]

I. Tzonou applied these new approaches to Mycenaean figurines for the first time in her doctoral dissertation.[132] Instead of focusing on the meanings and religious affiliations of figurines, Tzonou reconstructed the use-life of Mycenaean figurines from evidence preserved in archaeological contexts around Mycenae. In her study, she analyzed a very large corpus of 4,593 figurines (and their find-contexts) from Mycenae and Prosymna.[133] She heeded Tringham & Conkey's call and stated that "in light of the absence of any confirmed contexts for their manufacture, I examine the figurines' archaeological contexts to reconstruct their use, re-use, and discarding."[134] Her thorough review of the deposition of terracottas led to the conclusion that they were probably not religious or ritual objects for all people at all times.[135] In other words, figurines were not religious in their own right. Meaning was bestowed upon them or was created by the relationship between the object and the agent.[136] Another important conclusion she reached in her examination of contexts was that meanings of figurines likely shifted over the course of the Late Bronze Age and did not end up ca. 1100 B.C. the way they started ca. 1400 B.C.[137] In short, Tzonou attempted to move away from the "object-oriented" approach to interpretation (in the manner of Gimbutas, etc.) to an archaeologically and methodologically informed context-based approach. Such an analysis suggested that there could be no simple, monolithic answer to the meaning of Mycenaean figurines.[138] Individual members of society likely perceived them differently during various activities and those meanings could be transformed throughout the use-life of the object.[139] She pointed out that studying the distribution of specific types of figurines could reveal choices made by "the maker to depict a different scene in life or a different symbolic representation."[140] Tzonou paid close attention to aspects of typology and style, too: "it is questionable whether the minor stylistic differences are intentional or accidental, such as the inclusion or omission of the arms in representations of Proto-Phi as opposed to Phi A, or the number of wavy lines in animal figurines of Wavy type."[141] In her closing statements and call for future research, Tzonou questioned whether there might be "a special production of figurines for funerary use only" and openly wondered "who produced the figurines, specialists, or non-specialists?" She predicted that production centers and distribution of figurines by region would become clearer by analyzing clay fabrics and that find-contexts would reveal aspects of choice and decision making.[142]

Tzonou's dissertation project set the stage for this one. Many of the questions that she posed have been addressed in this dissertation – a fact made possible by the systematic excavation of the Petsas House workshop at Mycenae (the production context that Tzonou had lacked, see next chapter). Tzonou's project essentially spelled out in meticulous detail the many problems that previous

[129] On which see Tringham & Conkey 1998: 40-43.
[130] Tringham & Conkey 1998: 44.
[131] Tringham & Conkey 1998: 44.
[132] Tzonou-Herbst 2002.
[133] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 13-14.
[134] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 13.
[135] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 303.
[136] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 303.
[137] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 307.
[138] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 308.
[139] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 308.
[140] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 307.
[141] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 307.
[142] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 309. The same questions (especially about funerary use) were posed by French 2009: 20.

scholars had grappled with, namely how the variety of context prevented any single, all-encompassing interpretation of Mycenaean figurines. Her methodology was up to date and she tried not to assume sacredness at any stage in a figurine's life (creation, use, discard) or to assume continuity of representation/practice between the Late Bronze Age and subsequent historical periods. Ultimately, though, she could not disentangle figurines from discussions of belief and cult. And maybe figurines *shouldn't* be segregated from such discussions. A complete removal of figurines from religious discourse *also* assumes a segregation between sacred and profane – and such a stark dichotomy did not likely exist for the Mycenaeans.[143] Tzonou relied on the revolutionizing work of the feminist scholars, but also on E. French's previous and (then) current work on Mycenaean figures and figurines. As late as 2003, even French, the so-far undisputed master of all figurine-related matters, understood terracottas as symbols, inexpensive representations (either in tombs or shrines) of a deity or of an offering, either promised or already made.[144] That is to say, even with the theoretical and practical upgrades applied to Mycenaean coroplastics, modern interpretations still approximate Schliemann's signature blend of "scientific rigor" and retrojection of Classical Greek practice.

II.5 CURRENT APPROACHES

Overlapping with Tzonou, K. Pilafidis-Williams' doctoral dissertation (and subsequent publication) deserves mention here. Pilafidis-Williams studied the Mycenaean figurines from the site of the Archaic-Classical Temple of Aphaia on the island of Aegina.[145] Her main goal was to present a systematic catalogue of the terracottas and other Mycenaean ceramics from the site and she relied on French's classification schemata to do so. Pilafidis-Williams' study and the conclusions she reached are discussed at length in Ch. VII.1, but, in my view, they preserve Schliemann's (and his successors') trademark interpretive style even if they engaged with current scholarship. She combined Renfrew's archaeological correlates (see above) with later Greek traditions to arrive at an interpretation of the Late Bronze Age site as a hypaethral sanctuary. The problems connected to each approach (see above) apply also to her interpretation. I include Pilafidis-Williams' project here in "current approaches," however, because in her study, she selected a sample of terracotta figurines and sherds to submit for chemical analysis using Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA). This type of scientific analysis is used for determining concentrations of chemical elements in a given material (stone, clay, etc.).[146] Aegean archaeologists have especially applied the technique to obsidian and pottery because it is minimally destructive and can relate an artifact to its geological source via chemical signature. It can also illuminate broader patterns such as distribution and trade connections.[147] Pilafidis-Williams was the first and the only, to my knowledge, to apply this technique to Mycenaean figurines.[148] The results of her study are summarized and analyzed in Ch. VII.1 in light of the Petsas House data. While NAA is not necessarily a new or cutting-edge scientific technique anymore, its continued application to figurines could certainly yield new and cutting-edge insights into their production and distribution.

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[143] Plus, we know from the Linear B tablets that there were multiple deities in the Mycenaean pantheon. See Lupack 2010b, esp. 271-272.

[144] French 2003: 313; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 73.

[145] Pilafidis-Williams 1987, 1998.

[146] In order to conduct the analysis, a physical sample is extracted from an artifact and subsequently bombarded with neutrons. This causes its constituent elements to form radioactive isotopes. Specialists are then able to study spectra of the emissions of the radioactive sample and determine concentrations of the elements within it. Glascock "NAA Technical Overview," https://archaeometry.missouri.edu/naa_technical.html.

[147] See, for example Maran et al. 1997; Mommsen et al. 2001.

[148] A helpful comparison can be found in Sears 2017 who used NAA in combination with XRF and microscopy to investigate the pastes used in Mayan figurines.

In 2001, an international seminar was organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens which highlighted current research connected to Mycenaean figurines.[149] The papers presented at the conference prioritized the contextual approach to interpreting figurines championed by French and made various attempts to separate "sacred" from "non-sacred" contexts.[150] Papers focused on different aspects of figurines, including their function, contextual characteristics, production, use-life, classification, topography, and history of scholarship. Issues connected to interpreting social roles of figurines and considering their relation to "other votive offerings" were also explored.[151] Each of the papers was well-researched, but results were limited due primarily to the state of publication of most Mycenaean figurines.[152] Even though each paper *acknowledged* recent methodological approaches or highlighted potential avenues of study, eight of the fourteen contributions still centered on figurines and their role in cult – and not every argument was equally convincing.[153] Out of the six papers that moved beyond cultic functions, three papers were most relevant to this study.[154] Each of the three explored the possibilities of figurine *production* in the Argolid for the first time. E. Weiberg restudied the female figurines while N. Petrović presented the animal figurines from the pottery workshop at Berbati.[155] Figurines had been known to form part of the Berbati workshop assemblage since their discovery in the early 20th century, but they had been assumed to hold only a cultic role. Both papers, therefore explored the possibility that they were *produced* at the Berbati potter's workshop and were even intended for regional and extra-regional markets (like the LH IIIB pottery).[156] Similarly, the figurines from the Petsas House ceramic storage and production facility were presented by K. Shelton.[157] Shelton drew attention to the fact that multiple figurines made by a single hand could be identified and that they formed part of a mixed shipment that included pottery.[158] French enthusiastically welcomed the new questions that both the Berbati and Petsas House collections posed about figurine manufacture and "supply of stock for various uses."[159] These topics are still only beginning to be undertaken by archaeologists.[160]

By way of follow-up to the many questions addressed and raised during the Swedish Institute conference, M. Vetters completed a doctoral dissertation in 2009 on the more than 3,200 fragments of terracotta figurines from the Mycenaean citadel of Tiryns.[161] In addition to producing a comprehensive catalogue, she combined contextual with intra-site distribution analyses as well as case studies focused on domestic, craft, and communal ritual contexts. Vetters built upon her foundational

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[149] The "workshop" took place in April of 2001 under the title *Cultic Space and Mycenaean Figurines* and organized by A.-L. Schallin and P. Pakkanen. The proceedings of that conference are published in Schallin & Pakkanen, eds. 2009 under a slightly different title: *Encounters with Mycenaean Figures and Figurines*.

[150] French had promoted the context-based approach as early as her doctoral dissertation (1961) and continued to do so in her contribution to this conference. See French 2009a.

[151] Schallin & Pakkanen, eds. 2009: i.

[152] Figurines are often misidentified, only described and not pictured, or not published at all. The cavalier methods of excavation and documentation (or lack thereof) by early excavators are also often major obstacles to the access, study, and interpretation of terracotta figurines. See French 2009: 20.

[153] Specifically French, Demakopoulou & Divari-Valakou, Albers, Whittaker, Pilafidis-Williams, Guggisberg, Hammond, and Pakkanen in Schallin & Pakkanen, eds. 2009. Pilafidis-Williams' article about the Kourotrophoi at the Sanctuary of Aphaia is revisited below (Ch. VII.1)

[154] Weiberg, Petrović, and Shelton in Schallin & Pakkanen, eds. 2009.

[155] Weiberg 2009, Petrović 2009. The Berbati figurines follow a similar interpretive history as the Petsas House figurines, see below (Ch. III.2 and V.1).

[156] Weiberg 2009.

[157] Shelton 2009a.

[158] Shelton 2009a.

[159] French 2009: 19.

[160] Primarily through the figurine collections at Petsas House, Berbati, and Kontopigado (Athens).

[161] Vetters 2009.

study in subsequent publications by applying new methodologies to the collection, most notably the *chaîne opératoire* (the "operational sequence") approach. The *chaîne opératoire* method had been introduced as early as the 1960s and combined ideas from several disciplines (including philosophy, anthropology, paleontology, and biology) in order to reach a social *and* evolutionary understanding of both technology and symbolic representation.[162] The method essentially establishes a sequence of acts connected to an artifact (or collection of artifacts) that encompasses its production, its use, and its ultimate disposal or abandonment.[163] This is closely tied to Tzonou's approach focused on the life-cycle of an object (also referred to as an "object biography" or "cultural biography of an object").[164] The various technologies behind the creation of an artifact as well as the social *intentions* of its makers and/or users are considered to be of equal importance and relevance in understanding the purpose and meaning of objects. Vetters employed the *chaîne opératoire* approach to Mycenaean figurines for the first time in her 2011 article, "Thou Shalt Make Many Images of thy Gods – A chaîne opératoire Approach to Mycenaean Religious Rituals Based on Iconographic and Contextual Analyses of Plaster and Terracotta Figures."[165] In the absence of evidence for stages of figurine production, she applied the method to ritual and religious practice.[166] She reasoned that since technologies and rituals were based on repeated acts, the *chaîne opératoire* approach was a useful analytical tool in dissecting Mycenaean ritual involving figurines.[167] Her conclusions were interesting, but ultimately not helpful in disentangling figurines and their production from religious discourse. She suggested that large wheel-made figures were installed in palatially controlled industrial workshops dedicated to a number of different crafts in order to ensure protection of technological processes.[168] They were sometimes associated with industrial furnaces whereas small figurines found in domestic contexts were associated with hearths (and both figures and figurines have been found in connection with palatial megaron hearths) and therefore evinced different scales of a similar belief system.[169] The title of this article gave the impression that it was the making of the figurines themselves that would be discussed. Even though she did associate terracottas with craft production in this piece, the evidence she presented still assumed that the primary role of terracottas was cultic and that an updated methodological approach could reveal more about their religious roles than their manufacture.

An updated version of this study which included domestic contexts was provided by Vetters in 2015, but still maintained the position that figurines found at Tiryns served as "material witnesses to religious rituals within the domestic sphere."[170] Her analysis of the domestic contexts at Tiryns highlighted some of the specific choices that people were making in regard to selecting their figurines for specific purposes. Female, zoomorphic, and "group" figurines, for example, were installed at liminal spaces such as doorways and staircases, or close to the central focus of the household, namely the hearth.[171] Concentrations of specific types occurred too. Certain rooms contained only female figurines while others mostly animals. In some buildings, female Tau-figurines were clustered at hearths and entrances.[172] Vetters concluded that the differences in choice could reflect variations in rituals between social classes or be connected to internal typological semantics not recognizable to

[162] Leroi-Gourhan 1964 (trans. 1993); Hoffman 2023: 25.
[163] Hoffman 2023: 25.
[164] See, for example, Gosden & Marshall 1999 and the helpful summary in Hoffman 2023: 24-32.
[165] Vetters 2011b.
[166] Vetters 2011b: 31; Hoffman 2023: 25.
[167] Vetters 2011b: 31.
[168] Vetters 2011b: 43.
[169] Vetters 2011b: 43.
[170] Vetters 2015b: 337.
[171] Vetters 2015b: 348 (echoing Kilian 1981). Vetters uses "group figurine" where I use "combination figurine," Ch. III.7.
[172] Vetters 2015b: 348-349.

archaeologists.[173] In every case, the evidence was too fragmentary to determine *who* exactly was responsible for acquiring and using the figurines during such rituals (they could not be connected to gender or age groups). She suggested, however, that such fragmentation could imply that terracottas were periodically cleared out of a room and conscientiously replaced.[174] A final important observation she offered was that changes in specific selections of figurine types over the course of about a century could provide a basis for distinguishing changes in domestic ritual over time.[175] She could only really demonstrate the general trend where palatial period figurine assemblages prefer female types while postpalatial ones are dominated by bovine figurines – something that is generally true of figurine assemblages across the Mycenaean world. In sum, Vetters' work answered the call put forward by her predecessors (especially French and Tzonou) to prioritize contextual analyses and work out consumption patterns of figurines, but it did not fully detach itself from the discourses instigated by Schliemann at the end of the nineteenth century.

Concurrently with Vetters' important contributions to Mycenean figurine studies, two successive symposia in 2011 and 2012 explored terracotta figurines diachronically. The objectives of these symposia were similar to those of the 2001 seminar organized by the Swedish Institute at Athens (see above). The proceedings of both were published together in 2015.[176] Some of the papers in this volume analyzed figurines in context (sanctuaries, graves, and domestic contexts), but more of them explored a genre of figurines (female protomes, musical triads, or dancing groups, etc.).[177] In most papers, the terracottas were connected (again) with female fertility, coming of age, marriage, and afterlife; that is, they did not deviate from the long-established interpretations of females in ancient art that had been in circulation since the nineteenth century. Considering both the title of the volume (*Figurines grecques en contexte: présence muette dans le sanctuaire, la tombe et la maison*) and the ready availability of recently published methodological approaches to figurines (Tzonou, Vetters), there should have been more emphasis on find-contexts. The volume included helpful images and collections of data, but it did not do much to advance coroplastic studies.

A more successful approach to historical era terracottas was achieved by S. Hoffman (2023), who recently published *Between Deity & Dedicator: The Life and Agency of Greek Votive Terracotta Figurines*, a revised version of her 2019 PhD thesis. Her study focused on Archaic – Hellenistic period votives. Like Vetters and Tzonou, Hoffman employed the *chaîne opératoire* and life-cycle approaches, but also added "object agency." The concept of object agency (or "objects as things of power") is not new, and in fact stems from late nineteenth-century technologies and ideologies, but it had not previously been applied to votive terracottas.[178] Object agency essentially advocates that ancient objects were not merely passive or reflective of social actions, rather they shaped them, played an active role in creating social reality.[179] Instead of applying these concepts to one assemblage or one time period, however, she applied them to the entire class of Greek votive terracottas. Her book is organized according to the life cycle of a figurine and in each chapter (production, distribution, use, and discard) she incorporated relevant case studies (assemblages and contexts) from around the ancient Greek world. Her comprehensive approach brings much needed attention to historically underappreciated

[173] Vetters 2015b: 348-349.
[174] Vetters 2015b: 348-349.
[175] Vetters 2015b: 348-349.
[176] Huysecom-Haxhi & Muller, eds. 2015. Nineteen papers were first presented in a symposium "Figurines en contexte: iconographie et function(s)" organized by the University of Lille at Villeneuve d'Ascq in 2011 and four papers made up the session "Silent participants. Terracottas as ritual objects" at the AIA Annual Meeting, Philadelphia 2012. Naerebout 2017.
[177] Naerebout 2017.
[178] Hoffman 2023: 27.
[179] Hodder 1992; Hoffman 2023: 27.

characteristics of Greek figurines.[180] For example, she stressed that terracotta votive figurines were transported in bulk across long distances, meaning that they were integrated into sophisticated ceramic systems which encompassed both manufacture and circulation.[181] She also suggested that terracottas reflect localized practices and preferences, not strict concern with accurately representing Olympian deities.[182]

Hoffman successfully applied to the historical terracottas several of the recent methods that Aegean prehistorians have applied (or attempted to apply) to Mycenaean figurines. In order to achieve this, however, Hoffman had to analyze an extremely large corpus from sites in mainland Greece, Magna Graecia, and Asia Minor and over an incredibly long period of time (from the Archaic through Hellenistic periods). Such a large-scale effort has not yet been undertaken in the Mycenaean world, but recent excavations at sites like Petsas House as well as renewed studies of legacy materials at Mycenae, Berbati, and Tiryns are beginning to make this type of study a possibility in the near future – at least for the palatial period. When these are combined with the recent work at Kontopigado in Athens, new survey work in Attica, and the many ongoing projects in the Cyclades and Anatolia, there is great promise for expanding both geographically and chronologically.

A growing field of interest in connection with the above-mentioned methodologies is the extension of the life-cycle approach to include the *afterlife* of artifacts. Instead of limiting ourselves to studying *ancient* production, use, and discard of figurines (and other artifacts), A. Brysbaert has recently called for more systematic methods, such as the *chaîne opératoire* approach, to be applied to the study of objects' afterlives. That is, their storage, publication, research, and display.[183] This historiographical approach can be immediately applied to legacy materials and museum collections in order to revitalize exhibitions, share new stories connected to specific objects, and bring awareness to the challenges and biases of interpretation (not to mention the collecting practices that led to the illicit removal and circulation of many artifacts, especially prehistoric figurines).

In connection with developing awareness and widening access to archaeological materials, digital imaging tools are greatly advancing our ability to "see" ancient objects in new ways. C. Morris et al. conducted a project titled 'Figures in 3D' which applied 3D-scanning and printing technologies to Minoan figurines from the Atsipadhes Korakies peak sanctuary in western Crete (which yielded over 5,000 fragments).[184] Morris and her team brought attention to aspects of the life cycle of the Minoan figurines (from production to consumption) by imaging and reproducing their full physicality and by reconstructing the stages of human actions involved, such as shaping and making figurines, holding, grasping, or carrying them, and even breaking and discarding them.[185] They concluded that such digital transformations of ancient artifacts could not only shape further research questions, but also play a role in preserving cultural heritage and disseminating information to a wider audience.[186] In a similar project focused on terracotta votives at peak sanctuaries, C. Murphy utilized an experimental approach to explore differential skill levels of Minoan coroplasts.[187] She marshaled the participation of 60 "novice participants" to model and assemble clay figurines in ancient Minoan forms. Her project experientially and experimentally demonstrated that a number of differently trained, and thus

[180] Murray 2023.
[181] Hoffman 2023: 66-68; Murray 2023.
[182] Hoffman 2023: 145; Murray 2023.
[183] Brysbaert 2012; Hoffman 2023: 26.
[184] Morris et al. 2018: 52. Even more advanced imaging technologies are being applied to the study of pottery manufacture. Caloi & Bernardini 2024, for example, use X-ray microCT to evaluate forming techniques of Minoan wheel-made pottery.
[185] Morris et al. 2018: 52.
[186] Morris et al. 2018: 59.
[187] Murphy, C. 2020.

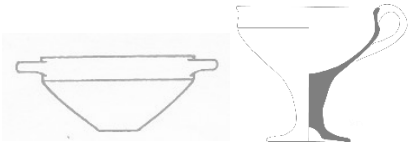
differently skilled, individuals likely participated in the task of figurine production.[188] In a separate study, Murphy also supported previous geographical and topographical approaches to revealing Cretan peak sanctuary networks by including material analyses of ceramic data.[189] In it she showed how individual peak sanctuaries maintained certain standards in the production and consumption of terracottas, but she also proposed that figurine makers and users were allowed a degree of freedom of expression too.[190] Beyond the Mediterranean, prehistoric figurines from around the globe are now the subject of discussions centered on embodiment, sexuality, performance, personhood, practice, and process.[191] Instead of being physically and conceptually removed from their archaeological contexts, they are now more likely to be included in interdisciplinary research or to form the focus of scientific investigations.[192]

In the following chapters, this project aims to build upon the foundations laid by French, Tzonou, and Vetters by continuing to add data to the corpus of knowledge about Mycenaean figurines. I do this by introducing the primary context of the Petsas House pottery production workshop and storage facility at Mycenae and by exploring some of the evidence for on-site figurine production. The more than 1,000 terracottas from Petsas House are in an excellent state of preservation and represent a limited chronological range. This dissertation pays homage to French by exploring the development and typology of LH IIIA figurines, to Tzonou by recognizing the various non-sacred construction and destruction contexts that yielded figurines, and to Vetters by considering the social relationships between figurines, their makers, and their users. I have picked up the call that each of these women have put forward in analyzing typological distribution in consumption contexts too. I couch this project in terms of craft production, distribution, and consumption, but it is not always possible to *completely* disentangle figurines (their production or consumption) from broader scholarly discourses about Mycenaean religion. Perhaps more than other kinds of material culture, we want to know what figurines meant for their makers and their users because they evoke something distinctly human. Instead of considering only their human *forms*, however, I try to connect them to the humans who made them, intentionally acquired them, used them, and lost, broke, or abandoned them.

If Heinrich Schliemann had worked a little downslope and to the northwest of the acropolis, how would he have interpreted an entire warehouse full of female and bovine "idols"? Would he have believed that Petsas House represented the sacred storerooms of Agamemnon? Temple repositories? Shrine? The abode of a priestess? How would he have explained the mountains of pottery fragments among which the "idols" were recovered? The following report deals with a quantity and quality of "idols" of which Schliemann would have greatly approved, but it can neither reinforce nor fully undermine his early interpretations regarding Ἥρα βοῶπις or her sacred cow. It can, however, begin to provide some insight into anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurine production at Mycenae and into consumer preferences during the height of palatial society – while still appreciating the purposeful and meaningful forms that his "horned idols" took and the social roles they embodied.

[188] Murphy, C. 2020.
[189] Murphy, C. 2019.
[190] Murphy, C. 2019.
[191] Meskell 2017.
[192] Meskell 2017; Sears 2017. For an example of how these studies are being digitally documented, see the Stanford Figurines Project: https://web.stanford.edu/group/figurines/cgi-bin/omeka/.

III. A NEW CONTEXT AT MYCENAE: PETSAS HOUSE & METHODOLOGY



III.1: PETSAS HOUSE, AN INTRODUCTION

The architectural complex known as Petsas House, located on the Pezoulia slope northwest of the citadel of Mycenae, occupies an important position both geographically and chronologically in Mycenaean studies. Geographically, the "Pezoulia" hillside refers to the westward down-slope continuation of the acropolis hill that forms an integral part of the site's settlement and mortuary landscape. The hill was both inhabited and used for burials from late in the Middle Helladic period through Late Helladic II.[193] In fact, remnants of an MH-LH II grave[194] and an LH II structure with a different plan and orientation directly underneath parts of the Petsas House complex testify to this early use of the hill.[195] Towards the very end of LH II and the beginning of LH IIIA, building complexes such as Petsas House and the nearby House of the Wine Merchant (HWM) were constructed on the hill and might have comprised an early industrial zone or 'warehouse district' connected to the palace precursor where Petsas House engaged in pottery production/storage and the House of the Wine Merchant, as the name suggests, participated in wine distribution and/or storage.[196] Evidence for the early history of these buildings is largely obscured or destroyed by later activity, but the industrial cum residential character of the hillside persisted throughout LH IIIA and into LH IIIB.[197] Chronologically, then, Petsas House represents some of the best-preserved architectural remains from the LH IIIA period at Mycenae.[198] The great majority of the artifacts and architecture at Petsas House can be further qualified to exemplify the LH IIIA2 period, toward the end of which the house was destroyed and not rebuilt.[199] The excellent preservation of Petsas House and its contents are important to our understanding of Mycenae's development as a palatial center because the Late Helladic IIIA2 was also the period when an organized, monumental building program was orchestrated and implemented in both the civic and funerary realms. Stretches of the north and east fortifications were built during this period, a central structure dominated the hilltop,[200] and the

[193] Shelton 2010: 189.
[194] French and Shelton 2005: 6.
[195] Although the full extent and character of the LH II building are not fully revealed; Shelton 2010: 189.
[196] There is no conclusive evidence for this, it remains only one of many possibilities. Most of the HWM was destroyed or obscured by over-building, so the evidence for the LH IIIA2 period comes from one storage area containing pithoi and 50 transport stirrup jars. See Wace, A.J.B 1953: 15-17; Wace, E. 1954: 267-291; Haskel 1981: 225–238; French 2002: 64–66; Shelton 2010: 188.
[197] Petsas House was destroyed by the end of LH IIIA2, but the HWM's successor, the Cyclopean Terrace Building (CTB) was likely connected to commercial activity, see previous note for references and Wace, A. J. B. 1921–1923: 403-407.
[198] Other architectural remains LH IIIA in date include stretches of the north and east fortifications; two palace walls, one behind the north wall of the great court along the south side of south corridor, and the "old wall" in the west terrace wall; as well as the fire-damaged area and fill in the Pillar basement. There are also pottery deposits, frescos below the Ramp House, and a cup from below the Artists' Quarters. Outside the citadel, only the House of the Wine Merchant dates to LH IIIA2; Shelton 2010: 188.
[199] The HWM was destroyed in the same event, it seems, but was immediately built over (CTB) whereas Petsas House was not.
[200] Palace IV, see French & Shelton 2005: 3-4.

Treasury of Atreus' conspicuous construction was under way.[201] In terms of portable material culture, especially ceramics, LH IIIA2 is characterized by increased standardization, mass-production, and widespread distribution at home and abroad.

Petsas House, as a ceramics workshop situated close to the citadel and to the monumental tombs during this period of investment and expansion, is well positioned to provide potential insight into the motivation and organization of the ceramic production industry, its economic relationship with the palace/citadel,[202] aspects of consumer demand and industrial supply, patterns of intra- and extra-regional distribution from the source, and perhaps even aspects of the palace's ideological agenda(s). Even if these higher-level questions remain unresolved, the complex's architectural features and its vast quantity of artifacts are already yielding important clues about the intentional internal organization of the compound, about the people moving within and between the different activity areas, and about Petsas House's socioeconomic position within its extended community.

III.2: PETSAS HOUSE, HISTORY OF EXCAVATION

This great potential was recognized by the first excavators at the site, I. Papadimitriou and F. Petsas, who considered themselves among the "other and more fortunate archaeologists" remaining after the major campaigns of Schliemann and Tsountas to investigate the area surrounding the acropolis where the possibility of deep deposits and well-preserved structures/activity remained high.[203] Papadimitriou and Petsas commenced their exploration of the site in 1950 under the auspices of the Archaeological Society at Athens. They conducted two seasons of exploration in 1950 and 1951 and were first to interpret the building complex as one devoted to the storage of specialized ceramics. They based their interpretation largely on the finds recovered from "Storerooms" Alpha (A), Epsilon (E), and, at least at first, Gamma (Γ). Storeroom A, for example, contained more than 500 vases of 20 different shapes, almost all of them decorated fineware, and all with a strong piriform or 'pedestalled' profile.[204] These vessels were organized on shelves by shape and by size around three sides of the room.[205] Storeroom E housed predominantly undecorated vessels, especially open shapes for drinking and serving (kylikes and bowls in a wide range of sizes).[206] Storeroom Γ, of particular importance to this project, yielded more than 200 terracotta figurines alongside decorated and undecorated pottery.[207] More trenches were sunk during the course of their work, but were not all explored to bedrock. They exposed parts of additional walls as well, but were not able to fully define them during their two short seasons of work. In 1951, before Papadimitriou and Petsas could fully understand and study their discoveries or continue uncovering additional rooms, Papadimitriou was lured away by the sensational discovery of Grave Circle B. Petsas, meanwhile, was dispatched to Thessaly by the Ministry of Culture. The investigation of the site was left unfinished.

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[201] For recent syntheses of debates pertaining to the construction of the Treasury of Atreus, see French 2002: 69-75; Mason 2007: 39, 48-50 (with references).
There has been considerable debate about when the Tomb of Clytemnestra was erected, but the latest evidence suggests it was constructed at the beginning of LH IIIB. For a useful review of the issue and the results of more recent work, see Mason 2013.

[202] In particular, the Linear B tablets as well as imports from abroad (Canaanite jars, coarse-ware stirrup jars from Crete, even a cartouche of Amenhotep III) found at Petsas House have great potential for illuminating this relationship.

[203] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 204-205. This chapter discusses only the excavation history of Petsas House. For comprehensive reviews of the history of excavations at Mycenae, see French 2002: 18-23; Papadimitriou, A. 2015: 36-45.

[204] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 203–233; Shelton 2016: 320.

[205] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 203–233; Shelton 2016: 320.

[206] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 203–233; Shelton 2016: 320.

[207] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 203–233; Shelton 2009: 55.

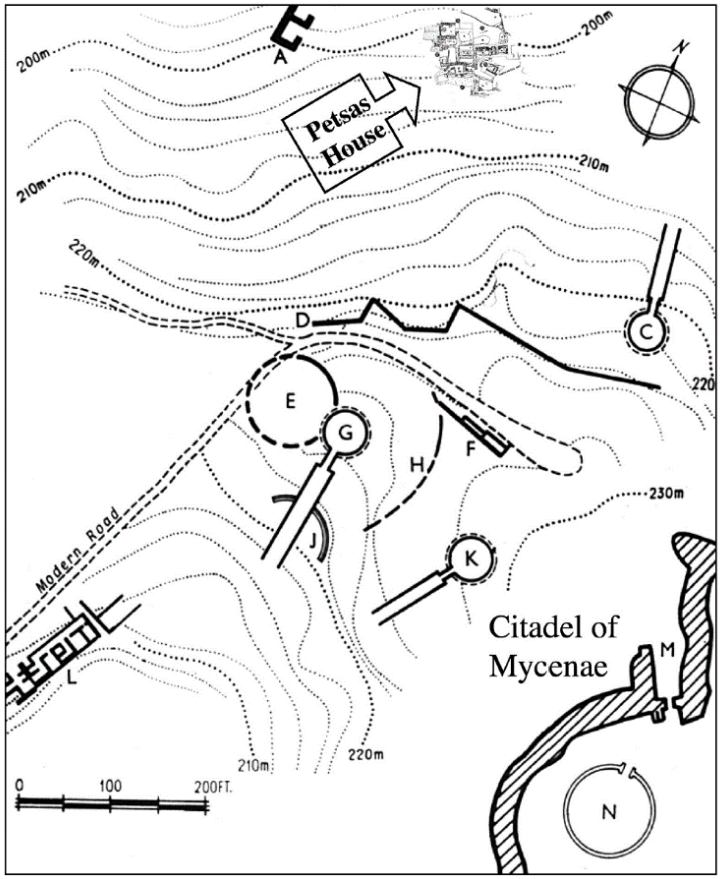


FIGURE 1: Lion Gate & Petsas House. Partial plan of Mycenae showing the area of the Prehistoric Cemetery (including the Pezoulia hillside) as well as the northwest portion of the citadel with Grave Circle A (labeled N) and Lion Gate (M). The location of Petsas House is indicated at upper right (Shelton 2010, Fig. 10.1; after Wace 1953).

Unfinished but not forgotten. In the late 1990s, during preparations for the transfer of Mycenae's artifacts from the old storerooms in Nauplion to the new on-site Mycenae Museum, the pottery, fresco, figurines, and other finds from the excavations of Papadimitriou and Petsas were dusted off, catalogued, organized, and studied anew by Dr. Kim Shelton. In 2000, almost exactly fifty years after the initial explorations of Petsas House were interrupted, the Archaeological Society of Athens, under the general direction of Spyros Iakovides and the supervision of Kim Shelton, renewed work at the site.[208] The work continued until 2008 with an additional two seasons in 2012 and 2013. Adjacent to the storage areas unearthed by Papadimitriou and Petsas, Shelton's excavations uncovered a series of residential and work spaces built onto and into the slope of the Pezoulia hillside amounting to an extensive building complex connected by corridors and courtyards.[209] Most relevant to this project, the first clues of ceramic *production* at Petsas House came to light during these new excavations with the revelation of an on-site water source, an open courtyard with possible kiln (as well as kiln props and misfired pottery), a 'tank' for levigating clay, and other clues.

[208] Iakovides 2000: 63–66; 2001: 49–55; 2002: 15-19; 2003: 23–24; 2004: 24-26; 2005: 28-32; 2006: 26-29; 2007: 18-21; 2008: 27-30; 2012: 22-25; Shelton 2010: 189.
[209] Shelton 2010: 189.

The artifact assemblage from Petsas House, like in 1950 and 1951, continued to be characterized by newly made pottery in great quantity. Nearly every trench and every room yielded veritable heaps of sherds, especially of undecorated cups and bowls as well as decorated jars. Other ceramic products, like handmade miniature vessels, figurines, cookware, pithoi, and even the occasional fragments of tiles and larnakes maintained steady representation in the recovered materials from across the complex. In sum, the vast quantity of "new" pottery evidenced the (mass-) production of wheel-made vessels, but also the steady manufacture of handmade vessels and figurines. For the first time, then, the excavations carried out between 2000 and 2013 established an unequivocal link between a pottery production center and handmade terracotta figurines crafted and decorated with the same clays and pigments as the pottery itself.

In contrast to the 1950s excavations where Papadimitriou and Petsas chanced upon intact floor deposits, however, most of the pottery and figurines from Shelton's campaign were *not* recovered from in-situ floor deposits that preserved an original arrangement of the space (like rooms A and E). Instead, the finds emerged from destruction debris caused by the catastrophic earthquake and fire that brought the workshop to its demise at the end of the LH IIIA2 period and from a massive refuse deposit, one that not only demonstrated the care taken by the residents to clean up after the destruction, but also preserved for us a chronologically sealed deposit of original contents of the house. The other spaces, though *mostly* retaining their original LH IIIA2 contents, had been disturbed by later Geometric and Hellenistic terrace construction as well as modern farming and therefore yielded a wider chronological range of material.[210] Still, such quantity and quality of ceramic evidence from within an architecturally delimited area is unusual in Late Bronze Age archaeology. Such quantity and quality of ceramic evidence from a *production* context is even *more* unusual. Such quantity of *figurines* from any of the above is unheard of so far.[211]

The handmade terracotta figurines from the Petsas House workshop – those recovered during the original campaign in 1950/51 *and* those recovered during the recent excavations – are the focus of this project. Whereas much scholarship has focused on the origin, meaning, or use of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, the remarkable quantity and state of preservation of the Petsas House figurines offer us the opportunity to take the next step in coroplastic studies. This new corpus allows us to consider terracottas in their role as commodities produced at scale alongside specialty containers and utilitarian wares for broad consumption and distribution. Methodologically, the Petsas figurines are also important because they were recovered (for the most part) in systematic excavations with precise documentation (unlike, say, the hundreds of figurines recovered by H. Schliemann or even his immediate successors on the acropolis of Mycenae) in a non-funerary context from early in the palatial period.

III.3: PETSAS HOUSE, THE AFTERMATH

Although the catastrophic destruction of Petsas House by earthquake and fire at the end of LH IIIA2 devastated the original occupants and their business, it also served to preserve thousands of remarkable artifacts and architectural foundations. The protective coating created by consequent masses of debris safeguarded the building and its contents to some degree, but the primary reason

[210] Later, historical-era finds were also recovered by Papadimitriou and Petsas from the surface strata, but they were not carefully documented or studied in relation to later terrace walls.

[211] The other two major Mycenaean ceramic production sites, Berbati (Argolid) and Kontopigado-Alimou (Attica), do not preserve the same amount of production output as Petsas House. The handmade figurines from both sites are far fewer in number. For Berbati, see Weiberg 2009 and Petrović 2009. For Kontopigado-Alimou, see Kardamaki 2015 and Kaza-Papageorgiou 2020 (with references).

that Petsas House is relatively well preserved is that it was not immediately built over after the destruction. Its neighbor, the House of the Wine Merchant, was presumably destroyed during the same catastrophic event and *was* overbuilt in the subsequent period, LH IIIB, by a massive construction project that resulted in the Cyclopean Terrace Building.[212] Why the HWM was considered worthy of major reinvestment while Petsas House was left in ruins is unknown, but it seems to have remained that way for the rest of the Late Bronze Age.[213]

Geometric-era farmers reused Mycenaean masonry in their terracing works of the Pezoulia hillside in the early Iron Age while a small Archaic/Classical structure situated on the east side of the Petsas House complex was likewise constructed of repurposed Mycenaean stonework (see below). Both testify to the scattered, primarily agricultural activities taking place in the neighborhood during the early historic period that caused damage to underlying Late Helladic remains.[214] The major overhaul of Mycenae during the Hellenistic period left its mark on Petsas House too – on the east side of the complex, deep bothroi were gouged out of the hillside, obliterating some of the Petsas House walls in the process, and filled with Hellenistic (and Mycenaean) refuse. On the west side, a Hellenistic jar-burial testifies to the fuller range of day-to-day family activities conducted on the hillside.[215] Modern farming techniques, especially plowing, have caused further damage to Petsas House. And natural forces, especially fire, erosion, and extreme weather, continue to inflict harm on the site year after year.

III.4: PETSAS HOUSE, A BRIEF TOUR

Despite these episodic disturbances and the 3,500 years of weathering and agricultural activity on the Pezoulia slope, the LH IIIA2 workshop and storage facility preserves an unmatched array of contemporary pottery. The following section offers a schematic outline of the excavated rooms/areas that comprise the Petsas House complex with a note or two about the interpretation of those spaces.[216] The site plan included below, **FIGURE 2**, labels *most* of the spaces mentioned here, although some details are expanded upon textually if they are not clearly demarcated on the plan.

A full architectural study of the building complex referred to as 'Petsas House' is currently in preparation by the principal excavator, Dr. Kim Shelton. Shelton has noted elsewhere, however, that the builders employed varying masonry techniques at different levels of the complex and at distinct points in the building's life. Importantly, these construction methods and the internal organization of the structure (including its points of access and interior corridors) were preconceived and built with specific functions for the rooms in mind.[217] Even though the remains of this architectural complex survive only at ground level, three successive terraces of ground level have been explored so far – each performing its own function or suite of functions. The three terraces are referred to in the Petsas

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[212] See Wace, A. J. B. 1921–1923: 403-407; 1953: 15-17; Wace, E. 1954: 267-291; French 1961b: 81-87; 2002: 64–66; Shelton 2010: 188.

[213] Some level of activity at Petsas House *after* LH IIIA2 is evidenced through pottery from the LH IIIB and IIIC periods in select locations (see Ch. V), but no corresponding architecture has yet been discovered.

[214] In addition to agriculture on the Pezoulia slope, there is evidence for burial and ritual activity in various places in/around Mycenae during the Geometric, Archaic, and Classical periods. See, for example, Desborough 1954 and 1956; Cook 1953; Rudolph 1978; Antonaccio 1995; French 2002: 141-150; and Iakovides et al. 2003: 26-27 (with references).

[215] For more about Hellenistic Mycenae, see Boethius 1921-1923; Woodhead 1957; Holland et al. 1953; Bowkett & Bowkett 1995; Rudolph 1978; French 2002: 141-150; and Iakovides et al. 2003: 26-27 (with references).

[216] Full interpretation awaits the forthcoming final publication of the Petsas House excavations. Some preliminary observations are offered in this chapter that are based on preliminary reports and journal articles written by K. Shelton.

[217] These functions and the internal flow of Petsas House were altered periodically within the LH IIIA period, but specific purposes for spaces were clearly defined throughout its life; Shelton 2010: 189; 2016: 318.

House records as the Upper, Middle, and Lower Terraces. These terraces can be roughly conceptualized as north-south running thirds of the site. The Upper Terrace, then, is the eastern-most third of the site (or, right side of the plan in **FIGURE 2**), the Middle Terrace the middle third, and the Lower Terrace the western-most third (left side of the plan). The following outline of the space moves from east to west, from Upper to Lower Terrace.

One room, Room Σ, was founded on the Middle Terrace at ground level, but was likely also accessed from the Upper Terrace and provides the best evidence for residential space within the complex. Investigations were carried out further south on the Upper Terrace, but no architecture remained. The Middle Terrace preserves a row of storage rooms for finished ceramics, Rooms A and E,[218] as well as the important workroom, Room Π, with its deep well, work bench, and possible other potting installations (see below). Moving westward and down slope, the Lower Terrace includes a large open space with possible pottery kiln, areas H and K,[219] two large semi-enclosed spaces, Areas T and B, a basement for the storage of dry goods, Room Y,[220] as well as an entrance point to the complex, Room Γ, with paved ramp and wide staircase leading up to the Middle Terrace.[221] Access corridors once linked many of these spaces together and today provide evidence of construction and use phases within the building. For instance, in Corridor M's initial phase it linked Room Γ on the Lower Terrace with the exceptional Room Π as well as Corridor P on the Middle Terrace. Later, Corridor M was reconfigured to block access into Corridor P but maintain direct access to Room Π.[222]

The existence of an upper story over the rooms of the Upper and Middle Terraces is evidenced by the girth of the stone socles, the fact that the storerooms seem to lack doorways, and from materials high in the fill of these rooms, especially wall-painting fragments.[223] The open or semi-open areas of the Lower Terrace, including T, B, and H/K may not have been roofed or fully roofed, but room Y with its built-in pithoi might have supported an upper story and could have been accessed from above, although its remaining foundations are heavily damaged and inconclusive. Finds from the Upper Terrace (and further uphill?) washed down onto the Lower Terrace and their presence further supports the reconstruction of an upper story, probably residential in character.

The upper story (or stories) with brightly painted walls and hypothetical spaces for dining and living will have to remain speculative for the time being. For now, we consider only the ground level rooms of the Middle and Lower Terraces that were evidently designed and utilized for potting and for storage of finished products.

[218] Referred to above as "Apotheke A" and "Apotheke E" after Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950/51.
[219] A possible kiln has been recovered at the N/NW edge of this space; Shelton 2016: 321.
[220] Shelton 2016: 318.
[221] Shelton 2009: 57; 2016: 318.
[222] Shelton 2010: 190.
[223] Shelton 2016: 318.

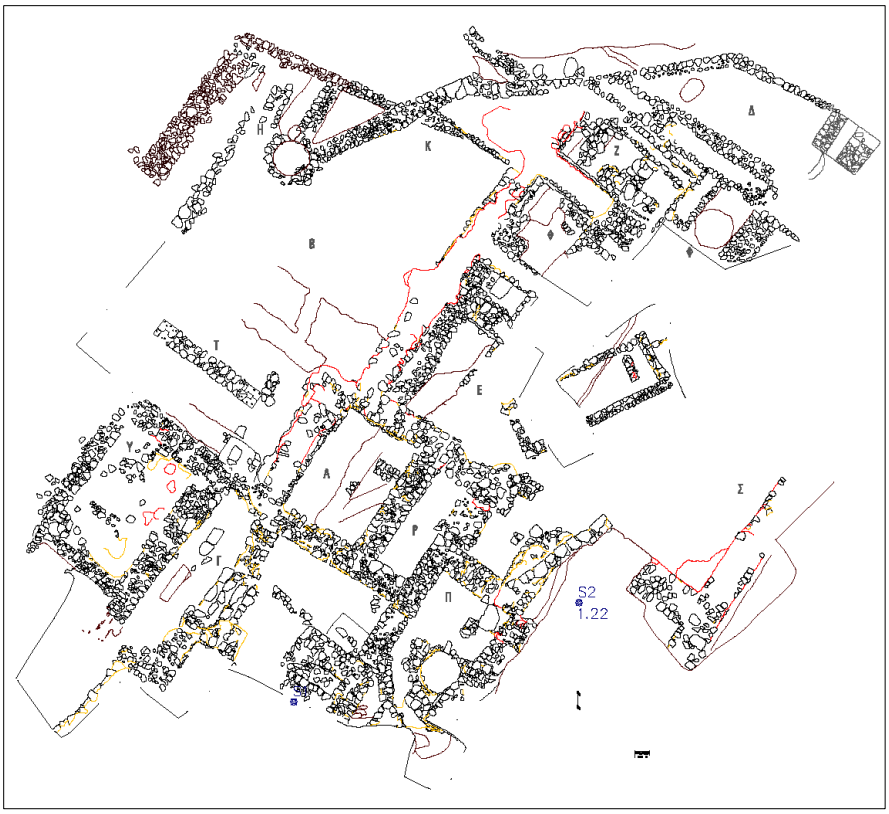


FIGURE 2: Plan of Petsas House. Plan of Petsas House (2013) with Upper Terrace at right with Room Σ, Middle Terrace at center (rooms A, E, Θ; corridor P), and Lower Terrace at left with areas K, B, T, and Rooms Γ and Y. Petsas House Archive.

Potting activities such as wedging clay, sculpting the pots and figurines, drying, decorating, and preparing them for loading into a kiln likely happened on site, although the exact location of each stage of the process has yet to be worked out. The open and semi-enclosed areas of the Lower Terrace would have provided well-lit and well-ventilated spaces for working with clays and slips. Some of the associated activities, like the mixing, refining, and preparing of clays may have also taken place on site, but not necessarily so. The homogenous nature of clays analyzed by Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) and sourced to the Mycenae-Berbati area suggests that at least some of it was mined and then mixed/prepared at the source (or somewhere nearby) before being brought to Petsas House (and other workshops) ready for potting.[224] Associated furniture like tables, wheels, and stools were probably constructed mostly of wood and would not have survived the destruction of the building or the thousands of years of post-depositional processes after it.[225] Still, in addition to massive quantities of sherds, many reworked sherds and figurines were found in Rooms T and B, along with stoppers, tools, deposits of pigments, and evidence of plaster-working. The features and finds from areas H/K immediately north are still being studied, but if the circular feature between them tentatively identified as a kiln proves to be the main kiln serving the workshop, then its location in the Lower Terrace

[224] See Mommsen et al. 2002; Mommsen 2012; French & Tomlinson 2012. Shelton has also suggested that the large rectangular cutting in the bedrock on the Upper Terrace above Room Π (see Ch. V.3.2, Trench 15) at Petsas House could have functioned as a levigation tank with a channel leading directly into the well/Room Π. This idea and the relevant evidence are currently being explored, but see Shelton 2010: 191.

[225] Excavations did recover a possible fragment of a potting wheel made of clay, recovered from Room T in 2008: SF (219) 08/19243.

confirms the area as a primary crafting space within the complex. These rooms have more information to yield, but for now it seems safe to extrapolate that much of the workshop's activities were taking place in the Lower Terrace. Future excavations and ongoing systematic analyses of the finds are helping to clarify the range of activities possible and probable in each space. We can say with certainty, however, that the potters and their assistants had easy access to water via the well in Room Π (Middle Terrace) – and from that room they could carry the water to other activity areas as necessary.

The *storage* of vessels, on the other hand, is more archaeologically visible within Petsas House, especially in the Middle Terrace rooms. As mentioned previously, Storage Room A housed more than 500 vases, mostly decorated stirrup jars and piriform jars, that were organized by shape and by size on shelves that ran around three sides of the room.[226] Next door, in Room E, undecorated open shapes predominated, especially kylikes and bowls in various sizes.[227] Room Θ, north of E, probably served as a storeroom as well, but the room was partly destroyed by a large Hellenistic bothros. The Mycenaean sherds from the intact part of the room were mostly undecorated open shapes as well, but the internal arrangement of the room was not preserved.

Wedged in between the crafting and storage zones of the Lower and Middle Terraces, lies Room Γ, a narrow space surrounded by only three walls. A rich deposit of vessels and terracotta figurines was found concentrated at its north end. The space was first interpreted by Papadimitriou and Petsas as another storeroom, but both the character and contents of Room Γ occasioned more than one reinterpretation of the space. The terracotta figurines recovered from the room spurred those interpretive journeys and encapsulate an important moment in figurine production history at Petsas House. For this reason, Room Γ serves as a useful contextual and conceptual node in this dissertation. In the following chapter, I review the most salient observations about figurine production detectable in the Petsas corpus. Many of the finest examples of the manufacturing traits mentioned in that chapter come from the figurines in Room Γ. In Chapter V, the figurines are summarized contextually with Room Γ again demonstrating the most important primary context of figurines within the workshop. Finally, Chapters VI and VII, examine deposits of figurines *outside* of Petsas House, but with consistent reference back to Room Γ as both the commercial interface between producer and consumer as well as the provenience for most of the comparanda provided for figurines from other sites. Before moving to the terracotta figurines from Room Γ and the rest of the Petsas House complex, however, some notes about the methodologies employed during excavation and in this project.

III.5: METHODOLOGY, DATA COLLECTION

As summarized above, the excavation of the Petsas House complex was carried out during two campaigns: the first conducted in 1950 and 1951 by I. Papadimitriou and F. Petsas, the second between 2000 and 2013 by K. Shelton. The available data from the first excavation is, unfortunately, not complete or precise enough to reconstruct original contexts fully or to retrace the excavators' methodological decisions. Select references to artifacts or results from those early excavations are cited below (primarily from the *Praktika* reports of the relevant years) or are based on consultation with K. Shelton and personal observation of the finds themselves.[228] The description of the methodology that

[226] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 203–233; Shelton 2016: 320.
[227] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 203–233; Shelton 2016: 320.
[228] The excavation notebook of I. Papadimitriou is not accessible, but that of F. Petsas is. The information from Petsas's notebook will be incorporated into the forthcoming final publication of Shelton's excavation (Shelton Forthcoming). Any information from the 1950s excavations that I include in this dissertation is based on the relevant *Praktika* reports

follows, therefore, pertains only to the recent excavations (2000-2013) and to this current study of the terracotta figurines.

The Petsas House project uses a hierarchical numbering system with the year of excavation as the primary organizing criterion followed by spatial information and seriated registry numbers.[229] Each year of excavation utilizes one consistent system of recovery and recording that both builds upon work done in previous years and locates the excavator/researcher in space and time almost immediately. Areas within the pre-defined limits of the excavation are identified and assigned 'trench numbers.' The 'trench,' then, serves as the primary locus which gets subdivided as needed throughout the course of the excavation with each subdivision following a seriated numbering system. Trench numbers are given an accompanying descriptive tag (this might include a cardinal direction and another reference point, such as a room that has already been excavated and plotted accurately on a plan, etc.). If an architectural layout or feature is identified within that trench, it often gets another level of signifiers, for example a room letter (doled out in alphabetical order using the letters of the Greek alphabet) or feature description (such as 'well,' 'kiln,' 'terrace wall,' etc.). From there further loci are assigned within these identifiable spaces using cardinal directions and/or other descriptive remarks. The year of excavation and the number of the trench remain the most important and consistent numerical components throughout all the loci and subloci.

As the excavation proceeds using these spatial descriptors, finds are recovered in separate categories as they come out of the ground: pottery is collected in bulk according to the numbering of the sublocus (including trench number and an individual series number that allows for continuation in one space over multiple seasons (years); small finds (including artifacts made in terracotta, stone, bone, bronze, and other materials) and samples (soil samples, organic materials, and unidentifiable materials) are collected separately, each with their own register and series numbers, but organized using the all-important year and trench number as well as appropriate sublocus IDs. When the finds are brought in for storage at the Mycenae Museum, the items are stored according to their type: pottery is stored in large bags with appropriate labeling (see below, **FIGURE 3**) while small finds and samples are usually stored in trays by year and by trench. All are kept in designated areas of the storeroom of the Mycenae Museum in close proximity to other materials from the Petsas House site and other "houses" outside of the citadel.

It is the task of the researcher, then, to reconnect complete assemblages (including pottery, small finds, samples, etc.) in the museum when analyzing and interpreting any given space. A graphic representation of the numbering and labeling system is given below in **FIGURES 3** and **4** with some explanation of each number/descriptor.

(Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950 and 1951.), on both handwritten notes and earlier publications about the material by K. Shelton, and on personal observation of the finds and their original labels.

[229] Currently, all documentation is paper based. Paper records are scanned at the end of each season so that they may be consulted at any time. Preparations are under way for a digitization project that includes an electronic database.

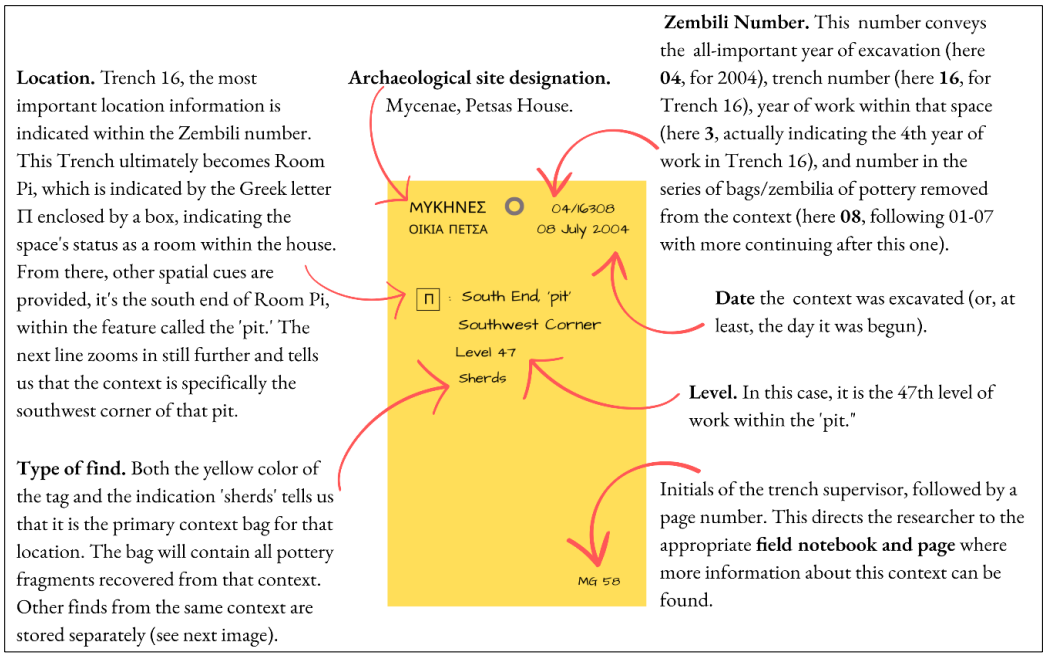


FIGURE 3: Sample Pottery Tag. Typical label for a bag of pottery.

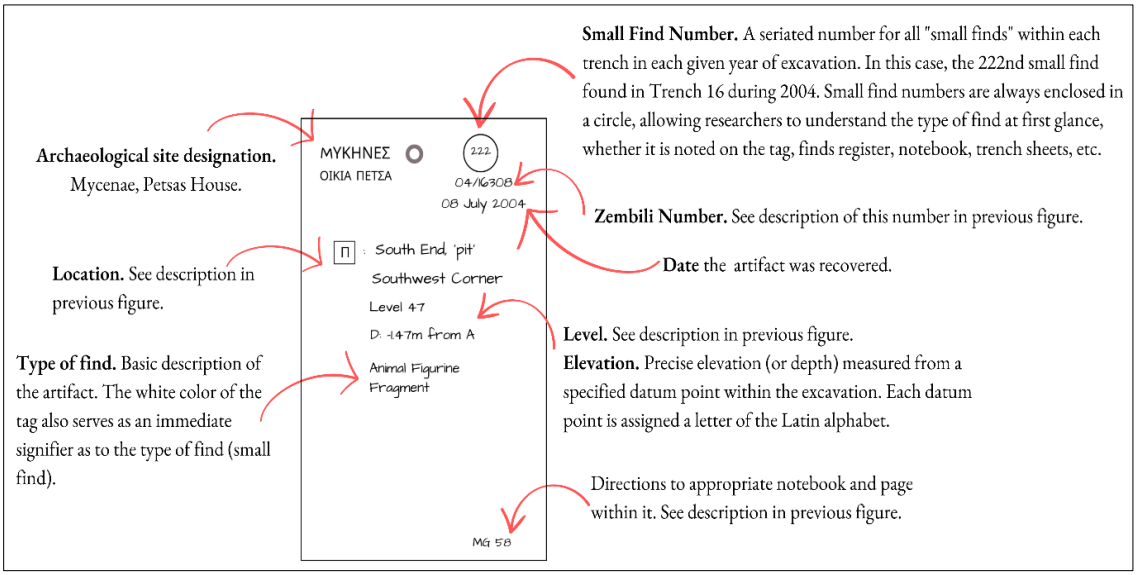


FIGURE 4: Sample Small Finds Tag.

This general outline of the excavation and documentation process is one that is similar to that used in many archaeological projects in Greece and nearby regions. Packaging artifacts according to type and recording them in separate registers when in the field and later storing them by type is standard practice in Greece.[230] The Petsas House study campaign is organized in this way, but it

[230] The various types of artifacts are often later assigned to different researchers or specialists to study and publish – sometimes dividing classes of objects into many subdivisions of types (which can then be further allotted to different researchers). In some past research, this approach has led to a disconnect between a site, its contents, and the myriad relationships between the artifacts, the spaces they came from, the associated finds, and the manner of their recovery –

remains cognizant of the value of context and holistic assemblage curation. As much as possible, independent researchers work together, sharing a physical space/workroom to conduct their studies, and always communicating with one another and with the project director. The case of Petsas House, though, is unusual due to the sheer quantity of materials and the nature of the site – a storage and production site – where the original inhabitants/artisans displayed a marked concern for creating specific types of objects and organizing them according to an internal hierarchy that made sense to them. Their own inherent classification system naturally lends itself to our own collection and study methods.

My project, with its focus on terracotta figurines, builds upon the existing classification and recording system described above. I maintained all original records and labels, then built an auxiliary digital database dedicated solely to the terracotta figurines.[231] The first step, however, was to study the important legacy assemblage of terracottas discovered by Papadimitriou and Petsas in 1950 and 1951 in the north end of Room Γ (see above and Chs. IV.8 and V.1). The figurines from Room Γ provided a preview of the *rest* of the Petsas House figurines and remain the best-preserved primary assemblage of terracottas in the workshop. Contextually, Room Γ functioned as a convenient entry point into my study as well because the room itself originally functioned as an entry point into the building complex. The figurines, pottery, and other finds from the 1950s excavations had been recovered in bulk and assigned excavation numbers *after* actual removal from the ground. Numbers were sequential regardless of the type of find or context. By the time I conducted my study in the Mycenae Museum, the materials from 1950 and 1951 had been studied, organized, and mostly re-labeled by K. Shelton.[232] There are still gaps in our information about the first excavation, but much has been rescued and made possible to study thanks to Shelton's dedication and detective work.[233] Following her lead, I began by examining the 1950s terracottas by compiling her earlier notes and other published references and then 'cataloguing' each piece in the manner of small finds from the modern excavation, but entering the information directly into the digital database (on which, see more below).[234] Beginning with the figurines from Room Γ allowed me to familiarize myself more intimately with the inherited collection and to build upon the legacy data by finding joins from areas excavated later or by adding new information when possible.

Once I had completed the study of the figurines from the 1950s, I moved on to working with the figurines recovered in the 2000s by K. Shelton's team. I first pulled the small finds from Room Y, immediately west of Room Γ (see plan in **FIGURE 2**) and moved roughly counterclockwise around the house from there. In order, then: Room Γ, Y, T, B, H/K, Δ, Λ, Φ, Trench 22, Θ, E, Trench 18, Σ, A, P, M, and ending with Π and the enormous well deposit (see below).[235] I requested the trays with small finds (organized by year and trench) and systematically went through each tray to pull out

culminating in major gaps in our collective knowledge. Happily, this flaw in traditional recovery and recording practices is well recognized now and many studies of legacy materials and archives are attempting to fill in gaps where they exist.

[231] The database serves also as a prototype for ongoing digitization efforts of the Petsas House Archive.

[232] She also was able to look at the collection as a unit and generate ideas about figurine production at Petsas House which I have since continued to explore and expand. See Shelton 2009a and 2009b, for example.

[233] Shelton Forthcoming.

[234] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950 and 1951; occasional references to the figurines from Room Γ were also made by E. French in her seminal study of Mycenaean terracottas (French 1971). "Cataloguing" includes contextual information, state of preservation, description of the artifact, precise measurements, date, and comparanda in some instances. The figurines from the 1950s had been professionally photographed before my participation in the project by J. Tseng. Some of his photos are included in the following chapters. Wherever necessary, I provided additional photographs and drawings.

[235] With some isolated trenches or cleaning activities mixed in as they arose.

the figurine fragments.[236] Whereas the Petsas House archive and storage system is structured by year of excavation, I maintained a spatial approach.[237] My goal with this approach was to catch any patterns of figurine deposition within a given space or between spaces. Once I had finished with a room or area of the excavation, I moved on to an adjoining one in case there were identifiable joins between figurines in nearby areas. The useful (if not groundbreaking) results of this spatial analysis are presented in Chapter V.

In addition to reviewing or updating the existing paper-based catalogue as I moved through each deposit, I constructed a digital database using FileMaker Pro ® to facilitate sorting and querying the collection (**FIGURE 5**).[238] The database enabled the addition of more information about each artifact than possible on the traditional catalogue cards. Published comparanda, references to excavation notebooks, new fields about production traits, etc. The system chronicled my progress in real time and included fields for running commentary for future researchers to reconstruct my process. The structure of the figurine database is relatively simple considering there is only one type of artifact included, but it has built-in fields and features that will make it possible to integrate into a larger excavation database in the future.[239] A typical entry for a figurine (or fragment of one) includes a Unique Identifier number as well as any other known numbers connected to it,[240] spatial descriptions/tags, level numbers, elevations, and corresponding page numbers for the excavation notebooks. Supplementary digital files, such as photographs and drawings, could be attached to the entry and displayed (or not). Measurements were retaken with digital calipers and expanded to include measurements not traditionally recorded on paper – this facilitated the comparison of typological and/or manufacturing features of the figurines (stem/torso diameters, polos heights, etc.). The state of preservation is commented on extensively with new observations about break patterns, clay groups, etc. Fields were created for artisan attribution (see below, Ch. IV.6), associated artifacts, contextual information, unlimited text descriptions, and other notes. The result is an active database that can be sorted in many ways: by year, by locus or sublocus, by figurine type or subtype, by artist, by size, by type of fragment, by any key word that comes to mind, and more. The preliminary observations that resulted from this study are offered in the next two chapters.

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[236] I knew the numbers and places within each tray of the figurines based on the small find registers, but I also made an effort to physically check each artifact to make sure that other items were not mis-labeled, or that unidentified objects might actually be figurines - and also to get a sense of the small-find assemblage associated with each figurine fragment.

[237] If a room had been excavated over the course of several seasons, I pulled the appropriate trays of small finds from that space from every year we worked in it. From there, I could further organize the small finds according to their sublocus within that space (or, at least, by relative level/depth).

[238] Claris FileMaker 19.4, © 2019-2021 Claris International Inc.

[239] The idea is to replicate this structure for other classes of objects: whole vases, sherds, samples, bones, and other small finds and then to tie those together within an overall relational structure that is based on loci. That way a user can sort by types of objects, by space within the house, by year, or by features such as clay/paint color, artist, etc. and see all materials relevant to the query subject.

[240] For the recently excavated material, one consistent numbering system was used by K. Shelton's team and another registration number was added by the Mycenae Museum when the finds were brought in. For the 1950s material, however, several numbers were connected differentially to various pieces. These included excavation/conservation numbers in some cases, Nauplion Museum numbers, BE numbers assigned when they were transferred to the new Mycenae Museum, later MM or BE numbers assigned when designing displays or when fragments were identified at a much later stage. See more below, Chapter Three.

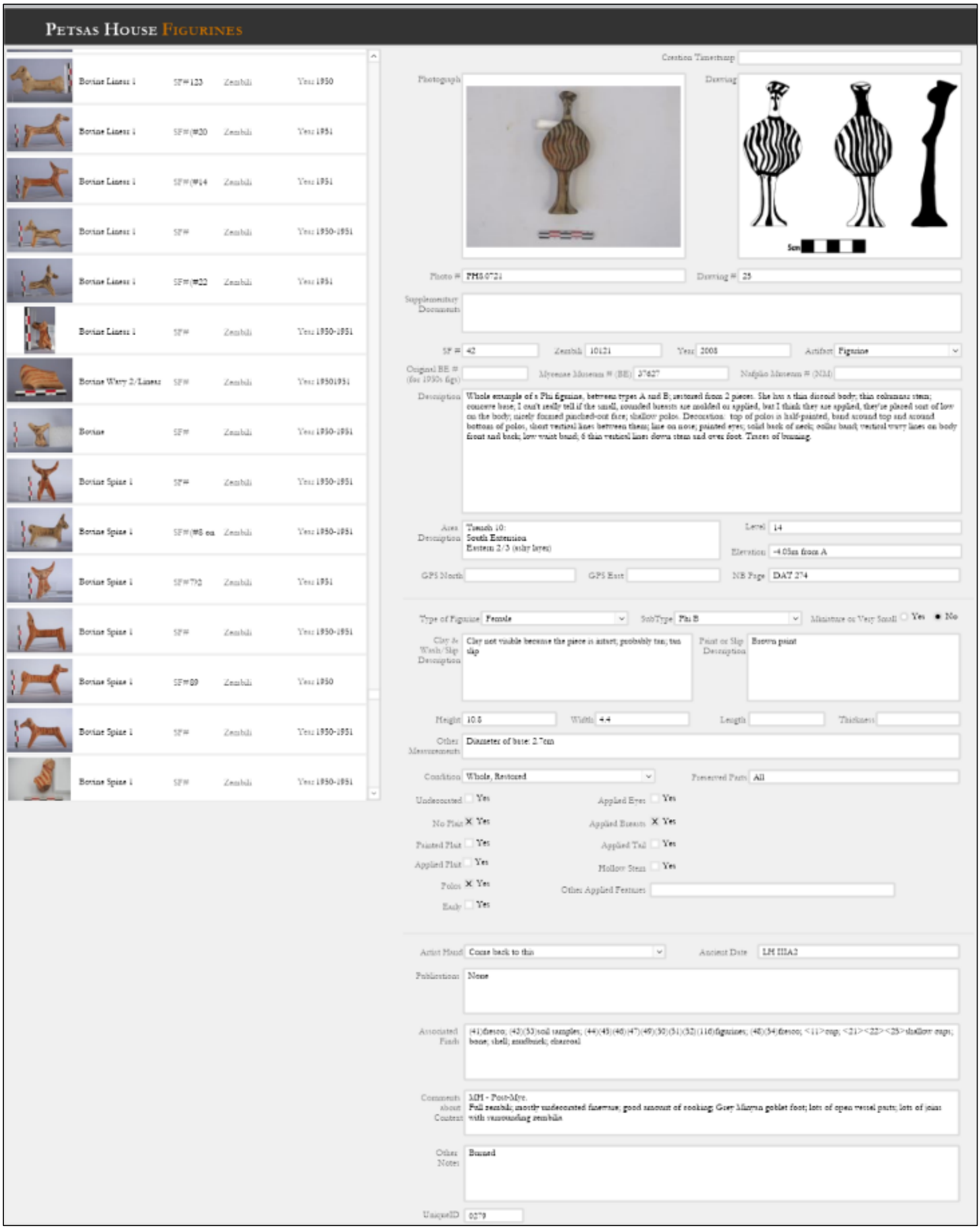


FIGURE 5: Sample Database Entry. This entry for a Phi B figurine includes attached files (photograph and drawing) as well as filled-in fields that the database can utilize for sorting and querying. At left is a supplementary running log of all entries in the database (a feature I used during my study to visually keep track of my progress).

III.6: METHODOLOGY, CRAFT PRODUCTION TERMINOLOGY

I noted earlier that Petsas House is a multifunctional building complex which included zones for living, storing, and working. This dissertation focuses only on the workshop aspect of the building and a limited selection of its ceramic output, namely terracotta figurines. I have also stated already that the figurines made at the Petsas House workshop were crafted by on-site specialists using the same clays and pigments utilized in other types of pottery (also made in the workshop).[241] In the following chapters I build upon this statement and consider specific aspects of their production in parallel with the creation of ceramic vessels. Throughout the project, I make regular use of terms related to craft production, including terms about raw materials (clay), standardization, variation, distribution, consumer-demand, markets, artisans, etc. I wish here to provide some basic elaborations of these terms borrowing from the work of C.L. Costin and M. Galaty. Both scholars have analyzed archaeological correlates for contexts of production and have provided guidelines for integrating the study of production into discourses of state/political economies.[242]

My project does not go so far as to model the scope of palatial involvement in the production, distribution, and consumption of terracotta figurines in the Mycenaean world or to provide a conceptual framework for investigating the importance of figurines in sociopolitical structure(s). I limit the project to identifying aspects of the creation of terracottas and highlighting some of the techniques utilized by their makers. I honor previous scholarship which stresses the prioritization of archaeological context for understanding the meaning and use of terracottas by outlining the types of (micro-)contexts found within the Petsas House complex.[243] I use that outline to define the limits and possibilities of this new terracotta collection from Mycenae. The second half of the project picks up the thread of production/distribution by focusing on external assemblages of figurines and reconsidering them in light of the new information from Petsas House. Both halves of the dissertation have room to grow when it comes to integrating the observations made within them into existing theoretical models of economy and exchange. The scope of this project may be narrow in comparison to the models put forward by C.L. Costin and M. Galaty, therefore, but it is a first step in applying some of their methodological frameworks to terracotta figurines. The figurines from Petsas House represent, to the best of my knowledge, the largest collection from a production context yet known in the Mycenaean world.[244] I rely, then, on some of the definitions and approaches that they have established for pottery and other crafts.

Most often in archaeology, production – be it of ceramics, metals, textiles, foodstuffs, etc. – is studied to understand modes of exchange and wealth/power dynamics. While these motivating questions are valuable and are often what pique scholarly interest the most, they are wont to create more questions than answers. Methodologically speaking, exploring exchange networks and wealth can be challenging and tends to rely heavily on theoretical models because precise exchange events are archaeologically invisible.[245] Production events, on the other hand, can leave clearer material records in the form of specialized architecture or installations, debris, tools, and the finished products

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[241] On this topic, see also French 1971: 174; Shelton 2009a, 2009b, 2010a; and Vetters 2011: 31-32.

[242] In particular, Costin 1991 and 1998; Galaty 1999a, 2007, and 2010. Costin's production studies include definitions, issues, and strategies relevant to many types of crafts in different ancient societies whereas Galaty's focus on Mycenaean pottery.

[243] I refer specifically to the work of French 1961a, 1971, 1985, 2003, and 2009a; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 2009, and 2010; Vetters 2012b, 2015b, and 2016. See also Ch. II.

[244] Evidence for the production of figurine production also comes from potters' workshops at Berbati in the Argolid and Kontopigado in Attica. Both collections are relatively small, however. For Berbati, see Weiberg 2009, Petrović 2009, Schallin 2002 and 2015. For Kontopigado, see Kardamaki 2015 and Kaza-Papageorgiou 2020.

[245] Costin 1991: 1.

themselves.[246] Likewise, while studies in distribution can sometimes identify distinct sites and distances traveled by finished goods, it is not likely that an entire ancient distribution system can be reconstructed. A spatially restricted data set like the figurines from Petsas House, on the other hand, is more likely to contain data appropriate for studying and even reconstructing a fairly complete production system.[247]

Since this project is split between archaeological contexts pertaining to "production" and to "distribution," let me clarify these terms further. First, 'production' *cannot* be conceptually isolated from the complementary systems of distribution and consumption.[248] The latter inform the former. Recognizing (at least partial) distribution and consumption patterns across artifact assemblages can help the archaeologist reconstruct some of the economic, social, and political motivations and contexts of production.[249] This is, in essence, what I strive to achieve in this project in a very limited way (more in Ch. VIII). Consumption patterns illustrate levels of demand for a product while demand maintains and defines the *uses* of finished products as well as, potentially, the socioeconomic roles of the people using them.[250] The intensity of that demand dictates the number of products in circulation in a given community or network *as well as* the number required to satisfy customer demand.[251] This project picks up on some of these points, but not all. It does not attempt to fully define demand for figurines and prove how they were used or by whom (in terms of social status) across the entire culture.[252] It does, however, quantify and qualify figurines in limited consumption contexts to illustrate patterns when possible and to estimate the numbers that would have been required by Petsas figurine makers to satisfy that demand.[253] It also highlights some of the technological and stylistic signatures left by artisans as they responded to demand over time (IV.4) and at one moment in time (IV.3, IV.5, IV.8).

This dissertation views the Petsas House workshop as a *specialized* industry focused on a range of vessel and figurine types.[254] "Specialization is a relative state, not an absolute one," and so variability and flexibility in the production repertoire are expected and accepted.[255] Costin further defines specialization as a "differentiated, regularized, permanent, and perhaps institutionalized production system in which producers depend on extra-household exchange relationships, at least in part, for their livelihood and consumers depend on them for acquisition of goods they do not produce themselves.[256] This project attempts to show how terracotta figurines in deposition contexts reflect the work of "specialized" craftspeople as opposed to ad-hoc production at the independent household level (Chs. VI-VIII). There is archaeological evidence at Petsas House, moreover, for the movement of goods both in and out of the complex and demonstrate its participation in various exchange relationships.[257] The level(s) of specialization of specific artisans is still a question under exploration

[246] Costin 1991: 1.
[247] Costin 1991: 1.
[248] Costin 1991: 2-3.
[249] Costin 1991: 3.
[250] Costin 1991: 3.
[251] Costin 1991: 3.
[252] Much of the existing literature connected to terracotta figurines considers these questions – not necessarily in terms of production and demand, but in terms of use and the social status of those doing the using. See Ch. II for further discussion, background, and references.
[253] This is done for the funerary and 'cult' realms presented in Chs. VI and VII.
[254] Predominantly of fineware vessels, but also figurines and coarsewares (on which see Shelton 2010: 193; Trusty 2016: 16-18 and 292-295).
[255] Costin 1991: 35-37.
[256] Costin 1991: 4.
[257] For example, Cretan courseware stirrup jars, Linear B tablets, and faunal remains. See Shelton 2002-2003, 2010: 196-198, and Forthcoming; Kvapil et al. 2019; Meier et al. 2023.

at Petsas House.[258] Archaeological studies tend to view products of highly skilled and specialized craftspeople as the most distinctive and individualistic pieces in a production lineup whereas more standardized pieces are made by less specialized artisans.[259] The figurine data, however, imply that these two modes of production (individualistic vs. standardized) could be achieved by one artisan (Ch. IV.6-7).[260] Standardization, moreover, can be caused by many factors. If the particular style of a product communicates encoded social information about status, affiliation, etc., then customer demand can itself motivate standardization.[261] In this case, when customer demand drives standardization, artisans of any level (and even at competing workshops) might *not* implement variation of their products at all – their standardization, in effect, becomes their specialization.[262] This might very well be the case when it comes to the majority of Mycenaean terracotta figurines produced both at Petsas House and elsewhere in the Argolid (and beyond). In other cases, standardization might be a response to external pressures such as institutional demand or regulation (governmental or religious, for example) – or even the mobility constraints of individual distributors (affiliated or not with a workshop).[263] Standardized shapes and weights of products can facilitate packaging, storage, and transportation of goods by land and sea.[264] It is probable that Petsas products were intended for different markets in distinct social and geographical realms.[265] Standardization would therefore increase efficiency, but also address practical concerns during transport, exchange, and use.[266]

On the topic of transport, while figurine distribution *is* a consideration in this project, the *mechanisms* of that distribution are not treated in any depth – this is true of both pre- and post-production transportation. Just how raw materials were acquired, transferred, and processed *before* pottery manufacture is a subject for future research.[267] References in this project to clays and slips are based on macroscopic evaluation of colors and finishes (which are, to the naked eye, identical to those used in many of the pots produced and stored at Petsas House).[268] Likewise, the manner by which finished products were transmitted to clients or distributors is an open topic of study. The Petsas

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[258] See Shelton 2016: 322-325. Costin refers to this as "degree of specialization," where the number of producers in proportion to the number of consumers reveals degree of specialization. In this case, fewer specialists indicate a higher degree of specialization and many specialists indicates a lower degree.

[259] Costin 1991: 34 (with further references). For an interesting comparative study about the skill levels of Minoan figurine craftsmen using an experimental archaeology approach, see Murphy, C. 2020.

[260] On this topic but applied to the pottery from Petsas House, see Shelton 2010: 192-193; 2016: 322.

[261] Costin 1991: 33 (with further references). See also Galaty 2007: 74-76 for an example of this phenomenon with respect to ceramic kylikes.

[262] Costin 1991: 34.

[263] Costin 1991: 34. There is both textual and archaeological evidence for the involvement of religious personnel in craft production at Mycenae and Pylos (and potentially extra palatial sites too), see Lupack 2007 and 2008. Agents who might have been involved in the distribution of products and/or the collection of goods for the palace are also known from Linear B tablets. See, for example, Nakassis 2008, 2013, and 2020 (with further references).

[264] Costin 1991: 34.

[265] See, for example, Ch. VI; Shelton 2010: 197. The same is proposed for the products from the Berbati workshop, see Schallin 2002: 152-155 (with references).

[266] For difficulties in evaluating efficiency with respect to production, see Costin 1991: 37-39.

[267] There are *possible* installations in the Petsas House complex connected to such clay-processing activities as well as organic deposits and ores likely used in creating pigments, etc. See Ch. V with further references and Shelton, Forthcoming. Chemical analyses have identified clays that are typical of the Mycenae-Berbati region, but the exact modes of mining, transport, and mixing of such clays is a subject of ongoing research. See French & Tomlinson 2012 (with references) as well as Maran et al. 1997 and Mommsen & Maran 2000–2001.

[268] This observation has been made by other scholars too, see French 1971: 174; Weiberg 2009; Schallin 2015; Konsolaki, 2016a: 56. The only *chemical* analysis (NAA) so far conducted on figurines, to my knowledge, was carried out on a representative sample from the Aphaia collection (see below, Ch. VII.1) which shows that figurines yielded the same chemical results as sherds (Argive origin, Mycenae-Berbati cluster). See references in previous footnote.

House complex preserves a paved entrance that could have facilitated the use of wheeled vehicles in the loading/unloading of products, but we cannot say more than that at this time.[269]

There are more aspects of ceramic production that are left altogether untreated in this dissertation, but that I hope will open avenues for future research. One promising methodological pathway might be the identification and study of fingerprints in handmade objects, including figurines, to better understand some of the demographics of workshop personnel.[270] The preceding commentary has served, I hope, to elucidate and elaborate upon some of the terms I most commonly use in this project. The work of C.L. Costin, in particular, has helped me establish some parameters in understanding figurine (and pottery) production at Petsas House as well as encountering finished products "in the wild," in various deposition contexts at many types of sites.

III.7: METHODOLOGY, FIGURINE TYPOLOGY & TERMINOLOGY

Next, I would like to clarify and define the terminologies used in this project that apply specifically to Mycenaean figurines. But first, a note on chronology. Both the absolute and relative chronological schemes of the Aegean Bronze Age are famously complicated and vary from place to place, but for the purposes of this project I follow S. Manning's recent summary.[271] I confine my discussion to terracotta figurines of the Late Helladic III (LH III) period, ca. 1420-1050 B.C. with occasional reference to slightly earlier figurines of the LH II period (Ch. IV.4). The majority of the Petsas House figurines described in the following chapters date to the LH IIIA2 period, ca. 1390-1330 BC (or 1370-1315 BC) and more specifically to the *end* of that period (around the time the house was destroyed, see above).[272] The terracottas I evaluate from tomb and 'sanctuary' contexts in Chs. VI and VII have wider date ranges, but most date to LH IIIA and IIIB, the Mycenaean "palatial" period, and correspond closely with the Petsas corpus. On rare occasions when I refer to a figurine of late type in a deposition context that dates to LH IIIC, I use the terms LH IIIC and "post-palatial" interchangeably. These relative seriation terms created and used for Mycenaean pottery also define the evolution and typologies of Mycenaean figurines.[273] As will be shown in this dissertation (and has already been predicted by previous scholars), figurines are made in the same workshops as vessels and the two commodities are inextricably linked in their creation and distribution and, in my opinion, social value and use.[274]

H. Schliemann first brought public and scholarly attention to Mycenaean figurines (see Ch. II), but he was more concerned with connecting them to the Olympian goddess Hera and her Homeric epithet (βοῶπις) than working out a precise classification scheme (Ch. II).[275] He briefly *described* several

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[269] Ch. V.1 with references.

[270] Shelton has noted elsewhere that there are not many fingerprints preserved on the surfaces of vases at Petsas House due to the care taken in finishing vessel surfaces. While this will most likely remain true in all types of products made there, a few partial fingerprints have been noted on some of the figurines and might also be discovered on other handmade products (or wheel-made products that happen to have broken in such a way as to expose a surface that wouldn't otherwise have been visible to the Mycenaean consumer). See Shelton 2014: 24. For fascinating new work in the realm of fingerprint analysis (and a helpful review of other methods for determining sex and gender in ceramics), see Hruby 2011 (in addition to numerous conference presentations). The division of labor by sex and age within the *household* is basic to all human societies and since Petsas House likely also represents a household, I cannot engage with those questions in depth at this time. Costin 1991: 4. On the household and women's labor in pottery, see also Wright, R. 1991.

[271] Manning 2010: 11-28, especially Table 2.2.

[272] See Manning 2010: 20-24 for a summary of the issues connected to calculating absolute dates.

[273] French 1971: 174.

[274] French 1971: 174; Costin 1998: 3.

[275] Mycenaean pottery and figurines were simultaneously discovered on the island of Rhodes. French (1971: 102-103) summarizes the discovery and previous work on typology of figurines.

types in his letters and publications, but emphasized females with upraised arms and bovine figurines in order to attach them to his interpretation of "idols" as representations of Hera and her sacred cow.[276] Several of the Mycenaean scholars who followed Schliemann, however, did attempt to classify terracottas more systematically by seriating them chronologically or typologically. In fact, his immediate predecessor, Ch. Tsountas, was first to do so because he found so many different types of figurines in the chamber tombs surrounding Mycenae, types that Schliemann had not been aware of. Tsountas distinguished three main types of female figurines based on the placement of the arms in relation to the body: winged figurines, ones with no arms, and ones with arms placed somewhere on the breasts or belly.[277] Several decades later, C.W. Blegen and A.J.B. Wace began adjusting Tsountas' observations by adding types. During his excavations at Zygouries, Blegen worked out that the female figurines of "disk-shaped type" were earlier than those of the "crescent type." He also documented terracotta furniture models and a Kourotrophos figurine.[278] Simultaneously, Wace more or less maintained Tsountas' system, but added female figurines with arms folded across the chest, another with round or oval body, and a type with semicircular body.[279] Wace also paid more attention to animal figurines, including oxen, men driving oxen, and other miscellaneous types.[280] Not long after, once Blegen had excavated the chamber tomb cemetery at Prosymna, he built a typology based on the progressive stylization of figurines. He divided the female figurines into types A through D, each letter representing a stage of "conventionalization."[281] Blegen also paid careful attention to the seriation of figurines, like pottery, based on their presence in tomb assemblages. He distinguished stratigraphic deposits and proposed a relative chronology for his four types where A was the earliest and D the latest. He did the same for animal figurines – earlier types were more naturalistic in appearance while later types were more "conventional."[282]

Shortly after Blegen and Wace made their contributions, A. Furumark, a Swedish archaeologist and prehistorian who devoted his career to working out the typologies and chronologies of Mycenaean pottery, also established a figurine typology.[283] Furumark observed the different body shapes of the female figurines (as described by Tsountas and Wace, in particular) and he named those types after letters of the Greek alphabet (specifically Φ, Ψ, and T). By comparing figurines from chamber tombs at Dendra, the "potter's shop" at Zygouries, and the area of the Lion Gate at Mycenae, he worked out a relative chronology for these types.[284] About twenty years later, E. French combined Blegen and Furumark's methodologies in her study of Mycenaean figurines for her doctoral dissertation (1961) and subsequent publication (1971). French was able to access recently excavated and unpublished materials from Mycenae and improve upon the work of her predecessors. She picked up on Blegen's keen observation about gradual stylization over time and she maintained Furumark's designations, but she also introduced subtypes. She later expanded this work after participating in Renfrew's excavations at the important site of Phylakopi on Melos (Ch. II).[285] At about the same time, I. Weber-Hiden contended that stylistic development and chronological sequence should be separated because stylistic sequences can obscure the simultaneous existence of multiple types.[286] Based on the finds from Tiryns,

[276] See, for example, Schliemann 1878: 10-14, 71-74 (where he describes an unusual type as an "old and ugly woman, probably a priestess"), and 104-107.
[277] Tsountas 1888: 168; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 60.
[278] Blegen 1928: 205; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 61.
[279] Wace, A.J.B. 1932: 215-217; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 61.
[280] Wace, A.J.B. 1932: 215-217; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 61.
[281] Blegen 1937: 355-367; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 61-62.
[282] Blegen 1937: 355-367; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 61-62.
[283] Furumark 1941: 86, 88-9, 130. It should be emphasized that this volume *remains* the standard work on the subject.
[284] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 62.
[285] French 1981a, 1985; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 63.
[286] Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 63.

Weber-Hiden presented a chronology similar to French's, but with more overlapping types.[287] Ultimately, French's work is still considered the most reliable and standard reference in figurine typology because she provided detailed ranges of types, dates, and contexts.

The typologies that French created and the definitions of stylistic terms that she employed in her seminal publication (1971) are repeated and supported in this dissertation (with occasional comments that expand or adjust her typologies to fit the Petsas House evidence). Since figurine typology and chronology are thus well established, I do not detail them here.[288] One distinction to make, however, is that, in the Mycenaean world, the term 'figurine' is opposed to 'figure.'[289] A *figure* is relatively large terracotta object in the form of a human or animal that is shaped on a potter's wheel or built up from coils, in the manner of a vessel.[290] Some parts and anatomical features can be modelled by hand as well. French divided these large-scale figures into two main groups: Types A and B. The Type B figures are, so far, unique to Mycenae and to its Cult Center.[291] They are large in size, hollow in body, have plastically rendered facial features and arms (making a variety of gestures), and monochrome decoration. The Type A figures, on the other hand, are more widespread in the Mycenaean world. They tend to be smaller in size than the Type Bs, can also have handmade elements, and can be quite finely decorated in a manner similar to fineware pottery. Most commonly the Type A figures are either female or bovine.[292] In contrast, figurines are small-sized, handmade terracotta objects.[293] They can range in size from extremely miniature to almost figure-sized, but most fall within a standardized size-range (ca. 11-12cm height for female figurines and ca. 8-11cm length for animals). Like the Type A figures, the most common forms are females and bovids, but there is a wide variety of 'other' types too: small models of furniture, boats, and ensembles with both humans and animals.

Decoration is primarily linear across all kinds of figurines, but can occasionally be elaborated with decorative motifs known from Mycenaean pottery or otherwise. They occur in great numbers at Mycenaean sites in southern Greece and in somewhat smaller numbers on Crete, the Cyclades, Anatolia, and the Levant. Both figures and figurines were made in specialized Mycenaean pottery workshops and there is evidence for the manufacture of both at Petsas House.[294] I describe a few large-scale figures in this project, but since they occur in limited quantities at both Petsas House and in the comparative sites explored in Chs. VI and VII, I do not go into great detail about their manufacture or distribution. It is the small, handmade figurines that receive the attention here.

I characterize terracotta figurines in a variety of ways in this dissertation. I always utilize or build upon French's terminology, but since this is a different type of analysis, it is worth highlighting a few of the terms I use most often and that vary somewhat from French's or Tzonou's. First, I separate figurines into broad categories: (human) female, (animal) bovine, group, combination, furniture, and other. There are human male figurines, but they occur far less frequently and in restricted contexts.[295] The same goes for animals that are not bovids. Horses, deer, birds, and

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[287] Weber-Hiden 1985: 307; 1990; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 63.

[288] In addition to French 1971, see the concise summary in Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 32-41.

[289] These terms are more interchangeable in the Minoan world where there is greater variety of sizes and forming techniques.

[290] French 1981a: 173.

[291] French 1981a: 173.

[292] French 1981a: 173.

[293] French 1981a: 173.

[294] *Secure* evidence for the creation of figures is extremely limited at Petsas House, most fragments come from mixed contexts (see Ch. V), but there are some fragments that are crafted at such high quality with fine details that they were very likely made on site, see, for example, those discussed in V.3.21-22 (Areas H and K at Petsas House).

[295] There are only a few possible male figurines in the Petsas corpus. They are considered likely male because they lack breasts and/or typical decoration, but each example is fragmentary and ambiguous. Definitively male figurines with appropriate genitalia have been uncovered at the Sanctuary of Phylakopi on the Cycladic Island of Melos (French 1981a,

indeterminate quadrupeds occur in small quantities at several sites, but their variability in size, form, and documentation make it difficult to characterize them fully. The general categories *should* be, 'human' and 'animal,' then, with 'female' and 'bovine' as subcategories. Because of the extreme biases for female and bovine figurines at most Mycenaean sites, however, I make 'female' and 'bovine' the primary categorical terms here. For my purposes, this facilitates comparison of categories across assemblages. Consequently, I tend to lump uncommon types of animals (birds, deer, etc.) into the 'other' category. The next largest category of figurines is what French calls 'group figurines.'[296] French used the term to describe ensembles of more than one individual be they human, animal, or inanimate. Here, I diverge slightly from French's terminology. I use the term 'combination' figurine to describe an ensemble that includes individual elements from more than one category, human and animal, human and furniture, etc. Group figurines, on the other hand, refer to ensembles with individuals from a single category – all females or all animals.[297] The furniture category is self-explanatory, but any piece of furniture combined with a human is, technically, a combination figurine. Finally, there is an umbrella category, 'other,' which encompasses figurines that occur in relatively small numbers and/or are unidentifiable/uncertain.

Each category is further subdivided into 'types.' For example, the female category is divided into the well-known types named after letters of the Greek alphabet: Phi (Φ), Psi (Ψ), and Tau (T).[298] Other types of female figurines occur too: Naturalistic, Transitional, Kourotrophos, etc. Each of these types, in turn, has subtypes. The Phi-type is subdivided into Proto-Phi, Phi A, and Phi B, for example.[299] Likewise, the Psi-type is subdivided into High-Waisted, Hollow, and Late varieties.[300] The same happens in the bovine category. Aside from early bovids with naturalistic morphological features, most are typologized according to their decorative patterns.[301] The most common of these are Wavy, Linear, and Spine types.[302] Each of these is further subdivided into 1 and 2 (so, Wavy 1 and 2, Linear 1 and 2, etc.) with the primary differentiating criterion being the reduction in number of painted lines and general simplification of the decoration (what Blegen had first focused on). The most common types in the 'combination' category that are discussed in this dissertation are the human-animal ensembles such as the 'driven ox,' the chariot, and 'riders,' all of which are discussed below in addition to 'bull-leapers/wranglers.'[303] Since I have differentiated 'combination' and 'group' figurines in this project, the 'group figurines' have become quite a small category. The one type of group figurine that makes an appearance here is the 'Phi triad.'[304] Kourotrophos figurines (females in one of the canonical types holding an infant) *should,* technically, be classified as a type of 'group figurine.' Some scholars do, in fact, lump them together with Phi triads.[305] Most of the time, however, Kourotrophoi are

1985). Others wear conical caps/helmets and tend to occur in combination figurines, especially as horse-back riders. For example, the male riders from the Sanctuary of Agios Konstantinos on the Methana peninsula (Konsolaki 1999; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a, 2016a).

[296] French 1971: 164-173.

[297] Most scholarship follows French and refers to ensembles of any type as 'group' figurines. The way that I have reorganized it follows Shelton's work (Shelton 2009a and 2009b).

[298] Furumark 1941; French 1971: 108-150, see especially the graphic representation on p. 109 (Fig. 1).

[299] French 1971: 112-123.

[300] French 1971: 126-142..

[301] See the useful graphic representation of their development in French 1971: 151, Fig. 11.

[302] French 1971: 153-159.

[303] French 1971: 164-174.

[304] Which I will describe here since it is not elaborated below. The 'Phi triad' type is composed of two female Phi B figurines with a third human figure between them, usually resting on the shoulders of the two Phi Bs (presumably a child). One Phi triad comes from Tsountas' T79 at Mycenae (see below, Ch. VI.2.6 with references) and other fragmentary examples comes from the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina (see below, Ch. VII1.6 with references).

[305] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 30-35. See also Ch. VII.1.

included in the 'female' category because they can be subdivided in the same way as standard, childless females (so, there are Phi, Psi, Tau, and other types with attached infants).[306] I also include them in the 'female' category in this project for the same reason. The furniture category too is subdivided into types of furniture: chairs ("thrones"), tables/stools, beds, and other types that are geographically restricted so far.[307] Chairs can have solid or latticed backs, have three legs or four, etc. Chairs and beds with human occupants, however, like the much-discussed 'seated figures,' are included in the combination category in this project – even though they are lumped together with furniture in French's publication.[308] Finally, any figurine that does not quite fit into one of the aforementioned categories or cannot be typologically identified is cast into the 'other category.' There are a few 'other' types that occur regularly in large assemblages (though in small numbers), most notably boat models.[309]

Nuances in the description, form, and style of common types are detailed further in the following chapters. I should also note that I do not fully outline and describe *every* type of figurine that has been discovered at Petsas House. I list them in **TABLE 1**, but I focus on the most frequent types.[310] I do this because their very frequency and repetition allow for observations about their manufacture. A few exceptional pieces (Ch. IV.5) that demonstrate the individual artistry that Petsas artisans were capable of are, of course, highlighted as well, but this is done to draw attention to modes of production evident in the corpus and/or as comparanda for specialized figurines in external contexts.

Finally, in this project I generally use the terms 'assemblage' and 'collection' interchangeably. 'Assemblage' refers to an archaeological deposit, all of the artifacts and materials that occur together within one archaeological context (and the context is preferably determined by natural or ancient anthropogenic events, but can also be arbitrarily defined by the excavator).[311] A Mycenaean burial assemblage, for example, could include terracotta figurines, pottery, jewelry, and human remains that occur together in one distinct burial context. A "collection" generally refers to a group of objects that can *also* be an archaeological assemblage *or* it can be another type of grouping made by researchers for ease of classification and study, typological groupings are the most common.[312] In the case of Petsas House, the terms overlap because the "house" as a whole can be understood as one archaeological context (within which occur distinct micro-contexts, see Ch. V). All of the figurines found within this context then are both an assemblage (defined by their ancient deposition) as well as a collection (a class of objects defined by the excavator, but likely also by their makers (see Ch. IV). The same is generally true of the tomb and sanctuary deposits that I have analyzed in Chs. VI and VII. By circumstances of deposition and/or discovery, each tomb and each sanctuary can be understood as a single context and the figurines they contained as pertaining to one assemblage and comprising one collection. The nuances of each context are further detailed in the relevant chapters.

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306 This is also true of group figurines, theoretically, but so far there are only Phi triads. To my knowledge, no comparable arrangements have yet been discovered that include Psi- or other-type females or multiple bovids.

307 French 1971: 172-173.

308 Mylonas 1956; French 1971: 167-173; Vlassopoulou-Karydi 2008. Though labeled 'seated figure,' this type is a *figurine*. The "thrones" or chairs follow the established typology for furniture as the seated figures generally follow the typology of female figurines. So, there are seated Proto-Phis on solid-backed chairs, seated Psis on lattice-work chairs, and so on. By the LH III period, the seated females are often simplified to the point of being nothing more than a hardly distinguishable strip of clay applied to the center of a chair (which can be open-work, solid, etc.).

309 For an extremely useful online database of boat models in the Mediterranean during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, see the *Ancient Mediterranean Digital Project*: https://ancmed.ulb.be/.

310 In addition to French 1971, a helpful typological summary can be found in Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 32-41.

311 Hoffman 2023: 22.

312 But other types of spatial and qualitative groupings can be made at the discretion of the researcher. Hoffman 2023: 22.

III.8: METHODOLOGY, ATTRIBUTION

A further terminological/methodological note *related* to figurine typology and production at Petsas House concerns 'attributing' figurines to specific artisans (or teams, see Ch. IV.6). Attribution, or identifying minute stylistic traits (usually in decoration, but also shape) and assigning them to the work of specific craftspeople is a long-standing tradition in classical archaeology. Recognizing the work of particular artisans is referred to as connoisseurship in scholarly literature and is most famously associated with the work of Sir John Beazley in Attic pottery.[313] Some potentially useful terminology that Beazley employs are "master" artists/potters, vessels from the "workshop" of a particular master, those from the "circle" of a known painter, and those in the "manner" of a master. These terms, in order, apply to what Beazley perceived as incremental stages of degradation of a "master's" artistry in the execution of particular graphic details.

Applying Beazley's methodology to Bronze Age pottery and minor arts has been attempted over several decades of scholarship in Aegean prehistory – and has been heavily criticized.[314] I do not attempt to go so far as Beazley did for Attic pottery with the terracotta figurines from Petsas House, but discrete groups of figurines *have* become apparent in this study. I believe that these groups can be connected to particular artisans working at Petsas House. Whether every single 'artist group' actually represents the work of one artisan, a firing batch, a particular commission, or something else is a subject of active investigation. How some of the figurines (and, potentially, vessels) might reflect internal and external industrial relationships (like "master," "workshop," "circle," and "manner") is also something to be studied in the future.[315] Until such time as these questions are ironed out and/or more precise scientific and digital technologies can be applied to the pieces themselves, I use the terms artisan, craftsperson, maker, and modeler interchangeably. I consider morphology *and* decoration to be defining criteria for 'artist groups' and I (for the most part) interpret the consistent combinations of those features as reflections of the work of one individual craftsperson who both shapes and paints the figurine. Consistent teams of sculptors and painters are also possible (see Ch. IV.6). Considering the fact that terracottas represent only a small portion of the ceramic repertoire of Petsas artisans, however, I find it less likely that their creation would require so many dedicated workers – but that is also a subject of ongoing and future research.[316]

III.9: METHODOLOGY, COMPARATIVE SAMPLE SELECTION

Finally, a few comments about how I selected the comparative assemblages examined in Chs. VI and VII. The main concern was sample size. In order to identify depositional patterns, there needed to be enough figurines to potentially reveal such patterns. Another major concern was state of preservation. This study required figurines that were preserved well enough to identify typologically

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[313] Beazley 1971, 1964, 1963, and 1956. On Beazley's approach and connoisseurship, see also Kurtz 1983; Robertson 1991; and Rouet 2001. Not cited here is the work of Sir John Boardman, an expert in Athenian vases, but an extensive bibliography on this topic and a detailed online database of Attic vases and their painters (and potters) can be found on the Beazley Archive Pottery Database (BAPD): https://www.carc.ox.ac.uk/carc/pottery.

[314] For a helpful summary of the problems connected to attribution in the Bronze Age, see Cherry 1992.

[315] The difference is that Beazley was identifying artisans on vases from contexts around the Mediterranean without having recourse to contextual comparanda from specific, archaeologically detected workshops of "masters." In the case of Petsas House, on the contrary, we have the workshop, but we have yet to securely identify vases and figurines made there in external contexts. The terms "circle" and "manner," therefore, do not precisely map on to this study or future studies at Petsas House. They can, however, still be useful in considering internal relationships between craftspeople of different skill levels, between workshops in competition or cooperation with one another, and so on.

[316] Ethnographic parallels are one avenue through which these questions will be addressed in future research. Fingerprint analyses (see above) and other scientific and digital/imaging approaches can also potentially be applied.

and to make detailed observations about date, manufacture, etc. Quantity and preservation left me with two viable types of context to explore: tombs and cult sites. Figurines occur in quantity in settlements and palaces, to be sure, but concentrations of them are rare (with the exception of palace cult centers). In settlements, figurine assemblages often require resurrection from discard or fill contexts.[317] Terracotta figurines from within the citadel at Mycenae are extremely plentiful, but variably published.[318] Those from the Tiryns acropolis have been published and, for the most part, postdate the Petsas House terracottas.[319] The citadels at Midea and Asine have also yielded a number of figures and figurines, but these too are variably published.[320] I restricted the geographical limits of this study to the Argolid and Argo-Saronic in part because of the concern for large sample size, but also because I had hoped to identify Petsas artisans in the figurines from deposition contexts and considered it more likely to happen at the local level. This goal was not particularly successful due to inevitable differences in state of preservation or publication at comparative sites.[321]

In short, the largest and best-preserved terracotta assemblages that corresponded chronologically with the Petsas collection were found in chamber tombs in the Argolid and the large sanctuary deposits of the Argo-Saronic. The chamber tombs from Mycenae alone in fact provided enough typological and chronological resolution to conduct this pilot study and are therefore the focus of Ch. VI. Future work can expand this methodology and apply it to other cemeteries outside of Mycenae. The sanctuary deposits I chose, on the other hand, are *not* directly connected to a palace site and vary in preservation and architectural/contextual integrity. These are the Sanctuary of Aphaia on the island of Aegina as well as the Sanctuary of Agios Konstantinos on the Methana peninsula. Each site preserves a distinct range of types of figurines that lends itself to deeper analyses about the choices

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317 The Atreus Bothros at Mycenae is perhaps the largest (and best preserved) settlement deposit that includes figurines. It is a discard context, however, and not a use context. Unusually, it is chronologically sealed and is therefore extremely useful in figurine studies. It exemplifies the exception rather than the rule, though. Wace, A.J.B. 1939: 211-212; French 1971: 112-114, 143-145, 152-155 and elsewhere as related to LH IIIA figurines.

318 Figurines discovered on the acropolis of Mycenae by H. Schliemann are referenced in French's dissertation (1961) and subsequent publication (1971), but mostly in the effort to illustrate typological development. Schliemann's figurines cannot be fully published to modern standards because we lack archaeological contextual information for all of them. Many, moreover, were given to museums across Europe by Schliemann and there is little to no documentation of those actions (see above, Ch. II; French 1961: 10; 1971: 102; Fitton 1991: 39). Figurines recovered during Tsountas' excavations in the citadel are not published. Those from the excavations of G. Mylonas are not *systematically* treated yet (but study and publication are actively in progress by his students), but a few exemplary pieces have been published (see, for example, Pliatsika 2012 and 2015). The Cult Center, on the other hand, has received much scholarly attention. There are many more figures than figurines, however, and so the Cult Center is not an ideal comparative context for the Petsas House figurines. Also, the figures date primarily to LH IIIB. See, for a start: Moore & Taylour 1999; Wardle 2003; French 1981a, 1981b, 2003; French & Taylour 2007; and Whittaker 2009.

319 Kilian 1981; Vetters 2009 and ff (with extensive references). The Tiryns cult center, like the one at Mycenae, includes figures and figurines that date mostly to LH IIIB, but the Tiryns terracottas extend also into LH IIIC.

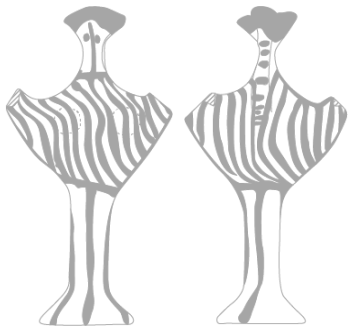
320 For figures and figurines from Midea, see Demakopoulou 1999; Demakopoulou & Divari-Valakou 2001 and 2009. For Asine, see Hägg 1981b; Sjöberg 2004. I would like to study the figurines from Midea and Asine in the future and see if they can be stylistically or chemically connected to those from Mycenae-Berbati (or even Petsas House) or Tiryns. Establishing such connections could help clarify some of the production-distribution/supply-demand relationships between the major Argive citadels. The citadels at Argos and Nauplion are barely identifiable due to thousands of years of overbuilding and have not produced figurines in any quantity, to my knowledge. Tomb deposits at Argos and Nauplion are a different story, however, and will hopefully inform future expansions of this study.

321 A relatively small percentage of the figurines analyzed in comparative collections could be dated specifically to LH IIIA2. More figurines dated to LH IIIB or LH IIIA2-B, but could not be pinned down precisely based on stylistic details because they were not well enough preserved or documented. I do believe, however, that future work both at Petsas House and in depositional contexts in the Argolid (and beyond) will be more successful in this endeavor.

made by consumers and how those choices influenced extant assemblages such as these.[322] In the case of the Aphaia Sanctuary, the collection had been published but is not currently on display in a local or regional museum. A small selection of the figurines, moreover, had been chemically sampled and had revealed Argive provenience. The Agios Konstantinos figurines, on the other hand, are not systematically catalogued in a dedicated volume, but are partly published in various reports and chapters. The majority of those figurines, moreover, are on display in the Archaeological Museums of Poros and Piraeus and are available for at least casual observation. The analyses of the figurine assemblages of these two sanctuaries in Ch. VII also provide templates for conducting similar studies at comparable sites in the future. The specific issues and challenges connected to the excavation, documentation, publication, and study of each site is discussed in further detail in the relevant chapters and sections.

[322] Beyond the Cult Center at Mycenae, another potentially useful "sanctuary" deposit could be the Great Poros Wall, but since that assemblage dates to LH IIIB and includes far fewer figurines than the Argo-Saronic sanctuaries, I do not include it in this project at this time.

IV: THE PETSAS HOUSE FIGURINES AS A COLLECTION



In describing the applied methodology for this project (see above, Ch. III), I noted that the sizes of the collections of pottery, figurines, frescoes, animal bones, and many other types of objects from Petsas House are immense. There are many ways to study the material, but the nature of the site as a ceramic storage facility with its own internal organizational scheme (see more below, Ch. V) makes it unusually appropriate to separate classes of objects for archaeological study as well. The evidence suggests that vessels and figurines were not only produced and stored by type, but possibly even distributed by type or in clusters of types. The majority of the terracotta figurines, moreover, come from two deposits within Petsas House: one primary and one secondary. The primary deposit, Room Γ, is discussed at length in Ch. IV.8 and V.1, but our understanding of it will forever be limited because it was excavated in 1950-1951. The secondary deposit, the deep well in Room Π, on the other hand, was carefully excavated and documented, but is the result of a single depositional event and does not preserve original contexts of the finds within it. Since the figurines (and other artifacts) from the well cannot be restored to their original contexts, they must necessarily be studied as a class. These two deposits together yielded about half of the terracottas from the entire site (see Ch. V.3.15, **TABLE 6** and **FIGURE 34**) and provide the most valuable information about modes of production and even clues relevant to distribution.

This chapter, therefore, examines the terracotta figurines holistically as a class of ceramic commodities produced by on-site artisans during the lifetime of the Petsas House workshop in LH IIIA. Most of the figurines were newly made and date to the destruction of the complex at the end of LH IIIA2, but some come from pre-destruction deposits and yield information about earlier stages of production at Petsas House too. I use the terminologies and typological schemata put forward by E. French in 1971 (described also above, Ch. III.7) and attempt to illustrate a synchronic axis of her developmental chart for LH IIIA2. I begin by providing counts and descriptions of the categories and types of figurines present in the collection. This demonstrates the range of figurine types available to customers at the end of LH IIIA2. I then discuss the chronological development of certain types and what those developments can tell us about the people making the figurines. From there I explore the specific evidence for identifying artisans in the collection before wrapping up with other general observations about craftspeople and their methods. This chapter closes with some thoughts about the figurines in Room Γ and their connection to not only Petsas House and its craft workers, but also to consumers of these products and the choices available to them.

IV.1: CATEGORIES AND TYPES OF FIGURINES AT PETSAS HOUSE

Papadimitriou and Petsas excavated 292 figurines in 1950 and 1951. Shelton's excavations added 826 to this number between 2000 and 2013.[323] Including material from both campaigns, then, the grand total of terracotta figurines from Petsas House amounts to 1,118 fragments.[324] Bovine figurines number 594 (more than 50% of the total),[325] female figurines number 352, and there are 172 'other' types of figurines. These quantities are somewhat misleading, however. Bovine figurines have many breakable appendages: four legs and two horns in addition to weak joins at the snout and neck. They therefore overwhelm the assemblage when each fragment is accounted for. When only pieces that surely represent one individual bovine figurine are counted (torsos and heads), a Minimum Number of Individuals (MNI) can be obtained. When the bovine figurine fragments are thus reduced and compared to a similar MNI of female figurines, the assemblage shows a marked preference for female figurines. The quantities shake out as follows: approximately 220 individual bovids (ca. 35% of the collection), 311 female figurines (50%), and about 91 'other' types (ca. 15%). Considering the fragmentary and incomplete nature of the assemblage, these numbers are only conservative estimates, but they should approximate statistical reality in the terracotta production lineup.

Keeping the proportions of these larger categories in mind (female figurines at about 50% of the total, bovines at 35%, and 'other' types at 15%), the following table breaks these major categories down into their component types. **TABLE 1** accounts for *all* the identifiable types of terracotta figurines so far observed in the Petsas House corpus. Most of the disaggregated legs and horns of bovine figurines are lumped into the first bovine category in the table ("Bovine, unknown/uncertain subtype") because they are too fragmentary to confidently ascribe to any one type. The three most numerous types of bovine figurine at Petsas House - Bovine Wavy 2/Linear 1, Linear 1, and Spine 1 – are similar enough in construction and decoration (especially of legs and horns) that appendages are usually only distinguishable when they are attached to more of the original figurine. In short, nearly all loose bovine appendages could belong to any one of those three types. There are, of course, some anomalies and outliers included in the unknown/uncertain count as well, but the bulk of the pieces can be ascribed to Wavy 2/Linear 1, Linear 1, and Spine 1 types. Similarly in the case of female figurines, the construction and decoration of the lower bodies are identical in both Phi B and Psi types. When only the stem is preserved, it is not possible to distinguish between the two types. The stems are, however, different than those of earlier Phi types and so those are possible to separate into distinct type counts. The identical Phi B and Psi stems are therefore grouped together into the 'Phi B or Psi' type (which includes a very small amount of other inscrutable fragments that could belong to the upper body of either type).

TABLE 1: Categories and types of figurines present in the Petsas House collection.

	Category	Type	Quantity	Date
1	Animal	Unknown/uncertain subtype	14	LH IIIA1-2
2	Animal	Deer	10	LH IIIA2
3	Animal	Horse	14	LH IIIA2
4	Bovine	Unknown/uncertain subtype (or multiple subtype possibilities)[326]	345	LH IIIA1-2

[323] This count is accurate as of 2022. Additional figurine fragments, however, are found among the pottery sherds every study season – so, this number grows annually and there is more to excavate!

[324] This number is imperfect because some examples are intact/complete while others are fragmentary. Some fragments that are counted separately could well belong to a single figurine but they cannot be joined in their current state.

[325] This count includes loose leg and horn fragments.

[326] This count also includes the two bovine legs made of ivory/bone and two produced in gritty cookware fabric.

5	Bovine	Naturalistic	1	LH IIB-IIIA1
6	Bovine	Wavy 1	4	LH IIB-IIIA1
7	Bovine	Wavy 2	25	LH IIIA2
8	Bovine	Wavy, unspecified	3	LH IIIA1-2
9	Bovine	Wavy 2/Linear 1	55	LH IIIA2
10	Bovine	Linear 1	57	LH IIIA2
11	Bovine	Linear 2	3	LH IIIA2
12	Bovine	Spine 1	33	LH IIIA2
13	Bovine	Ladder	3	LH IIIA2
14	Combination	Bull-leaper/wrangler	4	LH IIIA2
15	Combination	Chariot	15	LH IIIA2
16	Combination	Driven Ox	9	LH IIIA2
17	Combination	Seated Figure	8	LH IIIA2
18	Combination	Connectors/yokes/fragments	21	LH IIIA2
19	Female	Naturalistic	9	LH IIB-IIIA1
20	Female	Proto-Phi	31	LH IIB-IIIA1
21	Female	Phi, unspecified	16	LH IIIA1-2
22	Female	Phi A	15	LH IIIA1-2
23	Female	Phi B	96	LH IIIA2
24	Female	Phi Kourotrophos	3	LH IIIA2
25	Female	Transitional	3	LH IIIA1-2
26	Female	Transitional Kourotrophos	2	LH IIIA2
27	Female	Psi	31	LH IIIA2
28	Female	Psi, High-waisted (non-Petsas)	1	LH IIIB
29	Female	Psi, Hollow (non-Petsas)	4	LH IIIB
30	Female	Psi Kourotrophos	1	LH IIIA2
31	Female	Phi B or Psi	131	LH IIIA2
32	Female	Unidentifiable	5	LH IIIA1-2
33	Furniture	Bed	2	LH IIIA2
34	Furniture	Table (or stool)	6	LH IIIA2
35	Furniture	Throne A	2	LH IIIA2
36	Furniture	Throne B	12	LH IIIA2
37	Furniture	Unidentifiable/uncertain	8	LH IIIA2
38	Other	Boat	3 (= 1 total)	LH IIIA2
39	Other	Human, unspecified	5	LH IIIA2
40	Other	Tripod	1	LH IIIA2?
41	Other	Wheel	1	LH IIIA2?
42	Other	Unidentifiable/uncertain	8	LH IIIA2
43	Figure	Bovine	5	LH IIIA2
44	Figure	Female	1	LH IIB – IIIA1
45	Figure	Unknown	1	LH IIIA
46	Unknown	Unknown	40	LH IIIA

TABLE 1 shows six major categories of terracotta figurines: animal, bovine, combination, female, furniture, and 'other' in addition to categories for large-scale figures and 'unknown' (unidentifiable) fragments. Throughout this dissertation, though, for convenience and for ease of comparison with external collections, I reduce the number of categories to three: bovine, female, and 'other.' Fragments of large-scale figures from Petsas House are treated only minimally in this project as are comparable figure fragments from other sites (see especially Ch VII). Likewise, the 46 types differentiated above can be reduced to 25 types that belong to the Petsas House production repertoire at the end of LH IIIA2 (see below, IV.3). The remaining types are chronological outliers (see next section) or are not well enough preserved to securely assign to a type.

IV.2: TYPOLOGICAL & CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLIERS

TABLE 1 includes all categories and types found during the two excavation campaigns. Some of those figurines, however, are from chronologically mixed deposits and cannot certainly be ascribed to the Petsas production repertoire. Others are too fragmentary or unusual to define at all. In some cases, a figurine can be identified categorically (as female or animal, for example) but cannot be further specified. There are six types listed in the table where this applies.[327] A seventh is 'unspecified/uncertain' in both category and type (the final field in **TABLE 1**).

In addition to the seven 'unspecified/uncertain' types, there are some chronological discrepancies to account for. Two female Psi figurine subtypes - High-Waisted and Hollow types – do not correspond with the Petsas House corpus and represent LH IIIB intrusions.[328] To this list of chronological outliers, I add the tripod and the wheel.[329] Each of these types is included in the 'other' category in **TABLE 1** and is of uncertain date because I cannot find good parallels for either piece within Petsas House or beyond it. They *could* have been made at Petsas House, but I cannot be certain.

Removal of the generally unspecifiable types and the later intrusions leaves a total of 35 types of terracotta figurines that can be comfortably situated within the context of the workshop. This sum, however, needs to be trimmed down a little further to account for the progression of time within LH IIIA. Bovine figurines of the Naturalistic and Wavy 1 types represent an earlier stage of figurine use and *possibly* production on site (see below, Ch. V.3.8-14). They form part of the life of the workshop, but are not counted in the range of types available to consumers at the end of LH IIIA2. Likewise, female figurines of the Naturalistic and Proto-Phi types correspond with the early bovids. I spend more time discussing the evolution of the female Phi type and do find it likely that early Phi figurines were made at an earlier version of the workshop on the same site – but that cannot be proven architecturally or otherwise at this time.[330] They too are removed from the lineup when calculating which types were available at once. The Phi A figurine is better represented in the corpus and was likely manufactured during the earlier part LH IIIA2, but seems to have been a relatively short-lived phenomenon at Petsas House – it too is excluded from the final range.

Setting aside the seven early types, then, leaves 28 discrete types of terracotta figurines that were produced at Petsas House at the end of its productive life in LH IIIA2 late.[331] These 28 types dominate the collection and provide insight into production practices. They also form part of a single chronological stratum and allow for some recalibration of E. French's original typological scheme, at least for LH IIIA2.[332]

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[327] Animal (unknown/uncertain subtype), Bovine (unknown/uncertain subtype), Female (unidentifiable), Furniture (unidentifiable/uncertain), Other (unidentifiable/uncertain), and Large-scale Figure (unknown type).

[328] Specific contexts that include intrusive material from LH IIIB-C and later are detailed in the following chapter.

[329] The wheel (BE #470, 1951) was recovered by Papadimitriou and Petsas and there is no contextual information recorded for it. The tripod (SF (2) 01/15004) was found in 2001, but comes from a mixed chronological context.

[330] The same goes for the single *possible* fragment of a large female figure (it could also be part of an unusual vessel or anthropomorphic vessel for which there are comparanda on the citadel). I believe it dates to LH IIIA1: SF (51) 00/12025. See below and next chapter for traces of earlier ceramic production on site.

[331] I include the Bovine Wavy (Unspecified) and Female Transitional types in this count because there are relatively few fragments that could date to earlier or later in LH IIIA2. In the case of the Female Transitional figurines, two come from uncertain contexts (BE #s 519 and 522) and the third comes from a mixed context (SF (3) 07/07001). While I remain uncertain about these specific fragments, I do believe that it is possible/probable that Petsas artisans were making Transitional female figurines at the end of LH IIIA2 because they were making Transitional Kourotrophoi (see below). So, for now the type remains in the count.

[332] French 1971: 101-187.

IV.3: RANGE OF TYPES AVAILABLE TO CONSUMERS AT THE END OF LH IIIA2

The previous two sections have whittled down the extensive list of 46 figurine types presented in **TABLE 1** to a more manageable, though still imperfect 28 types. One thing that has already and will hopefully continue to become clear is that Petsas House customers had a lot of options to choose from. As will be shown in more detail below, modelers channeled most of their energies into making the standardized types of female and bovine figurines most well-known to Mycenaean archaeologists (female Phi B and Psi, bovine Linear 1 and Spine 1), but it cannot be demonstrated that any one artisan *specialized* in one type or even one category. In addition to the high-volume output of female and bovine figurines, artisans injected a steady stream of combination and 'other' types into the corpus too – none of which were as homogeneous in form or decoration.

In one final distillation, I reduce this number to 25. I do this merely to remove types that are differentiated in **TABLE 1** above, but that are either a *bit* too early to be included in the final lineup (Bovine Wavy 2) or that really do not comprise specific types.[333] The 25 types that I believe comprise the main range of available options to consumers are listed below in **TABLE 2.** These are the types of figurines for which the Petsas House corpus preserves solid evidence of manufacture and for which there are contemporary comparanda in archaeological deposits outside of Petsas House (see Chs. VI and VII).

TABLE 2: Types of terracotta figurines available to consumers at the end of LH IIIA2

	Female Figurines
1	Phi B
2	Phi B Kourotrophos
3	Psi
4	Psi Kourotrophos
5	Transitional
6	Transitional Kourotrophos
	Bovine Figurines
7	Bovine Wavy 2/Linear 1
8	Bovine Linear 1
9	Bovine Linear 2
10	Bovine Spine 1
11	Bovine Ladder
12	Bovine, Customized
	'Other' Figurines
13	Combination, Driven Ox
14	Combination, Chariot
15	Combination, Bull-rider/wrangler
16	Combination, Seated Figure
17	Furniture, Throne A
18	Furniture, Throne B
19	Furniture, Table/Stool
20	Furniture, Bed
21	Other, Chair Person
22	Other, Boat
23	Figure, Bovine

[333] Other (human, unspecified) and Combination (Connectors/yokes/fragments) – both of these 'types' are just catch-all fields for parts of other combination and 'other' types that cannot be securely identified.

24	Animal, Horse
25	Animal, Deer

Another point to consider is that within the most popular female figurine types (Phi B and Psi), there are typological variations: application (or not) of a plait or polos, painted fringe or plait, etc. that extended the options further. The same goes for bovine figurines. The 'bovine, customized' type listed above includes a few individualized bovids that do not conform to the standardized types: some have more carefully shaped heads and/or painted decoration that includes chevrons or dots as well as lines. These modified bovids would have also extended the impression of variety. This is to say nothing of the 'other types.' A chariot combination figurine could have one horse or two, one passenger or multiple, a parasol or none, etc. None of the furniture pieces is identical to any other. The individuality and artistry of 'other' types certainly enhanced the sense of variety available for customers to choose from.

In other words, the range of terracotta figurine types produced at Petsas House and available to customers at the end of LH IIIA2 can be characterized by its great simplicity and great extension. Figurine makers employed with thrift and economy a system of formulaic elements that allowed for the fulfillment of typological requirements, but that could also be customized to order (see more below). I intentionally echo Milman Parry's characterization of Homeric formulae here.[334] While Homeric poetry represents an entirely different tradition and artistic medium, its compositional elements can still be a useful comparison for envisioning how artisans manipulated the materials at hand in repeated maneuvers to fashion parts that were fitted together in recurring and innovative ways. The finished product(s) provisioned familiar, but beautiful objects that were woven into contemporary social fabric.

IV.4: TYPOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF FEMALE & BOVINE FIGURINES

This dissertation focuses primarily on the synchronic production and use of terracotta figurines during LH IIIA2. Now that the full range of figurine types available to customers has been laid out in **TABLE 2** above, however, it is important to take a step back and appreciate the diachronic extension of the figurine evidence at Petsas House. The various stratigraphic deposits from this workshop enable the rare opportunity to observe aspects of the evolution of female and bovine figurines alongside parallel developments in vessel forms. While this project does not delve into the symbolic or sociocultural significance that these products would have maintained for the populace, it is safe to conclude that analogous developments and innovations in figurine and vessel types represent manufacturing responses to consumer demands at Mycenae. The stylistic adjustments made to female and bovine figurines capture production decisions that increased output and, ultimately, the variety of types available for distribution. The best example of this step-by-step and in-tandem development of a figurine type and vessel form is the female Phi figurine and the kylix. The two forms undergo incremental stages of standardization and stylization while their numbers increase in production.

As will be shown in the following chapter, there are partial remains of an earlier structure underlying some of the rooms in the northern end of the Middle Terrace that have yielded substantial quantities of LH IIB and IIIA1 pottery and figurines that so far seem to suggest an earlier stage of ceramic production on-site before the main LH IIIA2 phase. The relevant deposits include high quality examples of goblets and(/or) kylikes as well as female figurines from all three ceramic phases:

[334] Parry 1928: 13-36.

LH IIB, LH IIIA1, and LH IIIA2.[335] The chronological strata are not as clean and undisturbed as we would like them to be, but we have enough material to reconstruct the typological development of both the kylix and the female Phi figurine within their production context.

The LH IIIA2 kylix (in versions for both individual and shared consumption) developed from its predecessor(s), the LH II and then IIIA1 goblet.[336] The goblets at Petsas House occur in both beautifully decorated and undecorated varieties, sometimes with two handles and sometimes with only one. The shape and decoration of the LH IIIA1 goblet are simplified in its iteration as the LH IIIA2 kylix, the most numerous type of vessel in the Petsas corpus. While there are many decorated examples of the IIIA2 kylix that can be appreciated in the collection, it is the flourishing of the undecorated kylix along with the sharp upsurge in production of *carinated* kylikes that characterize the production repertoire as it is preserved for us today. In addition to the escalated production of undecorated carinated kylikes, the introduction of the undecorated carinated bowl represents a visible shift in fineware production at Petsas House, one that signals further industrialization of the entire operation. These undecorated, carinated kylikes and bowls are manufactured in mass numbers with only basic characteristics and seemingly without any real concern for consistent clay finishes or what we might consider "quality control."[337] After LH IIIA2, the kylix continues its developmental journey and becomes one of the most ubiquitous and long-lived vessel shapes in Greek antiquity.

In a nearly identical trajectory, we see the development of the female Phi figurine at Petsas House beginning with *its* prototype, the LH IIB-IIIA1 Proto-Phi. Examples recovered from the LH IIB-IIIA1 contexts at Petsas House conform to patterns we see in the pottery and seem to represent at least two distinct styles of Proto-Phi, each style unified by aspects of its construction and its decoration. The first group (**FIGURES 6** and **7**) is identified by bulbous heads with large, applied eyes that are randomly decorated with dots and lines. Discoid bodies are rendered with long, pronounced arms that are applied to the body and positioned with the left reaching up between the applied breasts and the right resting on the belly. Not many in this group retain their stems, but the few that are preserved are quite short with nicely flared bases. The decoration on these, like on the goblets of the same period, stands out because it is so elaborate: fringe along the shoulders and chest, crosses or stars on the breasts, horizontal bars on the arms, and other wavy lines and dots all over their torsos. These elaborate examples precede the next wave of Proto-Phi figurines (**FIGURE 8**) with discoid or ovoid upper bodies that still have naturalistically rendered breasts and arms that are applied to the body, but with entirely linear decoration (the prevailing trend until regional variation overtakes figurine and pottery styles in the LH IIIC period). The arrangement of the arms is sometimes reversed too. Their stems are stretched out, though some still retain the bell-skirt flair that the earlier examples had.

[335] Although the particular figurines referenced in this description do not originate *exclusively* in the north end of the Middle Terrace.
[336] See Mountjoy 1986 and 1993.
[337] Shelton 2010: 195; 2015b (with further bibliography).



FIGURE 6: LH IIB/IIIA1 Female Proto-Phi Figurines. Plastic appendages and elaborate decoration. From left: SF (9) 12/04022, BE #521 (1950), SF (21) 13/21120, and SF (15) 13/21117; Group E. Photo by author.



FIGURE 7: LH IIB/IIIA1 Female Proto-Phi Figurines. Plastic appendages and elaborate decoration. Example on the right preserves bulbous head. From left: BE #521 (1950) and SF (8) 13/22005; Group E. Photo by author.



FIGURE 8: LH IIIA1 Female Proto-Phi Figurines. Plastic appendages and linear decoration. From left: SF (4) 12/21011, SF (5) 12/04014, and SF (1) 12/21002. Photo by author.

Female Proto-Phi figurines of the linear variety phase into the so-called Phi A type (**FIGURE 9**) which is nearly identical in its overall build and decoration, but without the plastically applied limbs – another stage in the simplification process. The Phi As are not a well-represented group at Petsas House because they are a short-lived phenomenon, but we have enough to know that they were fashioned in several sizes and that their stems become more and more columnar and their decorative lines fewer and fewer until they culminate in the female Phi B category.



FIGURE 9: LH IIIA1/IIIA2 Female Phi A Figurine. Linear decoration. SF (29) 00/12039. Photo by J. Tseng.



FIGURE 10: LH IIIA2 Female Phi B Figurines. Linear decoration. From front: BE #529 (1951), BE #524 (1950), BE #531 (1950), BE #564 (1951), and BE #530 (1951). Photo by J. Tseng.

The Phi B represents *peak* stylization of the female Phi type at Petsas House and is the most numerous type of female figurine (**FIGURE 10**). The Phi Bs do show variation in *some* aspects, but not in overall composition: discoid body, columnar stem, raised base. They usually have triangular, bare heads (although some do wear a short polos) and most have applied plaits down their backs. Decoration is universally linear all over their upper bodies, with just a few lines down the stem. These

figurines outnumber all other female types at Petsas House three to one and parallel the manufacture of kylikes in their increased quantities and abbreviated features.

In conjunction with this ramped up manufacture of the very stylized Phi B and the carinated kylix, Petsas craftspeople introduce the new Psi type into their repertoire – contemporary with the launch of their new carinated bowl. The Psi-type female figurines (**FIGURES 11** and **12**) are very much like their Phi B counterparts in build and in application of the decoration, but their heads and arms are not quite standardized yet. Variations include aspects of both the form and decoration. Some female Psi figurines have very triangular upper bodies while others retain the nearly discoid shape of their Phi B counterparts. Likewise, some have bare heads typical of Phi B figurines while others wear hats (and these can be variously decorated). Some have pointed hands and others have straight or paddle-shaped hands. It is not possible to speculate whether the Psi-type figurine is an *innovation* of Petsas artisans or simply a response to perceived competition with another workshop(s) or some other stimulus, but it is clear that the in-house modelers were experimenting with the form and decoration of Psi figurines using and building upon established techniques for making Phi Bs. While at Petsas House Phi B remains queen throughout the life of the workshop, it is the Psi type that in subsequent periods takes over and becomes the most widely produced and distributed type of female terracotta until the end of the Bronze Age (and even beyond, like the kylix).



FIGURE 11: LH IIIA2 Female Psi Figurines. These figurines exemplify some of the variation in their form and decoration. **Left**: SF (65+) 06/16531+ retains the very baggy, nearly discoid upper body and bare head of her Phi B counterparts. Her arms are quite short and very pointed. Photo by author. **Right**: BE #s557 and 483 (1950-1951), currently on display in the Mycenae Museum, shows perhaps some mastery and movement toward standardization of the type with a more triangular upper body, straight arms, and a short polos decorated with rays; Group D. Photo by J. Tseng.



FIGURE 12: LH IIIA2 Female Psi Figurines. These figurines further exemplify some of the variation in their form and decoration. **Left**: BE #558 (1950-1951) also wears a polos, this time painted monochrome, and sports a fringe. Her arms are intermediary between the two Psi-type figurines above in **FIGURE 11**. **Right**: BE #562 (1950-1951) exemplifies a small-sized Psi figurine with triangular upper body but very straight, upraised arms. Decorative lines are nearly straight as opposed to the more typical wavy lines. Photos by J. Tseng.

Bovine figurines undergo analogous stages of standardization beginning in LH IIB-IIIA1 when they are more naturalistically rendered in form (very curved horns, dewlaps, raised spinal ridge) and decoration (painted hides[338] or thick wavy lines with facial details). At Petsas House we have only a few examples of these early bovids, but they tend to be somewhat larger than their descendants and more variable in their overall shape and execution of the decoration – no two are alike (**FIGURE 13**). Some of these are also perforated along their bodies, probably a step taken to aid in the firing process, especially since they are on the larger side and of solid construction.[339]

[338] H. Schliemann would have very much appreciated the figurine in **FIGURE 13** (left) because when he found a similar figurine on the citadel, he interpreted the painted hide as an inscription. In a letter to Friedrich Max Müller, he sketched it, described the red color of the paint, and asked Müller to try to decipher the script. He had the same initial interpretation of a female Phi figurine with unusual decoration. He relayed to Müller that "such a rude idol as this has not been found yet" and asked him to attempt to decipher it. ASCSA Archives, Heinrich Schliemann Papers. Series BB, Folder 4. H. Schliemann to F. Müller, 25 August (female figurine) and 6 September (bovine figurine) 1876.

[339] Perforated examples of figurines include BE #461 (1950) and SF (22) 13/21120 (pictured in **FIGURE 13**). This practice is also visible on larger bovine figures.



FIGURE 13: LH IIB/IIIA1 Bovine Figurines. These pieces exemplify variations in form and decoration. **Left**: SF (22) 13/21120 Naturalistic-type bovid with a slightly raised spinal ridge, extended tail, and painted hide. This figurine, while smaller than other early examples, still has firing holes at its thickest points. Photo by author. **Right**: BE #468 (1950) A larger-sized Wavy 1 type bovine figurine shown in profile with a pronounced dewlap at right and thick, wavy line decoration all over body. Photo by J. Tseng.

These naturalistically rendered and fancifully decorated bovine figurines seem to quickly be scaled down and simplified in order to meet increased production demands. In fact, with very few examples of what might be considered intermediary or early Wavy 2 types, we get many, many bovine figurines in what I have typified as Wavy 2/Linear 1 type. For the most part this type aligns with E. French's description of Wavy 2-type bovids that are introduced in LH IIIA1,[340] but in the Petsas House collection they are so very similar in construction and decoration to Linear 1 types and many are probably made by the same hand(s) during LH IIIA2 late, that I find it more useful and inclusive to describe them as a sort of contemporary hybrid that exhibits features relevant to both Wavy 2 and Linear 1 types. The Petsas House Wavy 2/Linear 1 type (**FIGURE 14**) features torsos that are slightly larger in diameter than the fully stylized Linear 1 and Spine 1 types (see below), but not so thick as their predecessors that they needed to be perforated before firing.[341] They also tend to have thicker, longer, more upright necks and wider attached tails. Decoration always consists of close-set parallel wavy lines, very carefully painted, running along the back and sides of the body. The legs, heads, and horns exhibit some variation: legs can have vertical or horizontal lines (although in most cases only front legs have horizontal bars and back legs have vertical lines) while some horns are wider or curvier than other examples and can also have vertical and/or horizontal line decoration. A few examples include horizontal lines across the chest or very close-set rings around the snout. The Wavy 2/Linear 1 bovids could coincide stylistically with the transition from female Phi A to B in LH IIIA2, but the Petsas corpus shows that they continue being produced even up until the very end of the workshop's life and that they are essentially standardized from the outset.

The Wavy 2/Linear 1 bovids culminate in the super-standardized Linear 1 type. Like the female Phi B terracottas, the Linear 1 bovids are the most numerous type of bovine figurine produced at the workshop (although only by a slim margin compared to Wavy 2/Linear 1, as can be appreciated in **TABLE 1**). They do not constitute a real departure from the Wavy 2/Linear 1s in their form or decoration, they are just simplified enough that they must indicate a shift in speed of manufacture.

[340] French 1971: 152-154.

[341] Wavy 2/Linear 1 type bovine figurines tend to have a torso diameter of about 2.0cm, while Linear 1 and Spine 1 types are smaller at 1.5cm.

Bodies are reduced in size to a smaller diameter, the legs are almost always tall and very straight (with pointed, only very slightly rounded feet), and the horns are wide-set crescents. As the name of the type suggests, decoration is universally linear – with fewer, straighter lines decorating the entire body and appendages (**FIGURE 15**). Some examples, however, at least at Petsas House, do retain the horizontal bar decoration on the legs and horns that are present in Wavy 2 and Wavy 2/Linear 1 types. Most Linear 1-type bovine figurines do not exhibit any painted facial features, another trend that began with the Wavy 2/Linear 1s.



FIGURE 14: LH IIIA2 Bovine Figurines of Wavy 2/Linear 1 Type. **Left**: From bottom: SF (128) 04/16349, SF (182) 03/16281, SF (125) 03/16259, SF (142) 03/16264) Bodies of thicker diameter with wide raised tails and well-painted close-set parallel wavy line decoration. **Right**: From left: SF (105) 04/16338 and SF (197) 03/16288 Front bodies with upright necks, painted collar-bands placed high on the neck, and variation in snout and front leg decoration. Photos by author.



FIGURE 15: LH IIIA2 Bovine Figurines of Linear 1 Type. These figurines have thinner bodies and tails as well as straighter, more wide-set legs and horns. Painted decoration exhibits fewer and straighter lines. From left: SF (6) 03/16202, BE #417 (1951), BE #416 (1951), BE #415 (1951). Group F. Photo by author.

Contemporary with the production of the Linear 1 bovids, a variation, the Spine 1 type, is introduced along with the female Psi and the carinated bowl. Spine 1 bovine figurines are recognized

only by their decoration - a central painted spine running from head to tail with radiating horizontal "rib lines" along the torso.[342] The Spine 1 bovids at Petsas House (**FIGURE 16**), like their female Psi counterparts, show some variation in style and "show their early place in the series" – a fact recognized early on by E. French looking only at the examples excavated by Papadimitriou and Petsas.[343] Whether the Linear 1 and Spine 1 types were introduced simultaneously into the repertoire as slightly different simplifications of the Wavy 2/Linear 1 type or whether the Linear 1 bovids precede the Spine 1 bovids is difficult to say. The Petsas House evidence suggests, perhaps, the former. One discrete group of Spine 1 bovids, Group G (see below), tends to have better defined anatomical features – very wide-set horns and well-shaped cylindrical snouts – as well as more lines in their decoration that, I think, could have been made by someone accustomed to making Wavy 2/Linear 1 bovids. The problem is that the only secure way to identify Group G is when the head (and facial decoration) is preserved – in which case the back body is *not* preserved because bovine figurines usually break at the neck/torso join. Consequently, there are no examples in that group for which a torso diameter can be measured. In addition to Group G are a few examples that exhibit horizontal bars on their legs and horns and echo stylistic choices made for the Wavy 2/Linear 1s. By the time that Group F (see below) is manufacturing figurines, moreover, the maker creates both Linear 1 and Spine 1 types with the same overall morphology. Group F, however, possibly contains at least one example of a Wavy 2/Linear bovid as well. The co-occurrence of the three types by one craftsperson does imply synchronicity, but it is not possible to ascertain how many instances of creation we have preserved within the group – one batch? Several sequential batches produced over how long a period of time? If the Wavy 2/Linear 1 example for Group F belongs to an earlier batch made by the same artist, are we just seeing that craftsperson's penchant for leaving out the eyes in all the types s/he produced over time? Still, like the female Phi B and Psi type figurines and the linear-style bovids, the Spine-type bovine figurines continue to be simplified and produced at scale in LH IIIB. The LH IIIA2 Petsas House collection preserves the moment in time when they are introduced into the terracotta repertoire and are in the preliminary stages of their standardization by one or (more likely) more than one figurine maker.



FIGURE 16: LH IIIA2 Bovine Figurines of Spine 1 Type. Shown here is some of the variation in the execution of their decoration. **Left**: SF (8) 00/03007 with facial decoration, short rib lines, and enclosed horizontal bars on legs. **Right**: BE #404 (1951) with facial features, vertical lines on front body, and long, thin rib lines; Group G. Photos by J. Tseng.

The descriptions above zoom in on some of the defining typological features of the female and bovine terracottas produced continuously at Petsas House during much of the workshop's

[342] French 1971: 156.
[343] French 1971: 156.

lifetime. These figurines are important to the Petsas collection, of course, but also to Mycenaean terracotta studies in general because the preserved examples illustrate the incremental stages of development for these popular female and bovine types. The key take-away is that the forms were progressively simplified as their numbers increased. Their numbers increased, presumably, because demand for these objects increased and potters needed to meet that demand. But the ever-present trend toward stylization and the clear ability of the artisans to respond to the pressures of consumer demand does not apply to the *entire* repertoire of terracotta figurines preserved in the Petsas House corpus. What about the 'other' 15% mentioned above (IV.1)?

IV.5: 'OTHER' TYPES PRODUCED AT PETSAS HOUSE

At Petsas House, the extreme standardization of certain vessel shapes is offset by clear evidence for the careful crafting of quite labor-intensive pieces: specialized vessels like rhyta, lustrous polished vases in open and closed shapes, pictorial stirrup jars and kraters, decorated kylikes, as well as bowls and cups with delicately rendered marine or floral motifs with added white paint.[344] These antithetical modes of production characterized the manufacture of terracotta figurines, too. While certain female and bovine types were produced at scale and their forms incrementally simplified to increase production speed, other types of terracottas show that the artisans slowed it down occasionally and spent time crafting individual pieces.

Sometimes, this 'slowing down' resulted in only minor elaborations of the standardized types. There are female and bovine figurines in the collection that do not stray from their standardized counterparts morphologically, only in the finishing of their anatomical details and the application of their decoration. One particularly lovely example of this is a female Psi figurine with a high "basket polos," SF (43) 13/02119 (**FIGURE 17**). The shape of her body exemplifies that transitional stage when Psi figurines are being adapted from the Phi B shape: she has a wide upper body with curving sides and her upraised arms do not yet conform to a standard shape, in this case they are short and end in rounded paddles. Her decoration mimics that of the female Phi B figurines with well-executed wavy lines all over the upper body. What makes her stand out from the Psi and Phi B crowd, however, is her two-tiered 'basket polos' decorated with fine wavy lines. This figurine, in my view, represents a sort of hybrid between the rapid-production Phi B and Psi figurines and the more labor-intensive specialized types (see more below). The sculptor of this figurine was clearly experienced in modeling female terracottas of the customary types, but was also willing to take the time to elaborate on a theme. Whether this sculptor was innovating or emulating the work of contemporary (rival?) craftspeople remains a question, but Psi-type figurines wearing this type of elaborated polos are found in LH IIIA2 funerary contexts both in the Argolid and in the Argo-Saronic (see esp. Ch. VII).[345]

[344] See Shelton 2010: 193-197; 2016: 321-323.

[345] Excellent parallels for this figurine can now be identified in the Tomb A assemblage at Lazarides, Aegina (see Polychronakou-Sgourtitsa 2009: 634, Fig. 10. A similar figurine was also found with the infant burial assemblages in Room C at Agios Konstantinos (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003b: 259-260, Fig. 10a-b; on display in the Archaeological Museum of Poros). These sites are discussed further below, Ch. VII. There is another very close parallel from the Evangelistria Cemetery at Nauplion as well that is currently on display in the Archaeological Museum of Nauplion.



FIGURE 17: LH IIIA2 Female Psi Figurine with "Basket Polos." The figurine has rounded "hands" and painted dot fringe, SF (43) 13/02119. **Left**: Front view. **Right**: Back view. Photos by author.

A similar example in the bovine category can be identified in what I believe to be one figurine, although the remaining fragments do not all join (**FIGURE 18**). The body, SF (65) 12/07182 was discovered in Area H while the not-quite-joining head was discovered in two pieces in the well in Room Π (58)+(89) 04/16321 (refer to plan in **FIGURE 2**). An additional segment of the left horn, moreover, was recovered from a bag of loose bovine appendages from the 1950s (BE #422). This bovid shares some of the morphological characteristics of other standardized bovine types, particularly Linear 1s and Spine 1s with their slimmer torso diameters, but extra care was taken in rendering the elongated snout and very curved horns of this figurine. The decoration further sets this piece apart because, instead of the customary linear motif, it is covered over with finely executed chevrons that are neatly organized into individual panels on the body – one panel on each side of the torso, scaled down versions of the same panels on either side of the snout, and separate panels on and beneath the horns (with the chevrons pointing in opposite directions on each horn). Like the Psi figurine with the basket polos, the craftsperson responsible for this bovid understood well the syntactical framework of the bovine category, but maximized its potential for beauty.



FIGURE 18: LH IIIA2 Bovine Figurine with Custom Decoration. Both the head and body of this bovine figurine are decorated with beautifully executed enclosed chevron panels. Left, head: (58) + (89) 04/16321 from the well in Room Π. Right, body: SF (65) 12/07182 from Area H. Not pictured: short segment of the left horn from BE #422, 1950-1951. Photo by author.

An important type of figurine mentioned several times throughout this project (see especially Ch VII) is the female Kourotrophos. Kourotrophoi are regularly interpreted as 'elaborate' or highly specialized types.[346] But the Petsas House corpus shows that they are relatively simple modifications of the standard types too. The collection includes Kourotrophoi in each of the LH IIIA2 female types: Phi B, Psi, and Transitional in more than one size (**FIGURES 19** and **20**). The Phi B and Psi Kourotrophoi conform to the typological requirements of their standardized forms and decoration with the only elaboration being the extra bit of applied clay at the left breast which represents the infant. The Transitional Kourotrophoi, on the other hand, are not balanced by many childless Transitional types in the Petsas corpus. There is *one* fragmentary Transitional-type figurine that does not hold a child that was recovered by Papadimitriou and Petsas from the north end of the Middle Terrace in Room Zeta.[347] Most of the right-side of the figurine is broken off, however, and it *could*, in fact, also be a Kourotrophos, but its state of preservation does not allow us to know for sure.[348] I believe that the Transitional Kourotrophoi at Petsas House represent instead a variation of the Psi type where the arms are folded across the chest to hold the infant instead of raised upward.[349] This idea is supported by the placement of the arm joins on the shoulder at the exact point where they could have been molded to point upward (and do so on other Psi figurines), by the appearance of the short (Psi-style) polos on the larger Transitional Kourotrophos preserved in the collection (BE #512, 1950-1951), as well as by the decoration of the arms. In fact, the larger Transitional Kourotrophos might have been made by the same artisan that made the Psi figurine with "basket polos" described above and possibly at least one other Psi-type figurine in the collection, SF (2) 00/03002 + (10) 00/14006. These figurines are unified by their size, upper body shape, and execution of the applied plaits. The smaller Transitional Kourotrophos fits into one of the "artist groups" identified at Petsas House (see below, Group B) and likewise mirrors the shape and decoration of a Psi figurine in the

[346] See, for example, Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 135-146; 2009.
[347] BE #519 (1950), referenced in French 1971: 123. See next chapter for description of Room Zeta.
[348] French also believed that this piece had a hollow stem (French, E. 1971: 123), but, again, the break falls at exactly the wrong spot to say that with certainty and it could have had a solid stem like the other examples in the Petsas collection. If it did have a Hollow stem, it is more likely a LH IIIB intrusion (Papadimitriou and Petsas had to excavate through disturbed overburden in the area and this piece's exact context is not known).
[349] For further discussion of the Transitional/Transitional Kourotrophos type, see also next section (IV.6) in connection with Group B.

same group. Morphological distinction between this Transitional type and other Kourotrophoi, then, can be understood as part of the developmental experimentation of the *Psi* type in this collection already described above.



FIGURE 19: LH IIIA2 Female Kourotrophos Figurines. **Left**: BE #511 (1950-1951) An intact Phi B figurine with applied infant at left breast. Photo by J. Tseng. **Right**: SF (14) 00/12019 Only existing fragment in the collection of a Psi Kourotrophos with infant applied at left breast. Photo by author.



FIGURE 20: LH IIIA2 Female Transitional Kourotrophos Figurines. These two are the only two of this type so far identified in the Petsas House corpus. **Left**: BE #512 (1950-1951) Larger version looking very Psi-like with her polos, dot fringe, and short horizontal bar decoration on her arms. As usual, the infant is applied at left breast. **Right**: BE #513 (1951) Smaller scale version of the same type of figurine with infant applied to left breast. Member of Group B, see below. Photo by author.

In addition to these deviations are innovations. Petsas craftspeople incorporated stylistic trends known from the more usual types, but turned them into something completely new in LH IIIA2.[350] A good example of such an innovation in the Petsas corpus is the deer figurine. Deer are not a category of animal terracottas recognized by E. French in her monumental study of Mycenaean figurines. She does describe and illustrate at least two examples of deer, but she identifies them as other animals.[351] The new data from Petsas House, though, allows us to identify them more confidently as their own (small) category of animal terracottas. The collection includes two nearly complete examples[352] (**FIGURE 21**) and fragments of at least five more.[353] The defining morphological features include a tall, upright (or mostly upright) neck, similar to a horse's, but generally smaller in size. The heads are well shaped and have a short snout and antlers that are represented by a strip of clay that is curled forward onto the forehead, what French refers to as a "curled forelock."[354] The tails are distinctive too in that they stick straight up from the rump or curl forward onto the animal's back (and mirror the curled antlers). Legs can vary in shape, but most are shorter than typical bovine legs. The Petsas House deer are decorated in variations of the Linear 1, Spine 1, or Ladder motifs, although there is one example that is entirely monochrome. Not only do these figurines represent a distinct typological branch within the broader category of animal terracottas, but the limited contexts in which the deer were found within the complex offer the possibility of reconstructing a primary assemblage. All the deer figurine fragments were found clustered relatively close together in the well in Room Π, except for two: BE #457 (**FIGURE 21** [left]) and one small fragment from Area Tau (SF (275) 12/19370) that is nearly identical to (60) 03/16228++ (**FIGURE 21** [right]). It is tempting to think that all these deer were originally stored or displayed together in the vicinity of Room Γ and/or Area T. In this case, the fragments from the well in Room Π could represent part of the clean-up event when, quite serendipitously, (part of) a primary assemblage remained together at the time it was swept or dumped into the well.[355] The pieces missed by the clean-up crew remained closer to their original storage or display location. If these deer figurines *were* originally clustered together, what might they represent? Part of a special commission ready to be shipped (in which case they might have been stashed in or near Room Γ)? Were they being stored or displayed on a shelf that tumbled down onto and over the wall between the two areas? Perhaps they were on an upper story. In any case, the morphological similarities of the surviving pieces and their decoration in the standardized motifs known from bovine terracottas shows that they were made by Petsas craftsmen often enough for there to have been a formula for their production. Such "occasional production," however, does seem

[350] Whether the innovations were indeed born at the Petsas House workshop or whether on-site artisans were emulating innovations from other potters/sculptors in different workshops is not possible to pinpoint just yet.

[351] French 1971: 160 and corresponding Pl. 27a illustrating 52-398a from Mycenae. In this case, the figurine is described as a "crested animal." See also French 1971: 162 and corresponding Pl. 25c illustrating NAM 2658 from Mycenae. The animal is described and labeled as a horse. She also mentions the similar example from Petsas House (no number cited, but must be BE #457 from 1951) as a comparable horse with "curled forelock." Horses certainly do occur with "curled forelocks" and a good example of that is Piraeus Museum 5480, a two-horse chariot combination figurine from Agios Konstantinos on Methana with two horses with "curled forelocks" pulling a chariot with multiple passengers (see Konsolaki 2003a: Fig. 16). Piraeus Museum 5513 from the same site is labeled as an unidentified 'animal' (see Konsolaki 2003a: Fig. 25), but I believe its "curled forelock" and curled tail allow it to be classified as a deer figurine – even if horses with "curled forelocks" occur in the same assemblage. It is not impossible that specimens from other sites with "curled forelocks" do represent horses on the basis of comparison with the Methana chariot, but the upright/curled tails in the non-combination examples lead me to believe that they are meant to represent deer or stags.

[352] BE #457 (1951) and SF (60) 03/16228++.

[353] SFs (84) 03/16241 [monochrome], (92) 03/16243, (9) 04/16304, (68) 04/16326, and (275) 12/19370.

[354] French 1971: 162.

[355]Future studies will try to link the well "strata" with other deposits located throughout the house. See more on this in the next chapter.

to generally correspond with the sporadic distribution of deer at other Mycenaean sites.[356] Likewise, deer are not as frequently represented as females or bovids in other forms of Mycenaean art, but they do occur regularly on vase and wall painting and in the so-called "minor arts," like seal imagery and inlaid work. The association of deer with hunting in those other media, however, seems incongruous with the iconography embodied by other types of terracotta figurines and is a topic worth deeper consideration in the future.



FIGURE 21: LH IIIA2 Deer Figurines. Both are restored from several fragments. **Left**: BE #457 (1951) shows a deer figurine with very nicely curled antlers. The tail is broken off, but would have extended upward. Decoration: ladder pattern. Photo by J. Tseng. **Right**: SF (60) 03/16228++ shows a similar deer figurine, with smaller antlers and prominent tail. Decoration: modified Linear 1. Photo by author.

Steering away from individual female and animal figurines now, there are several terracottas in the collection that combine human *and* animal elements in complex ensembles. Most do fit within typological categories created and described by E. French, with some updates, but no two are exactly alike.[357] They exemplify the slower-paced, labor-intensive artisanal products that Petsas craftspeople were also adept in creating. A bull-rider/wrangler figurine is one such example of a more direct human and animal combination (without the intermediary of a vehicle or agricultural machinery).[358] In its current state, the head of the bovine does not attach to the lower body, but both upper and lower body fragments preserve parts of the respective upper and lower body of the rider/wrangler (see below, **FIGURE 22** as well as Ch. VII.1.4 **FIGURE 45** for a comparandum from Aegina).[359] The animal is basically a typical bovine figurine with long cylindrical torso, tall legs, and an applied tail. Its

[356] French refers to four examples of "horses with curled forelocks," two from Athens and two from Mycenae. The Mycenae examples are listed above. The Athens pieces include one from a tomb (T 1960) in the area of the historical Agora, while another came from the North Slope of the Acropolis. See French 1971: 160 and 162. The "new" animal from Agios Konstantinos (Piraeus Museum 5513; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: Fig. 25) which I think is a deer also fits with the "occasional production/acquisition" model (see more, Ch. VII.2.5).

[357] French 1971: 165-174.

[358] There are only 3 fragments of possible bull-riders/wranglers in the Petsas corpus. This bull-rider/wrangler from Area B (SF (65) 08/02056) is the most complete example. There is an additional horn with attached (human) hand that must have once belonged to a very similar ensemble (SF (151) 12/19369). There is also one small humanoid rider that survives completely, but the animal that s/he sat astride no longer survives (BE #460, 1950-1951). The bull-rider/wrangler from Area B is mentioned again in the next chapter while the general type is commented upon further in Ch. VII in connection with the figurines from the Aphaia Sanctuary and those from Room A at Agios Konstantinos.

[359] In addition to the piece from Aegina, even closer comparanda are now to be found in the collection from Agios Konstantinos on Methana, see Ch. VII.2 for descriptions and references.

head is particularly well sculpted and includes the usual wide-set crescent horns as well as a long, very cylindrical snout that is perfectly flattened at the end. Decoration, too, is essentially standard Linear 1 design, but with painted eyes and additional emphasis on the horns and snout. The person straddling the bovid is evidenced by its lower legs that still adhere to the animal's shoulders and most of its upper body. The person's torso is attached directly to the back of the bovid's head and wraps its arms around the horns, holding fast. Unfortunately, the figure's head and mid-body do not survive, but the upper back is decorated with an outline and vertical wavy lines that mirror the decoration of the animal. Bull-riders/wranglers are uncommon in the terracotta repertoire of the Late Helladic period and each one is unique. The form in general is evocative of well-known bull-leaping imagery from Aegean wall painting and seal imagery, but the LH III Argive and Argo-Saronic examples seem to emphasize the rider's connection to the front body of the animal, especially the horns.[360] While this may just be an alteration of the image to suit the artistic medium, it could also illustrate a variation of bull-sport that was known and practiced in the Peloponnese at the end of the Late Bronze Age.[361]



FIGURE 22: LH IIIA2 Bull-leaper Figurine. This type is a combination figurine of the type variously referred to as bull-leaper/-rider/-wrangler. SF (65) 08/02056. **Top**: head of the bovid with painted facial features and detailed linear design across the head/horns; upper body of the rider is attached directly to the back of the head. **Bottom**: Lower body of the animal with linear decoration; the rider's feet attached to the bovid's shoulders. Photo by author.

Some combination figurines at Petsas House include a vehicle – either a plough or a chariot. While there are *fragments* of many such combinations in the surviving corpus, as indicated above in **TABLE 1**, only two driven ox figurines and two chariot ensembles survive well enough to comment upon. Both types are described at length by E. French,[362] but the Petsas examples are worth describing because they showcase the artisans' scope *and* signature style.

To begin with, the so-called "driven-ox" figurines are abbreviated ensembles that are well represented in figurine collections from different types of sites and normally feature a small figure

[360] For an interesting interpretation of these figurines, see Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a, 2016a, and 2016b.
[361] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a, 2016b. A still helpful review of bull-leaping imagery can be found in Younger 1976, but none of the Minoan (or the few Mycenaean) images that he discusses really align with the position of the riders/wranglers of the Mycenaean figurines.
[362] French 1971: 164-166.

attached directly to the backside of a bovid, the only indication of the actual plough being the connecting strip that links the person and the back of the animal's head.[363] This description applies to the two Petsas examples which, naturally, also fit well within the production repertoire of the workshop and conform typologically to the standardized bovine varieties. The more complete driven ox ensemble, BE #452 (1950), includes a bovid of (essentially) Spine 1 type that can be grouped with one of the "artist groups" detailed below (**FIGURE 29** [left]). The other example, BE #463 (1951), includes a bovid of Linear 1 type. The two figurines are nearly identical in dimension and in the way the human figures are formed and attached to the bovid and to the connector. It is quite possible that both were made by the same craftsperson, but not enough of BE #463 survives to say for certain.[364] What can, at least, be said is that they are similar enough in their form and execution that they are surely contemporary with one another. The animal part of the combination fits into one (each) of the two main types of bovine figurines produced during LH IIIA2 – Spine 1 and Linear 1 types. So, while the driven ox ensembles can be grouped with the 'labor-intensive,' artisanal figurines in the corpus, they clearly show their makers' familiarity with and ability to create standardized types and elaborate them as necessary when crafting specialized types.

Chariots might be regarded as the next step up in ensemble figurine complexity after the driven oxen. They are composed of more animals, more people, and generally more parts than the driven oxen are. Logically, then, chariot ensembles do overlap with other Petsas terracottas in aspects of their form and decoration, but they also diverge significantly from each other and from other types. The first one survives in two non-joining fragments, BE #s 453 and 454, both of which were recovered by Papadimitriou and Petsas in 1950 or 1951 (see **FIGURE 23**). Both fragments are currently lumped together with others 'probably from Γ' (see below, Ch. V.1). The surviving parts include the head and front body of the left-side horse (BE #454) as well as the back body of the right-side horse and the lower part of the chariot box with the bases of attached human figures (BE #453). The horses, in their shape and decoration, align with the standardized bovids from this workshop. They have thin, ovoid torsos and tall, straight legs. The surviving neck of the left-side horse is quite tall, upright, and very flat in section while the head is a barely distinguishable extension of the neck, probably molded in place, with only slightly raised (but separately molded) pointy ears. The horse's nose is broken off. The decoration of both horses is entirely linear, with short rib lines (without the central spine) along their torsos that lengthen into vertical lines down the legs. No additional painted detail, like facial features, can be discerned in their current state of preservation. Only the very bottom of the rounded chariot box survives, but there are attachment pieces for three or, possibly, up to four applied figures

[363] Unlike the bull-rider/wrangler described above and the chariot figurines detailed below, the driven-ox type combination figurines are not directly associable with scenes or activities represented often in Aegean art. The fact that they always consist of only one animal as well as the fact that they lack any real modelling of the attached vehicle (plough? ox cart?) shows that they are abbreviations, *pars pro toto*, similar in principle to the extreme simplification and standardization of the usual female and bovine types. As shown below, however, craftsmen at Petsas House (and other contemporary workshops) were perfectly capable of modelling chariot boxes, furniture, and models of other vehicles – so why not do so here? One might think, then, they represent another version of a bull-sport where the connector is a lasso or similar contraption. Some of the humans in these driven-ox combinations, however, wear wide-brimmed hats, apparel more suitable for agricultural activity (?). So, the current identification as 'ox-drivers' with a presumed agricultural connection remains our best guess. Even if such a seemingly "mundane" representation is the case with these figurines, they could be associated with elite imagery since the possession of both cows and oxen were a marker of wealth. This may be the case in Wace's T13 (see below, Ch. VI.3.8). Still, they are a departure from the usual imagery represented in other art forms and are ripe for further investigation. See also the discussions in Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 67-73; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 180-181; 2016a: 53-54 (with further references).

[364] The head and front body of the animal in BE #463, which would allow for more certain grouping with Group F or any other "artist," sadly, does not survive. See below for further commentary on these two figurines and others from Room Gamma as well as what they represent with respect to the overall collection at Petsas House.

inside it. The original arrangement might have included two individuals and an umbrella, a common grouping in chariot figurines.[365] Although fragmentary, this figurine exhibits morphological and decorative traits familiar to us from other figurines in the collection. The way the lines on the bodies are painted are almost identical to the decoration of the bovid in the driven-ox combination, BE #452. This chariot figurine might well have been made by one of the recognized "artists," perhaps Group H or F (see below), but there are not enough surviving parts and no other exact comparanda within the corpus to say for certain. The second example of a chariot figurine from the Petsas corpus, SF (244) 03/ 16288++ has been reassembled from *many* fragments that were dispersed throughout the deep well in Room Π (**FIGURE 24**). In this case, there is only one horse and one person in the chariot box. Morphologically the figurine shares several features with the other chariot, namely the horse's long ovoid torso, the tall, flat, upright neck, and the head molded directly onto the neck with separately molded pointy ears. The rounded shape of the chariot box that rises directly from the back body of the horse is similar to that of BE #453 as well. There are significant differences too, though. The horse's legs, for example, are flattened and are similar in shape to the small-to-medium sized "oval strap" handles on kylikes at Petsas House. The decoration is linear, but completely unorganized. The lines change direction and thickness in many places all over the figurine. In this case, the chariot box occupant survives better and stands facing the front of the horse hugging the reins (so we mostly see the person's backside).[366] A slight separation of the person's legs is suggested by the shape of the body, but the way the clay was smoothed onto the chariot box obscures any real definition. S/he is broken at the shoulders and the head does not survive (or hasn't been found yet). The decoration of the person and the carriage continue the unorganized linear design of the animal. This decoration notwithstanding, there are two comparable one-horse, one-person chariots from the specialized assemblage at Agios Konstantinos fashioned in similar manner as this one.[367] In sum, the two chariot ensembles from Petsas House that survive well enough to analyze show morphological similarities, but also variation. Every *other* fragment of a chariot from the existing corpus exhibits an analogous mix of morphological and/or decorative similarities and differences too, indicating that many chariots were produced at Petsas House, but that each one was unique and probably made to order. Like the bull rider/wrangler, the chariot figurines call to mind pictorial scenes in other forms of Aegean art, especially in vase and wall paintings where horse-drawn chariots lead vehicles in which stand human figures that face forward and 'process' around the surface of the vessel.[368]

[365] See, for example, Piraeus Museum 5480, 5481, 5482; NAM 2262. See Thaler & Vetters 2013 for an up-to-date discussion of chariot iconography, including examples in terracotta.

[366] Like the people who 'drive' the oxen who also 'hug' the connector piece. There is a chance, however, that this chariot figurine had an additional, abbreviated occupant or umbrella, but the way it is broken makes it difficult to say for sure. If it did, it would only have been a partial person/umbrella. I believe that the break pattern reflects the small figure's separately molded arms, the top of the chariot box, and the place where the reins connected to the figure/box.

[367] Piraeus Museum 5486 from Agios Konstantinos on Methana (now on display in the Piraeus Archaeological Museum) and another from the same site for which I was unable to locate a museum number (currently on display in the Archaeological Museum of Poros). The latter is closer in overall morphology and decoration to the Petsas example.

[368] Chariot scenes in vase painting are careful in their portrayal of the four-spoked wheels of the vehicles, too. There is one model of a four-spoked wheel in the collection, BE #470 (1951), that might have been part of a larger scale chariot ensemble or might have been an independent model. It shows the same careful execution of the shape and decoration as the wheels in vase paintings do. For an excellent and up-to-date discussion of chariot iconography in all three media, see Thaler & Vetters 2013.



FIGURE 23: LH IIIA2 Chariot Figurine. **Left**: BE #454 (1950-1951) preserves most of the front body of the left-side horse (the interior/right side of this fragment shows attachment zones for connectors). The head is only barely distinguished from the rest of the neck, but the ears are modeled separately (not visible in this photo). **Right**: BE #453 (1950-1951) does not join, but is certainly part of the same combination and preserves the back body of the right-side horse and some of the chariot box with attached figures inside. The decoration of both fragments exhibits standardized linear motif known from bovine figurines. Photos by J. Tseng.



FIGURE 24: LH IIIA2 Chariot Figurine. SF (244) 03/16288++. This figurine retains the overall shape of the horse's body seen in BE #453 and 454 in **FIGURE 23** above, but varies in the shape of the legs, the decoration, and the inclusion of an abbreviated chariot box with only one occupant. Photo by author.

There is one final type of combination figurine that includes a human element, though this time combined with an inanimate object, a seat, instead of an animal. Only a handful of fragments of this type of figurine remain in the existing corpus, but, like the other combination terracottas, there are enough to showcase the internal variety and consistency that Petsas craftspeople were capable of. Unlike the other ensembles detailed above, however, there is evidence of this type of seated female figurine beginning in the LH IIB/IIIA1 period in conjunction with the early Phi types described

above.[369] Whereas driven oxen and chariots both seem to enter the figurine repertoire in (early) LH IIIA2, the seated females are part of it from the very beginning.[370] From the well in Room Φ comes one head of a female Phi figurine that was originally attached to a seat (SF (9) 13/21114, see next chapter for description of contexts mentioned here).[371] The seat, unfortunately, is lost, but her presence in this chronologically sealed deposit confirms the occurrence of this type early on (and probably the on-site production of it and similar ones). Surviving decoration is linear, including on the top of her head, and presumably would have continued over the chair and lower body. A very similar, though slightly larger example of a seated Phi comes from Room Υ, SF (43) 07/13436. This time the upper back of the chair does survive and confirms that the linear decoration extended onto the seat as well as all over the figure.[372] The last example of an identifiable female type, another Phi (SF (27) 02/16132), comes from the other chronologically sealed well deposit in the complex, the well in Room Π. This time the head is not preserved but the discoid upper body with rounded breasts and the columnar stem (bent in this case to conform to the shape of the seat, now missing) do survive. Her decoration is typical of a Phi A/B with an outline around the torso and many vertical wavy lines on the upper and lower body. These three figurines, though fragmentary, are important because they consist of recognizable female-type figurines whose bodies are just adapted to fit their seat.

Other examples in this type from Petsas House do better preserve the actual chairs, but in those cases the applied figures are amorphous strips of clay or otherwise indistinct forms that cannot be typified independently beyond 'seated figure.' Perhaps the best example of this is BE #456 (1951), a solid construction three-legged chair (French's type A throne) with applied strip figure (shown below in **FIGURE 27** [Left: second from left]).[373] The furniture legs survive only where they connected to the chair itself, their lower parts have broken off. The person consists only of a wide, flat strip of clay applied directly to the chair in the center. No head or arms remain, unfortunately, but where the lower body is broken off, enough survives to discern that the figure originally had two separately modeled legs that would have extended over the edge of the chair. The decoration further distinguishes the person from its chair – there are vertical lines on the figure only and horizontal lines elsewhere on the interior of the chair, although vertical lines cover the back (exterior) of the chair. Two other 'seated figure' terracottas found during the 1950s excavations preserve the chair too. One, BE #458 (1950), is a *four*-legged solid-backed throne decorated with cross-hatching (shown below in **FIGURE 27** [Left: far left]). The seated figure itself is gone, however, and only the rough patch of clay on the seat where it was once attached remains. Another, BE #465 (1951), is unusual in its shape and decoration. The entire underside of the chair is broken away and so the arrangement of the legs is unclear. It might, in fact, even be a chariot box. A partial applied figure with separated, splayed legs lies against the seat/box. Both the seat and the person are covered with monochrome decoration, unlike any other combination figurine so far recovered from the site.

Two seated figures of a known, but odd, type round out the collection from Petsas House. They are quite similar to each other in overall concept and decoration, but with differences of form.

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[369] French 1971: 167-172.

[370] French 1971: 164-167 for chronology of these typeç (with further references for chariots).

[371] Because the lower body does not survive, she could be classified as either a Proto-Phi or an early Phi A type based on the morphology of her head and the decoration of her face.

[372] The context of this piece is not chronologically sealed and did contain material ranging in date from LH IIIA1 to Geometric, but there is nothing about its form or decoration that would suggest manufacture anywhere else but Petsas House. Another early Phi figurine, SF (4) 00/03006, is similar in construction and decoration to both of these and was probably seated on a similar throne with curved top, but not enough of the shoulder area is preserved to determine definitively whether she really was attached to a seat or not.

[373] French's "type A throne," though borrowing the categorization from Mylonas, see French 1971: 169 and 171 (see also Ch. III.7.)

Both seem to be part person/part chair, a further simplification of the 'seated figure' theme. BE #466 was recovered in 1950 by Papadimitriou and Petsas and described by them as 'demonic' in shape, see **FIGURE 25**.[374] It consists of an elongated torso in reclined position with one short 'leg,' like a furniture leg, emerging from its backside that doubles as a stool or seat. The figure also has two natural-looking, though short, legs that double as 'furniture' legs too. So, the structure of the overall piece is like a tripod chair, but completely anthropomorphic. The figure's right arm reaches upward, but is partially broken, while the left arm reaches back and clutches the wide leg/seat at back. The figure is broken at the neck, so nothing can be said about its head. The decoration is a little strange, too. On the front, a central vertical line runs from neck to groin and horizontal rib lines radiate from it across the body. Vertical lines cover the entire back side and the two front legs of the figure, but the left hand and the underside of the leg/seat that it clutches to are covered over completely with paint. The other figurine of this type was recovered by Shelton's team in 2006 from the well in Room Π, SF (88) 06/16538, **FIGURE 26**. It only partially survives, but has the same general decoration and morphological features as BE #466. The difference lies in that it is the chest/torso that doubles as the seat and it has 3 miniature tripod-style legs emerging from the upper back to serve as chair legs (instead of its own natural legs). The 1950s "chair person" might have been easy enough to classify as an outlier, but this very similar piece found in 2006 confirms its association with the Petsas corpus and even suggests that multiples of this type were produced.[375] Do they represent a stage of simplification (if not quite standardization) in the general 'seated figure' category, something that might be expected at Petsas House given the stages of simplification and standardization evident in other types of figurines, or are they their own separate class with their own associated network of meaning?



FIGURE 25: LH IIIA2 Seated Figure, "Chair Person" Type. BE #466 (1950). **Left**: Front view with broken right arm, left arm curving around to backside, and decorative scheme. **Right**: back of the figurine showing

[374] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 214. Also illustrated in Fig. 17 #201 on that same page. Described also by French 1971: 167 and illustrated in Pl. 29*a*.

[375] French (1971) illustrates a third "chair person" from Mycenae (55-590) in Pl. 27*a*, although she considers it part of a bird figurine as per her description of it on p. 160. The decoration of that one consists only of longitudinal lines instead of the central longitudinal line with horizontal lines emanating from it, but it fits in general style and date with those from Petsas House.

how the left arm clutches the seat/leg at back (although, in this image, the figurine is propped upright and the function of the seat as a leg is difficult to appreciate). Photos by J. Tseng.



FIGURE 26: LH IIIA2 Seated Figure, "Chair Person" Type. SF (88) 06/16538+. This piece differs slightly from that of BE #466, but is similar in its overall morphology and decoration. Photo by author.

In addition to combination figurines that, by definition, include more than one category of figurine – human, animal, vehicle, furniture – there are stand-alone models of furniture in the Petsas corpus. Most of the furniture models are fragmentary and they fall into the known type categories described by E. French and will therefore not be described in detail here (see **FIGURE 27** below).[376] Represented furniture types include the "rectangular object with four legs which has been recognized as a bed, bier, or table" as well as "circular objects with three legs... doubtless used as stools or low tables."[377] Both three-legged and four-legged thrones can be counted among the occupant-free chairs, most are open-work (type B), but there are parts of solid-backed (type A) thrones too. One small table or rectangular piece of furniture shows evidence that a person was lying on it (**FIGURE 27** [right]).[378] Each piece of furniture is uniquely crafted and uniquely decorated with slightly different configurations of lines, dots, chevrons, or similar patterns.

[376] French 1971: 172-173.
[377] French 1971: 172.
[378] This piece can now be compared to the recently published figurine from the NAM (Vlastos-Serpieris Collection), see Paschalidis 2023. I agree with Paschalidis in his dating of the NAM figurine and of its probable provenance from an Attic tomb, but I do not find it likely or provable that it belonged to a child before its interment. I find it more likely that it was produced specifically for interment and that this figurine and similar examples from elsewhere in the Mycenaean world portray a scene connected to death, as on the Tanagra larnakes (on the topic of figurines made for burial, see Ch. VI).



FIGURE 27: LH IIIA2 Seated Figure and Furniture Models. **Left**: From left: BE #458 (1950), a four-legged throne with attachment area for (now missing) figure, decoration in cross-hatching; BE #456 (1951), described above, seated figure with separately modeled legs on three-legged type A throne with linear decoration; SF (242) 03/16281+, a circular table with three legs and linear decoration. Photo by author. **Right**: BE #239 (1950-1951), a four-legged table with linear decoration. Currently on display in the Mycenae Museum. Photo by J. Tseng.

While typology might not be the most fascinating aspect of coroplastic studies, the Petsas House collection is hugely important for the typological characterization and sequencing of Mycenaean figurines. The broad range of types produced on-site, especially at the end of the workshop's life in LH IIIA2 late, occur together in this variety and quantity nowhere else – not even the large sanctuary deposits discussed in Ch. VII. This collection preserves a snapshot of the many types of terracotta figurines both produced and distributed locally (and probably regionally and extra-regionally) during a period of prosperity and growth at Mycenae. The quantities and styles of the types described above show that Petsas artisans were adapting their techniques to meet increased demand, particularly by simplifying complex forms and stylizing decorative schemes for swift execution. This coordinated response to such demand is visible in another way too, in the discrete habits and trademarks of individual craftspeople. These traits cannot be recognized in *every* terracotta figurine in the Petsas corpus due to the vast differences in states of preservation (see next chapter). The most frequent types, however, with the most stylized forms and decorations, do betray the work of individuals (or teams) at Petsas House.

IV.6: ATTRIBUTION

Attribution was not a method that was intended or planned at the outset of my investigation, but one that became immediately apparent upon close study of the terracottas (for a fuller note on this methodology, see above Ch. III.8).[379] At least two "hands" were identified by K. Shelton in her early work on the figurines.[380] The present study has added to the number of figurines attributable to those two artisans and has identified several more "artists." The following section does not attempt

[379] Identification of 'artist groups' is entirely due to the good state of preservation of the figurines from Room Gamma. While there are well-preserved figurines in many rooms throughout the complex, especially in the well in Room Π, most deposits are secondary and the figurines within them are scattered or more difficult to correlate with one another across the different rooms. The deposit in Room Gamma is the most cohesive primary deposit within the entire house and the figurines themselves are better preserved. This led to the initial identification of 'artist groups' and has allowed the identification of those same 'artists' elsewhere in the house. All the groups, see **APPENDIX A**, have at least one representative in Room Γ.

[380] Shelton 2009a.

to identify and trace specific "hands" across the entire culture or external collections the way Beazley did (Ch. III.8). It does, however, pinpoint patterns in the construction and decoration (always together) of the Petsas figurines that suggest specific craftspeople were creating batches of figurines and uniformly fabricating and decorating each piece, or that pairs of sculptors/painters consistently worked together.

So far, the groupings with attributable characteristics are restricted within their general categories (i.e. females or bovines), but, *within* these broad categories, groups can contain more than one sub-type. One example of an "artist group" that has already been mentioned is restricted to the bovine Spine 1 type, Group G. This group's place in the developmental sequence of bovine figurines has already been discussed above, but it is important to note the significant morphological features of this group. In every case the animal is crowned with wide, crescent-shaped horns and has a long, cylindrical snout that is well-shaped and flattened at the end. The body diameter of Group G figurines, unfortunately, not measurable in the preserved members of this group.[381] The decoration, however, always consists of the central spine beginning at the very tip of the snout and extending over the head (and, presumably, along the back and all the way to the end of the tail). The group's most distinctive features are the lack of any other paint on the snout, the intersection of spine and lines on the back of the neck in a sort of asterisk pattern, and the wide, painted eyes (**FIGURE 28**). All members of this group are built out of the buff/tan clay and slip (with an additional layer of red and/or brown slip for decoration) that is characteristic of many vessels and ceramic commodities produced at Petsas House. See **APPENDIX A** for a full description and list of Group G.



FIGURE 28: LH IIIA2 Bovine Figurines Attributed to Group G. Spine 1 Type. **Left**: BE #404 (1951) on the left and SF (140) 03/16264 show their well-defined, prominent snouts, wide-set horns, and the painted decoration of their faces with a single line beginning at the tip of the snout, wide eyes, and many lines on head and front body. **Right**: the back side of the same two figurines showing the pattern of intersecting lines on the back of the neck. Photos by author.

The bovine figurines in Group H, another grouping that is so far typologically restricted to Spine 1 type, have thinner cylindrical torsos than those of Group G as well as more upright necks. They are identified primarily by the execution of their decoration, especially by the very fine rib lines along the body. The lines are painted *very* finely and end in sharp points in an overlapping arrangement

[381] As noted above, bovine figurines most often break at the neck/body (shoulder) join. Group G is only identifiable when the front body, particularly the head, is preserved. Future studies may find a way to pair the heads in this group with bodies that are either not currently attributed or that have been categorized in another group where heads are not preserved.

on the belly of the bovid.[382] The preserved fragments also tend to show a preference for light buff clay and a deeper red paint for the decoration.[383] See **APPENDIX A** for a full description and list of Group H.[384]

Another group in the Petsas House collection, Group F, is composed of more than one type of bovine terracotta. So far the group includes Linear 1 and Spine 1 bovids as well as one driven ox combination (**FIGURE 29**).[385] Primary morphological traits include thin cylindrical torsos, tall, slightly splayed legs (one of which usually does not touch the ground), wide-set horns, thin, nicely shaped little snouts, and attached tails that are tucked between the back legs. The members of this group represent the peak of bovine standardization at Petsas House and their decoration is stylized to the point that some natural features, namely their eyes, are completely left out. The lines engulf their faces and continue over the whole body. Group F, because it contains more than one type, offers an opportunity to appreciate how one artisan could create the canonical standardized options or could elaborate upon them while maintaining consistent decorative choices across each type. See **APPENDIX A** for a full description and list of Group F.



FIGURE 29: LH IIIA2 Bovine Figurines Attributed to Group F. **Left**: BE #452 (1950) A combination driven-ox figurine featuring a bovine in (almost) Spine 1 type (no central spine) with the morphological and decorative characteristics typical of Group F. Currently on display in the Mycenae Museum. Photo by J. Tseng. **Right**: Three Linear 1 type figurines and two Spine 1 types belonging to Group F. All display similar morphology and execution of the decoration. From left: SF (6) 03/16202, BE #417 (1951), BE #416 (1951), BE #408 (1950), and BE #410 (1950-1951). Photo by author.

At the end of the developmental spectrum present in the Petsas House corpus is another small group of bovine figurines that is currently thought to represent the work of one artisan or duo, Group I (**FIGURE 30**). Each bovid in the group is characterized by a cylindrical torso similar in dimension to the ca. 1.5cm torsos of Group F. At the end of the torso, the attached tail is abbreviated in size and shape. Group I bovids share the wide-set crescent horns and well-shaped snouts of the Wavy 2/Linear 1, Linear 1, and Spine 1 types (at least in the one example with surviving head). Each figurine is decorated with a few longitudinal lines along the body and two perpendicular bands that run across

[382] Most of the time, decoration does not extend all the way to the belly of an animal figurine, so it is significant that the members of the Tiger group all show the rib lines extending onto the belly.
[383] There are one or two *possible* members of the group that have brown paint instead.
[384] The members of this group are quite fragmentary and I do not have a photograph that shows well their defining characteristics.
[385] As noted previously, there is also one Wavy 2/Linear 1 type figurine (SF (105) 04/16338) that might be attributable to this artist based on the execution of the decoration, particularly the way the lines cover the entire head and do not include painted eyes.

the back body. Each of these bands starts at the foot of one back leg and extends to the tip of the other back leg. Group I is an important one because it proves contextually that Linear 1 and Linear 2 types were produced contemporaneously at the end of LH IIIA2.[386] See **APPENDIX A** for a full description and list of Group I.



FIGURE 30: LH IIIA2 Bovine Figurines Attributed to Group I. Linear 2 Type. **Left**: From left BE #420b (1950-1951), BE #420d (1951), BE #420c (1951), and SF (205) 03/16293. Each example exhibits characteristically few longitudinal lines and two parallel bands at the back body. **Right**: Same figurines, same order, with better view of the back bodies. Photos by author.

Shifting to the female category now, there is one "artist group" that corresponds with the first wave of LH IIB/IIIA1 Proto-Phi figurines: Group E. This group serves as one of the key points of evidence that signals an early stage of figurine production preceding the LH IIIA2 phase of the workshop. Still, the remaining members of the group are variously preserved; the two best examples are illustrated above in **FIGURES 6** and **7**. For this reason, I refer the reader to **APPENDIX A** for the full description and list of Group E. I turn the focus, instead, to two particularly important "artist groups" that preserve LH IIIA2 female Phi B and Psi types together. Each group shows that the two types of figurines were produced simultaneously and by the same person/duo. Each group also shows one distinct stage in the development of the Psi-type figurine.

Beginning with Group A (**FIGURES 31** and **32**), the female figurines are distinctive and combine a high-level of detail and care with the necessary expedient execution required in a high-energy workshop. Defining morphological characteristics include prominent breasts that are well-placed and applied to the body, flat discoid (Phi B) or triangular (Psi) bodies, and columnar stems with tall concave bases. So far, the lone Psi figurine that surely belongs to this group retains her head and she wears a shallow polos with minimal decoration – the very same type of polos worn by Phi B figurines at Petsas House, so perhaps the Phi Bs in this group had identical heads.[387] The decoration

[386] Building upon E. French's observations. French 1971: 153. There is one Spine 1-type bovid, SF (8) 00/03007 pictured above in **FIGURE 16** [left], that might also belong to Group I. The shape of the tail is similar to the tails of other members of Group I, but it only partially survives. Additionally, the decoration of the face looks quite similar to the facial decoration of the complete figurine in Group I. Generally, the simplified Spine 1 motif corresponds with the simplified Linear motif characteristic of this group. There are, however, no comparable examples of this Spine 1 bovid in the extant corpus, so its attribution to this group is debatable.

[387] Most Phi Bs at Petsas House have bare heads. Those that do wear hats most often wear short ones that are painted solid on the exterior or with simple bands at the base and top of the polos. Only two Phi Bs (so far) wear more elaborately painted hats. There is a Phi B figurine from Petsas House with a preserved head (BE #569, 1950-1951) that is *very* similar in overall shape and decoration to Group A figurines, but part of her plait is missing, her stem is a bit wider, and she is currently on display in the Mycenae Museum, so I could not examine her closely. She has a bare head with painted fringe.

is consistently executed across all examples: very fine, evenly spaced lines all over the upper body that always end in a curve toward the figurine's right side on the front and left side on the back. Each figurine also has a thin waist band placed exactly at the join between the upper body and stem and three fine vertical lines running down the stem and onto the base. The applied plaits are always adorned with *very* thin horizontal bars that look like diagonal dashes. This group encapsulates peak productivity in figurine making at Petsas House. The constructional variation between the two female types is minimal (the Psi figurine has a very wide, triangular body, nearly identical in dimension to the discoid upper body of the Phi B figurines in this group) and the decoration is applied equally across both types. There are a few fragments of *possible* members of this group from Shelton's excavations, but, interestingly, all the better-preserved examples and securely identified members of this group were found by Papadimitriou and Petsas in the north end of Room Gamma. More will be said about this below, but for the moment, it is noteworthy that this entire "artist group" (or single batch?) comprised part of the shipment ready for export at the time of the building's destruction. See **APPENDIX A** for a full description and list of Group A.



FIGURE 31: LH IIIA2 Female Figurines Attributed to Group A. Front view. From left BE #561, BE #565, BE #564, and BE #525 (all from 1951). Beginning with the Psi figurine at left and the three Phi B figurines at right – each displaying the signature morphological and decorative qualities that characterize this group. Photo by author.



FIGURE 32: LH IIIA2 Female Figurines Attributed to Group A. Back view. From left BE #561, BE #565, BE #564, and BE #525 (all from 1951). Beginning with the Psi figurine at left and the three Phi B figurines at right – each displaying the signature morphological and decorative qualities that characterize this group. Photo by author.

The final group highlighted here, Group B (**FIGURE 33**), includes three types of female figurines: Phi B, Psi, and Transitional Kourotrophos. More fortunately, three heads are preserved, two for Phi Bs and one for a Psi.[388] The Phi Bs have their customary bare heads while the Psi wears a short polos. The Psi figurine in this group exemplifies the next step in the stylization of the Psi-type. It still has a wide, triangular upper body, but it is shorter in height and the upraised arms stretch outward more than upward. A second typological development evident in Group B is the occurrence of the Transitional Kourotrophos, in this case at a reduced scale. As mentioned above (IV.5), E. French describes Transitional figurines as a chronological problem because they exhibit some of the applied features of early female figurines, but continue to occur until the end of the Late Bronze Age.[389] She categorizes Transitional Kourotrophoi separately and lumps them together with other Kourotrophos types.[390] French was aware of the two Transitional Kourotrophoi at Petsas House (including this one now identified as part of Group B) and of their LH IIIA2 date.[391] I think that grouping this example into this "artist group" which includes the two main types of IIIA2 female terracottas secures its chronological position, but also shows that the Transitional Kourotrophoi represent a *decision* made by sculptors who were experienced in making Phi B and Psi types – a decision that was likely made more than once during the Late Bronze Age in many workshops and across several types of female figurines.[392] Plastic arms allow for a more natural representation of a woman holding an infant. At Petsas House, the Transitional Kourotrophoi, including the Group B example, mirror their Psi counterparts almost exactly. The body shapes are triangular, although appear "diamond-shaped" in the Kourotrophoi because the arms are folded down at the exact point on the shoulder where they would have been made to reach upward. [393] The decoration of the arms, especially in the case of the larger Transitional Kourotrophos (BE #512, 1950-1951), mimics the decoration of Psi arms. It is probable that the tendency toward simplification and stylization at high-output pottery workshops resulted in streamlined versions of the Kourotrophos that left out the baby completely – especially in the popular Tau types of LH IIIB in their solid- and hollow-stemmed varieties. French's chronological conundrum can be resolved by allowing for separate traditions of applying plastic arms – an early one consistent with the creation of Naturalistic and Proto-Phi types – and multiple later re-introductions of plastic arms for the explicit purpose of holding infants (that were sometimes over simplified). In all three types of female figurine in Group B – Phi B, Psi, and Transitional Kourotrophos – the breasts are smaller and molded into shape rather than applied to the body (with the exception of the left breast of the Transitional Kourotrophos, naturally). All three types have low, natural waists, relatively short stems, and applied plaits. The decoration of those plaits is particularly characteristic of this group because they all have horizontal bars on the upper part while the vertical line decoration of the body takes over in the lower half. On the front of their bodies the lines always curve to the left before the waist, and on the back always to the right. This group shows the most consistency in form and decoration across the various types and sizes that could be produced by one artisan. **APPENDIX A** includes a full description and list of Group B.

[388] Only one of the Phi B heads is pictured in **FIGURE 33**.
[389] French 1971: 124. See also the note on Kourotrophoi above in IV.5.
[390] French 1971: 142-144.
[391] French, E. 1971: 143. The larger example from the Petsas House corpus (BE #512, 1950-1951) wears a polos, painted monochrome. This smaller example from Group B, sadly, no longer has her head, but likely wore a polos similar to the large one's (the same type of polos also worn by the Psi figurine in Group B).
[392] In line with Weber-Hiden's initial reading of the Transitional type (1985: 307), see also Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 63.
[393] French 1971: 123.



FIGURE 33: LH IIIA2 Female Figurines Attributed to Group B. **Left**: From left BE #559, BE #531, BE #530, and BE #513 (all from 1951). Psi figurine with short monochrome polos at left, two female Phi B figurines, and one small-scale Transitional Kourotrophos figurine – each displaying the signature morphological and decorative qualities that characterize this group. **Right**: Same figurines, same order, back sides. Photos by author.

Each of the groups detailed above shows some consideration for consistent 'finishing' as well. The differential states of preservation occurring in any one group often obscures this facet of their production, but most members of most groups are made with one clay and decorative slip combination. Group F, so far, shows the most variation in clay and slip colors, but some of this might be accidental (over-firing, see BE #415 (1951)), a result of post-depositional processes, or even representative of different occasions of manufacture (same artisan, different day) or slightly different materials at hand with which to create. This fact might indicate that the "artist groups" recognized here are also batches of figurines made at once and presumably fired under the same conditions. Better distinguishing batches and "artist groups" in this case, is a task for future research. In some cases, one artisan could have produced several batches (Group F) that resulted in slightly different clay compositions and finishing. In other cases, perhaps what I recognize as an "artist group" is simply one batch crafted on one occasion while a different, but similar group was made by the same person on a separate occasion. Throughout this dissertation I continue to refer to "artist groups" at Petsas House, but I recognize that more work can be done to reveal just how these groups came to be.

IV.7: CRAFTING & CRAFTSPEOPLE

In the concluding summary of her seminal publication, E. French states that:

> the terms stylization and standardization have been much used, almost over-used, in application to Mycenaean vase painting; the same terms also apply to figurines, which, as their very appearance proves, were produced by the same craftsmen, presumably in the same workshops. This is the fundamental principle which governs the development of Mycenaean figurines. Experiments indeed occur, and so do innovations; but these are quickly absorbed into the main stream.[394]

[394] French 1971: 174.

French's remarks and suspicions were spot on. The Petsas House collection illustrates how clay-workers were developing terracotta figurines in parallel with vases under the same roof and using the same materials. Both products were continuously streamlined and stylized in their form and decoration as their numbers increased during the lifetime of the workshop. The odd experiment or "mistake" occurs in the corpus, but is never repeated.[395] Still, the artisans did not lose themselves to over-standardization. One aspect of manufacturing at Petsas House that French was not able to appreciate fully at the time is the dichotomous production of both extremely standardized *and* specially crafted pieces. The pottery and terracotta repertoire includes a predictably higher proportion of the "mass-produced" types that must have been the main source of revenue for the workshop, but a smaller percentage of distinctive, individually crafted pieces are consistently attested in the corpus too. The incremental evolution of the female Phi-type figurine (alongside the kylix) beginning with the Proto-Phi, elaborate in both form and decoration, and ending with the super-stylized Phi B is a real phenomenon at Petsas House and evinces the artisans' "need for speed" as they adapted to increased demand for the commodity. But the elaborations and embellishments do not disappear altogether. Interspersed among the tens of thousands of undecorated fineware sherds are parts of vessels that are richly ornamented, carefully polished, or that represent completely new shapes. Alongside the highly standardized female and bovine figurines are ornate versions with exquisitely executed decorative motifs, or complex ensembles like bull-riders and chariots, as well as models of furniture and watercraft – each one unique.

It is the very fact that figurine artisans *mostly* worked within a standard that allows us to both discern individual craftspeople and appreciate the skill involved in the more labor-intensive pieces. If each figurine was totally unique, we would have no way of correlating their stylistic traits. The high-volume standardized production not only preserves evidence of widespread consumer preference, but also the micro-decisions of each craftsperson/team in choosing variations of the prescribed shapes and linear decorative motifs. Likewise, the more labor-intensive and individualized pieces are only recognized as such in opposition to these mass-produced types. We might not recognize their artistry if we did not know how many figurines are *not* like them. More than even this, the Petsas corpus allows us to attribute a small number of these specialized types to a specific artisan/team – but only when that craftsperson/duo is double dipping, so to speak. When a sculptor is manufacturing standard *and* non-standard types, as is the case with Groups B and F, we see that one artisan or team could work in two ways – at volume or slowly, piece by piece. Nevertheless, the *most* elaborate and embellished pieces are still not attributable to any artisan group because of their uniqueness. Their steady prevalence in the corpus, however, assures their importance within the production lineup.

Do the antithetical *results* of production (i.e. the highly standardized vs the labor-intensive individual pieces) in both the Petsas House vessels and figurines imply a greater number craftsmen at work or just adaptive responses to different demands by one (or few) artisan(s)?[396] I am inclined to think that the latter is more likely. The Petsas House evidence shows that a limited number of figurine makers could create a range of products. The increased demand for figurines in LH IIIA2 forced artisans to come up with ways to extend their production output. Both the gradual simplification of the most popular types *and* the ability of certain artisans to mix and match formulaic elements of standard figurines to produce unique ensembles shows us how they did it. This way, both potters and figurine makers (or maybe they were one and the same) could focus their energies on meeting consumer need for masses of similar commodities and reserve their "artistry" for special commissions.

[395] Any seemingly experimental figurine (see "the cake topper," SF (56) 13/ 07340, for example) occurs only once in the corpus. No "dumps" with high volumes of wasters or failed experiments have yet been discovered.

[396] Shelton 2016: 322 suggests that, at least for the pottery, this variety reflects the involvement of more craftspeople with different skill levels. See Murphy, C. 2020 for a similar conclusion with respect to Minoan terracotta figurines.

Even if the figurine 'artist groups' described in this chapter represent a combination of specific artisans (or teams) *and* the discrete batches of figurines that they created, then we are still catching an important glimpse into the response(s) of one (or a few) craftspeople to increased demand for terracotta figurines *as well as* isolated moments of creation when the same person(s) made different sculpting and decorating choices for each batch. The variability of types and decoration in the terracotta repertoire, then, reveals the specialized skill of a few craftspeople and not necessarily a range of skill *level* of many (and variously trained) artisans. The variability also reflects two additional realities of the craft: one, that each figurine was independently hand-crafted and decorated (as opposed to being thrown on the wheel which facilitates speed as well as consistency in shape and application of linear decoration) and that these products were likely intended for different markets (on which, see Chs. VI-VIII). In short, the consumer-driven standardization of figurines becomes the specialty of the makers, but their great skill also allows for flexibility in meeting other demands as necessary.

IV.8: ROOM GAMMA [Γ], PART I

The very beginning of the following chapter describes Room Gamma and its contents more fully, but I note here that the vases and figurines found within it are thought to represent a shipment of newly made ceramics ready to be distributed to consumers. For now, I focus on the craftspeople and/or production batches elaborated upon in the previous section and how they relate to this deposit. Even though nearly every room in Petsas House preserves terracotta figurines, we only get a sense of their true scope thanks to the well-preserved primary deposit in Room Γ.[397] Without this relatively intact assemblage, we might not be able to see artisans/batches at all, let alone correlate them across distinct deposits within the house. Every artistic grouping detailed above has at least one representative in Room Γ and most often more than one. Even when the figurines from the north end are pared down to the minimum number of individuals that are intact enough to even potentially attribute to an 'artist group,' there are 115 intact pieces with 48 of them attributable.[398] Across the 48 attributable figurines from the north end deposit, there are *at least* six artisan groups identifiable – and as many as twelve depending where one draws the line for how many figurines are needed to constitute a group.[399] If these attributable pieces (and more that are not attributable) represent one purposeful aggregation of figurines with a corresponding selection of vessels, how can we interpret their presence? As described in the preceding section, I find it unlikely that there were six to twelve figurine makers of different skill levels operating at once because terracottas represent such a small proportion of the workshop's overall output. It is more likely that the groups reflect individual craftspeople *and* discrete production batches in a combination that is not yet fully clear. The quantity and variety of types in Room Γ therefore represent something about their intended consumers. We cannot know the intended destination(s) of this shipment (i.e. consumption contexts), but it is likely that multiple orders are represented within it.

I say this because the types of contemporary deposits that yield considerable quantities of figurines from singular contexts are sanctuaries, refuse dumps, and tombs. Each type of deposit, but especially sanctuary and tomb deposits, is distinct in character and in its inclusion of terracottas. For example, bovine and combination figurines seem to occur in smaller quantities in funerary contexts, but greater quantities in sanctuaries. Female figurines, on the other hand, appear in generally large

[397] For a fuller account of this space and the figurines within it, see next chapter.
[398] Disaggregated bovine parts are not included in this count. Female fragments that do not come from a part of the figurine that can yield information about an artist (particularly loose stems and heads) are also not counted. Chronological outliers and any 'unknown' fragments have also been removed from this count. See more, next chapter.
[399] See **APPENDIX A** for the 'artist groups.'

numbers in both types of context. Seated figures and furniture also appear in both contexts, but in small numbers in both cases. The 'artist groups' from Petsas House reflect this uneven dispersal. Group F, for instance, includes many bovids and at least one combination – a range that is reflected in contemporary specialized sanctuaries.[400] Groups A and B, likewise, exhibit ranges identical to those in contemporary tomb deposits at Mycenae.[401] None of this is to say that each of the "artist groups" at Petsas House corresponds directly with one distinct order destined for a sanctuary or tomb, but there are distinct patterns to be worked out.

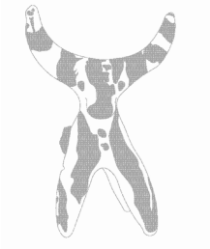
Comparative evidence suggests that the shipment in the north end of Room Γ likely comprised several orders fulfilled by one or more artisans. Each artisan/team was capable of handling the categorical and typological variety requested by the consumer or that was generally conventional for intended use. Do the products of those artisans evince only periodic production of terracottas in which case the ones in this shipment were made-to-order? Or did artisans (occasionally or regularly) make a lot at once so that when an order came in they could easily retrieve a selection from storage? The very organized storage of pottery at Petsas House in Rooms A and E (see next chapter) clearly demonstrates concern for the careful and systematic arrangement of finished products. It is quite possible that a similar system existed for terracotta figurines, even if the room itself does not survive. I find this second scenario plausible because it works with the interpretation of 'artist groups' as individual craftspeople (or teams) as well as with the interpretation of 'artist groups' as discrete batches. It also dovetails nicely with the site's pottery storage practices. No context yet discovered within the building complex, however, preserves strong evidence for intentional, organized storage of figurines.

The pottery in Room Γ (which includes both decorated and undecorated wares in open and closed shapes) also suggests different intended destinations and uses. Could some figurines have been meant to accompany a selection of vessels to a tomb? We might imagine a scenario where decorated pots and figurines were to be interred with a deceased individual while undecorated wares could serve funeral-goers. Decorated stirrup jars might be going to a nearby wine or oil distributor for filling. Undecorated cups and bowls were perhaps meant for large-scale participation in a funerary or civic event. We could speculate forever, but the point is that there are enough figurines and vessels in the deposit to compose more than one type of known archaeological deposit.

Just as Room Γ functioned as the physical entry point into the compound, it also opens up the possibility of exploring new dimensions in consumer/producer interactions. The terracottas preserve characteristic trademarks of the workshop's figurine makers *and* it includes the variety of types requisite for several possible intended uses/destinations – from funeral to festival. Chs. VI and VII take this idea of placing orders for intentional use in specific settings and explore it against surviving deposits in tombs at Mycenae and sanctuaries in the Argo-Saronic. First, however, it is important to fully contextualize the Petsas House figurines and understand more precisely the possibilities and limitations they represent for Mycenaean coroplastic studies.

[400] I am thinking particularly of Agios Konstantinos on Methana. This site is explored more fully in Ch. VII.2.
[401] The best examples of this are Tsountas' T80 at Mycenae (Ch. VI.2.2) and Tomb A at Lazarides (Ch.VII.1.7).

V: THE PETSAS HOUSE FIGURINES IN CONTEXT



In the preceding chapter, the analysis of the terracotta figurines from Petsas House as a cohesive collection relied heavily on the intact primary deposit of figurines in Room Γ (refer to plan in **FIGURE 2**). It will now become clear how those figurines are in fact a representative sample of the entire collection. This chapter begins in Room Γ and details the number and types of figurines found within it. It then moves into the other rooms and areas so far excavated at Petsas House and does the same for each. Room Γ is an optimal place to begin because it permits adherence to the chronological (and, by extension, methodological) history of the excavations at the site and because it is an exceptional room with an exceptional assemblage

V.1: ROOM GAMMA [Γ], PART II

Room Γ was initially explored by the site's first excavators.[402] During their two seasons of work at Petsas House, Papadimitriou and Petsas brought to light in Room Γ the usual assortment of undecorated kylikes, carinated bowls (including intact examples and others that showed signs of use as lamps), as well as animal bone and fresco fragments; but they also found some impressive decorated vessels and approximately 200 terracotta figurines.[403] They began work in Γ in 1950, the same season they excavated Rooms A and E (below), and were therefore expecting a room of a similar character – hence its initial designation as 'Apotheke (Storeroom) Γ.'[404] At first, the ratio of figurines relative to pottery did not strike them as unusual, but in the following season, in 1951, as they continued to unearth a great quantity of intact or nearly intact figurines, they re-interpreted the space as a "house shrine."[405]

This reinterpretation exemplifies well the role of terracotta figurines in identifying and characterizing architectural spaces that contain them. In the tradition of just about every archaeologist since H. Schliemann (see above, Ch. II), Papadimitriou and Petsas assumed the exclusively religious role of figurines and likewise assumed that any concentration of them must imply a religious space.[406] Instead of tempering their interpretation of the figurines (and the room in general) with the contextual knowledge of their own finds from the rest of the site (newly produced pottery), they promoted a complete reversal of their original interpretation: from storage to worship.

A recent reanalysis of the room by the current excavator – based both on the work of Papadimitriou and Petsas and on her own excavation in the southern half of Γ – has drawn attention to more features of the room and has resulted in a new (re)interpretation. Shelton points out several

[402] See above, Ch. III.2 for a more detailed history of the excavation.
[403] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 203–233; Shelton 2009a: 55-56.
[404] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 213; Shelton 2009a: 57.
[405] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1951: 195; Shelton 2009a: 57.
[406] Shelton 2009a: 57. Papadimitriou and Petsas followed the same circular argumentation as most excavators did (and still do) when finding figures and/or figurines in any concentration. The interpretation of the room as 'house shrine,' did not do much justice by the other finds in the room – especially the decorated and undecorated pottery.

features that differentiate Room Γ from the other nearby storage rooms (and from any shrines, for that matter).[407] The room is quite narrow, it is open at its southern end, and the floor is paved with poros slabs set at a decline from south to north (down into the room). In addition, at the south end of Room Γ's east wall, a wide stone staircase leads to the first floor (Middle Terrace). When Shelton renewed excavation in the room in 2000, she discovered that the dense concentration of figurines did not quite extend into the southern half of the room, but there were at least ten more fragments, including a bovine fragment that joined another from the 1951 excavation.[408] She interprets the space as a "loading dock" where the paved ramp would have facilitated wheeled vehicles exiting or entering the complex before/after loading up with commodities produced there. The rich deposit of figurines and vessels at the north end, then, represents a shipment of ceramic commodities ready for loading. The shipment never made it to its destination, unfortunately, because it was caught in the sudden and violent destruction of the building.[409]

This interpretation considers Room Γ within its wider context, the Petsas House ceramic production and storage center, and proposes a (re)reading of the evidence that is practical, inclusive of the architectural and artifactual finds, and that might be further tested in future studies (including this one). The "meaning" or religious affiliation of the figurines is therefore irrelevant to the interpretation of this particular space, Room Γ. By setting the (possible) symbolic role of terracottas aside, Shelton has been able to reintegrate them with the workshop's production output and to understand them as one of several material assets involved in the industrial exchange networks connected to the Petsas House complex. In doing this, Shelton has followed the methodologies laid out by E. French (and others, see Ch. II.4-5) and has allowed the data to drive the interpretation, not the other way around. The terracottas from this room, then, not only encapsulate the historiography of Mycenaean figurine research, but also nicely define the goal of this project: to politely set aside the religious significance of figurines and to focus instead on their inclusion in craft industry and exchange systems.

As briefly noted in Chs. III and IV, over 200 figurines were excavated in that north end deposit of Room Γ by Papadimitriou and Petsas. A more precise number cannot be generated, however, because the recording techniques employed in the 1950s were not as precise as those of the later excavations and did not document the discovery to modern standards. The artifacts and archives remaining to us from Papadimitriou and Petsas have allowed us to restore only some of the figurines to their original context in Room Γ while others can only be understood as 'probably from Room Γ' based on their excavation numbers or on their grouping with other figurines.[410]

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[407] Shelton 2009a: 57.

[408] Shelton 2009a: 57.

[409] Shelton 2009a: 57.

[410] During the 1950 and 1951 seasons, **excavation numbers** were assigned to all artifacts in a running sequence as they were *conserved*, not as they were excavated, regardless of the type of artifact. At this time, artifacts from Mycenae were temporarily stored on site at Mycenae before being moved into permanent storage at the Archaeological Museum in Nauplion. Once in Nauplion, each artifact was assigned a **Nauplion Museum Number** too. When the finds from the early Petsas House excavations were transferred *back* to the old Mycenae storeroom in the early 90s, some of the labeling had been lost or eaten by rodents and some of the bags were broken or eaten through. In 1998 the finds were moved into the newly constructed Archaeological Museum of Mycenae where they were the first artifacts from Mycenae to be assigned new **BE numbers** (accession). At this time, many pieces from Petsas House were also put into the new display cases (or were at some point intended to be put on display) and received a **Mycenae Museum (MM) Number**. So, some of the figurines and vases from Petsas House have an original excavation number, a Nauplion Museum Number, a Mycenae BE number, *and* a Mycenae Museum (MM) number. Other pieces have only one or two out of the four. By consulting the notebook of F. Petsas (that of I. Papadimitriou is not available for study) and by observing some of the number sequences (excavation and museum numbers), it is possible to attribute *some* finds to their original contexts. In the case of Room Γ, many small fragments of figurines were not assigned excavation numbers. By the time the unnumbered ones had to be assigned BE numbers in the Mycenae Museum, they had been or were at that time grouped by type (bovine fragments,

Out of the 292 total terracotta figurines/figurine fragments recovered between 1950 and 1951 by Papadimitriou and Petsas, 261 of them are thought to have been recovered from Room Γ. Only 87 of those 261 can *certainly* be assigned to the room based on original excavation records and publications.[411] Still, 87 is no small number as far as figurine deposits go. These 87 also represent the more complete examples (with some exceptions, of course) and the more easily recognizable parts of figurines. They all have excavation numbers or share an excavation number with a few other pieces. The remaining 174 figurines, on the other hand, are more fragmentary, are somewhat wider-ranging in the forms and time-periods they represent, and many are missing their original excavation numbers. For the purposes of this study, I have treated the two categories as separate and include a table below, **TABLE 3**, that lists all the types of figurines represented from both the 'probably' and 'certainly' from Γ categories. Some observations about the two groups and about the collection as a whole are offered below. Papadimitriou and Petsas, in their 1951 *Praktika* report, however, did note that more than 100 figurines were retrieved from the north/northeast half of Room Gamma that year *in addition* to those recovered in 1950,[412] so even though I treat the categories as separate below based on the labeling as we inherited it, many of the 'probably from [Γ]' figurines *must* have formed part of that deposit. I cannot reconstruct the complete assemblage, but I still find it useful to treat the categories as separate in my attempt to piece together as much of their excavation and interpretation history as I can.

TABLE 3: Figurines from Room Γ and those probably from Room Γ (1950s excavations).

Type of Figurine	# of Examples from [Γ]	# of Examples probably from [Γ]
Female, Naturalistic	-	1
Female, Proto-Phi	-	6
Female, Phi A	-	2
Female, Phi B	20	18
Female, Other Phi*	-	3
Female, Psi	7	8
Female, Psi, Hollow	-	1
Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A (fragments)	-	3
Female, Phi B or Psi (stem fragments)	8	27
Female, Transitional or Naturalistic	-	1
Female, Kourotrophos Phi B	-	1
Female, Kourotrophos Transitional	-	2
Human, Seated Figure	1	2
Human, Rider	1	-
Bovine (fragments)	41	43
Bovine, Wavy 1	-	1
Bovine, Wavy 2	2	1

female heads, etc.) and assigned group BE numbers. Traces of some excavation numbers (in pencil) were visible on some of those fragments, but they ranged greatly and came from both excavation seasons. For these reasons, some of the figurines can only be labeled as 'probably from Room Γ.' By the time I was conducting my study, the 1950s figurines had already been studied by K. Shelton. Some information about them from her work had been collected in an Excel database or noted in one of K. Shelton's notebooks. I made sure to review all of the relevant numbers and previously recorded data that I could while I was studying each piece myself. Entries in my database record all the numbers I could find for each figurine and they incorporate any previously collected data or observations in addition to the new data and observations made by me.

[411] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 203–233; 1951: 192-197.

[412] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1951: 195.

Bovine, Linear 1	3	15
Bovine, Spine 1	1	11
Bovine, Ladder	1	2
Bovine, Wavy 2/Linear 1	-	6
Animal, Other	-	2
Combination, Driven Oxen	-	3
Combination, Chariot	-	4
Inanimate, Wheels	-	1
Inanimate, Boats	-	1
Inanimate, Throne A	-	2
Inanimate, Throne B	-	3
Inanimate, Stool/Table	2	-
Unknown	-	4
Totals	**87**	**174**

* The types of figurines with the highest quantities are highlighted in orange.

A few things are immediately observable after a brief glance at **TABLE 3**. In the first place, only a selection of easily recognizable parts of the 'known' types of female and bovine figurines certainly come from Room Γ. Anything that is not a female Phi B, Psi, or one of the canonical bovine varieties is marked as only *probably* from Room Γ.[413] Earlier types, such as female Proto-Phi figurines or bovine Wavy 1 type, are not represented at all in the 'certainly' from Γ category. For outliers there are only two nearly complete stool/table models and two 'humanoid' figurines that were clearly attached to something else at one point. The most salient feature of **TABLE 3** is, perhaps, that the most numerous type of figurine – from both the 'certainly' and 'probably' categories – is bovine.

A large proportion of the bovine examples listed in **TABLE 3** are quite fragmentary, however. Disaggregated legs and horns from all the bovine types account for *most* of the bovine figurines included in the table. In most cases, the remaining decoration is not enough or not preserved well enough to identify types with certainty. None of the 84 total bovine fragments recorded in **TABLE 3** joins with any other bovine figurines or fragments from the 1950s excavations.[414] Some legs and/or horns could have belonged to one figurine but cannot be joined in their current state. So, the 84 fragments do not represent as many actual individual bovine figurines. Since 43 of them, moreover, are only *probably* from Γ, they could represent stray fragments from other rooms that were eventually lumped and stored together during their post-excavation curation or transportation. Even the 41 fragments *certainly* from Room Γ could include some pieces that were in the decayed mudbrick/fill over the main deposit and not recognized as such by the excavators. The more complete examples of Linear 1 (three from Γ and fifteen probably so) and Spine 1 (one from Γ and eleven probably so) may represent a truer ratio of two of the bovine types most frequently produced at Petsas House.

When we remove the disaggregated bovine fragments from the equation, **TABLE 3** makes clear that in fact the female figurines are more numerous in both categories. In particular, Phi Bs take the stage with twenty certainly from Γ and eighteen probably from Γ. The Psi figurines fall somewhat

[413] This is certainly the outcome of post-excavation conservation + recording processes. The most readily identifiable and/or mendable figurines were 'immediately' labeled and recorded while the more fragmentary pieces or less recognizable ones were grouped together and/or neglected in terms of documentation. Only some of these latter received Nauplion Museum or Mycenae BE Numbers as a result.

[414] One bovine horn fragment did, however, join with a bovine head recovered from the new excavations in 2004. The head was found in the well, in Levels 44 and 46: SF (58) 04/16321. The horn tip was stored with many other bovine parts in BE 422, 1950s excavation, from Room Γ.

behind, numbering seven certainly from Γ and eight probably so. Many more stem fragments could belong to either one of these types (eight from Γ and 27 probably from Γ) and do most likely represent complete examples that were originally a part of the deposit in the north end of the room.[415] Unlike the bovids, all female figurines listed in the table, including the ones labeled 'Phi B or Psi,' do certainly represent individual figurines and seem to be consistent with the ratio of female types produced at Petsas House (see below).

Overall, then, **TABLE 3** shows that about 76% of the figurines *certainly* recovered from the north end deposit in Room Γ are female. Bovines represent 15%[416] and 'other' types the remaining 9%. The *probably* from Γ figurines are skewed differently with 55% female, 27% bovine,[417] and close to 17% 'other.' When taken as a whole, **TABLE 3** indicates 61% female figurines, 24% bovines,[418] and close to 15% 'other.' These aggregate percentages are most likely a truer representation of the original assemblage caught in Room Γ during the destruction of the building since most of the figurines in the 'probably' category must have formed part of the original deposit.[419]

In terms of production, 88 (or about 60%) of the female figurines belong to the most frequently produced types of terracottas at Petsas House: Phi B or Psi types. The other 40% is made of female figurines that date somewhat earlier than LH IIIA2 and likely derive from decomposed mudbrick or they represent specialized types like Kourotrophoi. Likewise, 36 of the bovids (~84%) belong to the commonest types in their category: Wavy 2/Linear 1, Linear 1, and Spine 1. The remaining ~16% of bovids are early or less common types such as Wavy 1 or Ladder-pattern varieties. So, *most* figurines in the assemblage (124 out of 177 [that is the total number of figurines from Γ not including stray bovine appendages], or 70%) are the standardized and "mass-produced" female and bovine varieties with linear decoration that characterize Petsas House production. The 'other' 30% reflects, for the most part, more specialized production: driven oxen, chariots, furniture, and other animals. Most of these are also decorated with linear motifs, but some are elaborated, especially the chariots and furniture.

V.2: FIGURINES FROM THE 1950S EXCAVATIONS NOT IN ROOM Γ

The terracottas in Room Γ comprise the great majority of figurines unearthed by Papadimitriou and Petsas in 1950 and 1951. There were a few, however, that were recovered from *other* areas they worked. The following table gives a synopsis of the remaining 31 figurines from elsewhere in the house.[420]

[415] Based on their good (albeit fragmentary) state of preservation and their excavation numbers.
[416] The disaggregated leg and horn fragments are not included in this calculation.
[417] The disaggregated leg and horn fragments are not included in this calculation.
[418] The disaggregated leg and horn fragments are not included in this calculation.
[419] These percentages differ very slightly from the ones given below, in **TABLE 6**, because these include *all* the figurines from Γ. **TABLE 6**, below does not include figurines that are outliers in form or date. Still, the two calculations show only a very slight discrepancy and therefore do not change the overall interpretation of type ratios in the assemblage.
[420] As noted above for Room Γ, it is possible that some of the 'probably from Γ" fragments are actually from other rooms in the house. The ones in **TABLE 4** represent those that had been recorded by Papadimitriou and Petsas.

TABLE 4: Figurines from Other Rooms (1950s excavations).

Room or Findspot	Figurine Type	Quantity
Trench 01 [A]	Female Phi	1
Trench 01 [A]	Female Phi B	2
Trench 04 [Δ]	Seated Figure or Throne A	1
Trench 04 [Δ]?	Female Proto-Phi or Phi A	1
Trench 04 [Δ]- Trench 05 [E]	Female Phi B	1
Trench 06 [Z]	Female Bovine Wavy 1/ 2	1
Trench 06 [Z]?	Female Bovine Wavy 2	1
Trench 06 [Z]	Female Transitional	1
Trench 06 [Z]?	Female Proto-Phi	3
Trench 10 [K]	Female Proto-Phi or Phi A	1
Trench 10 [K]	Female Phi B	1
Trench 10 [K] - Trench 02 [B]	Female Phi B or Psi	1
"2nd analygmma" (= [Δ] or West of [Z]?)	Combination, chariot	1
"2nd analygmma" (= [Δ] or West of [Z]?)	Animal, horse?	1
"2nd analygmma" (= [Δ] or West of [Z]?)	Animal, mini horse	1
"2nd analygmma" (= [Δ] or West of [Z]?)	Bovine	1
"2nd analygmma" (= [Δ] or West of [Z]?)	Bovine Wavy 2	5
"2nd analygmma" (= [Δ] or West of [Z]?)	Bovine Linear 1	2
Kato Pezouli (KP)	Bovine Wavy 2	1
Unknown	Mini (?) Male	1
Unknown	Female Phi B	1
Unknown	Female Psi	1
Unknown	Combination, horse+rider (Archaic?)	1

Many of the figurines included in this table were recovered from the northern side of the building in Rooms Δ, Z, and the area referred to as the 'second analygmma.' These areas had been disturbed by terracing in the historical period and by plowing in the modern era. Interestingly, a good number of 'earlier' types such as female Proto-Phi and bovine Wavy 1 or 2 came from this part of the excavation both in the 1950s and in the 2000s (see below). Some of the more common types from Petsas House, moreover, such as female Psi or bovine Spine 1 figurines, were entirely missing from these initial explorations at the north end of the house. Generally, the terracottas from outside Γ tend to be in a poorer state of preservation. Some of the examples listed above probably represent fragments that had been included in mudbrick paste or that had been kicked up by the destruction or by later agricultural activity. Our understanding of their specific contexts and the circumstances of their recovery are not detailed enough to reconstruct full assemblages. Most of the areas listed in **TABLE 4** (not including Rooms A and E), moreover, were not fully excavated until Shelton's team resumed work at Petsas House. These terracottas, therefore, are incorporated into the comments and

counts of the following room-by-room breakdown of figurine contexts. They were also included in the general discussions about figurine production in the previous chapter when applicable.

V.3: FIGURINES BY CONTEXT

In addition to the 292 figurines excavated by Papadimitriou and Petsas in 1950 and 1951, 826 figurines were recovered from the excavations carried out by K. Shelton between 2000 and 2013.[421] In this section, I show how these overall counts break down by type across the Petsas House complex. Moving room by room, I lay out a general sketch of the quantities and types of figurines in each sector of the building (refer to **FIGURE 2** to track the discussion against the site plan). I follow the same order as above in Ch. III.4: east to west beginning with the Upper Terrace and then moving on to the Middle and Lower Terraces. I leave out only Room Γ since it has already been discussed at length. For the rest of the house, I combine figurine data from both the 1950s *and* the 2000s into one brief synopsis. I do not provide a full table of types and numbers as I did for Room Γ in **TABLE 3**, but those can be found in **APPENDIX B**. The goal here is to generally summarize the contexts and contents of each room. This allows for a broad appreciation of the depositional patterns within the house as well as the limitations of this study. Some figurines cannot be repatriated to a primary deposit that can yield information about storage and inventory management practices at Petsas House, but they were still useful in the previous chapter for piecing together site-wide production practices before and during LH IIIA2.

V.3.1 FIGURINES FROM THE UPPER TERRACE: ROOM SIGMA [Σ]

At the eastern extent of the investigated area of Petsas House lies a natural shelf in the bedrock, this shelf is referred to as the "Upper Terrace (UT)" in excavation records and in the description above. Although the whole of the Upper Terrace was found to have been greatly disturbed by terracing and agricultural activity in the Geometric period and by bothroi excavated in the Hellenistic period, enough Mycenaean architecture remained at the north end of the Upper Terrace to get a sense of its original connection to the rest of the Petsas House complex. At the south end of the Upper Terrace, the bedrock remained close to the surface except where it was cut into for a rectangular trough (see below, Trench 15).

The architects of Room Sigma (Σ) manipulated the bedrock shelf by cutting it both down and back deep enough to lend substantial support to their masonry.[422] They laid wide socles of rubble masonry against the worked rock to create a large room. The builders cut the rock so much that the floor of Room Sigma was, in fact, only about 30cm higher than the ground level of the rooms west of it (occupying the Middle Terrace).[423] Based on the few artifacts recovered and the preservation of some colored plaster on the walls, Shelton surmises that Room Σ comprised part of the domestic apartments of the compound.[424] The area's domestic character is reinforced by the existence of a small infant burial beneath the floor near the center of the room. The burial occurred soon after the construction of the building in LH IIIA1 and contained a few beautiful gifts.[425] Otherwise the contents of the room were quite few. A large hunk of displaced mudbrick occupied the southeast corner of the

[421] Refer to Ch. IV.1 for global counts by category and type as of 2022.
[422] Shelton 2010: 190.
[423] Shelton 2010: 190.
[424] Shelton 2010: 190.
[425] For a fuller account of the burial and its contents, see Shelton 2010: 190.

room, while lenses of melted mudbrick spread across the entire space. A vessel that had been vitrified by the extreme heat of the building's destruction was recovered in fragments throughout the room. The remainder of sherds as well as the figurines were small, worn, and somewhat mixed in date thanks to the dissolution of the mudbrick in the room and the historical-era activity on the Upper Terrace.

Only twenty figurine fragments were recovered during the three seasons of excavation in Room Sigma – all of them quite small and abraded. Most fragments could not be identified beyond 'female' or 'bovine.' A few fragments showed signs of possible alteration, but they were too worn and too far out of any discernible context to get a sense of what they might have been altered for. Most of the female fragments belong to the stem/base of a Phi B or Psi-type figurine[426] while the bovine figurines are represented primarily by disaggregated horns and legs.[427] Two additional fragments originated from combination figurines, at least one of which was likely a chariot ensemble.[428] In short, the figurine fragments from Room Σ do represent a respectable array of types, but their poor state of preservation prevents any meaningful contribution to the reconstruction of activities that took place within the room. The terracottas seem to have comprised part of the mudbrick temper that melted out of the matrix during the destruction of the building. One very small waist/upper stem fragment of a female Hollow Psi figurine appears to be an intrusion from a later period (probably LH IIIB) and was collected along with pottery ranging from LH III to Hellenistic in date.[429]

For a complete list of the figurine fragments from Room Sigma, see **APPENDIX B**.

V.3.2 FIGURINES FROM THE UPPER TERRACE: TRENCH 15

The southern half of the Upper Terrace was mostly encompassed by Trench 15. Exploration immediately south of Room Σ quickly yielded bedrock close to the surface – the bedrock shelf described above. Further south, however, close to the southern and eastern limits of the excavation area, Trench 15 yielded the top of Room Π's east wall (see below), a large rectangular cutting in the bedrock shelf just above Room Π's southeast corner, and an unusual channel partly carved out of the rock and partly built between the walls between that cutting and the interior of Room Π.[430] A post-Mycenaean terrace wall runs through the western side of Trench 15, immediately west of and adjacent to the bedrock shelf, so the entire area was greatly disturbed and produced artifacts ranging in date from EH – Hellenistic. Disturbed though it was, the fill in this southern part of Trench 15 contained a lot of interesting Mycenaean pottery and figurines, much of it contemporary with the use and destruction of the workshop, but some of it also from LH IIIB and IIIC.[431] Coarseware stirrup jars from Crete (some inscribed), fragments of Canaanite jars, clay stoppers, some with sealings, a large amount of decorated and undecorated fineware, bone, shell, and 27 Mycenaean figurines can be counted among the LH III finds. Most of these fit comfortably within the Petsas House production repertoire, but a few seem to be intrusive.

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[426] SFs (a) 03/17003, (a) 03/17012, (a) 03/17040, (a) 03/17045, (a) 04/17113, (14) 04/17118, (31) 04/17138, and (36) 04/17143.

[427] SFs(a) and (b) 03/17020, (13) 04/17118, (38) 04/17108, (44) 04/17118, (63) 05/17238, (64) 05/17239, (74) 05/17245, and (129) 05/17254.

[428] SFs (77) 05/17245 and (39) 04/17108 (chariot).

[429] SF (10) 04/17116.

[430] One idea under investigation is that this large and deep cutting functioned as a tank for levigating clay. See Shelton 2010: 191 w/ further references.

[431] Petsas House Archive, Trench 15.

The contemporary female figurines that comprise part of the Petsas House destruction fill include one Proto-Phi,[432] one Phi A head,[433] two Phi Bs,[434] and four other female figurines that might be either Phi B or Psi type.[435] There are several animals as well: three bovids of Linear type,[436] one small bovid of Spine type,[437] two bovine legs that could belong to any type,[438] and two unusual bovids (plus one non-joining fragment) that are unlike other Petsas bovids, but the clay and application of the decoration are similar enough to other Petsas figurines that they should be considered part of the collection.[439] There is an additional bovine figurine head that could be contemporary with the workshop, but it is too worn and not quite typical enough of Petsas-style construction to say for sure.[440] One tantalizing fragment preserves the base of a "type A throne" with a small section of an attached, seated figure.[441] Finally, one small fragment of unknown type was recovered alongside LH IIIA2 pottery and generally fits with Petsas-type clay and decoration even if the exact type of terracotta cannot be identified at present.[442]

The remaining seven figurines come from parts of the trench that yielded material very mixed in date, are of indeterminate type, and/or they have no parallels within the Petsas House record so far. They probably post-date Petsas production, although their state of preservation and future work in the Upper and Lower Terraces may allow for reconsideration in the future. There is a miniature tripod vessel/figurine, a miniature lid (?) or part of a combination figurine, a third miniature handmade vessel or figurine, a probable fragment from a furniture model, a small-sized bovid with monochrome decoration, a possible fragment of a horse figurine, and an indeterminate fragment that probably belonged to a bovid. These seven do not demonstrate stylistic traits common to other figurines made at Petsas.

For a complete list of the figurine fragments from Trench 15, see **APPENDIX B**

V.3.4 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, CENTRAL: ROOM ALPHA [A]

Moving westward and down slope, the Middle Terrace seems to have been an integral part of the industrial sector of the building complex – specifically dedicated to the organization and storage of finished ceramics.[443] The best-preserved part of the Middle Terrace where this function is most visible is Room Alpha (A). According to the records of Papadimitriou and Petsas as well as Shelton's later study, Room Alpha contained approximately 500 vases, over 90% of them decorated fineware, and all with strong piriform profiles representing a scale of sizes and volume capacities.[444] A few undecorated examples in analogous shapes make up the remaining 10%. The early excavators report

[432] SF (44) 01/15050.
[433] SF (38) 01/15080.
[434] SFs (18) 01/15042 and (20) 01/15042.
[435] SFs (1) 01/15002, (11) 01/15031, (45) 01/15050, and (55) 01/15031.
[436] SFs (16) 01/15034, (17) 01/15043, and (24) 01/15049.
[437] SF (29) 01/15058.
[438] SFs (46) 01/15050 and (a) 01/15029.
[439] SFs (32) 01/15064 + (b) 01/15064 and (33) 01/15069.
[440] SF (42) 01/15039; the snout ends in a relatively sharp point and the horns are quite vertical – two features atypical of Petsas House bovine-figurine construction. Plus the pottery from this zembili included sherds from LH IIIA and IIIB, so it is difficult to characterize or date this figurine with any certainty.
[441] SF (22) 01/15049.
[442] SF (57) 01/15067.
[443] Shelton 2010: 191.
[444] Shelton 2010: 191.

that the vessels were tightly arranged on shelves around three sides of the room and organized by shape and by size.[445]

Although we cannot fully reconstruct the internal organization system maintained by the craftspeople utilizing this space (and the adjacent Room E), we *can* appreciate the meaningful arrangement of finished products. We can also say that terracotta figurines were *not* stored alongside these pots. Even though similar ranges in types and sizes of figurines were produced at Petsas House, they do not seem to have been stored in the Middle Terrace according to any comparable arrangement. Only three figurine fragments were recorded as coming from Room Alpha in 1950, though there are other fragments with similar excavation numbers and unrecorded provenances that might indeed have come from the work carried out in/in proximity to Room Alpha.[446] One additional fragment was found in 2001 in a baulk left over from the 1950s.[447] The four fragments recorded (three from 1950, one from 2001) were all female Phi figurines: two bare heads that might have belonged to earlier Phi types like Proto-Phi or Phi A, and two Phi B fragments. The early date and general state of preservation of the first two suggest that they might have been incorporated into the construction material which comprised much of the fill of Room Alpha according to Papadimitriou and Petsas.[448] The two Phi B fragments, on the other hand, each represent one of the artist groups identified at Petsas House (see above, Ch. IV.6). A small sized female Phi B figurine belonging to Group C[449] and a fragment of an average-sized one belonging to Group B.[450] Unfortunately, the records are not precise enough to know *exactly* where the two Phi Bs were found in Room Alpha and which sherds were associated with them, but their typology, state of preservation, and their date indicate that they comprise part of the overall collection of figurines produced at Petsas House and that they were not pieces that had been incorporated into mudbrick or masonry.

Some of the figurines with excavation numbers immediately surrounding the three pieces recorded from Room Alpha in 1950 follow the same pattern: scuffed-up heads of earlier Phi types and some larger Phi B fragments, including one which *possibly* belongs to an artist group.[451] It is not impossible, then, that figurines were stored by type nearby or above this room, but the quantity of figurines from Room A and its immediate surrounds is not quite enough to substantiate this idea. In any case, even if terracotta figurines *were* stockpiled nearby in some organized arrangement, they were not stored among the vessels or in the same quantities as vessels as far as we know so far.

For a complete account of the figurines from Room A, see **APPENDIX B**.

V.3.5 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, CENTRAL: CORRIDOR RHO [P]

Immediately east of Room A lies Corridor Rho [P]. The narrow space was excavated in 2000 by Shelton (with some follow-up cleaning work in 2001 and 2012) and was filled mostly with debris from the fiery destruction of the building and disturbance from later Geometric terracing.[452] The corridor effectively organizes the functional zones within the complex with storage rooms A and E to

[445] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 207-208; Shelton 2010: 191.
[446] The three figurines recorded in 1950 are Mycenae BE #s 423, 535, 571.
[447] SF (2) 01/01002.
[448] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 208-209.
[449] BE #535.
[450] BE #571.
[451] For example, BE #554. The artist group I have in mind, however, does not have enough members to be included in **APPENDIX A** at this time. It is a group that will, hopefully, grow with continued study and excavation seasons.
[452] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2000 Excavation Notebook.

its west, domestic areas to its east (Upper Terrace), and industrial installation immediately south (see below, Room Π).[453]

The LH IIIA2 pottery and figurines from Corridor P were recovered from that deep destruction debris that seems to have blanketed the southern half of the house (see above, Trench 15, and below, Rooms O, Π, N, and Corridor O) and is characterized by black, ashy soil and mudbrick.[454] Much pottery and several of the figurines retain blackened surfaces (even after washing) after such prolonged contact with this fill. Eight figurines can be counted from Corridor P, though one of them is an intrusion,[455] leaving seven that are contemporary with the use of Petsas House. The earliest fragment of a female figurine, either Proto-Phi or Phi A, was found in 2012 while cleaning around some of the walls and likely comes from mudbrick or masonry.[456] The remaining six figurines conform with the types most frequently produced during the lifetime of the workshop: two female Phi Bs,[457] one female Psi,[458] a bovine Spine 1 type,[459] a bovine Wavy 2,[460] and a lonely bovine leg that could belong to any of the usual types.[461]

For a complete account of the figurines from Corridor P, see **APPENDIX B**.

V.3.6 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, CENTRAL: ROOM EPSILON [E]

Directly north of Alpha lies Room Epsilon, another ground-level room dedicated to the systematic storage of finished pottery. The architecture of the eastern side of the room was unfortunately destroyed by building activity in later periods (see below, Trench 18). In the preserved western half of the room, however, were found many undecorated vessels, especially open shapes for drinking and serving like kylikes and bowls in a wide range of sizes.[462] It is likely that the vessels were organized on shelves around this room as well, but their precise arrangement was not preserved.

Like Room A, Room E did *not* yield figurines in any great quantity. There were two figurines *tangentially* connected to the room – one female Phi B was found in two fragments with differential preservation and joined later in conservation,[463] and one animal (possibly a horse) with curvilinear decoration was found in a baulk in 2006.[464] This animal figurine was recovered from an area that had been disturbed by historical activity (see below) and was recovered along with sherds of mixed dates, so its association with the deposit in Room E is not certain. This strengthens the impression that the workshop personnel in charge of accommodating ceramic vessels in Storerooms A and E were not equally concerned with organizing terracotta figurines alongside them. If handmade figurines were

[453] Shelton 2010: 190.
[454] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2000 Excavation Notebook. Trenches 12 and 15 are likewise characterized almost entirely by this fill.
[455] A fragment of a LH IIIB Hollow Psi figurine, SF (7) 00/14001, recovered alongside sherds ranging in date from LH II – Late Geometric (including several LH IIIB pieces).
[456] SF (1) 12/14103. Petsas House Archive: Trusty 2012 Excavation Notebook: 92-94.
[457] SFs (1) 00/14002 and (1) 01/14101.
[458] SF (10) 00/14006 which has a join from this same destruction fill, but located above the stairs between [Γ] and [O]: (2) 00/03002).
[459] SF (2) 00/14007.
[460] SF (8) 00/14013.
[461] SF (9) 00/14006.
[462] Interestingly, this room also yielded a large number of seemingly carelessly produced kylikes that may represent the work of potters or apprentices with a range of skill levels. This evidence is marshaled in discussions about the possible numbers of potters at Petsas House. See Shelton 2016.
[463] The pieces are only labeled as coming from Trench 04 [Δ] - Trench 05 [E] with no more specific detail, so exact relation to Room Epsilon is unknown. The joined Phi B is BE #s 490 and 556, 1950s.
[464] SF (8) 06/05022.

produced only occasionally in large batches (see Ch. IV.6-7), there may have been no need to designate permanent space for them in the workshop.

For a complete account of the figurines from Room E, see **APPENDIX B**.

V.3.7 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, CENTRAL: TRENCH 18

Trench 18 is a large area in the eastern part of the Middle Terrace between storeroom E and habitation Room Σ of the Upper Terrace.[465] The same post-Mycenaean terrace wall mentioned above that disrupted the stratigraphy of Trench 15 continued through this area and destroyed the western side of Room Σ and whatever may have existed between Σ and Room E.[466] During the 2005 and 2007 seasons, a small Archaic/Classical two-room structure was located just west of the terrace wall, built primarily out of materials from the pre-existing Mycenaean building, including, probably, stones from the eastern wall of Room E (see above).[467] The purpose of the structure is not clear because it suffered much at the hands of Hellenistic terrace builders and bothros diggers.[468]

The Archaic/Classical construction and subsequent Hellenistic-era dumping combined with heavy agricultural activities from all periods has left most of the area encompassed by Trench 18 devoid of secure Mycenaean contexts. Most of the fill yielded material ranging from LH II to Hellenistic. Though not discovered in any discernable concentration, a total of eighteen Mycenaean figurines were recovered from Trench 18. Similar to those from neighboring Room Σ, all were in a fragmentary state with extremely worn surfaces. These eighteen figurines break down into nine female,[469] five bovine,[470] two horse fragments,[471] and two unknown pieces.[472] None can be elaborated in any real detail due to poor state of preservation and lack of secure context. Two short Proto-Phi stems and one Proto-Phi or Phi A stem show close correlation with figurines found at the north end of the house (also adjacent to and north of Trench 18; see below) and the rest generally fit within the 'normal' Petsas House repertoire. So, the figurine fragments from Trench 18 probably did originate from the general area, but they cannot be securely repatriated to any context within the workshop.

For a complete account of the figurines from Trench 18, see **APPENDIX B**.

V.3.8 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, NORTH:

The area north of Epsilon and Trench 18 was excavated in large part by Papadimitriou and Petsas in 1950 and 1951 but revisited by Shelton's team in the last few years of the project. The early excavators provided only cursory descriptions of their work north of Epsilon in their *Praktika* reports and the labeling on the objects themselves is not always accurate or helpful. In the following section, I'll start with what I can from the 1950s and then add recent data from Shelton's excavations keeping in mind that the upper strata were likely mixed and disturbed by historical-era activities (these were excavated by Papadimitriou and Petsas), but the rooms themselves (at ground level) were undisturbed (some parts dug in the 1950s, other parts in the 2000s).

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[465] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2012 final report.
[466] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2012 final report.
[467] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2005, 2007, and 2012 final reports.
[468] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2012 final report.
[469] SFs (a) 04/18007b, (a) 04/18014, (8) 04/18016, (1) 05/18101, (2) 05/18103, (9) 05/18118, (17) 05/18130, (7) and (29) 07/18208.
[470] SFs (4) 04/18003, (6) 04/18010, (4) 05/18104, (31) 07/18216, and (26) 12/18306.
[471] SFs (8) 05/18117 and (18) 05/18134 (possibly a horse).
[472] SFs (24) 05/18121 and (28) 12/18308.

V.3.9 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, NORTH: ROOM DELTA [Δ]

Moving in numerical order by trench, Room Delta [Δ], at the north/northeast extreme of the Petsas House complex, was excavated in 1950 in arbitrary layers since the excavators could not discern any differentiation between deposits.[473] They recovered a large amount of pottery, fragments of bone, and wall-painting.[474] When they studied the pottery *after* excavation, they realized that the fill higher in the room corresponded with what they were finding elsewhere in the house, namely unpainted kylikes and cups, jars (including stirrup jars), and some coarse wares. In the lower strata, however, decorated sherds from the LH II period appeared in quantity, though still mixed in with some LH III material. There are four figurines labeled as coming from Room Delta from this season, but two out of those four are either from Delta and/or a nearby area, so their proveniences are not certain. Two others *are* more certain and are included in Fig. 17 of the 1950 report: one a bovine of Wavy 2 type (LH IIIA1/IIIA2 early)[475] and the other a seated figure on a type A throne.[476] Only the chair survives in this second figurine, the applied human figure is indicated only by the rough attachment area. We cannot say much about the room from this information, but we can at least be sure that the sherds and figurines are not at odds with the rest of the ceramic data from Δ – the bovine is "early" and the other fragments are within the range of 'normal' figurines for LH IIIA2.

When Room Delta was revisited in 2012 and 2013, it was determined that Papadimitriou and Petsas had only excavated one small portion of the room near its center. The remainder of the room was explored by Shelton's team, although the exact function of the space during the IIIA2 period remains unclear.[477] Still, the material recovered yields some information about the phases of construction at the north end of the complex. Just as the early excavators had previously recorded, the higher levels of fill corresponded in terms of ceramics with the house's main period of use while stylistically early Mycenaean pottery and figurines came from the lower strata just above the natural bedrock. Shelton has determined that these lower strata indicate leveling fill below the IIIA2 floor that was placed there before/during the construction of the room.[478] The terracotta figurines from the 2012 and 2013 seasons conform with the overall impression given by the pottery. A total of ten figurines were recovered from both seasons, most of them on the "early" side (ca. LH IIIA1), though not always found stratigraphically lower than IIIA2 types/pottery. The pottery from 2012 and 2013, however, is still undergoing preliminary cataloguing and study, so this picture will become clearer upon in the near future – and it is always possible that more fragments of these figurines may be discovered among the sherds. Three bovine Wavy 2 types,[479] three female Proto-Phi types,[480] and an unusual animal head[481] stand out against some smaller fragments of IIIA2 types (two unknown parts[482] and a bare female head[483]). Two of the Proto-Phis are missing only their heads and belong to a class of

[473] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 218.
[474] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 218-220. One anomaly noted by the excavators is the appearance of small "balls of red soil" which they understood to be pigment used in the decoration of pottery – and they suggest that production might indeed have occurred on site and remarked that it would be a great contribution to Mycenaean studies if that were proven true. It is sometimes easy to blame Papadimitriou and Petsas for their imprecise records and less meticulous collection practices, but their intuition about the site and sense of its importance for Mycenaean archaeology was spot-on.
[475] BE # 444.
[476] BE # 458.
[477] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report. More about the function and finds of this space will be discussed in the forthcoming final publication.
[478] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report.
[479] SFs (3)+(4) 12/0411, (10) 12/04000, and (13) 12/04040.
[480] SF (5) 12/04014, (9) 12/04022, and (21) 12/04018.
[481] SF (7) 13/04109.
[482] SFs (12) 12/04039 and (9) 13/04106.
[483] SF (1) 13/04100.

Proto-Phi/Phi A figurines that have been recovered from this northern end of the house and that bespeak earlier (pre-IIIA2) potting/storage activity in the area, probably even figurine production by LH IIIA1.[484] One of those two even belongs to one of the identified artist groups: Group E.

For a complete list of the figurines from Room Delta, see **APPENDIX B**.

V.3.10 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, NORTH: ROOM ZETA [Z]

South/southwest of Room Delta lies Room Zeta [Z], also excavated primarily by Papadimitriou and Petsas. The *Praktika* reports do not provide much detail about their work in this room or about any distinct deposits or finds they encountered. They do comment on some of the architectural features of the room, namely that the walls were composed of a mudbrick superstructure and stone socles with spaces for timber beams preserved.[485] They note also that beneath where the floor had presumably been and lying directly on the bedrock were parts of walls from an earlier construction, one that also used a layer of plesia clay to "pave" the natural bedrock.[486] As far as finds from within the space, they did include photographs of a few sherds (mostly LH IIIA1) and figurines (also IIIA1) from Room Z that make it possible to comfortably group these finds with the others from this northern end of the complex. Each of the six figurines recorded from this space is "early" (IIIA1): three Proto-Phi figurines (including another from Group E),[487] a female Transitional type figurine,[488] as well as a bovine Wavy 1,[489] and a Wavy 2.[490]

Some cleaning of this room took place in 2008, but it was determined that Papadimitriou and Petsas had, in fact, excavated the whole room (even though they did not believe they had[491]) and traces of earlier architecture were confirmed at the lowest levels. Only a few sherds and no further figurines were recovered at that time.

For a complete list of the figurines from Room Zeta, see **APPENDIX B**.

V.3.11 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, NORTH: ROOM THETA [Θ] & "EAST OF THETA [Θ]"

No information is provided about Room Theta [Θ], which lies just south of Room Zeta, in Papadimitriou's and Petsas' *Praktika* reports. In 2008, Shelton's team carried out some cleaning and exploration in the area and found a network of foundation and spur walls for supporting a superstructure.[492] The fills between these walls did contain pottery, but generally it was mixed in date, especially because of the Archaic/Classical building activity directly east and southeast of Theta (see above, Trench 18). The four figurines recovered in 2008 are extremely fragmentary and worn – one

[484] Petsas House Archive and pers. discussion with K. Shelton.
[485] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 221.
[486] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 221. "Plesia" is a naturally and locally sourced clay that is widely used around Mycenae – from monumental tombs to modest houses – as a water-proofing agent.
[487] BE #s 517, 518, and 521 (Group E).
[488] BE #519.
[489] BE #464.
[490] BE #469.
[491] Papadimitriou & Petsas 1950: 221.
[492] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2008 final report.

partial miniature Phi figurine[493] and three partial bovine legs[494] – and cannot be ascribed to any discernable use or storage context. They most likely derive from decomposed construction material.

For a complete list of the figurines from Room Theta/East of Theta, see **APPENDIX B**.

V.3.12 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, NORTH: ROOM PHI [Φ]

Wrapping up the better understood contexts from the north end of Petsas House, we move on to Room Phi [Φ], south of [Δ] and east of [Z]. The room was explored by Shelton's team during the 2012 and 2013 seasons. The room's northeast corner, coinciding with [Δ]'s southeast corner, was destroyed by a large bothros dug in the Hellenistic period.[495] The pottery recovered from the otherwise undisturbed fill in the space, however, accorded well with the period of use of the house. Investigations did not reveal a floor surface or any artifacts that indicated the room's *function*, unfortunately, but two Proto-Phi figurines[496] and a bare head[497] were recovered from the fill.[498]

The room's most interesting feature, and one that is relevant to this project, was a well. The well was excavated out of natural bedrock and pre-dates the construction of the LH IIIA2 Petsas House complex. The upper levels of the well seemed to evidence a deliberate filling event and were characterized by a high volume of medium-to-large-sized stones that were then capped off with a large boulder. The lower levels, which contained the cultural material, dated from LH IIA to the very beginning of LH IIIA.[499] In addition to the high volume of decorated fineware (including goblets and cups), the team recovered six figurines: two small unidentifiable fragments,[500] three fragments of Proto-Phi figurines,[501] and a naturalistic bovine figurine.[502] As far as the figurines go, those found both outside the well in the room's fill *and* those recovered inside the well can all be dated to LH IIIA1 or earlier and provide some of the best evidence for pre-LH IIIA2 production on site.

For a complete list of the figurines from Room Phi, see **APPENDIX B**.

V.3.13 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, NORTH: "SECOND ANALYGMMA"

The final area in the Middle Terrace to mention here is the so-called "second analygmma," excavated by Papadimitriou and Petsas in the 1950s. The designation is utilized in some labels, though no such nomenclature is used in their official reports from 1950 or 1951. The term means "second terrace" and applies to the northern part of the Middle Terrace in or around Rooms Δ and Z. It most likely refers to the upper strata of this area before walls and specific rooms were defined and assigned letters. For that reason, no architectural or other features can be securely associated with the vessels and figurines found in the "second analygmma." Still, there are some nice examples of terracottas from here that deserve mention.

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493 SF (5) 08/08109.
494 SFs (1), (2), and (3) from 08/08103.
495 Petsas House Archive and pers. discussion with K. Shelton.
496 SFs (1) 12/21002 and (4) 12/21011.
497 SF (3) 12/21010.
498 The material, especially the pottery, from these seasons is currently undergoing intensive study. The results of that study will be included in the shortly forthcoming final publication.
499 Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report.
500 SFs (16) 13/21117 and (20) 13/21118.
501 SFs (9) 13/21114, (15) 13/21117, and (21) 13/21120.
502 SF (22) 13/21120.

At least eight (and as many as eleven) terracotta figurines were recorded with "second analygmma" as their find-spot – and all are animal figurines.[503] There are six bovids – all of Wavy type.[504] There is also a miniature horse with Linear 1 style decoration[505] and an animal head of uncertain species (most likely a horse).[506] There are additional figurines with uncertain provenience that might have come from this area too, all animals: a miniature bovine with Linear 1 style decoration,[507] a bovine leg with chevron decoration,[508] and a horse head with attachment area on its neck for a connector piece (so, part of a chariot ensemble).[509] Future study of the sherds from the "second analygmma" may help contextualize some of these figurines a bit more, but the imprecise records prevent full reconstruction of their origin. The animal figurines do correspond well with the other figurines recorded from Rooms Δ and Z, including the figurines from Shelton's excavations in Δ, which cluster in date to LH IIIA1-IIIA2 early.

For a complete list of the figurines from the "second analygmma," see **APPENDIX B**.

V.3.14 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, NORTH: SUMMARY

The overall character of the north end of the house can be summed up as a cluster of well-built rooms with high stone socles that respond to the natural (and manipulated) elevations in the bedrock. The rooms contained accumulations of pottery and other finds that were contemporary with the use of the workshop, but that were not directly indicative of the function of the rooms during their period of use (LH IIIA2).[510] Underlying these rooms were traces of the Pezoulia Hill's earlier history, including at least one MH burial, short segments of LH II walls, and the LH II/IIIA1 well in Room Phi. The pottery corresponded in date with these phases of activity: LH IIIA2 pottery, both decorated and undecorated, from fill levels with fair quantities of LH II – IIIA1 pottery mixed in with increasing density in the lower strata. The figurines too follow this pattern and the best preserved Proto-Phi and Phi A female figurines from the entire excavation are concentrated in this northern end, especially in rooms Δ and Φ.

Approximately 52 figurines were recovered from the north end of the house, though there are a few included in this number that are from unknown or uncertain findspots from the early excavations. Out of those 52, there are 19 female figurines (plus one miniature) and 21 bovine (plus two miniatures). As we have seen before, the number of bovine figurines is a bit skewed since some of the fragments included in this count are disaggregated legs or horns whereas the female figurines certainly each represent one individual figurine, but there are few enough bovids to say for certain that none of the solitary appendages are likely to belong to one figurine or even to one of the larger surviving fragments from this part of the house. **TABLE 5**, below, shows that the most common type

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[503] It is also possible that the less-specific area designation, "second analygmma," signals a selection bias. Animal figurines, especially small fragments of them, were not immediately valued as much as female (and other human or specialized) figurines. Whereas the *female* figurines from the northern part of the Middle Terrace (1950-1951) have specific location descriptions (i.e. Rooms Delta, Zeta, etc.), the animals are lumped together as generally from the northern part of the Middle Terrace, i.e. the "second analygmma." See **APPENDIX B**. Future study of the pottery from this area may reveal similar selection biases in terms of decorated vs. undecorated, etc.

[504] BE #s 440, 442, 445, 447, 448, 450.

[505] BE #443.

[506] BE #449.

[507] BE #446.

[508] From sherds BE #280.

[509] From sherds BE #280.

[510] Although, as already noted, the pottery and finds from these spaces are still under conservation and study, so new information will certainly come to light and will be detailed in the forthcoming final publication. The comments provided here are based primarily on discussion with K. Shelton and on preliminary observations included in the field paperwork.

of terracotta figurine from the north end of the house is the female Proto-Phi, followed by bovine Wavy 2, and that most fragments cluster around LH IIIA1 in date. Not all the pottery from this part of the house has been studied yet, so new figurine fragments will likely appear, and a fine-tuned reading of the pottery will likely point in the direction of an earlier phase of pottery production on site.[511] Out of the 12 Proto-Phis from the north end, two belong to Group E.[512]

TABLE 5: Figurines from the North End of Petsas House

Type of Figurine	Subtype of Figurine	Date Range	Quantity
Female	Proto-Phi or Phi A	LH II – **IIIA1**	2
Female	Proto-Phi	LH II – **IIIA1**	12
Female	Phi A	LH II – **IIIA1**	1
Female	Phi B or Psi	LH IIIA2	1
Female	Phi B	LH IIIA2	2
Female	Transitional	LH **IIIA1** (?) – IIIA2	1
Bovine	Bovine	LH **IIIA1** – IIIA2	6
Bovine	Wavy 1	LH II – **IIIA1**	1
Bovine	Wavy 2	LH **IIIA1** – IIIA2	8
Bovine	Wavy 2/Linear 1	LH IIIA2	4
Bovine	Linear 1	LH IIIA2	2
Female and Bovine	Miniatures	LH **IIIA1** – IIIA2	4
Animal	Animals	LH **IIIA1** – IIIA2	2
Other	Other	LH **IIIA1** – IIIA2	2
Unknown	Unknown	LH IIIA2 (?)	4

* The types of figurines with the highest quantities are highlighted in orange.

V.3.15 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, SOUTH: ROOM PI [Π]

Only the southern end of the Middle Terrace remains to be discussed now. The most exceptional room excavated so far on the Middle Terrace and in the whole of the Petsas complex, was found at this southern end: Room Π. It is exceptional by virtue of the features found within it and by virtue of the concern the builders took to maintain access to this room across different phases of construction in that part of the house. The room was discovered in 2001 by Shelton during work in Trench 15 (see above) and continued to be excavated through 2007 with some follow-up work in 2012. Several features within the space (that are so far unique within the context of the Petsas House complex) have led Shelton to conclude that Room Π might have served as the main potting area in the workshop.[513] Although this assessment is still somewhat speculative, the features of the room that led to this hypothesis certainly indicate that it served an important function connected to the shop's industrial activities. The largest of these features is a deep well that occupies the whole of Room Π's southeast quadrant. Next to it, in the northeast quadrant, a large stone slab/bench is built into the east wall and serves as a sturdy work surface. A series of post-holes triangulated between these two features

[511] Petsas House Archive and pers. discussion with K. Shelton.

[512] There are only four certain members of this small group so far, but they are similar enough in construction and decoration, I believe, to constitute a group. Of the other two members of Group E, one figurine is from Trench 22 in the Lower Terrace, the other is from the Middle Terrace, like these, but from the southern end in the fill above Room Pi [Π]. Intense agricultural activity on the hillside can easily account for such dispersal, though there is no reason to assume that any pre-Petsas production was concentrated *only* in the north end of the structure anyway, this area just has a higher concentration of earlier forms than other parts of the house (for now).

[513] Shelton 2016: 321.

in the center/northwest of the room, indicates that a wooden framework was set up in proximity to the well and the bench.[514] The residents and craftspeople of Petsas House approached Room Π from Room M and gained access through the doorway situated in its southwest corner, opposite the well.

Even with its special built-in features, the room is not very large. Still, it took many years to excavate on account of the great depth of the well. So far, the well has been excavated to a depth of 12.35m and is characterized by moist red-brown soil replete with charcoal and burned mudbrick.[515] Many thousands of fresco fragments, tens of thousands of animal bones, and vast quantities of sherds and other small finds were recovered throughout this 12.35m depth between Levels 5 and 98. This includes thousands of whole and restorable vessels (that are *still* being reconstructed), most of them undecorated fineware, especially kylikes of several varieties and cups, but also cookware, imports, and decorated fineware.[516] In addition to the many ceramics evidencing the production output of the workshop, the animal bones from the well testify to the residents' and artisans' varying relationships with animals and animal products and subsistence practices during the building's main period of use.[517] Most of the material recovered from the well so far amounts to a single, extended clean-up event carried out, presumably by the residents, after the destruction of the building, but before the final collapse and decomposition of the structure.[518] The clean-up crew filled up the well, not all the way to its lip, but to just under a meter below the lip (ca. 0.86m below the lip) and perhaps capped off their effort with a large, rounded, drum-shaped stone.[519] Above and around that stone the fill of the room (excavation Levels 1-5) was composed primarily of destruction debris including much charcoal, burned mudbrick, ash, plaster, and even stone that had been reduced to lime from the great heat of the destruction.[520] Below that stone began the sealed LH IIIA2 deposit, beginning with Level 7. Joins between fragments of vessels (and figurines and other finds) at different depths of the well, suggest one major depositional event.[521]

Most relevant to this project, Room Π yielded a staggering 288 terracotta figurines. The first fifteen figurines come from the disturbed destruction fill of the room in Levels 1-5 and are detailed in **APPENDIX B**. In general, though, those fifteen are representative of figurines contemporary with Petsas House production and align well with those described above in Trench 15. The remaining 273, on the other hand, were recovered from the sealed LH IIIA2 deposit in the well, below Level 7. The first figurine appeared in Level 18, about 2.45m below the lip of the well,[522] with an additional three

[514] Shelton 2016: 321. Shelton has hypothesized that the post-holes supported a potting wheel and that this room functioned as the main potting area of the complex with the well and bench serving the main potter(s) at work. Alternatively, the post-holes might have belonged to the wooden framework of a pulley system used in retrieving water from the well or some similar installation connected to the water source. Analysis of the finds is ongoing and the forthcoming final publication of the space will help clarify the layout of the room and its contents.

[515] Shelton 2016: 321-322.

[516] Shelton 2016: 322.

[517] Kvapil et al. 2019: 122-36.

[518] Shelton 2016: 321.

[519] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2002 Excavation Notebook: 5.

[520] It also contained post-Mycenaean disturbance due to agricultural terracing and other activity, see above Trench 15. Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2001 Excavation Notebook: 16-37.

[521] A future study will map out concentrations of vessel and figurine types within the well (along with similar concentrations of fresco and animal bone, etc.) and to map joins both within/throughout the well and between pieces in the well and pieces in other rooms in the Petsas House complex. One major goal of that study will be to reconstruct the clean-up event(s) as closely as possible. Was it carried out systematically room by room? Can we identify any other sequences of activity from the break patterns or other clues? Secondary goals include analyzing soil and organic samples that may yield clues as to the time of year the destruction/cleaning event happened, identifying materials/pigments added to the clays and used for wall paintings, and many other detailed studies of individual artifacts.

[522] SF (14) 02/16124, the lower stem of a female figurine, Phi B or Psi type.

from Levels 20 and 22,[523] but the great majority of the figurines are concentrated between Levels 24 and 86. Level 24 begins at a depth of about 3.5m from the top of the well. The bottom of level 86 ends about 10.5m from the top of the well. So, out of the full 12.35m depth of the well in the southeast corner of Room Π, the bottom 2.0m (approx.) may be a pre-destruction accumulation of construction debris and animal bone,[524] the middle 7.0m (approx.) comprise the main bulk of the dense cleaning "dump" that contained more sherds, figurines, and other artifacts than soil, while the uppermost ~2.50m (until the rounded "drum-stone") show a thinning out of sherds, figurines, and other artifacts with more soil and small bits of charcoal and fresco between them.[525] Above the round stone to the lip of the well (~0.80-0.86m) begins the general destruction fill of the room as noted above. In that densely packed cleaning deposit of about 7.0m, then, each meter yielded 35-40 LH IIIA2 terracotta figurines.[526] Within even this, other patterns are beginning to emerge. For example, there is a small concentration of deer figurine fragments between Levels 29-45. In other cases, a single figurine can be joined from fragments dispersed across several levels/meters. For example, a bovine figurine of Linear 1 type was reconstructed from fragments strewn throughout Levels 39 to 64, that is across approximately 4 meters.[527] Additional dispersal patterns will certainly emerge from future studies.

The figurines from the well form the largest cohesive deposit of terracottas within the Petsas House workshop and much can be understood about their production thanks to their excellent state of preservation. Ch. IV presented preliminary observations resulting from the Petsas House figurines as a whole – but most of that information was derived from the two largest deposits of figurines in Room Γ and Room Π. Here I provide a brief comparison of the 273 figurines from the well in Room Π with the 261 figurines from the north end of Room Γ (see above). Whereas the figurines and pottery from the north end of Room Γ constitute an intact floor deposit, however, those from the well in Room Π represent part of a refuse deposit, albeit an extremely rich and chronologically compact one.

Even though the two contexts are quite distinct in their composition and excavation, it is still an informative exercise to compare the general distributions of figurine types within each deposit because the ratios of types in the well differ somewhat from the rest of the workshop: 45 of the total 273 are female, 168 are bovine, and 60 are classified as 'other.'[528] As before, the bovine numbers are inflated as a result of the many disaggregated legs and horns included in the count. Removing them (115 legs and horns), we are left with 53 bovine figurines or fragments that are more likely to represent one individual. The 'other' category includes about twenty tiny unidentifiable fragments that could be from one of the known types, but they are too small or strangely broken that we cannot classify them with certainty. So, that leaves about 40 truly 'other' types, including different animals, furniture, and combinations. The three categories can be considered roughly equal when we account for these. Elsewhere in the house, female figurines tend to outnumber bovines – and both females and bovines outnumber the 'other' category. Since many other parts of the house have been disturbed by the later history of the Pezoulia hillside, the well may preserve a truer representation of the production output

[523] SFs (27) and (29) 02/16132, a seated Phi and a bovine with chevron decoration from Level 20; SF (37) 02/16139, a bovine of Wavy 2/Linear 1 type from Level 22.

[524] There remains some soil still to be excavated at the bottom of the well, but the extreme depth and the very small area in which to maneuver have so far prevented further exploration. Petsas House Archive.

[525] Perhaps indicating the last bits swept into the well, possibly from Room Π itself.

[526] See **APPENDIX B** for the distribution by year/level.

[527] SF (63) 06/16530. Since the main bulk of the cleaning dump extends for approx. 7.0m, this one figurine is spread through more than half this deposit. And this deposit is *extremely* dense, so many thousands of sherds separated each distinct piece of the figurine.

[528] If we include the figurines found higher in the fill of Room Π, amounting to a total of 288 figurines: 51 are female, 174 are bovine, and 63 'other.' I do not, however, include them in the counts in the body of the text since they do not originate from the sealed LH IIIA2 deposit.

of the Petsas figurine makers – where roughly 1/3 of their products are female figurines, 1/3 bovine, and 1/3 (or nearly 1/3) 'other.'

The following table, **TABLE 6**, illustrates how these distributions of figurine types from the well compare with the distribution of the figurines from the north end of Room Γ. Both deposits included a similar number of figurines: 273 from the well in Room Π and 261 from Room Γ.[529] When the floating bovine appendages and unidentifiable fragments are removed from the total counts for both rooms, we find that the general categories of figurines are dispersed somewhat evenly across all figurine types in the well in Room Π (32.6% female, 38.4% bovine, and 29% 'other') whereas in Room Γ the overwhelming majority are female (60.1% female [calculated with the more conservative number of female figurines from the room, see **TABLE 6** below], 26.4% bovine, and 13.5% 'other').

If this distribution of figurines in the well reflects any reality in terms of the workshop's production output, this supports the interpretation of the deposit of figurines in Room Γ as a shipment that has been purposely curated to fulfill an order (or several orders, see Ch. IV.8 and V.1).

For a complete list of the figurines from Room Π, see **APPENDIX B**.

TABLE 6: Comparison of figurine categories between the major deposits in Rooms [Π] and [Γ].

Type of Figurine	Room Π, well	Room Γ, north end
Female	45	108**
Bovine	168/53*	127/43*
Other	40	22
Unknown**	20	4
Total	**273**	**261**

*The larger number includes *all* bovine figurine fragments whereas the smaller number represents a more realistic MNI that is included in the calculation of percentages below.
**Out of the 108 female figurines, approx. 10 are likely to have come out of the fill higher in the room, including temper from dissolved mudbrick, that still leaves 98 female figurines, which is the number used to calculate the percentages shown below.
***Unknown types not included in calculation of percentages below.

[529] The totals are not 100% accurate due to the challenges in reconstructing the excavation events and records of Papadimitriou and Petsas in 1950 and 1951 (see above).

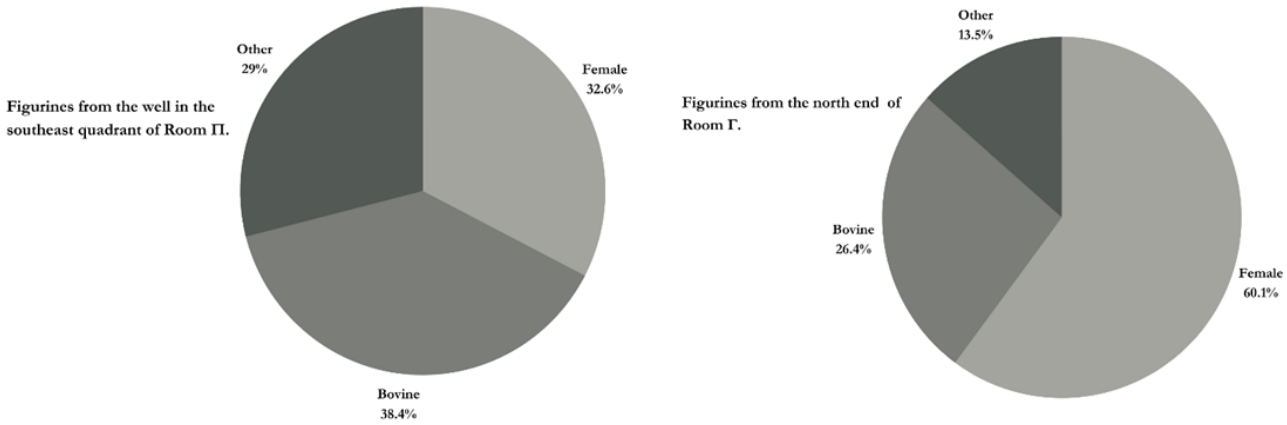


FIGURE 34: Comparison of Figurine Categories Between Rooms [Π] and [Γ]. Visual representation of the data in **TABLE XX.**

V.3.16 FIGURINES FROM THE MIDDLE TERRACE, SOUTH: [M]/[N]/[O]

The rest of the southern end of the Middle Terrace is made up of a small cluster of spaces: Room M, possibly an open-air, atrium-like space, Corridor O, and Room N, probably a stairwell. Like Corridor P and Trench 15 (above), most of the material from these spaces derives from the destruction fill of the building and was likewise disturbed by Geometric terracing and subsequent activity on the hillside. Even lacking intact floor deposits (like the one in [Γ]) or chronologically sealed refuse deposits (like the well in [Π]), these spaces did yield important information about some of the construction phases of the complex.[530] All three spaces might originally have been part of one large square room, but adjustments were made at different points in time to meet the needs of traffic/workflow in the workshop.[531] In its final phase, Room M linked Room Γ, the entrance to the building, with Room Π, the main potting area (or at least the point where the well could be accessed), but did not continue into Corridor P any longer.[532]

The Mycenaean pottery, like in Corridor P and Trench 15 (above), was mostly contemporary with the life of the building, though there were LH IIIB, IIIC, and later intrusions as well. The figurines, thirty-five of them, likewise correspond with the life of the workshop and represent a fair variety of types.[533] Many of these may have been stored or used on the upper story of the house and for that reason were discovered at different depths within the destruction debris. One of the earliest pieces is the lower body of a female figurine, Naturalistic to Phi type, that likely originates from mudbrick temper or other building material.[534] Similar in date (and probably original context) is the lower half of a Proto-Phi figurine,[535] the partial back body of a bovine of Wavy 1 type[536] as well as the lower body of a possible female figure.[537] Otherwise there are many fragments that conform

[530] Shelton 2010: 189; 2016: 318.
[531] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2000 Excavation Notebook: 61.
[532] Shelton, Forthcoming.
[533] It is possible that one or two of them are later intrusions, but typologically they fit within the LH IIIA2 repertoire.
[534] SF (46) 00/12038.
[535] SF (34) 00/12043.
[536] SF (40) 00/12017.
[537] SF (51) 00/12025, although the identification of this piece is uncertain and could be a vessel fragment.

chronologically and stylistically with the "usual" Petsas production lineup: two female Phi A types,[538] one female Phi B,[539] one female Psi,[540] and three fragments that could belong either to Phi B or Psi.[541] An unusual type recovered from this debris is a female Kourotrophos figurine, but of Psi type.[542] She is not the only unusual figurine from this part of the house. Three furniture models, including a basket or cradle, an open-work chair (Throne B type), and a table add further variety to this group.[543] Bovine figurines of the usual types make their appearance too, naturally: three of Wavy 2 type,[544] one Wavy 2/Linear 1,[545] two Linear 1 types,[546] and three Spine 1s[547] round out the collection. The remaining pieces include nine disaggregated bovine legs and horns and two unidentifiable fragments.[548]

For a complete list of the figurines from [M], [N], and [O] see **APPENDIX B**.

V.3.17 FIGURINES FROM THE LOWER TERRACE: ROOM UPSILON [Υ]

Work in the Lower Terrace took place in stages beginning with Papadimitriou and Petsas in 1950 and 1951. They referred to the area as the "Kato Pezouli" and sunk a few trenches, but concentrated their efforts in Room Γ once they discovered the deposit of vessels and figurines in its north end. Shelton's campaign began in and on either side of Room Γ in order to bring some clarity to the architecture. That initial effort led to the discovery of the wide staircase leading from the east side of Room Γ into Room M (and on to Corridor O and Rooms N and Π) as well as Room Υ immediately west of Room Γ. At first, the major question to resolve was whether the west side of Room Γ was interior or exterior to the building – a question difficult to answer thanks to the terracing and plowing that had taken place there. Eventually the space was understood as an interior room (and, in fact, Shelton's team concluded there is *another* room directly west of Υ that awaits excavation), just one that had been heavily damaged by agriculture.[549] As a result, the fills inside the room yielded a mix of finds from different historical periods. This disturbed fill reached all the way to the top of the LH IIIA2 floor deposit which consisted of the bases of ten large coarseware pithoi resting on stone slabs.[550] When in use, the pithoi would have filled almost every available space in the room and could have stored a significant amount of foodstuffs.[551]

As might be expected considering the level of disturbance in the area of Room Υ, the pottery and figurines are mixed and quite worn. Fragments of 52 Mycenaean figurines can be ascribed to Room Υ, although at least five should be dated to LH IIIB.[552] On the other end of the spectrum, at

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[538] SFs (28) and (29) 00/12039 (not from the same figurine).
[539] SF (21) 00/12022.
[540] SF (20) 00/12022.
[541] SFs (19a) 00/12022, (35) and (36) 00/12003.
[542] SF (14) 00/12019.
[543] SFs (23) 00/12021, (43) 00/12032, and (50) 00/12025 respectively.
[544] SFs (11a) and (11b) 00/12011 along with (52) 00/12026.
[545] SF (b) 00/12028.
[546] SFs (22) 00/12022 and (24) 00/12024.
[547] SFs (30) 00/12039, (37) 00/12005, and (44) 00/12037.
[548] SFs (19b) 00/12022 and (a) 02/12100.
[549] Shelton, Forthcoming.
[550] An eleventh stone slab indicates there likely stood one more pithos in the southwest corner of the room. Petsas House Archive: Kvapil 2008 Excavation Notebook: 523-527.
[551] Shelton 2016: 318. Also, Petsas House Archive: Kvapil 2008 Excavation Notebook; Shelton 2008 final report. Further details will be released along with the first installment of the forthcoming final publication.
[552] Various female Psi parts with stylistically later decorative features and which are generally inconsistent with other Psi figurines from more secure contexts within Petsas House: SFs (5) 00/13009, (5) 03/13106, (6) 03/13115, (8) 03/13116, and (3) 07/13404.

least ten *early* figurine fragments (LH IIB/IIIA1) most likely formed part of the construction fill or masonry in or around Υ.[553] There are a few others that might also pre- or postdate Petsas House, but they are too small and/or too abraded to identify or date with certainty.[554] That leaves 29 figurines that are contemporary with the building's main period of use even if they cannot be reconstituted contextually. Representing female figurines, there is only one certain Phi B[555] with an additional four fragments that could belong to either Phi B or Psi types.[556] Three fragments belong to combination figurines: two chariots[557] and one very small fragment that might have belonged to a driven oxen or similar arrangement.[558] The rest of the fragments are bovine and incorporate all of the major LH IIIA2 types: one bovine Wavy 1 or 2,[559] one that is Wavy 2 or Linear 1,[560] three bovine Linear 1 type,[561] one Spine 1,[562] and 15 disaggregated bovid parts. Although none of these figurines can be repatriated to an assemblage or context, a fair range is represented – from chariots to seated females to canonical female and bovine types. Disappointingly, none of the fragments join with any other from Room Υ or with any from the adjacent Room Γ. Still, the quantity of figurines is impressive and shows how prevalent they were in any type of deposit – disturbed or not.

For a complete list of the figurines from Room Υ, see **APPENDIX B.**

V.3.18 FIGURINES FROM THE LOWER TERRACE: AREA TAU [T]

Directly north of Room Υ (and west of Room A in the Middle Terrace) lies the semi-enclosed Area T, excavated by Shelton's team between 2006-2012. The Area's south and east walls, which are party walls with Rooms Υ and A, respectively, remain, but no traces of northern or western walls have survived. Instead, Area T transitions into Area B (see below) at its north end, while its western neighbor remains mostly unexcavated. For now, Area T is understood as a semi-enclosed space where any roofing or superstructure would have had to stand in the southern half of the room where it could have been supported by the walls along its south and east boundaries (evidenced by surviving stone socles) and possibly additional support beams (see below).[563] The fill of Area T, like in other parts of the building complex, was characterized primarily by destruction debris disturbed by later terracing and agriculture. Patches of flooring were found in different parts of T representing various phases.[564] Tucked into the southeast corner of the room lies a stepped platform constructed of poros limestone

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[553] Mostly female figurine parts, ranging from Naturalistic to Phi A: SFs (7) 05/13211, (8) 05/13214, (1) 06/13305, (4) 06/13314, (43) 07/13436 (a seated Phi), (110) 07/13472, (125) 07/13404, and (116) 08/13538. One bovine figurine of Wavy 1 type, (72) 07/13457, and one probable chariot fragment (10) 03/13120.

[554] The unidentifiable/uncertain fragments include SFs (a) 00/13008, (4) 00/13005, (a) 05/13210, (a) 05/13219, (17) 05/13227, (115) 08/13538 (a bovine of uncertain type/date), (117) 08/13570, and (119) 08/13555.

[555] SF (9) 03/13120.

[556] SFs (a) 03/13101, (50) 07/13441, (121) 07/13458, and (113) 08/13510.

[557] SF (2) 03/13102 and (21) 07/13425.

[558] SF (16) 05/13225.

[559] SF (6) 07/13415, unusual.

[560] SF (71) 07/13457.

[561] SFs (8) 07/13417, (24) 07/13426, and (64) 07/13449.

[562] SF (30) 07/13430.

[563] Further analysis of the architecture and contents of this space will be included in the final publication: Shelton, Forthcoming.

[564] One phase was laid with flat angular paving stones, another with pebbles set into gravel (which might also have been a preparation layer for additional flooring), other places showed worked bedrock. Much of this may have been layers of flooring reflecting both resurfacing events AND leveling fills to account for the westward slope of Area T. Shelton 2007-2012 Reports; Mellican 2012 Field Report

and plastered over in part.[565] Running east-west across the center of the room lies a single-course wall with ashlar pier bases (presumably for wooden columns) at either end.[566] If Area T could be defined by one type of artifact, it would be fresco. Huge sections of wall-painting were found stacked in the southern half of T in and among the burned wall collapse while smaller fragments were ubiquitous throughout.[567] Beyond all this, Area Tau contained a great deal of LH IIIA2 pottery, especially undecorated fineware, but also some coarser wares, much of which was covered with plaster and may be connected with the creation and/or mounting of the numerous wall paintings discovered here. Many sherds were reworked to serve as tools or stoppers (as were a few figurine fragments) and further suggest craft activity taking place in the immediate vicinity.

Although preliminary analyses imply that *some* workshop activities were likely concentrated in this part of the house, the ongoing conservation and study of the finds is continuing to reveal information about this space. As might be expected, most sherds and terracotta figurines correspond with the various lenses of construction and destruction debris in the room along with some of the disturbed original contents. An impressive 166 terracotta figurines have so far been retrieved from Area Tau. Two of those *might* postdate Petsas House, but their state of preservation is too poor to date with any real certainty.[568] The remaining 164 are comprised of 60 female figurines, 84 bovine figurines/fragments, and 20 'other.' When considering only figurines that certainly represent only one individual, the numbers settle back into the more usual breakdown with female figurines representing ca. 50% of the overall assemblage, bovids near 30-35%, and 'other' types 15-20%.

Standardized figurines of the Phi B or Psi types make up 76% of the female category with an additional 3% in miniaturized versions of Phi B. The remaining 21% of females are early in date and probably were not in circulation at the time of the destruction, but were already fragmentary and had been included in construction fill or materials of the LH IIIA2 building. Of the 84 bovine figurines, 62 (or ~60%) comprise loose appendages that cannot provide much information. At least one fragment is early in date (~LH IIIA1) and, like its early female counterparts, was probably included in mudbrick or masonry. The remaining bovids show some interesting variety in terms of LH IIIA2 types. The canonical Wavy 2, Wavy 2/Linear 1, and Linear 1 types are present, including two miniature Linear 1 bovids.[569] There are also two fragments of bovine type Linear 2.[570] Both were found near the floor in the north half of the room and show that the standardized decoration of bovine figurines had simplified to Linear 2 style by the end of LH IIIA2. In addition to the usual fineware clay figurines, one bovine fragment (leg only) was constructed of reddish gritty cookware and retained traces of horizontal bars (standard leg-decoration on Petsas bovids) in light-colored slip.[571] Two bovine horns - of two different sizes and therefore belonging to two different figurines – were not made of clay at all, but of bone.[572] Whether they were part of figurines *entirely* made of bone or were part of mixed-material figurines is unknown at this time. Both bone horns were found in the southeast quadrant of

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565 Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2008 final report.

566 Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2006-2012 final reports.

567 Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2006-2012 final reports; Mellican 2008 field report. The frescoes are currently undergoing conservation and study. Complete analysis of these finds will be released in the forthcoming final publication.

568 SF (28) 07/19113, a female figurine head of unusually large size and poorer quality clay than most other Petsas House examples; SF (216) 08/19242 an unidentifiable fragment of a figurine or vessel in a light-colored clay that seems more consistent with Archaic/Classical pottery, but it is too small and worn to really identify. Both pieces are from loci with sherds ranging in date from prehistoric to the 5th century BC.

569 Like the miniature Phi figurines SFs (135) 08/19265 and (172) 08/19269, the miniature Linear 1 bovids SFs (212) 08/19260 and (127) 12/19360, represent small-scale versions of the most numerous/popular types in each category at Petsas House: female Phi B and bovine Linear 1.

570 SFs (157) 12/19370 and (174) 12/19375. See also Ch. IV.6, Group I.

571 SF (175) 08/19268.

572 SFs (13) 06/19015 and (150) 08/19279.

the room, not far from the stepped platform feature mentioned above. Some of the better-preserved figurine fragments from Area Tau were concentrated in this southeast quadrant too – a Phi B figurine,[573] a partial chariot,[574] an appendage of another combination figurine like a bull-leaper or chariot,[575] a Spine 1-type bovid,[576] and an unusually shaped and decorated bovid[577] all come from this general area along with other bovid parts. Bits of other materials like gold, obsidian, steatite, and quartz were recovered in this part of the room too and open the possibility that the platformed area had a special function within T.

Two figurine fragments from Area T are worth special mention: a section of a small-sized boat model and a possible piece of a large bovine (partially) wheel-made figure. The boat fragment is one of three joining pieces from three different contexts and three different years of the excavation.[578] Each piece is differentially preserved, but still joins at least one other piece. The dispersal of the fragments and their state of preservation suggest that the boat was located on an upper story of the house and landed in different places after it was broken, presumably during the destruction event. The first fragment – either the stern or the prow of the boat – was discovered in 1950 or 1951 and is one of the 'probably' from Γ figurines.[579] The Area T fragment was recovered in 2006 from the south half of the area. The third piece – the other end of the boat – came from Area Beta (see below) in 2013. The boat figurine is interesting archaeologically because of how it broke and subsequently fell with the building at the end of LH IIIA2, but also because it is the only boat from the entire Petsas House collection and one of generally few boat models from the Late Helladic Argolid.[580] The vessel is similar in overall shape to a canoe with two pointed ends, a sharp keel, and curved gunwales.[581] The boat, at least in its current state, preserves no trace of decoration on the exterior and was likely intentionally undecorated.[582] The interior was painted with well-spaced lines, in true Petsas fashion. Remarkably, the preserved pieces show that an attached figure originally sat inside the boat at one end, although now only the lower body survives. There is also trace evidence for a *second* seated figure that would have sat at the other end of the boat, facing the first figure. The attached figure(s) give the impression that this terracotta (technically a combination figurine) was meant to represent a small-sized craft, one small enough for it to be normal for two people to sit inside it in an antithetical arrangement.[583] We

[573] SF (141) 08/19273.
[574] SF (161) 08/19284.
[575] SF (185) 08/19284.
[576] SF (143) 08/19275.
[577] SF (100) 08/19247.
[578] SF (71) 06/19035 from Area Tau joins with 1950s fragment #467 and with (70) 13/02132.
[579] So here is one example of a figurine that was either lumped with the other less-recognizable terracotta fragments during recording of the finds *after* excavation OR it was in fact found in Room Γ, but probably higher up in the fill of the room and not part of the primary deposit in the north end of the room.
[580] A single, fragmentary boat figurine was also among the important terracotta assemblage in Room A at Agios Konstantinos on the Methana Peninsula (Piraeus Museum 5617). I do not discuss it at length below in Ch. VII.2, but see Wedde 2003 for a full description and images of it. It is perhaps surprising that more boat figurines are not found at coastal sites like Agios Konstantinos. Other boats have been found at Tiryns and House G at Asine. Boat models that are published are now accessible through the *Ancient Mediterranean Digital Project* open-access database: https://ancmed.ulb.be/index.php.
[581] E. French was aware of the first fragment that had been discovered by Papadimitriou and Petsas. She described that fragment (one end of the boat) as "the prow of a ship with blunted top. It is decorated, on the inside only, with vertical lines; and there are the marks where something was attached inside. This might, however, be taken as the back of a basket-type chair." French 1971: 174. The additional two fragments discovered by Shelton now confirm that the figurine is indeed a boat and allow us to make further comments on its form.
[582] A boat figurine that is similar in shape, size, and lack of decoration was found at Tiryns as well. A drawing of this boat and its associated bibliography can now be accessed through the *Ancient Mediterranean Digital Project* open-access database: https://ancmed.ulb.be/details.php?row=65
[583] Contra Wedde 2003: 289 who believes that most iconography is not consistent with the depiction of "small craft."

know from other combination figurines at Petsas House (and in external assemblages) that if an artisan wanted to portray vehicles and humans together at a realistic scale, they could. So, it seems less likely to me that this figurine was meant to represent a large, oared ship. Given the predominance of female figurines in this assemblage, I consider it quite possible that the seated figure(s) represented a female (or possibly two) traveling in a small-sized craft.[584]

The other noteworthy terracotta is not a certain identification, but could be the snout of a large wheel-made bovine figure. If so, it can be grouped with only three other large wheel-made bovids from Petsas House. None of these fragments are like any other and none were *certainly* produced at this workshop. Based on clay and slip, this fragment from T is most consistent with Petsas products, but is not yet securely identified.[585] If the piece does derive from a bovine figure, it emphasizes the impression that range of size was important to Petsas potters and sculptors. From Area Tau alone there are miniature, small, average, large, and maybe extra-large (figure) terracottas.

For a complete list of the figurines from Area T, see **APPENDIX B.**

V.3.19 FIGURINES FROM THE LOWER TERRACE: AREA BETA [B]

Continuing northward, Area Tau transitions into Area Beta, a part of the complex first recognized and labeled by Papadimitriou and Petsas in 1950, but minimally explored at that time. Recent excavations by Shelton in 2008 and 2013 have confirmed that Area B is part of an extended open area, or court, along the western exterior wall of the Petsas House compound.[586] The labor invested by the inhabitants in manipulating the bedrock and natural slope of Area B, plus this Area's connection to Areas T (see above) and H/K (see below), give the impression that craft/workshop activity was prevalent here too and that the space was customized to meet their specific needs. The Area's fill contained, in addition to accumulated wash from upslope, unstratified material from the destruction of the building. The fill covered a burnt layer consisting of organic material and masses of pottery.[587] It is this lower, burnt layer that really confirmed the Area (along with Area K, see below) must have originally been an open yard into which a significant amount of debris had fallen during the destruction of the building, including whole pots.[588]

This combination of depositional events resulted in a corresponding accumulation of pottery and figurine fragments. To date, 62 figurine fragments have been recovered from Area B. Most of these are small fragments that must have disintegrated out of the burned building materials that fell into the room or were moved there later by erosion, but some are larger and better preserved and correspond with the intact pots and "new" sherds from the burnt layer. Out of those 62, only one female Phi B or Psi stem is connected to Papadimitriou's and Petsas's work, but it was found mixed in with sherds from the general vicinity of Areas B and K after excavation, so its exact findspot is not known.[589] As in most other parts of the house, about half of the figurine fragments are loose bovine legs and horns, 30 in total. The remaining terracottas are split between the usual LH IIIA2 types, although there are some unusual pieces among them: two bovine Wavy 2 types,[590] two Wavy 2/Linear

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[584] The boat figurine from Agios Konstantinos is similar in size and dimension to the Petsas House boat, but it is in more fragmentary condition. Wedde interprets the piece as a watercraft used in ritual where some of the trace morphological elements refer to added decorations of the vessel for a special occasion. He cites comparanda from other ship iconography in the Aegean world, particularly the Ship Fresco at Akrotiri on Thera. Wedde 2003: 291-292.

[585] Ongoing study of the sherds and finds from Area Tau may yet yield more fragments of this piece.

[586] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report.

[587] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report.

[588] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report.

[589] BE #47725 (1951).

[590] SFs (25) 13/02036 and (27) 13/02041.

1,[591] two bovine Linear 1 types of average size[592] as well as one miniature,[593] one bovine Spine 1 type of standard size[594] along with one in miniature,[595] one fragment of a female Phi A,[596] five female Phi B,[597] one female Psi figurine with an exceptionally well crafted polos,[598] six female figurine fragments that might have belonged to either Phi B or Psi types,[599] two very small fragments of probably one combination figurine (perhaps a driven oxen),[600] one piece of the boat mentioned above,[601] one very beautiful bull-rider/wrangler figurine,[602] a small fragment of an open-work chair model (Throne B type),[603] three unidentifiable pieces,[604] and one possible fragment of a female figure/figurine of Naturalistic type.[605] Including all the fragments listed here,[606] the breakdown of general categories remains generally consistent with what we have already observed elsewhere (except for the well in Room Π: close to 52% of the figurines from Area B are female, 31% are bovine, and just over 17% are 'other.'

In addition to the fragment of the boat model (see above), two terracottas are worth special mention. Both represent variations of the standard female and bovine terracottas produced on site and are therefore described more fully in Ch. IV.5. The first is the female Psi figurine with elaborated "basket polos" (SF (43) 13/02119, **FIGURE 17** above) found along the south edge of Area B, in the transitional space between Areas T and B. The other noteworthy figurine from Area B is the bull-rider/wrangler already described (SF (65) 08/02056, Ch. IV **FIGURE 22** and Ch. VII **FIGURE 45**). The figurine was found in several pieces and likely fell from an upper story (and/or eroded into Area B from higher up in the site). In its current state, the head of the bovid does not attach to the lower body, but both the upper and lower body fragments preserve parts of the respective upper and lower body of the rider/wrangler. Like the female Psi with basket polos, this figurine illustrates the breadth and adaptability of Petsas artisans.

For a complete list of the figurines from Area B, see **APPENDIX B.**

V.3.20 FIGURINES FROM THE LOWER TERRACE: TRENCH 22

Trench 22 encompasses a region high in the original, unexcavated fill of the Lower Terrace over parts of Areas T and B, as well as H and K, before the relationships between those areas were fully apparent. Excavation in Trench 22, carried out during the final season of Shelton's campaign in 2013, required removal of several small post-Mycenaean terrace walls in the west and revealed layers of terrace fill overlying destruction debris. In short, the area can be characterized as heavily disturbed

[591] SFs (49) 08/02049 and (61+) 08/02055+.
[592] SFs (60) 08/02055 and (66) 13/02132.
[593] SF (9) 13/02106.
[594] SF (7) 13/02106.
[595] SF (62) 13/02129.
[596] SF (23) 08/02033.
[597] SFs (45) 08/02047, (63) 08/02056, (77) and (78) 08/02058, and (17) 13/02109.
[598] SF (43) 13/02119. See above, Ch. IV.5, **FIGURE 17**.
[599] SFs (1) 08/02003, (72) 08/ 02059, (79) 08/ 02057, (80) 08/02056, (51) 13/02124, (58) 13/02126 in addition to the one mentioned above, BE #47725 (1951).
[600] SFs (4) 13/02104 and (5) 13/02105.
[601] SF (70) 13/02132.
[602] SF (65) 08/02056. See also above, Ch. IV.5, **FIGURE 18**.
[603] SF (84) 08/02050.
[604] SFs (20) 08/02033, (26+) 08/02039, and (73) 08/02059.
[605] SF (99) 08/02021.
[606] Incorporating into the count of female figurines the Phi B or Psi fragment from 1951 and the possible Naturalistic piece. Not including the 30 loose bovine appendages.

destruction debris. A large amount of ceramic and bone material as well as significant amounts of fresco, plaster, and figurine fragments, none of which were found *in situ*, were recovered.[607]

Even though the finds from Trench 22 cannot be repatriated to any specific part of the house, there are a few figurines that are worthy of mention because they can be confidently tied to the production lineup. First, the total counts: altogether there are 16 terracotta figurines, all in fragmentary condition. Representing female terracottas: one upper body (with head still intact) of a Proto-Phi figurine,[608] the detached head of either a Proto-Phi or Phi A,[609] only one mid and lower body of a Phi B,[610] and three non-joining Psi fragments.[611] For bovine figurines, there are two of Wavy type,[612] one of Wavy 2/Linear 1 type,[613] plus five disaggregated legs and horns. Rounding out the assemblage are one fragment of a furniture model, possibly a bed,[614] as well as one unidentifiable fragment.[615]

The early female pieces (the Proto-Phi and Proto-Phi/Phi A head) as well as the Wavy-type bovids are quite similar to fragments recovered from the north part of the Middle Terrace (see above). Since Trench 22 includes part of the interface between the Middle and Lower Terraces, it is probable that these earlier fragments represent plowed-up/disturbed contents from the north end of the Middle Terrace. One of those, the upper body and head of the female Proto-Phi figurine, moreover, can be ascribed to Group E (see **APPENDIX A**). Most examples of Group E were also recovered from the northern Middle Terrace and likely represent an early stage of on-site figurine production.[616] Two of the other female figurines can also be attributed to known artist groups, this time from the LH IIIA2 phase of production. Most of the body of the lone female Phi B figurine survives – just enough, in fact, to identify it as a member of Group C (see **APPENDIX A**). The largest fragment of a female Psi figurine, likewise, can be attributed to Group A (see above, Ch. IV.6 and **APPENDIX A**). In sum, the terracottas from Trench 22 are few, but representative of the stages of figurine production that took place on site.

For a complete list of the figurines from Trench 22, see **APPENDIX B.**

V.3.21 FIGURINES FROM THE LOWER TERRACE: AREA ETA [H]

Area H is located on the Lower Terrace, north/northwest of Area B. The area remains enigmatic, but seems to have remained open at its south end, bordering Area B. Its other three sides, however, are defined by masonry socles set on bedrock.[617] Remains of earlier and later walls confuse the stratigraphy and layout of the space, but one unusual feature at the level of the Mycenaean room was discovered at the south end of the east wall, bordering Areas B and K. This circular feature was carved out of the bedrock in part with about five courses of a corbelled covering-dome made of small stones above it.[618] Interestingly, the feature preserved clear evidence of burning on that masonry dome as well as on the bedrock walls. The structure, moreover, seems to have been constructed on top of an earlier circular well that predated the construction of Petsas House, like the well below the

[607] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report.
[608] SF (8) 13/22005.
[609] SF (40) 13/22028.
[610] SF (32) 13/22023.
[611] SFs (47) and (49) 13/22035, (53) 13/22038.
[612] SFs (7) 13/22005 and (17) 13/22010.
[613] SF (22) 13/22016.
[614] SF (42) 13/22028.
[615] SF (35) 13/22005.
[616] Shelton 2010: 189. See above also, "Figurines from the Middle Terrace, North."
[617] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report; Shelton, Forthcoming.
[618] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report.

foundations of Room Φ (see above). Shelton has suggested that this feature can be identified as a kiln built over the defunct well during the LH IIIA2 period.[619] Unfortunately, the possible kiln was found empty of remains other than the collapsing masonry of its cover dome. Its unstable condition did not allow significant excavation into the fill of the preexisting well and extensive wash from upslope undoubtedly contaminated this entire area.[620] Whether the feature is a kiln or not, the mass quantities of sherds, the many restorable vases, and the array of terracotta figurines from Area H do strengthen the overall impression of craft activity in the Lower Terrace.

There are an impressive number of figurine fragments from Area H, 69 in total, with only one appearing to be a later intrusion.[621] Most are in fragmentary condition, but there are several substantial pieces that reveal both repurposing of old terracottas and experimentation in the creation of new ones. Representing female figurines are one Transitional type,[622] one Proto-Phi or Phi A,[623] one Phi A,[624] four Phi B,[625] one Psi,[626] five Phi B or Psi,[627] one Phi Kourotrophos,[628] and an unusual female figurine that does not fit into an established category.[629] Most of the bovine figurines, ten of them, fall into the Wavy 2/Linear 1 category,[630] with an additional four Linear 1,[631] one Linear 2,[632] two Spine 1,[633] and one exceptional bovid with paneled chevron decoration.[634] The remaining 23 bovine figurine fragments consist of the usual assortment of loose legs and horns. In addition to these usual types, there are a few 'other,' such as at least one fragment of furniture,[635] two segments of connector pieces used in combination figurines,[636] two probable horse fragments,[637] one substantial piece of a bovine *figure*,[638] another that might be part of a bovine figure or zoomorphic vessel,[639] and five fragments that cannot be securely identified.[640] Even when the loose bovine appendages and unidentifiable pieces are not included in overall counts, Area H percentages break down as follows: 37.5% female figurines, 45% bovines, and 17.5% 'other.'

The quantity of bovine figurines is remarkable not only because it reverses the usual type preferences evident in other rooms, but also because it preserves a great variety of types and of variations within specific types. Neighboring Area K similarly preserves a substantial variety of bovine figurines (see below) with similar variation within specific type categories. The individual figurines categorized as Wavy 2/Linear 1 above, for example, are all slightly different in construction and

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619 Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report; Shelton, Forthcoming.
620 Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report.
621 SF (69) 07/07XXX, either a Phi B or Psi figurine with perforated stem.
622 SF (3) 07/07001.
623 SF (54) 13/07339.
624 SF (50) 13/07337.
625 SFs (23) 07/07024, (37) 07/07033, (79) 12/07198, (95) 12/07128.
626 SF (1) 13/07303.
627 SFs (10) 07/07012, (43) 07/07034, (57) 07/07038, (62) 07/07041, (44) 12/07115.
628 SF (51) 07/07038.
629 SF (56) 13/07340.
630 SFs (2) 07/07001, (35) and (36) 07/07033, (78) 07/07028, (10) 12/07111, (28) 12/07128, (36) 12/07107, (55) 12/07111, (41) 13/07333, and (42) 13/07334
631 SFs (6) 07/07005, (9) 07/07009, (21) 07/07022, and (46) 07/3335.
632 SF (16) 07/07017.
633 SFs (2) 13/07306 and (5+29) 13/07307.
634 SF (65) 12/07182.
635 SF (85) 07/07027.
636 SFs (84) 07/07015 and (35) 12/07107.
637 SFs (40) 07/07033 and (66) 07/07045.
638 SF (77) 13/07359.
639 SF (11) 12/07113.
640 SFs (72) 07/07042, (80) 07/07024, (90) 12/07213, (30) 13/07324, and (74) 13/07355.

decoration. The same goes for Linear 1 and Spine 1 types. In addition to the *usual* types of bovids (in their unusual variety), there is one beautiful anomaly – the body of an exquisitely decorated bovid (described and illustrated above, Ch. IV.5 **FIGURE 18**, with "paneled chevron decoration").[641] There is another bovine body that is more experimental in appearance, in this case it is the back of the body with an attached tail that is several times longer than any 'normal' bovine tail.[642] Categorized here in the 'other' category is the rear end of a large bovine figure – also with a long tail – and the snout of yet another animal figure, possibly also bovine, but not part of the same.[643] Additional 'other' and 'unknown' fragments preserve disparate parts of combination figurines, like chariots and driven oxen. At least one of the horses mentioned above is certainly the left-side animal in a combination ensemble, and there are several small segments of reins/connector pieces as well as possible yokes or poles that connected the animals to their vehicles. Most of these are in slightly different clays or sizes and do not link to one another. Not to be left behind, the female figurines have also offered up an unconventional piece, lovingly referred to as "the cake topper" in our notes.[644] It has an elongated, ovoid upper body that is broken where the arms would attach (if there were any arms to begin with, but there probably were not), and has perky, applied breasts. Most unusual is the (lack of) stem – the slightly flared, concave base is attached straight to the waist and not (as usual) to the bottom of a long stem. In addition to her uncharacteristic shape, her decoration echoes that of Phi A figurines – very wavy vertical lines, solidly painted breasts, no plait (painted or attached). In sum, she is unlike any other figurine so far excavated at Petsas House.

The unusual variety in the 'usual' types of figurines together with the inconsistent 'other' types and the parallel diversity of types and sizes in neighboring Area K leaves an impression of experimentation, of discard of those (failed?) experiments, and of general craft production. Strengthening this impression are bits of stone tools as well as several sherds and at least four figurines that have been reworked, meaning they could have been used as crafting tools or vessel stoppers. The terracotta fragment with best preserved tool marks and re-shaping was once a horn belonging to a large bovine figurine, so another bovid variety to be accounted – both in its original form and its afterlife.[645] The figures and figurines from Area H are certainly connected in content and context to those from Area K, but the state of preservation at this north end of the Lower Terrace occludes the nature of that connection.

For a complete list of the figurines from Area H, see **APPENDIX B.**

V.3.22 FIGURINES FROM THE LOWER TERRACE: AREA KAPPA [K]

Immediately east of Area H, on the other side of the possible kiln, is the open Area K. The southern end of Area K transitions seamlessly into Area B with no architectural delimitation between

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[641] Body of this figurine from Area H: SF (65) 12/07182; non-joining head: (58)+(89) 04/16321; segment of left horn 1950s BE #422 (from Room Γ). The body of the bovid was recovered in 2012 from Area H while the head had been found in two pieces in 2004 in Room Π's well. The third fragment, a piece of the left horn, was found in the bag of loose bovine horns and legs from the 1950s work in Room Γ, together with others 'certainly' from Room Γ. All three head fragments join smoothly, but none of those join with the rest of the body, sadly. The neck is not preserved and there is no clear purchase for the head fragments to attach to. I feel confident, however, that all fragments belong to the same figurine. Understanding the dispersal pattern and final deposition of the fragments is part of a larger study of Petsas House figurines and vessels. Further description of this figurine above in Chapter IV.5 and **FIGURE 18.**

[642] SF (28) 12/07128. The tail attaches, as usual, at the back of the torso, but the strip of clay is then folded over the rear end, between the back legs, and along the underside of the belly.

[643] Rear end of the bovine figure: (77) 13/07359; snout of a separate figure (or possibly zoomorphic vessel): (11) 12/07113.

[644] SF (56) 13/07340.

[645] SF (55) 07/07039.

them. Area K's east wall, in fact, forms a single continuous line with Area B's east wall and is founded on another bedrock shelf that slopes down to the west.[646] Upslope and to the east, on the Middle Terrace, are Storerooms Θ (north, directly east of K) and E (south, directly east of B). A post-Mycenaean terrace wall was built over the destruction debris in this area and greatly disturbed some of the underlying Mycenaean deposits. Still, essentially the same stratigraphy observed in Area B to the south carried over into this space before this later contamination: a series of sandy soil lenses evidence episodes of down-slope erosion through destruction debris. These layers of wash and destruction material covered a dense "burnt layer" composed of black carbon and ash and that was packed full of sherds and figurine fragments - corresponding with the burnt layer in Area B.[647] In fact, some of the restorable LH IIIA2 stirrup jars found in this layer are identical to some from Room A, excavated in 1950, and strongly suggest that the combined spaces of Areas B and K were open courtyard into which much debris fell during and after the destruction of the building.[648] Along with neighboring Area H to the west, the original layout and character of this space is obfuscated by historical era building and agricultural activity.

Analogous to those disturbances, the sherds from Area K range in date from the Middle Helladic to the 5th century BC, especially in areas adjacent to the later walls or in plow zones. The terracotta figurines, nevertheless, all seem to date to LH IIIA2 (or earlier) and were recovered from the destruction debris and from the intact burnt layer – with one possible exception.[649] In total, 53 Mycenaean terracotta figurines form the assemblage from Area K and show considerable variety. Roughly 57% of the figurines are female and include four Proto-Phi or Phi A fragments plus an additional one in miniature,[650] two small fragments that can be generally classified as Phi-types, possibly Phi A,[651] five Phi B figurines plus one more in miniature,[652] eight fragments that belong either to a Phi B or Psi figurine,[653] and only one lone arm of a Psi figurine.[654] Bovine figurines come in around 30% and comprise one very small figure or large, hollow figurine in Wavy 1 style decoration,[655] four fragments that can generally be categorized as Wavy type,[656] an additional four in Linear 1 style, plus one more in miniature,[657] and only one Spine 1 type.[658] The remaining ca. 13% of figurines from this area can be lumped together into the 'other' category and include a lovely fragment from the head of a large bovine figure,[659] as well as two possible fragments of chariots or similar combination

[646] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2008 final report; Shelton, Forthcoming.
[647] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2008 final report; Shelton, Forthcoming.
[648] Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2008 final report.
[649] The exception is the torso and upper stem of a miniature-to-small sized female Hollow Psi figurine: SF (5) 08/10102. Hollow Psi figurines do not form part of the Petsas production lineup so far as I can tell. The few pieces of Hollow Psis currently in the collection come from disturbed contexts containing LH IIIB and LH IIIC pottery. Since this is the only example that possibly postdates LH IIIA2 from Area K, however, it is not impossible that she was made at Petsas House and exemplifies the very beginning of Hollow Psi production, not unlike the few bovine Linear 2 figurines. Her immediate context, however, is close to the post-Mycenaean terrace wall and contained sherds ranging in date from MH – LG. There are no good parallels for her from securely dated contexts.
[650] SFs (21) 07/10021, (27a) 07/10010, (8) 08/10103, BE #47721 (1950), and the miniature (111) 08/10134.
[651] SFs (27b) 07/10010 and (108) 08/10128.
[652] SFs (10) 08/10108, (42) 08/10121, (49) 08/10121, (109) 08/10133, BE #548 (1951), and the miniature (45+46) 08/10121.
[653] SFs (12) 07/10015, (24) 07/10013, (51) 08/10121, (56) 08/10124, (96) 08/10134, (103) 08/10138, (106) 08/10135, and (113) 08/10125.
[654] SF (3) 13/10203.
[655] SF (25) 08/10116.
[656] SFs (14) 07/10017, (30) 07/10021, (24) 08/10117, and (52) 08/10121.
[657] SFs (44) 08/10121, (79) 08/10130, (89) 08/10133, (93) 08/10134, and the miniature (20) 07/10021.
[658] SF (16) 07/10018.
[659] SF (6) 07/10009.

figurines,[660] and two unidentifiable fragments.[661] Fifteen loose bovine legs and horns bring the total count back up to 53, but are not included in the percentages provided above.

Noteworthy is a complete female Phi B figurine wearing a short polos, SF (42) 08/10121. Along with many beautifully decorated vase fragments (including many restorable vessels), this figurine was found in the 'burnt layer' in Area K. It is unusual because it is one of very few examples of a fully intact figurine recovered outside of Room Γ.[662] Aspects of her construction and decoration are also divergent from more common practices at Petsas House. She resembles other Phi B figurines in the overall components of her shape: discoid body, stem, raised concave base; but she differs in that she is quite thin compared to most, leans backward, and wears a hat.[663] Her decoration is likewise uncommon in that the back of her neck is painted solid until the collar band with no additional demarcation of a plait (painted or applied), she has more vertical lines on her stem than most Phi Bs, and the polos is decorated with diagonal "blob bars."[664] The solid neck and extra lines align her stylistically with earlier Phi types, but her measurements, general proportions, and hat align her morphologically with LH IIIA2 Phi types. This Phi B cannot be attributed to any of the known "artist groups" at Petsas House either (see above), so it is difficult to establish her chronological or stylistic relationship to other Petsas figurines or figurine-makers. Most of the female terracottas in Area K belong to Phi-types and exhibit similar variation in one aspect or another of their construction and/or decoration; there are even miniature versions of Proto-Phi/Phi A and Phi B types.

As far as bovine figurines, the examples from Area K continue the variety displayed above in Area H and add to the range of sizes. The largest fragment preserves about ¼ the face of a bovine figure with attached ear, an applied eye, and the base of its left horn (SF (6) 07/10009).[665] Preserved decoration is mostly linear, but there is some curvilinear detailing on the face that does not survive well. Based on overall construction technique and clay/paint quality, this fragment *could* belong to the same wheel-made figure as the partial hindquarters described above for Area H (SF (77) 13/07359), but neither piece is well enough preserved to know for sure. From Area K comes another set of bovine hindquarters, this time smaller scale, though still hollow (SF (25) 08/10116). It is part of either a small figure or large figurine (preference for the latter) and is decorated with many wavy lines along the body with two perpendicular bands across the rump, similar to the bovine figurines in Group I. The "average"-sized bovids from Area K echo the variety encountered in Area H in that none really looks like any other, even when they are the same type. For example, one that is classified as Linear 1 (SF (89) 08/10133) is decorated similarly to most on the body, but the head is wider with elaborated lines and painted eyes (often found on Spine 1 types at Petsas House, but less often on Linear 1 or Wavy 2/Linear 1 types). Others vary in their clay quality or how the leg lines are drawn (horizontally vs. vertically), etc. At the other end of the size spectrum, is a *very* miniature bovine which seems to be a modified Linear 1 type, with some longitudinal lines along the body in addition to rows of dots where lines might normally be (SF (20) 07/10021). Finally, there is one highly unusual bovine leg fragment in a black, gritty cookware fabric with traces of vertical lines in white paint (SF (70) 08/10128) that is

[660] SFs (7) 08/10103 and (110) 08/10133.
[661] SFs (114) 08/10130 and (116) 08/10121.
[662] This figurine is broken part way down the stem, so was restored from two pieces, but both pieces were found at the same time and the break was clean.
[663] There are only two other intact female Phi B figurines from Petsas House that wear a short polos (BE #528 [1950s] from Room Γ and SF (82) 12/19344 from Area T, both also restored from two fragments), but there are several detached heads with poloi that likely belong to Phi Bs.
[664] The decoration of the polos on this figurine falls stylistically (and qualitatively) between SF (82) 12/19344 which has very well executed vertical rays and BE #528 which is monochrome.
[665] Approximately the same amount of the *right* side of the face of a *different* bovine figure (with more of the right horn preserved) survives from the 1951 excavation season and might have come from Room Γ, BE #455. This figure is the best parallel for SF (6) 07/10009 based on overall construction technique and some aspects of decoration.

very similar to the one mentioned above in Area T (SF (175) 08/19268), but belonged to a different figurine. There are more varieties to describe and marvel at from this northern part of the Lower Terrace, but for now perhaps it is enough to repeat that this sector of the house gives the general impression of variety, of an even wider figurine repertoire than was preserved for us at the time of destruction, and of some experimentation by the figurine-makers – especially when enhancing or customizing a common female or bovine type.

For a complete list of the figurines from Area K, see **APPENDIX B.**

V.3.23 FIGURINES FROM THE LOWER TERRACE: AREA LAMBDA [Λ]

The final section of the Lower Terrace to be discussed is Area Lambda [Λ]. It lies at the northernmost extent of the current excavations with Middle Terrace Room Δ to the east, and Room Z to the south. Area Λ was partially excavated in 1951 by Papadimitriou and Petsas, but they left little in the way of records for it.[666] They noted only that they recovered some undecorated pottery and two vertically oriented poros slabs.[667] In 2013, Shelton's team extended Papadimitriou's and Petsas's original trench eastward along the exterior face of Room Δ's north/west wall in order to understand that wall's function and construction date more clearly.[668] Most of the layers excavated were mixed chronologically with a good deal of Post-Mycenaean sherd and tile. Excavations did confirm, however, that the diagonal N/W wall of Δ was a substantial and significant structural element of Room Delta and of Petsas House rather than a post-Mycenaean building or terrace.[669]

Six figurine fragments were brought to light during the 2013 season, but all six pieces were very small and very worn – certainly fragments that had been disturbed by agricultural and later activities in the area and were mixed in with later pottery. Still, they show similarity with figurines from the north end of the Middle Terrace, as might be expected. Two out of the six were lower bodies of female figurines: one Proto-Phi stem[670] and one belonging to a Phi B or Psi (with possible signs of intentional reworking).[671] Only one bovine figurine could be typologized, a Wavy 2/Linear 1 type body.[672] The remaining three fragments were disaggregated legs and horns of bovids. The pottery from the 2013 campaign is currently under study and it is possible that more fragments will be found among the sherds. At present, however, the disturbed nature of the context and the correspondingly poor quality of the preserved figurines does not allow for further commentary.

For a complete list of the figurines from Room Lambda, see **APPENDIX B.**

V.4: SUMMARY

From primary floor deposits to sealed refuse dumps and from construction materials to destruction debris, this chapter has aimed to explore the many micro-contexts in which terracotta figurines occur within the larger context of production and storage at the Petsas House domestic and industrial facility. These contexts both enhance and inhibit the types of information that we can glean about them. For example, the figurines from the northern end of the Middle Terrace provide strong evidence for an earlier stage of on-site manufacture during LH IIIA1, a period of time for which we

666 Papadimitriou & Petsas 1951: 194.
667 Papadimitriou & Petsas 1951: 194.
668 Referred to as Trench 11 in the recent excavations. Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report.
669 Petsas House Archive: Shelton 2013 final report.
670 SF (1) 13/11000.
671 SF (5) 13/11015.
672 SF (4) 13/11010.

have very little evidence overall on mainland Greece. The interrupted shipment at the north end of Room Γ, on the other hand, preserves a snapshot of the range of figurines ready to be distributed to consumers at the very end of LH IIIA2. The well deposit in Room Π not only kept its contents in perfect (if fragmentary) condition, but also constitutes an archaeological time capsule from which we will certainly reconstruct some of the final events that took place at Petsas House immediately following the destruction. The debris from that same destruction fell into parts of the Middle and Lower Terraces and offers further glimpses into the variety of figurines produced on site as well as displayed, stored, or used in rooms that no longer survive archaeologically. The scuffed-up bits of figurines that melted out of mudbrick or that were included in leveling fills shows that if these small sculptures were meant to represent a religious ideology, they were not treated differently than sherds after a certain point in their use-life.[673] Figurine fragments from contexts with evidence for crafting activity preserve tool-marks left behind when they were reshaped for reuse as vessel stoppers or potting/sculpting tools used in the creation of new vessels and figurines – a fitting end to their life cycle that must have begun and ended on site.

The contextual breakdown has hopefully highlighted some of the limitations in reconstituting this collection: records of the best-preserved figurines, those from the 1950s excavations, are incomplete and biased. Even when detailed records were implemented in the later excavations, not every figurine could be recorded with an exact GPS reading due to the sheer quantity of sherds recovered from nearly every centimeter of the excavated areas.[674] Additional archaeological limitations apply too – remains are sure to be fragmentary when they've suffered violent destruction and centuries of exposure or agricultural disturbance. Perfectly intact (or restorable) examples of figurines are rare. There are, however, several examples of terracotta figurines that have been joined from fragments found in disparate parts of the site and at vastly different points in time where each piece is differentially preserved due to its respective circumstances of deposition during/after the destruction and the subsequent millennia of localized post-depositional processes. The best example of this contextual variety in one figurine is the boat model described above – important for its contextual/depositional history, but also for its singularity within the Petsas House collection. The natural terrain occludes some aspects of the collection too. Pockets of highly acidic soils have stripped away clay finishes and decoration from some sherds and figurines. Additionally, the steep slope of the Pezoulia Hill certainly caused much debris from Petsas House to wash further down slope beyond the limits of the current excavation.

Archival and archaeological challenges notwithstanding, work at Petsas House has made clear that terracotta figurines were only a small part of the overall ceramic production output of the workshop. Their ubiquity, however, implies to us that they were an essential component of it. The foregoing contextual tour illustrates how and why there might be many or few figurines in a given space or how and why they are informative to us (or not). But the important point is that they *are* in every space and in almost every type of (micro-)context. Figurines were made and subsequently stored/displayed/used/distributed according to an internal logic comprehensible to the original occupants and craftspeople. Continued study of the figurines and pottery from the workshop may yet elucidate more aspects of production and storage practices: seasonality, personnel, organization, materials, tools, and more. In the meantime, the contextual and collective figurine data from Petsas House can now be compared against depositional contexts *outside* of the workshop. How do the types

[673] See also Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 2009, and 2010.

[674] The density of sherds in most locations made it impossible to isolate many small finds in the field. When they were still covered in soil, moreover, figurine fragments were often difficult to differentiate from sherds and were frequently collected together with sherds. Also, the recent excavations under Shelton began before digital location recording devices were widely available or commonly used in archaeology. DGPS machines were implemented in 2012.

of figurines present in other LH III contexts compare to the range presented above in Ch. IV.3? How do micro-contexts enhance or inhibit their ability to inform us about social practices involving figurines? The next two chapters apply these questions to funerary and cult sites with substantial quantities of terracotta figurines in the hope of nuancing aspects of customer choice and social practice.

VI. THE BUSINESS OF DEATH: FIGURINES IN CHAMBER TOMBS AT MYCENAE



Chapters IV and V focused primarily on the production of terracotta figurines at the Petsas House workshop in Mycenae. This chapter now picks up where Ch. IV left off: in Room Γ with the suggestion that the 'shipment' in the north end encapsulated a few 'orders' of pottery and figurines that were ready to be dispatched to more than one customer. Support for this argument is based on trends in consumer preference evidenced at deposition (or use) sites. This chapter is the first of two that explores depositional behavior at other types of archaeological sites. Tombs and sanctuaries are given preferential treatment in this project, but the method of analysis I apply in these two chapters lays a foundation for the construction of similar analytical frameworks in future studies at other sites.

I begin here with LH III burial sites at Mycenae and then continue with LH III sanctuary sites in the Argo-Saronic region in the following chapter. Limited though the typological and geographic parameters of these depositional sites may be, many terracottas from *both* types of sites preserve information about their manufacture that, when considered against the Petsas House data, illuminate choices made by individual customers at the time of acquisition *and* at the time of deposition.

VI.1: CHAMBER TOMBS AT MYCENAE

The depositional study begins with terracotta figurines recovered from chamber tombs at Mycenae. I begin with chamber tombs because they are one type of archaeological context with a known purpose, interment of the deceased, and with a formulaic architectural blueprint that is repeated across space and time.[675] Terracotta figurines are consistently represented in funerary gift assemblages in mainland chamber tombs throughout LH III and therefore offer an opportunity to analyze continuity and change in figurine deposition practices over a period of roughly 300 years (ca. 1400-1100 B.C). Even so, chamber tomb deposits are difficult to grapple with archaeologically and academically.[676] The very nature of their original usage often occludes stratigraphic accumulation. The Mycenaeans themselves regularly (and repeatedly) moved corpses and goods around within the confines of the tombs. Chamber tombs could be used by a family or social group for *hundreds* of years during which time *many* burials and *many* funerary events disturbed the vestiges of earlier ones. In the centuries after the Mycenaean civilization had ended and chamber tomb construction ceased, people of the historical periods inhabiting the same landscapes entered the tombs and disturbed original burials further. Some chambers were reused as refuse pits or animal pens or even burial and worship sites for later groups. Some tombs collapsed in on themselves. Many, maybe most, were looted – sometimes in antiquity, sometimes more recently. Even when systematic archaeological excavations

[675] For helpful summaries of chamber tomb form and function, see Cavanagh 2008; Mee 2010: esp. 285-288; Boyd 2015, 2016; Wheeler 2023: esp. 25-45.

[676] See also Mylonas 1966: 114-115 on this issue.

of chamber tombs began, particularly with Christos Tsountas in the 1880s (see below), scientific methodologies had not been developed and refined by experience – with the result that primary data was lost while digging. Artifacts were often missed, thrown out, (re)gifted to colleagues and acquaintances as tokens, or given to museums.[677] Even as excavation and documentation practices improved over time, lamentable amounts of data were left out of publications – or not published at all.

Despite their complicated histories, the incredible wealth of chamber tombs has provisioned us with our most intact (and/or fully restorable) pots, weapons, jewelry, and other finds, including terracotta figurines. Reckless though their methods may have been in comparison with modern techniques, even early excavators tended to be impressed by artifacts that were complete or immediately recognizable or 'valuable' and were inclined to keep them. Thus, even if most primary contexts are unclear or irrecoverable, many of the most emblematic finds of the Mycenaean civilization were retrieved from tombs and continue to provide the basis for chronological seriation. This is especially true of terracotta figurines. The following report about the figurines from chamber tombs at Mycenae excavated in the 1880s and 90s by Christos Tsountas brings some of these issues to the fore and shows how careful detective work can help reconstitute contextual data. It also shows how close analysis of the figurines themselves – even when contextual data is *not* recoverable – can yield insight into their manufacture and use.

I have chosen to begin at Mycenae because the chamber tombs there have yielded rich funerary assemblages despite the many centuries of ancient and modern disturbances (including excavations). More than this, however, we know that the Petsas House workshop served its local community, including, but not limited to, the palace.[678] It seems important, therefore, to look for terracotta figurines (and pots) produced there but deposited in nearby tombs (and other contexts). Since we know that high-volume pottery and figurine manufacture happened in the neighborhood of the Pezoulia hillside, we can inquire whether members of local communities acquired their funerary gifts at Petsas House during LH IIIA2 since it was close to home/close to the cemetery. Or perhaps people obtained their pottery and figurines from a competing workshop or imported them from even further afield?[679] Even if finding actual Petsas figurines in tombs proves impossible, local consumption patterns might still provide insight into the *motivations* behind production practices evident at Petsas House. Taking this a step further, if no Petsas figurines (or pots) are found in depositional contexts nearby, what does that imply about the industrial aims of the workshop and even the involvement of the palace?

The above questions have guided this study, though of course each tomb and each assemblage has its own suite of possibilities and limitations. Most of this section has been informed by published reports only, but commentary about figurines from tombs at Mycenae excavated by Christos Tsountas is augmented by personal autopsy. The combination of archival and firsthand analyses highlights challenges in studying legacy data but also demonstrates that new information is attainable. The primary goal below is to illuminate, on a local level, not only *how* consumers were using/depositing figurines in family tombs, but also *which types* they were choosing to bury with the deceased and how those compare with the types produced at Petsas House. I limit this analysis as much as possible to LH IIIA2 to facilitate direct comparison with the Petsas House corpus, but finds from other periods are inevitably included, especially from the immediately preceding LH IIIA1 and succeeding LH IIIB.

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[677] French 1961: 10.

[678] See the discussions in Chs. III.6 and VIII.1 with references.

[679] There is, of course, also the possibility that many goods in tombs were possessions of the deceased (or his/her family) during life and were not acquired near the time of death. While heirloom items are certainly a feature of chamber tomb artifact assemblages, this paper argues that many LH III ceramic grave gifts were acquired at or near the time of death specifically for the purpose of interment.

I structure this section chronologically by period of excavation/excavator, as I did with the Petsas House analysis, in an effort both to maintain historiographical integrity and to accentuate problems or limitations in studying these finds today.

VI.2: CHAMBER TOMBS EXCAVATED BY CHRISTOS TSOUNTAS, 1887-1898

BACKGROUND

The nineteenth century (CE) might be considered one of the most eventful in Mycenae's long history. In its second half, the site was "discovered" and (somewhat violently) denuded by two pioneers in the field of Aegean archaeology: Heinrich Schliemann and Christos Tsountas. Both men can be credited with bringing the site's rich mortuary tradition to light. Schliemann, on the one hand, was not looking to find tombs when he began work on the acropolis and he did not even understand that he was digging through graves until he reached the burial levels of Grave Circle A. His incredible discoveries, however, brought international fame to Mycenae and its tombs.[680] Tsountas, on the other hand, came to Mycenae with experience digging tholos tombs and with the intention of uncovering more of the mortuary record there.[681] Between the years of 1884 and 1903, Tsountas conducted a major operation that cleared away the historical overburden of the prehistoric acropolis and brought its Mycenaean era structures to light.[682] Tsountas agreed with Schliemann's assessment of the graves in Circle A as "royal" and was therefore interested in discovering burials created by the *rest* of the site's population.[683] Between 1887 and 1898, Tsountas dedicated a great deal of time and energy to the excavation of tombs in the countryside surrounding the acropolis. He excavated 103 chamber tombs and three previously unknown tholos tombs (Tomb of Aegisthus, the Panagia Tholos, and the Tomb of the Genii) in addition to clearing four tholoi that had already been discovered.[684] Excavation techniques of the time were cavalier – not all finds were kept, and many were not even recorded at the time of discovery. Humble artifacts of clay, including figurines, suffered most at the hands of these early excavators for their lack of 'inherent value.'[685] Beyond the frustrating lack of detail in Tsountas' excavation notebooks, some notebooks are missing entirely.[686] To make matters worse still, Tsountas

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[680] Schliemann also never really moved past his initial interpretation of the tholoi as treasuries, following Pausanias 2.16.6 who described the 'underground chambers' as treasuries. Pausanias did continue on and described the *tombs* of Agamemnon and others in the very next sentence, but this does not seem to have registered with Schliemann.

[681] Tsountas was, in fact, the first archaeologist to excavate and publish a burial in a tholos (Vapheio), demonstrating that the monuments were constructed as tombs – contrary to Schliemann's original interpretation of them as royal treasuries. In addition to Vapheio and Mycenae, Tsountas excavated tombs at Kambos in Messenia and Tanagra in Boeotia. He can be credited with inaugurating the field of Mycenaean mortuary archaeology, among other things. See Panagiotopoulos 2015; Marabea 2010: 427–440; and Shelton 2006: 162-163.

[682] For helpful summaries of Tsountas' work at Mycenae and for further bibliography, see Shelton 2006 and Pliatsika 2020. French (2002: 21) says that Tsountas worked at Mycenae from 1884-1902 while Pliatsika (2020: 292) says 1886-1903.

[683] Even though he accepted the idea that the interred individuals in Grave Circle A were "royal," he rejected their association with characters of the Homeric epics. See Gere 2006: 97. For his intention to discover other segments of the population, see Tsountas 1888: 119 and Shelton 2006: 162–163.

[684] Shelton 2006: 162–163.

[685] Terracotta figurines fared better than incomplete and/or undecorated pottery did at the hands of early excavators. Even though Schliemann was deeply invested in the figurines and devoted substantial real estate in his publications to their description and depiction, he sent many pieces off as gifts to colleagues and collectors (see Ch. II) in his effort to convince them of his success and correct interpretations (see Ch. II); French 1971: 102. Tsountas, likewise, seemed interested in terracottas. He mentioned most of them in his field notes and he spent time trying to describe and interpret them (Chs.II.3 and III.7), but it is likely that he also gave some away or that fragmentary, unremarkable pieces were thrown out.

[686] Detailed accounts of the *many* difficulties in identifying Tsountas' tombs in the local landscape and studying the finds, now housed in the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, can be found in Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 187–210; Shelton

did not publish his findings systematically.[687] This dearth of primary documentation coupled with the natural and man-made alterations of the landscape around Mycenae in the intervening ca. 150 years has made reconstructing his excavations of the tombs extremely difficult.

VI.2.1 CURRENT STUDY

Still, all is not lost. The surviving finds from Tsountas' excavations were transferred to the National Archaeological Museum (NAM) in Athens and are still housed there. In 1985 these were expertly published by A. Xenaki-Sakellariou.[688] Xenaki-Sakellariou's close study of Tsountas' remaining notebooks and reports as well as her first-hand study of the finds allowed for the repatriation of *many* finds to their original tombs. She furnished images of most finds along with full descriptions and relevant bibliography. She also managed to provide details and drawings of tomb architecture to the extent possible. A short while later, between 1991-1994, the Archaeological Society of Athens and the British School at Athens carried out a joint survey of Mycenae that successfully located and mapped many of the chamber tombs excavated by Tsountas (in addition to those excavated by Alan Wace and others).[689] Finally, a thorough restudy and publication of the notebooks and other archival materials from Tsountas' excavations are currently underway by NAM archaeologists.[690]

Depending entirely upon Xenaki-Sakellariou's skillful report, I was able to design a new study of the terracotta figurines currently housed in the NAM.[691] During my study, I singled out the tombs containing terracotta figurines (all of which fall into the LH III period) with the intention of analyzing them both contextually and collectively, as I did with the Petsas House figurines. For each tomb that contained clay figurines, I recorded any contextual information available in the hope of discerning trends in the positioning of terracotta figurines with the deceased.[692] The archival and methodological challenges described above, however, made it nearly impossible to carry out such a study to any real extent. Complicating this issue further, half of the surviving figurines could not be assigned to a specific tomb at all. The other half, at least, did come from known tombs and did provide good insight into the range of types being selected for interment, but the level of analysis applied and described

1993; and French 2002: 21. Shelton also provides a useful concordance between Tsountas' names of the cemeteries he excavated and their modern designations.

687 Some results of his work were included in his synthetic monograph, *Μυκῆναι καὶ Μυκηναῖος Πολιτισμὸς* (1893) and selected information was published in his 4 articles in *Archaiologike Ephemeris* 1888, 1891, 1896, and 1897. See also Pliatsika 2020: 292-296.

688 Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985.

689 Shelton 1993; Iakovides et al. 2003; French 2002: 23.

690 Pliatskika 2020: 290-305 has given us a preview of this long-anticipated work in her excellent (and well-illustrated) article about Tsountas' journals from his time at Mycenae. K. Manteli's article in the same volume does the same with archival information about Tsountas' travels and work in Crete.

691 Personal examination of the figurines from Tsountas' tombs at Mycenae was made possible by generous permission of the National Archaeological Museum at Athens, in particular by Dr. Konstantinos Nikolentzos, Head of the Department of the Collections of Prehistoric, Egyptian, Cypriot, and Near Eastern Antiquities. I am especially indebted to Dr. Katerina Kostanti for her patient help and guidance during the study. I extend further gratitude to Drs. Vasiliki Pliatsika and Katerina Voutsa for their enthusiastic support and advice.

692 Tsountas recorded cursorily where human skeletal remains were encountered in the tombs and, sometimes, what finds were recovered in their vicinity or inside particular features of the tombs like cists or extra chambers. His documents (as evidenced in Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985 do not allow for full analysis of the positioning of pots or figurines with LH III burials.

below remains collective more than contextual.[693] Figurines from a small number tombs could be limited chronologically to LH IIIA2, but some observations are provided for tombs with figurines from LH IIIA1 and LH IIIB too.

Below, **TABLE 7** lists 47 out of the 103 chamber tombs excavated by Tsountas between 1887-1898.[694] Some of those 47 tombs contained LH III pottery and/or figurines that were (at least partially) collected and recorded at the time of excavation. Several tombs in this list, however, are marked with a double asterisk because Tsountas *noted* (and sometimes even described) pottery and figurines in his diaries that *probably* dated to LH III, but he never actually collected any of it and none of the ceramic finds were registered in the NAM logbooks.[695] Basically, if Tsountas even so much as mentioned pottery or figurines at all in connection with a tomb, I included it here with a generic LH II-III date because he often describes the ceramics as "of the usual types" which *implies* an LH III date.[696] In any case, only LH III assemblages that included figurines were given in-depth consideration below. Three additional fields in **TABLE 7** are devoted to LH III pottery and/or figurines with a known year of excavation, but no specific tomb. More tombs than the 47 listed here must have contained LH III artifacts, especially in other materials such as glass or metal, but I have not included any tombs that did not have *some* ceramic evidence to go on in Xenaki-Sakellariou's publication.[697]

TABLE 7: Tombs Excavated by Tsountas with LH III Ceramics.

Year of Excavation	Cemetery (Tsountas' terminology)*	Tomb Number	Ceramic Finds	Date Range of Ceramics
1887	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 1	Pottery (not registered) and one atypical zoomorphic figurine (registered)	LH IIIA1 (?)
1887	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 4**	Pottery and figurines - not registered	LH II-III
1887	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 5**	Pottery and figurines - not registered	LH II-III
1887	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 7	Pottery (one registered) and figurines (not registered)	LH IIIB (?)
1887	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 8**	Pottery – not registered	LH II-III
1887	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 9	Pottery	LH IIIA2

693 All analyses, moreover, must be considered with a thread of uncertainty due to the nature of the excavation and curation history.

694 I have conducted this exercise entirely based on Xenaki-Sakellariou's work and on what I was able to view personally in the NAM. It is certain, however, that much more pottery (and probably figurines) was originally part of many if not all of these tomb deposits, but that information is now lost to us. I refer to 'discrete assemblages' below, but these may just be a mirage created from the archaeological and publication biases at play. See Shelton 2006.

695 Xenaki-Sakellariou includes quotes from Tsountas' notebooks for just about every tomb. I consulted those quotes to determine whether or not a tomb had pottery and/or figurines when none were actually registered in the museum or catalogued in her publication.

696 It is, of course, absolutely possible (even probable in a few instances) that he discovered LH I ceramics too, but not likely in great quantities.

697 Artifacts in glass, metals, faience, ivory, bone etc. are generally more difficult to date with precision. Many of them, moreover, occur in tombs that were built and used earlier in the Mycenaean period and were likely provisioned for the deceased during earlier chronological phases. Terracotta figurines only occur in substantial quantities during LH III and are usually accompanied by vessels.

1887	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 10	Pottery (only some collected and registered)	LH IIIA2 (+?)
1887	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 11**	Pottery and figurines - not registered	LH II-III
1887	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 12**	Pottery – not registered	LH II-III
1887	Panagia	Tomb 15	Pottery	LH IIIC (?)
1888	Panagia	Tomb 30**	Figurines – not registered	LH III
1888	Kapsala	Tomb 33**	Pottery – not registered	LH II-III
1888	Kapsala	Tomb 34**	Pottery – not registered	LH II-III
1888	Souleimani	Tomb 35**	Pottery and figurines - not registered	LH II-III
1888	Souleimani	Tomb 36**	Pottery and figurines - not registered	LH II-III
1888	Souleimani	Tomb 37**	Pottery – not registered	LH II-III
1888	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 40	One figure (registered) and two figurines (not registered)	LH III
1888	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 41	Three figurines (only one registered)	LH III
1888	Panagia	Tomb 46**	One figurine – not registered	LH III
1887/1888	Unknown	Unknown	Pottery and figurines	LH III
1892	Unknown	Tomb 58	Pottery	LH IIIA2-B
1892	Unknown	Unknown	One vessel	LH IIIA-B
1893	Kalkani	Tomb 64	Pottery	LH IIIA-B
1893	Kalkani	Tomb 65	Pottery and one figurine	LH IIIA-B
1893	Kalkani	Tomb 66	Pottery	LH IIIA-B
1893	Kalkani	Tomb 69	Pottery	LH IIIA2
1893	Kalkani	Tomb 70	Pottery and one figurine	LH IIIA-B
1893	Unknown	Tomb 71	Pottery	LH IIIA1
1893	Unknown	Tomb 72	Pottery	LH IIIA2-B
1893	Unknown	Tomb 76	One figurine	LH IIIA2-B
1895	Kalkani	Tomb 78**	Pottery – not registered	LH II-III
1895	Kalkani	Tomb 79	Pottery and figurines	LH IIIA2-B
1895	Charvati-Kalkani	Tomb 80	Pottery and figurines	LH IIIA2
1895	Kalkani	Tomb 82	Pottery	LH IIIB-C (?)
1895	Kalkani	Tomb 84	Pottery	LH IIIA-B
1895	Kalkani	Tomb 85**	Pottery – not registered	LH II-III
1895	Panagia	Tomb 89	Pottery and figurines	LH IIIA2
1895	Panagia	Tomb 90**	One figurine – not registered	LH III
1895	Panagia	Tomb 91	Pottery and figurines	LH IIIA2-B
1895	Unknown	Unknown	One figurine	LH IIIB
1896	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 93**	Pottery – not registered	LH II-III
1896	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 94**	Pottery – not registered	LH II-III
1896	Asprochoma-Agriosykias	Tomb 95	Pottery	LH IIIA-B
1896	Kalkani	Tomb 97**	Pottery – not registered	LH II-III
1896	Kalkani	Tomb 98	Pottery (not registered) and figurines (registered)	LH IIIA1-2
1896	Braskerka	Tomb 99**	Pottery and figurines - not registered	LH II-III
1897	Panagia	Tomb 100**	Pottery – not registered	LH II-III
1897	Panagia	Tomb 101	Pottery (not registered) and figurines (registered)	LH IIIA1 (+?)

1897, 1898	Panagia, 3rd Kilometer Cemetery	Tomb 102	Pottery	LH II-III
1898	Panagia	Tomb 103	Pottery	LH IIIA-B

*The names of the cemeteries listed here follow Tsountas' (and, by extension, Xenaki-Sakellariou's) nomenclature, but a concordance of these names with modern ones can be found in Shelton 1993: 190. See also Shelton 2003: 35-38 and 64-68 in Iakovides et al. 2003.

**Xenaki-Sakellariou has provided quotations from Tsountas' notebooks that mention and sometimes describe pottery and/or figurines in connection with the tombs listed above. The finds, however, are not in the NAM. In some cases, some finds from the tombs marked with a double asterisk may have been collected, but were stored in a general way with other out-of-context finds from the relevant excavation year (and cannot certainly be assigned a specific tomb number).

The 47 tombs listed above in **TABLE 7** represent just under half of the total 103 chamber tombs excavated by Tsountas. Just under half of *those*, 22 of the tombs, contained terracotta figurines (to our knowledge). About half of those again (twelve tombs) have terracotta figurines securely assigned to them that are currently stored in the NAM and fully published by Xenaki-Sakellariou. Those twelve tombs yielded a total of 28 LH III clay figurines while another 27 are grouped by year of excavation but cannot be securely recontextualized to a numbered tomb. The full collection of 55 terracotta figurines from Tsountas' chamber tombs as published by Xenaki-Sakellariou are summarized in **TABLE 8** below.

TABLE 8: Synopsis of Terracotta Figurines from Tsountas' Tombs at Mycenae.

Tomb #	Terracotta Figurines (types and quantities)
T1	1 miniature zoomorphic figurine (NAM 2353.2)[698]
T40	1 wheel-made figure, female (NAM 2494)
T41	1 Transitional Kourotrophos figurine (NAM 2493)
T65	1 bovine Linear 1 figurine (NAM 3032)
T70	1 female Phi B figurine (NAM 3070)
T76	1 miniature female Phi B figurine (NAM 3027)
T79	1 female group figurine (including two Phi Bs with a child resting on the shoulders between them, NAM 3230); 1 boat model (NAM 3099); 1 two-headed animal (NAM 3093); 1 miniature-to-small female Hollow Psi/Transitional (NAM 3232)
T80	4 female Phi Bs (NAM 3100, 3101, 3102, 3103); 1 female Phi B Kourotrophos (NAM 3105); 1 female Transitional Kourotrophos (NAM 3221); 1 female Psi (NAM 3104)
T89	2 female Phi Bs (NAM 3176.1, 3176.2); 1 small female Phi B (NAM 3176.3); 2 miniature female Phi Bs (NAM 3176.4, 3176.5)
T91	1 female Psi (NAM 3201); 1 female seated Psi (NAM 3193)
T98	1 female Phi A (NAM 4570); 1 miniature-to-small female Phi A (NAM 4571); 1 female Phi B (NAM 4572)
T101	1 extra-large female Proto-Phi figurine (NAM 4690)

[698] This figurine from T1 is highly unusual (miniature, pierced, monochrome, unknown species) and cannot be securely dated on a stylistic basis. It may not be LH III, but Tsountas' notes do mention pottery from the same tomb that was decorated with 'net pattern' as well as a stirrup jar. Xenaki-Sakellariou was able to very plausibly identify the 'net pattern' vessels from among the pottery that had been lumped by excavation year (with unknown tomb number) as two piriform jars with scale pattern (NAM 2754 and 2758). These two, in conjunction with the unregistered/ unidentified stirrup jar, strongly suggest that the ceramic artifacts in the tomb date to LH III.

Unnumbered	6 female Phi Bs (NAM 2265.1, 2265.2, 2265.3, 2265.4, 2265.5, 2265.5a); 3 female Psis (NAM 2264.1, 2265.10, 2265.14); 1 female Psi, upper body only (NAM 2265.15); 1 miniature Psi (NAM 2267.1); 9 female Hollow Psis (NAM 2264.2, 2264.3, 2265.6, 2265.7, 2265.8, 2265.9, 2265.11, 2265.12, 2265.13); 1 miniature Hollow Tau (NAM 3233); 1 female "tray-bearer" (NAM 2266); 1 combination figurine of Chariot type (NAM 2262); 2 seated figures (NAM 2260, 2261); 1 unusual seated figure (NAM 2267.2); 1 furniture figurine Throne A type (NAM 2397)

I was able to personally study 50 out of these 55 figurines in their current location in Athens.[699] The figurines most chronologically relevant to this study come from Tombs 41, 65, 70, 76, 79, 80, 89, 91, and 98. Instead of moving in numerical order by tomb, however, I begin the following analysis by highlighting the tombs with figurine collections most useful to my study. Tombs 80, 89, 91, and 98 preserve multiple (female) figurines from LH IIIA that provide interesting lines of comparison with the Petsas corpus. After in-depth descriptions of these tombs, I wrap up with a few more general observations about figurines from the other tombs listed here.

VI.2.2 TOMB 80 (T80)

The chamber tomb that yielded the most chronologically and archaeologically relevant material is Tomb 80, a small tomb situated somewhere along the road between the modern village of Mycenae and the Kalkani Cemetery.[700] All surviving records indicate that it consisted of a small, rock-cut chamber that was limited in its construction and use to LH III and probably just LH IIIA2. No information is known about the individuals who were buried in this tomb or their positioning inside the chamber, but the gifts include typical LH IIIA2 pottery (a stirrup jar, stirrup jug, and feeding bottle), a conulus, and seven terracotta female figurines.[701] The original location of these finds within the tomb was not recorded by Tsountas and cannot therefore be reconstructed to yield contextual information. Even so, the assemblage of grave gifts from Tomb 80 is both chronologically and typologically compact and can be evaluated as a collection. Whereas most of the tombs listed in **TABLE 8** contained numerous artifacts in *many* materials, Tomb 80 contained *only* ceramics (as far as we know – except for the one stone conulus noted by Tsountas that is now lost). As a discrete mortuary assemblage, the pottery and the figurines from this tomb comprise a "set" of grave gifts that is typical of LH III chamber tomb burials.[702] We cannot say more than this contextually, but what about collectively?

As a whole, the pottery and figurines from Tomb 80 align closely with the suite of products produced by Petsas potters during LH IIIA2. Not the full suite, of course; it is only a small tomb with a limited number of offerings. Open shapes produced at Petsas House like cups, kylikes, and bowls

[699] The remaining five figurines were not located during my visit to the NAM but were published and photographed by Xenaki-Sakellariou. The unstudied figurines are: 2265.2, 2267.1, 2267.2, 2353.2, and 3233.

[700] The village of Mycenae was called Charvati at the time Tsountas excavated, so extant records locate this tomb "on the road from Charvati to Kalkani." Many of Tsountas' tombs were (re-)identified during the 1990s and plotted on a modern map by the Mycenae Survey team. T80, however, is unfortunately one of the tombs that was not found by the team. The tomb was never published by Tsountas himself. References: Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 222-224, esp. 223; Pl. 105 (3102). See also Shelton 1993: 208-210 and Iakovides et al. 2003: 64-68.

[701] Xenaxi-Sakellariou 1985: 222-224, Pls. 105-106. Stirrup jar (NAM 3106), piriform stirrup jug (NAM 3228), feeding bottle (NAM 3107), conulus was not registered, and figurines (NAM 3100-3105 and 3221).

[702] i.e. closed vessels, terracotta figurines, and conuli. Feeding bottles and female figurines have been suggested to accompany burials of children most often, but new analyses of human remains are shifting this interpretation. For a summary of scholarship connecting figurines to children's burials, see Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 73-79.

are not represented at all in this deposit.[703] The closed shapes produced at Petsas House, on the other hand, stirrup jars and jars with piriform body in particular, are common in chamber deposits – and are well represented here in Tomb 80. We know from the Petsas House workshop, furthermore, that these very shapes were produced simultaneously and likely by the same potters or at least by cooperating potters.[704] In the case of the figurines, no animal, furniture, or combination figurines are represented in Tomb 80.[705] *Female* figurines, on the other hand, are well represented and align typologically with the female terracottas commonly produced at Petsas House: Phi B, Psi, and Transitional Kourotrophos (see **FIGURES 35** and **36**). Even the quantities of each type of female mirror the ratios of female types produced at Petsas – with Phi B outnumbering other types. Out of the seven female figurines in Tomb 80, four are Phi B, one is Phi B Kourotrophos, there is one Psi, and one Transitional Kourotrophos.

An internal analysis of these figurines shows that each of the four Phi B figurines are similar in stature and overall form (all have a columnar stem, attached plait, etc.), but they differ in how these attributes are modeled as well as in the execution of their decoration. This general morphological consistency shows that the sculptors knew how to work within the formulaic parameters of Phi B-type construction, but the minute differences (shape of head, shape and method of application of the breasts, size of base relative to stem, etc.) coupled with the variable skill in painting the prescribed lines of the upper body, plaits, and facial features does not allow for the recognition of distinct 'hands' or workshop habits between these four. The lone Psi figurine compares quite well with the Petsas examples because it is not yet the 'standard' Psi shape that takes flight in LH IIIB[706]- it has a very large upper body, exaggerated paddle arms, and does *not* wear a polos. These are all features that occur in various combinations in the still experimental Psi form at Petsas House. The decoration, moreover, is quite carefully applied. This figurine *could* be of Petsas manufacture, but there is no exact parallel to match it in the extant corpus. The Phi B Kourotrophos from Tomb 80 is nearly identical in overall form to the one intact example from Petsas House.[707] The Transitional Kourotrophos, on the other hand, differs in some aspects of its form from the two Petsas House versions: the rendering of the infant, the shape and positioning of the arms, and the lack of polos.[708]

Considering all aspects of the form and decoration of each female figurine, none stands out as being *certainly* of Petsas manufacture, but each is absolutely contemporary with the workshop.[709]

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[703] Generally, open shapes are less frequently represented in tomb deposits – although this may be a mirage based on excavation and publication biases. Kylikes (and their goblet predecessors) do occur with some regularity, especially in dromoi and stomia. See Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 104-109 and 219-227 for a useful summary and analysis of this phenomenon at Mycenae [although most of her analysis is based on poorly published data]. There is no surviving information about the dromos or stomion of T80.

[704] Shelton 2016: 320-323 with references.

[705] As is the case with open vessel shapes, these categories of figurines occur with less frequency in tombs. To be sure, combination, furniture, and animal terracottas ALL occur in tomb deposits at Mycenae and beyond – sometimes exclusively. These types tend to occur in much smaller numbers, however, while female figurines are numerous and often interred in multiples within one tomb.

[706] Almost literally as the standardized crescent arms are often compared to wings in literature while the pinched facial features are repeatedly characterized as "bird-faced."

[707] BE #511 (1950), probably from the deposit in the north end of Room Γ.

[708] The Petsas House Transitional Kourotrophoi are BE #512 and #513 (1950-1951), both probably from the special deposit at the north end of Room Γ.

[709] That is, none is ascribable to one of the recognized 'hands'/artisans described in Ch. IV. The possibility cannot be entirely precluded either. As mentioned above, the Psi figurine is particularly close to Petsas examples in its individual features. We must consider much of the Petsas corpus as the production output of one moment in time (with the exception of figurines from earlier wells or construction debris Ch.V.3.8-14). It is entirely plausible, therefore, that the figurines from T80 represent an earlier (?) batch of figurines made by Petsas artisans or even different craftspeople than the ones who made the figurines described in Ch. IV. There are many possibilities.

More than this, the two Kourotrophoi in Tomb 80, both the Phi B and the Transitional, were surely crafted by the same person/duo (see **FIGURES 35** and, especially, **36** with the view of the back sides). The artisan(s) who sculpted and decorated these two Kourotrophoi worked within the morphological confines of each type but applied the infants and painted the decoration nearly identically in both cases. The Kourotrophoi may not be sure evidence of Petsas manufacture, but they are certainly hard evidence for the co-occurrence in tombs of figurines that were made by a single craftsperson (or duo). Additional similarities and differences between each of the seven female figurines suggest to me that these could have been made in one workshop. The visible variations in clay, form, and décor fit within the comparable range of variations in the Petsas figurine repertoire. I cannot say whether this same workshop produced the ceramic vessels in the tomb, but this is possible and even probable – how many workshops could there have been that were producing this same range of vessel and figurine types as Petsas House at this time and in this (general) location? Does Tomb 80 provide evidence of a competing workshop nearby? Macroscopically, the clays and slips used in the creation of these figurines do not diverge significantly from those used at Petsas House.[710] The state of preservation of both the vessels and the figurines in Tomb 80 is excellent – without significant wear or degradation – suggesting good quality raw materials, "recent" acquisition at the time of deposition, and minimal disturbance after final burial.

In sum, the contemporaneity of each ceramic piece in this tomb, the fact that no piece is damaged or seemingly in use for a very long period of time before deposition, and the internal indications of production practice suggest to me that these gifts were dedicated as a set to a deceased person (or more than one person) on one occasion.[711] Taking this a step further, this implies that each ceramic item was acquired specifically for the purpose of burial in a tomb (at the time of death?) – and possibly that each piece was obtained at the same place/workshop at the same time. This is only one tomb from one site, but it preempts the conclusion for this chapter: that death and mortuary practice should be considered primary motivators behind ceramic production. The "business of death," as it were, was big business at Mycenae.[712]

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[710] Alternatively, these products could have been made at Petsas House. In terms of the figurines, there are not *exact* parallels for each piece, that is they do not belong to one of the 'artist hands' so far identified, but they do fall within the limits of variation of terracottas produced there. In terms of the pottery, a first-hand restudy of the vessels from T80 could help shed more light on this question.

[711] Or, possibly, more than one occasion where each was *very* close in time. The rest of this chapter looks at tomb 'kits' excavated after Tsountas and corroborates this general impression. The repetitive nature of grave gifts during LH III and their internal uniformity (when it can be assessed) suggests that ceramic grave gifts were acquired and deposited together. It is not often possible to differentiate between burials/assemblages that occurred very close in time. This study will need to be broadened in order to test its validity elsewhere in the Argolid and beyond it (and beyond LH III). Additionally, modern bioarcheological studies of human remains in chamber tombs continue to add to our understanding of funerary processes before and after their interment in the tomb. It seems likely that people had time to acquire grave goods to deposit with their community members once the individual had died. Whether this included a period of time where the corpse was on display, as in later periods, or whether the body was interred immediately but the tomb itself was not blocked right away and gifts deposited a short while later are questions still under exploration (but, see Boyd 2016). Another relevant question concerns the contents of these (new?) vessels at the time of interment. Most vessels from chamber tombs excavated before the mid-2000s underwent extreme cleaning measures that removed organic traces from their interiors. Some early excavators did note concentrations of plant remains/foodstuffs, but not always in direct association with a specific vessel and almost never collected/stored. Current and future excavations of chamber tombs will help us nuance this picture and add to our information about funerary practices.

[712] Craft production at Mycenae must have catered to the funerary market (at least in part), perhaps beginning with the conspicuous consumption of externally inspired, but internally produced luxury items deposited in the Shaft Graves in LH I (see Poursat 2022: 284, for example). The sheer quantity of tombs and mortuary goods that have come down to us make this a possibility at other centers of the Mycenaean world too. We know, however, that pottery from Petsas House and Berbati was made for export too, especially to places like Cyprus (where different mortuary practices led to the preservation of *many* of the Argolid's nicest pots), see Åkerström 1968, 1987; Schallin 2002, 2015; Shelton 2010: 197; 2016: 325. The



FIGURE 35: The LH IIIA2 Female Figurines from Tomb 80 at Mycenae. **From left**: Phi B (NAM 3102), Phi B (NAM 3103), Phi B (NAM 3100), Phi B (NAM 3101), Phi B Kourotrophos (NAM 3105), Transitional Kourotrophos (NAM 3221), and Psi (NAM 3104). NAM 3105 and 3221, the two Kourotrophoi, were made by the same craftsperson. **Above**: front view. **Below**: back view. Photo by author.



FIGURE 36: The LH IIIA2 Female Figurines from Tomb 80 at Mycenae. **From left**: Phi B (NAM 3102), Phi B (NAM 3103), Phi B (NAM 3100), Phi B (NAM 3101), Phi B Kourotrophos (NAM 3105), Transitional Kourotrophos (NAM 3221), and Psi (NAM 3104). NAM 3105 and 3221, the two Kourotrophoi, were made by the same craftsperson. **Above**: front view. **Below**: back view. Photo by author.

range of types of vessels manufactured at Petsas House, moreover, exceeds the range of types common in tombs and therefore implies *multiple* motivating factors behind production practices. Still, I think that, especially in the case of terracotta figurines, it is safe to conclude that their inclusion in burials was an important reason for their creation.

VI.2.3 TOMB 89 (T89)

On the Panagia Ridge, Tomb 89 was similarly furnished with a smaller sampling of female figurines dating to LH IIIA2.[713] Little is known about the tomb itself and nothing is known about the interred individuals. Tsountas says that almost nothing was found in the chamber, but that there was a square-sided grave in the dromos with a few small pots.[714] We cannot be certain that the figurines or even *all* the vessels and small finds associated with this tomb came from this pit in the dromos, but it is all the information we have to go on. Even if a few of these pieces did indeed originate in the chamber, they are all close enough chronologically to comment upon as a discrete assemblage dating to the early side of LH IIIA2.[715] The vessels in this tomb conform to the typical "set" described above with the addition of a few open shapes: three cups and a miniature handmade basket.[716] As in the case of Tomb 80, the terracotta figurines are categorically restricted to female. In Tomb 89 they are further restricted typologically to Phi. Two are of standard size while the other three are miniature.

Whereas Tomb 80 preserved enough terracotta figurines to identify and observe an instance of craftsperson attribution, Tomb 89 does not. The typological and chronological uniformity of both the pots and the figurines, however, do suggest deposition at one time or over a short period of time. Beginning, as before, with the pottery, the vessels include: five alabastra, two stirrup jars, a shallow cup with ring handle, a miniature handmade cup/dipper, a squat jug, a one-handled cup, and a miniature handmade basket. The alabastra in particular form a cohesive visual set because each is similar in size, is decorated with rock pattern, and has banding at the shoulder and/or base. Two alabastra share a very "baggy" profile while the other three share a "squat" profile. The other vessels are aesthetically united by their very prescriptive painted banding or by their complete lack of decoration.

The five terracotta figurines are all female Phi type – with qualities belonging to both Phi A *and* B.[717] An internal analysis of these figurines places them chronologically at the transitional moment between Phi A and B types. For example, each of the three miniatures retains some decorative aspect of the Phi A type: 3176.4 has applied eyes and many lines on the stem; 3176.5 has many lines on the stem and extra painted features on the face and neck; and 3176.3, closest to a Phi B, still has a "necklace" – a feature more common in Phi A figurines. The two larger Phi figurines are both type B, but 3176.1 has no plait as well as applied eyes while 3176.2 has a small, somewhat flattened head – all features typical of the less-standardized Phi A type. Like the alabastra, each female terracotta is unique but similar enough to its counterparts that, at least visually, they form a united set with internal uniformity (with only insignificant or barely visible variations).[718]

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[713] T89 is, of course, another tomb that was not found by the Mycenae Survey Team. References: Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 251-253; Pl. 123; Shelton 1993: 201 and 210; Iakovides et al. 2003: 67.

[714] Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 252; Shelton 1993: 201.

[715] In this case, perhaps right at the transition point between LH IIIA1 and IIIA2 when both alabastra and stirrup jars were gifted to the deceased. The figurines are mostly Phi B in type, but retain a few Phi A characteristics in some cases. Again, we have no way of knowing whether these were the only (or all) ceramic artifacts found in T89, so their treatment here as an assemblage must be taken with some suspicion.

[716] Vessels include: five alabastra (NAM 3164, 3165, 3166, 3167, 3168), two stirrup jars (NAM 3169 and 3170); an undecorated shallow cup with ring handle (NAM 3171); a miniature handmade undecorated cup/dipper (NAM 3172); a squat jug (NAM 3173); a one-handled cup (NAM 3174); and a miniature handmade basket (NAM 3175). Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 251-253, Pls. 122-123. Stone beads and pebbles also comprised part of this assemblage (NAM 3177 and 3231).

[717] Two Phi B figurines (NAM 3176.1 and 3176.2), one miniature Phi B figurine (NAM 3176.3), and two other miniature Phi figurines, closer to Phi A decoration-wise (NAM 3176.4 and 3176.5).

[718] Chronologically and typologically, both the alabastra and the Phi figurines align with LH IIIA2 early ceramics discovered at Petsas House and likely preserving products made *before* the extreme standardization characterized by the vessels and figurines in Rooms A, E, and Γ (as well as B, T, and the well in Π) sets in during the latter half of LH IIIA2. The vessel

The parallel features detectable in the pots and in the figurines may or may not allude to a single workshop, but their contemporaneity suggests purposeful acquisition at one time or on occasions not separated by much time. The visual connections between them, moreover, suggest aesthetic intention and care. Even lacking precise information, we learn something about the choices this social group made at this burial site. If the figurines were dedicated to one person at one time, they can be interpreted as a cohesive set chosen for interment as a group. If they were deposited on different (but not temporally distant) occasions, then we have evidence for one choice (Phi figurine) repeated multiple times by a family or social group. These two options are upheld by the pottery in the tomb too. It is tempting to see the alabastra as a set dedicated at one time because they are all similar in form and in style. They are *so* similar, in fact, that they could certainly have been acquired from one workshop at one time.[719] If this is so, it is again tempting to pair the alabastra with the Phi figurines which exhibit closest ties to Phi A types (especially 3176.4 and 3176.5, both miniature) and tie that assemblage to a single funeral. In a subsequent funerary event, the stirrup jars, jug, one-handled cup, miniature basket, and Phi B figurines comprised another, similar (but "up to date") set. The ceramics from this tomb, then, would encapsulate two *very* similar, but chronologically distinct funerary gift-giving events. In any case, Tomb 89 exemplifies a depositional complement to contemporary production habits that leaves more to be discovered.

VI.2.4 TOMB 98 (T98)

Tomb 98, a collapsed chamber tomb from Tsountas' Kalkani Cemetery, yielded a comparable set of figurines to those of Tomb 89, but even less is known about the grave's original contents and structure.[720] Sherds and vessels were *noted* by Tsountas, but did not make their way into the museum. Three female terracotta figurines were registered in the logbook and stored in the NAM, however (**FIGURE 37**). It is entirely possible that there were more than these three in the tomb originally, but at least the three that we do have preserve a similar typological preference and size-range that we saw in Tomb 89. The figurines catalogued and pictured by Xenaki-Sakellariou include one standard-sized Phi A figurine, a "matching" one in miniature, and an average-sized Phi B.[721] Like the figurines in T89, these three may represent two waves of funerary events from distinct – though not greatly separated – moments in time. The two Phi A figurines give the immediate impression of a 'pair.' They differ in scale, but their resemblance in body shape, applied features, and decoration suggest that even if they were not *manufactured* together, they were likely *chosen* to be buried together based on their appearance.[722] Their contemporaneity makes this true even if the tomb originally contained more figurines and vessels (and other finds) than we know about now.

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and figurine fragments from this period of the workshop's lifetime are not preserved in high enough quantities to speculate as to whether the vessels and terracottas in T89 were made there, but even if they were made at a different workshop their variety falls within expected parameters of variation in one workshop. I cannot offer insight at this time regarding the other vessels in the tomb except for that one stirrup jar (NAM 3169) shares the same "baggy" profile as two of the alabastra (NAM 3164 and 3167) and could plausibly be connected to them stylistically.

[719] Again, these observations are made solely on the basis of the photographs published by Xenaki-Sakellariou, I have not conducted personal autopsy of the vessels. Other workshop traits such as clay consistency and details of finished features (handles, rims, etc.) have not been closely analyzed. Future restudy of the pottery and figurines together tomb-by-tomb may help bring clarity to these observations and questions.

[720] This tomb, unlike T80 and T89, was located by the Survey team and is situated in the area known today as Buzioti; see Shelton 1993: 205 and Iakovides et al. 2003: 36 and 66.

[721] Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 274-275; Pl. 135. Standard sized Phi A (NAM 4570), miniature Phi A (NAM 4571), and Phi B (NAM 4572) with more painted lines on the stem than is typical of the ultra-standardized Phi Bs made at Petsas House.

[722] Although there is no macroscopically visible reason they couldn't have been made together or in the same place.



FIGURE 37: The LH IIIA1/IIIA2 Female Figurines from Tomb 98 at Mycenae. From left: Phi A (NAM 4570), miniature Phi A (NAM 4571), and Phi B (NAM 4572). **Left**: Front view. **Right**: back view. Photos by author.

VI.2.5 TOMB 91 (T91)

One final tomb worthy of attention is Tomb 91 in Tsountas' Panagia Cemetery.[723] The tomb was excavated in 1895 and, luckily, Tsountas had a bit more to say about it than the other three tombs just described. He noted that it consisted of an orthogonal chamber with two small side-chambers or niches and one pit. He even described some of the human and animal osteological remains in the pit as well as the impressive finds buried along with them. Relevant to this study are two Psi-type figurines that are stylistically datable to LH IIIA2-B. One is quite typical morphologically (NAM 3201) while the other, instead of a columnar stem, has two separately modeled legs and is in seated position (NAM 3193). She must have sat on something (a swing? a chair?) originally, but that part of the ensemble is now lost.[724] Even though the two Psis differ in *some* elements of their construction, they overlap in their shared elements and in their decoration. For example, they both wear tall poloi painted monochrome, both have well shaped and positioned breasts, both have upraised paddle arms, and both have similarly painted close-set vertical lines on their upper bodies. These shared features confirm their contemporaneity. They are so similar in the morphological features that they share, moreover, that I believe they were made in the same workshop if not by the same artisan. Because they differ morphologically, however, I cannot confirm this suspicion without scientific analysis.

Tomb 91 contained *many* other gifts in precious materials and was probably in use for a long time. The (only?) three clay vessels from this tomb are contemporary with the two figurines, however. These include a flask, a small stirrup jug, and a larger stirrup jug with piriform body. As we have seen in the other tombs, closed shapes predominate and at least one shape is repeated. In this case, it is the stirrup jug – one large and one small. Stylistically, this group of terracottas and vessels gives the same impression as the 'sets' described above in Tombs 80, 89, and 98: that groups of female figurines similar in appearance were being selected and deposited together. Vessels too. Tomb 91, however,

[723] For a description of the possibilities of this tomb's (modern) location, see Shelton 1993: 204.

[724] She is unique, so far, among Mycenaean figurines and has attracted considerable scholarly attention. See, for example: Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 254-262, Pl. 128 (3193); French 1971: 167; Mylonas 1966: 14 and fig. 109; 1956: 110, Pl. XVIII. None of the descriptions of this figurine compare her to the other Psi figurine in T91, but I believe that they can be and should be considered together.

confirms this impression for us with a rare contextual note from Tsountas: at least two of these vessels (the larger stirrup jug and the flask), along with the two Psi figurines, were recovered together just inside the stomion.[725] The assemblage likely accompanied the last (or one of the last) burial(s) interred in this chamber, although details about associated human remains are not reported. What had been *suspected* in the other tombs is here confirmed. These finds *were* deposited together and show a clear preference for one type of figurine, in this case female Psi. Moreover, we know that all these ceramics could have been acquired from one workshop.[726] As before, their good state of preservation (in addition to their stylistic date) marks them as one of the final sets of offerings included in this tomb. The lack of obvious use wear or instances of repair further suggest that these ceramic objects were acquired at or near the time of death.

VI.2.6 OTHER TOMBS & OBSERVATIONS

Although there are lamentable lacunae in our knowledge for all the tombs excavated by Tsountas, the evidence from the four tombs just described shows a tendency for the interment of groups of female figurines – groups of *similar looking* if not (nearly) identical female figurines. Frustratingly sketchy notes from Tombs 4, 40, and 41 hint at similar groupings in those tombs.[727] In Tomb 5, Tsountas made mention of "four female figurines" scattered across one chamber and "fifteen female figurines" in the second chamber mixed with sherds, including parts of a jug. None of these artifacts were further described at the time of their discovery or registered in the NAM logbook when they were brought to the museum.[728] Xenaki-Sakellariou discusses the possibility that the fifteen (actually sixteen) from the second chamber might correspond with sixteen female figurines currently registered under NAM 2265 that were brought into the museum with the finds from 1887/1888 without specific tomb numbers. Six of those are Phi B and the rest are Psi (mostly Hollow Psi). Within each type group are sure signs of common manufacture – and possibly Petsas House manufacture in the case of the Phi B figurines.[729] I believe that the Phi B figurines are distinct enough in quality, type, and date to evidence a chronologically distinct funerary event from the Psi figurines, but there is not enough information to test any hypotheses. At least Tsountas' notes corroborate the idea that female figurines occurred in groups in the chamber tombs he excavated. Even if the female figurines currently registered under NAM 2265 did *not* originate in Tomb 5, internal analysis of the figurines themselves yields two assemblages separated by type/date. Within each internal assemblage, individual figurines

[725] Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 254-262; Pl. 124-129. Vessels: flask (NAM 3198), small stirrup jug (NAM 3199), and larger stirrup jug with piriform body (NAM 3200).

[726] A future analysis of the vessels from T91 (in conjunction with the figurines) would be helpful. I think that Petsas House should not be ruled out as production source for all the ceramics in this tomb, but the vessels need to be (re)studied.

[727] The one item that was kept from T40 is a female figure, wheel-made (NAM 2494). Two other female figurines of the "customary types" were mentioned by Tsountas, but not kept. The famous Transitional Kourotrophos from T41 (NAM 2493) shares very close morphological ties with one of the Transitional Kourotrophoi at Petsas House (BE #512, 1950-1951), but the one from the tomb differs significantly in clay quality (unless its whitish appearance has to do with post-depositional processes in the 'white soil' conditions that give the Asprochoma Cemetery its name?). The other, presumably female, figurines supposedly found in that tomb were not kept. For images and descriptions of the Transitional Kourotrophos, see Tsountas 1888: 150, 170, Pl. 9 (16, 16a); Blegen 1937: 366, note 1; Lorimer 1950: 366, fig. 53c; Mylonas 1956: 114, fig. 107; Nilsson 1971: 304, note 75; French 1971: 149; and Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 143-144; Pl. 29 (2493).

[728] Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 59-60.

[729] Female Phi B figurines (probably LH IIIA2, but could go as late as IIIB) include NAM 2265.1, 2265.3, 2265.4, 2265.5, and 2265.5a. A sixth Phi B (2265.2) belongs with this group, but it was not found during my visit to the NAM and I was not able to view it personally. The Psi figurines (NAM 2265.6-15, all LH IIIB), especially the Hollow Psis, are not as well preserved as the Phi B figurines due to poorer quality clay, but they exhibit morphological and stylistic traits that, I believe, are attributable to a single workshop.

share stylistic and decorative traits with the other members of their group *and* they are in comparable states of preservation. Considering the evidence from the tombs described above, it seems very likely to me that each group internal to NAM 2265 was selected, interred, and (later) discovered together – even if we do not know quite where/when.[730]

In contrast to the large numbers and co-occurrence of female figurines in LH IIIA and B, animals and "other" types of terracottas occur less frequently and in smaller numbers.[731] A lone bovine figurine of Linear 1 type in the same tomb as a feeding bottle in Tomb 65, Kalkani illustrates this point.[732] Another singular bovine terracotta is noted cursorily alongside sketchy descriptions of vessels (likely LH III) for Tomb 99, Braserka.[733] In a different instance, bovine and female figurines – both in the plural – were noted by Tsountas for Tomb 36 in the Souleimani Cemetery, but none were kept or registered.[734] A very small, very unusual quadruped was kept from Tomb 1.[735] Tsountas *mentions* a "clay seat for a doll" and an additional female figurine for Tomb 30 as well as a "small round clay table with three legs" from Tomb 46, both in the Panagia Cemetery, but none of these were kept or described more fully.[736] Terracotta furniture models currently among the finds from unnumbered tombs might correspond with some of these mentions, but we cannot know for certain. None of his notes mention a chariot ensemble – and yet there is a fantastic one that was excavated at some point during his 1887/1888 campaign.[737] Perhaps even more frustratingly, *highly* unusual types like 'bread-makers'[738] and 'tray bearers'[739] are also among figurines without known tomb numbers – if only that primary data could be recuperated!

The exception to this rule seems to be exemplified by Tomb 79 of Tsountas' Kalkani Cemetery.[740] Tomb 79 contained *several* unusual types, mostly concentrated near the front of the tomb (which consisted of two chambers separated by a low partition wall).[741] In the dromos was found a so-far unique two-headed animal figurine (NAM 3093).[742] Below the blocking wall of the stomion was found a group ensemble (NAM 3230): a triad consisting of two Phi B figurines and the lower body of a smaller figure (probably a child) sitting on their shoulders between them, only the lower body with separately modeled legs of which are preserved.[743] Close to the stomion was found a clay boat model

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730 Based on these observations, I think Xenaki-Sakellariou could be right about their original deposition in T5 in Tsountas' Asprochoma-Agriosykias Cemetery (this tomb was relocated by the Survey, see Shelton 1993: 191-194 and Iakovides et al. 2003: 36 and 65). Whether those figurines were all part of one burial or several, whether any of the four figurines from the first chamber are counted among the finds from the unnumbered tombs – questions that will have to remain questions.

731 Some of this, of course, is due to the bias in our records. But, this point is picked up again below with Wace's finds.

732 LH IIIA2(-B). Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 190-191, Pl. 81.

733 Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 275-276. Outside of the Mycenae Survey area: Iakovides et al. 2003: 68.

734 Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 111-112; Shelton 1993: 196; Iakovides et al. 2003: 64.

735 NAM 2353.2 (not studied by me) occurred possibly in association with LH IIIA1 pottery. Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 53-54, Pl. 1.

736 Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 106-107 (T30) and 119 (T46); Shelton 1993: 199-203. Iakovides et al. 2003: 66.

737 NAM 2262. Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 132-165, esp. 162, Pl. 63; French 1971: 155 (about other bovines with this number) and 162 (but the description does not seem to match this figurine, says only the head is preserved?); Blegen 1937: 365, note 2.

738 NAM 2267.2 (not studied by me). Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: Pl. 66.

739 NAM 2266. Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 164, Pl. 67; French 1971: 149, Pl. 23g.

740 Modern Alepotrypa, see Shelton 1993: 206-207 and Iakovides et al. 2003: 36 and 67.

741 Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 219-222.

742 Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 219-222, Pl. 104 (3093); French 1971: 161.

743 Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 219-222, esp. 222; Pl. 104 (3230); French 1971: 144; Mylonas 1966: 114, fig. 108; 1956: 120, Pl. XV(9). One cannot help but liken it to the famous 'ivory triad' from the acropolis at Mycenae, although that one is likely earlier in date (NAM Π7711; see https://www.namuseum.gr/en/monthly_artefact/terms-of-endearment/ for helpful bibliography and description). For an updated interpretation of such triads as representing a divine triad (similar to the Graces of the historical era), see Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2018: 68.

with the lower legs of a seated attached figure remaining inside of it (NAM 3099).[744] From an unknown sector of the tomb, a miniature Hollow Transitional/Psi figurine (NAM 3232).[745] Tsountas tells us that there were many human and animal remains in addition to finds in other materials (although which remains were associated with which goods is still unknown). None of these figurines seems to have been found in direct association with any other – and the only clay vessel registered with the finds from this tomb was not actually noted by Tsountas: a conical spouted bowl (NAM 3229). All in all, an odd assemblage that warrants renewed study in the future.

VI.3: CHAMBER TOMBS EXCAVATED BY ALAN WACE, 1921-1922

BACKGROUND

British archaeologist Alan Wace succeeded Tsountas, with the latter's permission and support, in excavating Mycenae.[746] The first period of work under Wace's direction took place between 1920 and 1923.[747] Most efforts during this early phase of work focused on restudying the areas excavated by Schliemann and Tsountas, but twenty-four "new" chamber tombs were also systematically excavated, some of them located in a cemetery that had not been previously explored by Tsountas.[748] Their full publication *still* accounts for half of the published tomb reports from the site.[749]

Wace's twenty-four chamber tombs at Mycenae, a modest number in comparison with his predecessor, were located in the so-called Third Kilometer Cemetery and the Kalkani Cemetery. The three tombs he excavated at the Third Kilometer Cemetery were very close to some of the final tombs excavated by Tsountas in 1898, clustered around the third kilometer marker along the road from the village of Phyktia (by way of the modern village of Mycenae) to the acropolis.[750] Wace began numbering the tombs he excavated in the 500s in order to avoid confusion with Tsountas' tombs in the numbering and labeling of tombs on site plans and records. He excavated three chamber tombs in the Third Kilometer Cemetery, all of which dated to LH III and contained terracotta figurines.[751] At Kalkani, Wace worked on two distinct hillsides bisected by a narrow ravine which he identifies as "Kalkani North" and "Kalkani South" (the latter being the only one *actually* located on the Kalkani hill itself). His team cleared twelve tombs datable to LH III, eight of which yielded figurines.[752]

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[744] The boat model has received considerable scholarly attention, including: Marinatos, S. 1933: 175, no. 25; Laviosa 1969-70: 26; French 1971: 174; Sakellarakis 1971: 98-99, no. 3099; Gray 1974: G19, no. C44, G55; Göttlicher 1977: taf. 25; Johnston 1985: 29, BA 20; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 222, Pl. 104 (3099); Basch 1987: 141, no. 292; Wachsmann 1998: 104-105, fig. 6.39; Wedde 2000: 310, no. 311. Also included in new online database, Ancient Mediterranean Digital Project: https://ancmed.ulb.be/details.php?row=54

[745] Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 222, Pl. 104 (3093). This figurine was registered in the museum with the artifacts from T79, but not actually noted by Tsountas himself in his notebook. There is some possible confusion between this piece and another from a different tomb.

[746] Minor works by several scholars had been conducted in the meantime. French, E. 2002: 21.

[747] Wace, A. J. B. 1921–1923; French 2002: 21.

[748] Wace, A. J. B. 1932; French 2002: 21.

[749] French 2002: 21.

[750] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 3; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 105-107.

[751] Tombs 502, 504, and 505. Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 3-18; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 105-107.

[752] Fifteen tombs were excavated at Kalkani South (Tombs 513-19, 525-530, 532, and 533), six of which date to LH III. All six tombs in Kalkani North date from LH III (Tombs 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, and 531). Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 19; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 106.

VI.3.1 CURRENT STUDY

As before, instead of going through each individual tomb in detail, I highlight only the ones most informative to this study. In this case, I am relying entirely upon published reports of Wace's tombs and the limitations are different than in the study of Tsountas' tombs, but still present. One of the primary difficulties lies in basic terminology. At the time Wace published the finds from these tombs, the terms we use in figurine typology today had not yet been worked out, so in many cases, I infer types based on Wace's descriptions or on photographs.[753] Wace took great care to include high-quality photographs of artifacts and architecture, but photos were more expensive and difficult to include in publications at the time he published "Chamber Tombs at Mycenae" and so not all finds (including many figurines) were pictured. When finds *were* photographed, they were done so in black and white, naturally, which makes it impossible to compare clay finishes and slips or other surface details. In general, his descriptions of the figurines are short and not always as informative as I would like them to be, but at least all figurines are accounted for with their respective tombs and associated human remains and artifacts.[754]

VI.3.2 TOMB 504 (T504)

Beginning in the Third Kilometer Cemetery, I highlight Tomb 504 because it contained seven female figurines.[755] The tomb itself was quite small and contained the remains of only one individual.[756] The skeletal remains were unorganized and dispersed throughout the tiny chamber, so a micro-contextual analysis of the figurines is not possible. Part of the skull, for example, was found in the center of the chamber while the other part was found along the south wall. Two of the terracotta figurines were found near the skull fragments in the center of the chamber and others in the northwest corner.[757] One complete figurine and the head of another came from the fill *above* the floor level (upon which the skeletal remains lie) which led Wace to believe that the tomb had been disturbed even though the blocking wall was intact at the time of excavation.[758] It seems likely, therefore, that the remains had been disturbed in the Mycenaean period on the occasion of a funerary event or afterwards, but *before* the stomion was finally blocked. Subsequent phases of roof collapse during the intervening centuries disturbed the remains still further.[759] Interestingly, no pottery was recovered from Tomb 504. The only additional artifact was a sealstone with a bull-wrangling scene.[760]

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[753] See Ch. III.7 for a summary of the development of figurine typology (and terminology) with further references. French (1971) also includes some of the most distinctive figurines from Wace's excavations in her publication, so some figurines are traceable that way too.

[754] It is fortunate that Wace published his work on the tombs when he did, in 1932, because pottery and artifacts from the 1920-1923 and 1939 excavations were lost or mixed during World War II. The basement storerooms in Nauplion where the finds were grouped by context and labeled were used as an air-raid shelter. At some point during the war, the finds stored in wooden boxes were dumped out so that the boxes could be burned for fuel. The human remains from the tombs were also lost during this time. This publication is even *more* valuable as a result. Wace A. J. B. 1964: viii.

[755] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 11, Pl. XV.

[756] Although the remains themselves were lost before they were ever studied by an anthropologist. Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 10-11.

[757] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 11.

[758] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 11. See also Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 106-107.

[759] It is not impossible that there were, in fact, more than one individual interred. The human remains were destroyed, however, and we can never know. Wace himself noted that the quality of the rock was poor and that the natural rock out of which the doorway was carved collapsed once the blocking wall was removed: Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 11.

[760] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 11.

Thanks to the good quality photograph of the figurines in Tomb 504, some internal analysis is possible.[761] Six of the seven are female Tau-type figurines with hollow stems while the seventh is a Hollow Psi, all date to LH IIIB.[762] One of the Tau figurines is slightly smaller in scale than the others at 0.075m in height while the rest range between 0.08 and 0.10m. Wace's descriptions are not detailed, but I believe that three of the figurines are decorated in red slip while the other four are decorated in brown.[763] Every single one has an almost bell-shaped hollow stem, wears a polos decorated with festoons, and has a long painted fringe and dot eyes.[764] All figurines also have a short plait that extends only the length of the back of the head/neck. In the case of the six Tau figurines, each plait is plastically applied and decorated with horizontal cross bars. The Hollow Psi, however, has the decoration painted directly onto the back of neck.[765] Tau figurine #8 also wears a necklace. In general, however, both the morphological and decorative characteristics of the figurines are *very* similar to one another. Even Wace did not bother to fully describe each piece and just noted that they were "similar to no. 3" or "similar to no. 5." Without personal autopsy, I cannot assume that they were all produced in the same workshop. I can say, however, that the extreme similarity between each figurine and the fact that they seem to have accompanied a single burial supports some of the observations made above for Tsountas' tombs: typologically identical or similar female figurines were chosen to be interred in groups on one occasion.[766] The Hollow Psi is the only one of the figurines from Tomb 504 that stands out at all – but, even she is similar enough in stature and overall appearance that she remains visually aligned with the others.[767] Tomb 504, then, shows that the people who furnished this burial continued the practice that we saw during LH IIIA (see above) in IIIB: gifting multiple female figurines.[768] In LH IIIB, moreover, an even wider array of female figurines was available to choose from: Phi B, Psi, Hollow Psi, Tau, and Transitional (some with solid, some with hollow stems), among others. In Tomb 504, a preference is shown for one type, Tau. Technically, the one Hollow Psi is a different type, so she could be excluded from this grouping on typological grounds, but she does not disrupt the group's aesthetic cohesion and displays no indication of been having acquired or deposited at a different date than the others. The intact blocking wall and generally even dispersal of the other figurines and human remains throughout the chamber support this conclusion.

VI.3.3 TOMBS 502 & 505

The other two tombs excavated by Wace's team in the Third Kilometer Cemetery, Tombs 502 and 505, also yielded terracotta figurines, but I was unable to locate images of them. There is also less descriptive information about their appearance and context because pride of place in the publication was given to the pottery discovered in these tombs. The brief mentions of the figurines, though, in

[761] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 11, Pl. XV. See also the Mycenae Archive, University of Cambridge Digital Library: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PH-CLASSICS-MCNE-00003-00003-00001/7

[762] Artifact #2 from this tomb is the Hollow Psi figurine, numbers 3-8 are Tau with hollow stem.

[763] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 11. Numbers 2-4 in red, 5-8 in brown. This difference in color shows slightly better in the photo plate available through the Mycenae Archive.

[764] Although I cannot see the fringe for #6 in the photograph, so I cannot confirm its existence.

[765] Numbers 3, 6, and 7 have applied and painted plaits that are visible in the photograph. Number 2, the Hollow Psi, has only a painted plait, also visible in the photo. The others are not shown, but Wace notes that they are "similar to #3," and so I assume that all the Tau figurines had plastically applied plaits that were also painted with horizontal bars.

[766] The photograph does not lead me to believe that these figurines were *not* produced and procured in one place, but first-hand study is necessary.

[767] She is different from the many Hollow Psis labeled as NAM 2265, possibly from Tsountas' T5 (see above, VI.2), and seems morphologically closer to the Tau types in this tomb. See also below, Mylonas' Tomb P-I for similar grouping.

[768] I arrive at this date based on the figurines themselves since the tomb did not yield ceramic vessels.

both cases, seems to uphold the above observations. Two female figurines were recovered from the substantial dromos deposit in Tomb 502, but the relationship between the finds in the dromos and the burials in the chamber remains unclear.[769] Likewise, Tomb 505 yielded female figurines in the dromos, at least six fragments of them – two of which were found in association with a human skull.[770] Wace interpreted the *many* skeletal remains and artifacts in the dromos (all LH III) as evidence that the chamber had been cleared out at some point before it was abandoned due to roof collapse. As a result, only a few sherds of typical LH III pottery remained in the chamber itself along with part of one solitary bovine figurine near the doorway.[771] There is still room for discovery here with a full re-study of the notes and finds from this tomb. It is not possible at this time to reconstruct whether the bovine figurine had any original relationship with the female figurines (or any other artifacts/ remains), but their difference in depth seems to suggest not. For the moment, then, pending restudy, the groupings of figurines (multiple females vs. one bovine) seem to have been maintained in this tomb, but I cannot comment on typology or other features based on the available data.

VI.3.4 TOMB 524 (T524)

At the Kalkani Cemetery, Wace's team concentrated their efforts in two distinct locales. The two are distinguished in the literature as the 'north' and 'south' banks of the Kalkani Cemetery.[772] In the north bank, the team discovered six tombs with primarily LH III artifacts in them – four of those tombs also contained terracotta figurines, but I highlight only one of them here: Tomb 524.[773] Tomb 524's dromos yielded many LH III sherds and one female Phi B figurine, but none of these are

[769] One figurine sounds like a Tau-type and the other Psi. Pottery from dromos and chamber seems to date to LH IIIB-C. Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 3-7.

[770] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 14 and 18.

[771] In which case, the floor-deposit in the chamber *could* align with the floor deposit in the dromos – which had a few finds and burials, while the layer(s) of dromos fill that were encased in a different type of soil and contained the majority of the finds, including the female figurines, were the result of the later episode of clearing the chamber. A final two burials without associated grave goods were buried high in the dromos at a later point in time. The stomion only remained in its lower courses which supports the interpretation of a later, intentional entering the chamber after initial use and interments. I believe the bovine figurine was located close to the intact lower courses of stomion blocking wall. All that can be said at this time is that the figurines are connected to distinct, that is stratigraphically disparate, deposits within the tomb. Future restudy of the notes (and finds if possible) may help clarify this picture. Most material from both chamber and dromos seems to date to LH IIIB in date (based on photographs/descriptions), but, again, this could use clarification. Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 14-18.

[772] See Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 19-21 for a fuller description of these two areas as well as a site plan.

[773] The other relevant tombs include **T520** which did *not* yield terracotta figurines, but does include LH IIIA2 pottery that looks *very* much like it was manufactured at Petsas House. I base this observation on the photographs alone (see Wace, A. 1932: Pl. 17), but if these particular pots were re-identified after WW2 based on this publication (which seems to be the case considering some of them are currently on display in the Mycenae Museum), it would be interesting to conduct a restudy of the tomb and the pottery to see if that observation can be verified. If so, the fact that T520 has Petsas pottery and no figurines is in itself a choice that was made by the people who used the tomb and orchestrated the burials in it since we know that the workshop made figurines alongside the types of vessels included with the burials. **T521** yielded one female Phi A type figurine found in a heap of skeletal remains and other vessels and artifacts in the east/southeast sector of the chamber. **T522** included two female Phi figurines and one bovine, but the tomb had collapsed and was looted in antiquity – so I chose not to comment on these figurines since their context is completely lost and since no images of them were published. **T523** also did not contain terracotta figurines, but some of the pottery also looks very Petsas House in character and would be good to include in the future study along with materials from T520. **T531** was "disturbed in LH III," according to Wace. It did yield one terracotta bovine figurine in the dromos mixed in with a lot of fragmentary LH III pottery. This figurine seems to uphold the trend of animal and "other" types occurring alone or in small numbers, but since none of the burials or deposits were intact due to later disturbance, I chose not to highlight it here. No photograph of that figurine is included in the publication.

itemized in the catalogue or further described (or photographed) by Wace.[774] More information is available for the finds from the chamber, at least. Its roof had collapsed in antiquity and a historical-era wall was built right across the width of the chamber. Thankfully, the builders did not found their wall on bedrock and so did not disturb the Mycenaean burial levels. The lowest course of the wall rested about half a meter above the floor of the chamber and many primary and secondary burials remained intact for the team to find as a result.[775] Eight terracotta figurines were recovered from the burial levels – but only from secondary deposits. The two secondary deposits that contained figurines were both quite large and included the remains of *many* individuals and grave gifts. One of these "heaps" took up the entire north/northeast sector of the chamber while the other comprised a distinct "black layer" immediately south of it. Wace discusses possibilities of how and when these two bone deposits were formed in relation to the other primary and secondary burials in the chamber, but for the present I maintain only that they were secondary, commingled, and (generally) dated to LH III.[776] The terracotta figurines, therefore, cannot be associated directly with any one individual or one burial event. The sharp distinction between the soil matrices and condition of the bones and artifacts in the two deposits, however, warrants a corresponding separation between the artifacts associated with each deposit. For that reason, I describe first the six figurines from the deposit in the north/ northeast sector of the tomb before moving on to the final two from the so-called "black layer" to its south. Both deposits yielded *only* female figurines and no animal or 'other' types.

The figurines are not only categorically restricted, but also typologically. The northern bone deposit yielded entirely Phi-type figurines: five Phi B figurines and one miniature Phi A.[777] One of the Phi Bs (26a) was a Kourotrophos as well, but the applied infant has been lost and only the attachment scar remains.[778] The figurines exhibit a range of sizes, from the miniature one (26b) scaling up incrementally to the largest (but still average-sized) Phi B (25a). I do observe further stylistic groupings among the figurines from the northern deposit, although this will need to be verified by in-person examination.[779] Figurines 25a, 26b, and possibly 25c appear to be early examples of the Phi B type and exhibit proportionally larger upper bodies, more painted lines on the body, and similar clay finishes.[780] These three capture the full range of size too – the miniature (26b), a small-to-medium sized one (25c), and the largest one (25a). The other Phi B figurines (26a, 25d, 25b) are visually unified by their more standard size, more evenly applied plastic features (such as breasts and plaits), and fewer painted lines on the body (especially the lower body). The two from this grouping that are on display in the Mycenae

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[774] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 38. He describes the figurine as a "columnar armless type" which I interpret here as female Phi B, but it could also be female Phi A.

[775] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 38.

[776] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 39-41.

[777] The miniature Phi figurines are more difficult to distinguish between A and B types – and since they are not manufactured at the same scale (in terms of quantity, not size), they are not so standardized in their appearance. I am calling this miniature (26b) a Phi A based on the execution of the decoration, but it is not a hard distinction in this case. Plus, the miniature is very similar to another figurine in the same deposit (25c) and could certainly be considered contemporary if not paired.

[778] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 42, Pl. XXII. Wace considered the attachment scar evidence that she once had arms, but it is a Phi B type that had an infant applied to the upper body – in the manner of NAM 3105 in **FIGURES 35** and **36** as well as BE #511 (1950-1951) from Petsas House, **FIGURE 19** [left]. A higher quality version of Pl. XXII is housed in the online Mycenae Archive and shows, I believe, a painted eye on the figurine's left breast where the infant's head would have been (or, rather, this shows that the infant's head is partially intact): https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PH-CLASSICS-MCNE-00003-00003-00001/62. This figurine is also on display in the Mycenae Museum.

[779] For now, I rely almost entirely on Wace's publication, but some of the figurines from this tomb are on display in the Mycenae Museum and I have viewed them in their display case. The display case does not allow one to observe the back sides of any of the figurines, unfortunately.

[780] Only some of the figurines from T524 Kalkani are currently on display in the Mycenae Museum, but these three are among them and so I can verify their coloring.

Museum do not share similar clay finishes, however (26a, the Kourotrophos, and 25d). These stylistic alignments might point to two distinct depositional events, but even if they point to only one or to several, the individual pieces are in dialogue with one another. As we saw in Tsountas' tombs, one type of female figurine was preferred by the people making the burials, presumably at the time of primary deposition. Either one choice was repeated on multiple occasions or multiples of one type were acquired and grouped together on one occasion. The pottery from this area continues this dialogue (and could also show some chronological/depositional sequence) in the form of contemporary handmade ceramics like askoi (some shaped as animals!) and miniature vessels as well as more standardized shapes such as a stirrup jar and carinated conical cup. I believe that the pottery and figurines could all fit within LH IIIA2 (with some distinction between early and late, perhaps), but the publication and display of the objects from T524 is not complete and so this can only be confirmed in future (re)study.

The two figurines from the *second* major commingled deposit, the so-called "black layer" immediately south of the northern deposit are *not* typologically restricted. Both are female, but one is Phi B (25e) and the other is Psi (27). The Phi B, however, was found along the edge of this deposit where it bordered the neighboring northern one and could theoretically have belonged with the northern bone deposit. Even if it did not, however, it was still spatially separated from the Psi figurine more than any of the figurines in the northern deposit had been separated from one another. This does not have to be significant considering the secondary nature of both deposits, but it is still worth noting. The Psi figurine was recovered from the black soil overlying another burial pit in the western half of the chamber. This figurine is typologically and, I believe, chronologically distinct. It is a high-waisted Psi (although her waist is not quite as high as her later-in-IIIB counterparts) with a thin, columnar stem, well-shaped upraised arms, a high polos decorated with rays, and long fringe. The pottery from this deposit is less well documented, but – with the exception of one stirrup jar – does show a preference for jugs and piriform jars. In sum, this deposit is harder to understand due to lacunose coverage in the publication, but at present seems distinct – aesthetically and chronologically – from the bone heap in the northern sector. Different figurine choices (Psi) were made at a different moment in time. Future (re)study will help clarify this picture.

On the south bank of the Kalkani Cemetery, six out of fifteen excavated tombs yielded LH III material – entirely or mostly. Four of those included terracotta figurines. I mention each of them here, but not in numerical order. I focus first on the tombs with female terracottas and then finish with a tomb that yielded two combination figurines.

VI.3.5 TOMB 519 (T519)

Continuing the depositional trends noted above, Tomb 519 yielded several female figurines. Mixed skeletal and LH III vessel fragments were recovered from the dromos and no in-situ burials were discovered in the chamber, sadly.[781] Differentiated secondary deposits in the chamber did produce healthy quantities of LH III vases and terracotta figurines, at least. Although these were found throughout the chamber, the most relevant deposits were located in the southeast quadrant. Wace distinguishes *two* commingled deposits here. One of them had at least three human crania, near two of which were found a bovine figurine and an askos.[782] Just "beyond" that deposit (tucked further into

[781] Finds from the dromos are not detailed in the publication. For T519 in general, see Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 87-89, Pl. XLIV. Higher quality versions of the relevant plates are available through the Mycenae Archive: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PH-CLASSICS-MCNE-00003-00003-00001/43

[782] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 88.

the southeast corner), six female figurines, a piriform jar, and some ivory rosettes were arrayed around another cranium. More bones were found all along the south wall and in the southwest corner, along with LH III pottery. Whether or not the two deposits in the southeast quadrant were, in fact, distinct from one another is difficult to determine in hindsight, but even if they were not – the trends noticed above continue here: multiple female figurines and a solitary bovine, all of which likely date to LH IIIB.[783]

Wace does not include images of all the figurines in his publication, but he shows four out of the six female figurines and, in his catalogue, he states that all of them are like the first. The bovine figurine is not pictured, but he compares it to one found in T527 (see below), of Linear style.[784] Based on the available information, then, all female figurines were of Psi type. Wace depicts two of them frontally and two in profile, so I cannot comment extensively on their attributes. The two frontal Psi figurines, however, are very nearly identical. Each has a tall, thin columnar stem, a relatively short and wide upper body with upraised paddle arms, and a polos.[785] Both have a painted fringe, diagonal lines on the upper body that end on the figurine's left side, thick waist bands, and at least three vertical lines on the stem visible from the front. The other two Psis, shown only in profile, exhibit the same characteristics, though they are both slightly shorter in height than the first two.[786] The figurines require in-person analysis, but all signs point to a homogenous, contemporaneous grouping of female Psi figurines deposited with one burial (or possibly more than one – but not greatly separated in time). Their typological restriction illustrates a distinct choice made on one or more occasions and their morphological and decorative similarity point to a single point of origin. This is in some contrast to the lone bovine figurine associated with a different set of human remains, but future (re)study of the finds and notebooks may add more to this story.

VI.3.6 TOMB 525 (T525)

This pattern *possibly* dissipates with Tomb 525, but the publication is not detailed enough to be certain of this. All finds from the tomb, according to Wace, were restricted to LH III in date, but not all finds from the tomb were illustrated in the publication and so I cannot be more specific.[787] No finds are reported from the dromos. The stomion blocking wall was only partly intact, but there were no signs of looting. The burials in the chamber *had* been moved around and disturbed, but not more than is typical of Mycenaean activity. Both secondary and primary burials were found lying directly on the floor of the chamber. On the east side were remains of two skeletons that had been pushed aside to make room for later burials – and with one of them was an LH IIIA female Phi A figurine (Wace's #12). In the center of the chamber, two more female figurines were found near an extended burial in bad condition.[788] Wace could not decide whether these two figurines had been associated with the burial they were found closest to (V) or whether they belonged with one or two of the two nearby burials (VI and VII) that had disturbed V. One figurine was intact and is Tau type, possibly Kourotrophos but the image is not high enough quality to say for sure.[789] The other was missing its body entirely. Wace notes that the surviving head was adorned by a polos and a plastically applied

[783] Based on the pottery and figurines depicted in Pl. XLIV, though not all finds are included in this plate.
[784] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 89 (with reference to pls. XXIII and XLVII for comparison to Linear bovid from T527).
[785] I cannot tell in the photographs whether the poloi are painted monochrome or with rays.
[786] These two certainly have rays on their poloi.
[787] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 89-92, Pl. XLV.
[788] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 90.
[789] Even zooming in on the higher quality version of Pl. XLV in the Mycenae Archive does not quite clarify whether the figurine holds an infant or not: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PH-CLASSICS-MCNE-00003-00003-00001/65

plait, but that could describe more than one female type.[790] It is tempting to surmise that it was a second Tau, but without personal examination of the pieces, it is impossible to know. The pottery closest to all those burials seems to date to LH IIIB, like the intact Tau figurine, but more details are not available.

This tomb, therefore, exhibits at least two different selections of female figurine, but they are substantially separated in time: Phi A in LH IIIA with the remains that had been pushed aside to make room for the interment(s) accompanied by at least one Tau in LH IIIB.[791] It is possible, based on the available evidence, that the third figurine with only the head preserved represents a third type. Wace's description of the high polos, though, indicates that the third female was at least contemporary with the IIIB Tau. Whether they were the same type or not, it remains probable that they were in some level of visual dialogue with one another as the finds from burials V, VI, and VII seem to have been made within a shorter span of time (LH IIIB). The people responsible for making those interments and/or orchestrating funerary activities for them would have seen the gifts associated with the others.

VI.3.7 TOMB 527 (T527)

Nearby Tomb 527 also yielded finds dating exclusively to LH III and deserves brief mention here. This tomb potentially also preserves a slightly different pattern of figurine distribution than most of the others discussed so far, but, again, the lacunae in the publication leave room for future discovery. Tomb 527's dromos housed one large, commingled secondary burial deposit with several small-sized LH III vases and two terracotta figurines: one female Phi B and one Linear 1 bovid.[792] Inside the chamber, behind the intact blocking wall, was the usual assortment of both primary and secondary burials. *Most* of the human remains belonged to secondary deposits, though. Wace's description of those deposits and the associated ceramics is not terribly informative, but it seems that the two figurines from inside the chamber were not clearly associated with any particular set of human remains.[793] The plan of the tomb shows the figurines in some proximity to burials VII and IX, but not enough information is provided to ascertain any relationship securely.[794] In any case, the two figurines are of the same type as those in the dromos: one female Phi B (head not preserved) and one Linear 1 bovid. Even though the available information does not allow for reconstruction of any original interment or gift assemblages, it is noteworthy that the deposit from the dromos yielded vessels and figurines that are *very* similar to those in the chamber. Wace, for this tomb (and generally for other tombs as well), interprets the dromos deposit as materials that were removed from the chamber to make room for new burials. While this is possible in some cases and unlikely in others, in this tomb the similarity of artifacts potentially supports this hypothesis. A much more in-depth analysis and restudy of the finds and notebooks is necessary to bring clarity to this interpretation. I wanted to include this tomb here because the figurines look *very* much like they were produced at Petsas House – both female Phi Bs and both Linear 1 bovids (although the bovine figurine inside the chamber is in a poorer state of preservation).[795] The small vessels pictured in the publication from both the dromos

[790] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 91. Not pictured.

[791] One could also interpret the Phi A figurine found with the secondary deposit on the east side of the chamber as a keepsake or heirloom that had been kept by someone during life for a while before burial, but there is LH IIIA pottery in the tomb and Wace does not describe any pottery from that deposit to help clarify the question.

[792] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 94. Wace also mentions finding the legs and horns of a second, similar bovine figurine (not catalogued or photographed).

[793] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 96.

[794] See plan of T527, p.95.

[795] I base this entirely on the stylistic clues visible in Wace's publication. See Wace, A. J. B. 1932: Pl. XLVII and higher quality images in the Mycenae Archive. Figurines (and vases) from the dromos: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PH-

and chamber do not strike me as of particularly Petsas-like construction, but there are a few handmade miniature vessels among them. Certainly, handmade miniatures *were* manufactured at Petsas House, but they await further study to be able to characterize their stylistic traits. A future study could attempt to determine whether distinct assemblages can be distinguished within the grave gifts recovered from the dromos and the chamber: were the handmade miniatures, figurines, and small vessels made in one workshop? Or are there multiple micro-assemblages present in each locale? Were both the dromos and chamber assemblages parts of one larger one originally interred in the chamber or are we seeing (another) instance of repeated decision-making by one social group within a relatively short time span?

VI.3.8 TOMB 513 (T513)

To close this section with even *more* questions, I turn to Tomb 513. Tomb 513 offers the first good example of an intact chamber tomb at Mycenae that yielded *two* combination figurines.[796] The tomb itself was not significantly different in size or architectural complexity from any of the other LH III tombs so far explored. If anything, it had *less* pottery than smaller-sized tombs in the same cemetery. The dromos deposit was disturbed by Hellenistic settlers who built a kiln right into it.[797] The stomion and its blocking wall do not seem to have been impacted by this Hellenistic activity, however. The blocking wall survived only about a third-to-half of its original height, but this is likely due to the Mycenaeans who made the final burial in the chamber not bothering to replace the upper courses. This inaction allowed for some roof collapse in the doorway as well. The chamber itself contained the usual assortment of primary and secondary burials. The eastern portion of the chamber hosted a commingled secondary deposit of bones with which at least one flask was associated. The western portion did have a primary burial, it seems, but it was badly damaged by roof collapse. It was equipped with a small amphoroid krater. In the middle, southern part of tomb, what seems to represent the latest interment of the chamber laid in extended supine position with head oriented toward the doorway and feet touching the southern wall.[798] No vessel was directly associated with this burial in the publication. Information about sherd material from the chamber in general is lacking, but Wace does detail a cluster of stone conuli in the northwest corner of the chamber, close to one of the figurines. Additional beads, small ivories, a gold ring, and a carnelian sealstone were recovered from the sieve. All of this is to say that the two combination figurines were not directly, securely associated with any of the human remains in the tomb. They were, however, quite carefully placed on either side of the entrance. Other burial gifts (like the conuli) were not far away from the figurines, according to Wace, but they do seem to have been relatively isolated in their positioning. They might have been set there at the time of the final burial (seems most probable) or during an earlier funerary event.[799]

CLASSICS-MCNE-00003-00003-00001/69; figurines (and vases) from the chamber: https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/PH-CLASSICS-MCNE-00003-00003-00001/70. Future in-person analysis could corroborate this identification with observation of all sides of the figurines as well as their clay finishes, etc.

[796] Tsountas' T79 (see above) had 'other' types like the boat model and the Phi triad, but no 'combination' figurines which consist of human + animal ensembles (and/or other 'types,' like furniture or objects). The boat model might have had a seated figure inside of it, in which case it could be considered a combination figurine, but it is too badly broken to truly know what was inside the boat.

[797] The kiln yielded a few Hellenistic sherds, but no in-situ traces of what was fired in the kiln. Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 47.

[798] Knees were slightly bent, however. See plan of T513 in Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 46.

[799] If the two driven ox figurines were placed on either side of the doorway at some point *before* the final burial went in, it seems more likely that they would have been broken or shoved further into the northwest and northeast corners of the chamber. Since the lower courses of the blocking wall were still intact, however, it is also possible that the people who laid the final burial bypassed the figurines (and other finds in the corners) entirely, essentially stepping over them, laying the body, and then leaving without rebuilding the upper part of the wall. In this scenario, though, one would still think that

The two figurines are "driven ox" combinations, early LH IIIB in date.[800] Each ensemble is composed of a morphologically standard bovine figurine with an abbreviated human driver applied directly to its backside. The driver "hugs" a strip of clay that extends all the way to the top of the bovid's head, essentially 'reins' constructed in the same way a vessel handle is. In this case, the two figurines are morphologically identical, but diverge in the details of their decoration. Each bovid has a well-shaped head with flattened snout and wide-set crescent horns, a standard cylindrical torso, and splaying legs that end in pointed feet. The applied drivers match each other exactly in their shape and size and they appear to be male because they wear conical caps. The reins are straight, not arched as they sometimes can be. The two figurines are identical in dimension and finish with buff-colored clay surfaces and decoration applied in brown slip.[801] The one discovered on the east side of the entrance (Wace's #3), is somewhat irregularly decorated in that there are few lines on the bovid's body and head. Between the lines that *are* there, though, are carefully executed rows of small dots. The other one (Wace's #4), discovered on the west side of the entrance, displays only the typical longitudinal lines along the entire body (essentially Linear 2 style decoration), with the top of the head differentiated by crossbars in a similar manner to #3, although that one has dots instead of bars. The two applied drivers are identical in all aspects of their execution and decoration (as far as I can tell).[802]

Even though slightly different decorative choices were made for each figurine, I believe that their macroscopically homologous clay fabrics and their identical morphological traits call for attribution to a single workshop. I do not think that workshop was Petsas House considering that these two figurines (and most of the other finds in the tomb) date to LH IIIB (and there are no surviving examples of males with conical caps in the Petsas repertoire), but Petsas House has taught us that each combination figurine is unique in its decoration even when manufactured in the same locale (see Ch. IV.5). Even if an origin in a single workshop cannot be proven, however, their stylistic contemporaneity and their excellent state of preservation imply that these two driven ox combinations were at least deposited in Tomb 513 at the same time. I believe that their visual similarity, moreover, indicates that they were intentionally acquired together and deliberately placed in the tomb in a meaningful, antithetical arrangement by the entrance.

The depositional pattern of figurines in this tomb differs from that of the tombs so far detailed or referenced in this chapter (even if most of those cluster in LH IIIA). Instead of multiple female figurines associated with a primary or (more often) secondary burial or a single bovid in/near the dromos, here we have two specialized figurines in the chamber but not clearly connected to any one burial. Like the deposits of female figurines, however, the preference for one distinct type and the acquisition of more than one of that same type continues. In the case of Tomb 513, we might entertain the possibility that these two driven oxen figurines were specially commissioned from a (presumably nearby) workshop for the purpose of interment in this tomb. It is not possible to know *why* this type was chosen for the tomb in lieu of a more typical female or bovine type, but it feels natural to link that choice with some aspect of the deceased's or the family's identity (real or perceived). Real oxen

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the destruction of the upper wall upon reentrance would have caused rockfall or disturbance that resulted in further damage to the figurines since they were so close to the wall. Wace does not detail the condition of the figurines when they were excavated. Both pieces are currently on display in the Mycenae Museum and show a few breaks where they have been glued together, but they are both in generally great condition and there are no pieces missing. Perhaps a future (re)study of the tomb in conjunction with the excavation notebooks will help clarify the possible scenarios.

[800] Based on French's typology as well as the other vessels in the tomb that are currently on display in the Mycenae Museum.

[801] Based on the dimensions provided by Wace as well as observation of their current display in the Mycenae Museum. See Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 47-48, Pl. XXIV.

[802] The photographs in Wace's publication and the positioning of the figurines in their current display in the Mycenae Museum do not permit me to see every side of each figurine.

imply substantial means, the generation of agricultural surplus, and they presuppose social inequality.[803] LH IIIB sees an increase in male figurines riding horses or driving chariots and ploughs in a variety of depositional contexts, especially ones where *display* is an important part of that context. The other finds from this tomb, though few, imply some level of wealth too: a carnelian sealstone with a long-horned deer engraved on it, a gold ring, ivories, and glass beads in quantity.[804] Unfortunately, these cannot be securely associated with the figurines or with specific skeletal remains, but the limited period of use of this tomb (LH IIIB) suggests a family or social group of means burying (some of?) their dead and making gift choices that reflect their status. The careful positioning of the figurines suggests they were meant to be viewed (as sentinels? representatives of the interred?) either by the deceased or by visitors to the tomb (human or divine).

VI.3.9 CLOSING REMARKS

The improved quality of excavation and record-keeping exercised by Wace's team begins to corroborate the impressions left behind by the finds from Tsountas' tombs. Around Mycenae, female figurines were the preferred type to accompany a burial during LH III. Female terracottas most often occur in groups, especially groups that are further restricted by type. That is to say, the female figurines looked alike and they were intentionally selected based on their appearance. I believe many of the sets of female figurines were acquired at one time and in one place for the explicit purpose of accompanying the dead. So far it seems that bovine figurines, on the contrary, occurred individually and less frequently. A few tombs, of course, contained both categories of terracottas (though usually contextually differentiated within the tomb). Still other tombs housed unusual types of figurines – even in multiples in the case of T513. Contextual data is missing in many cases and so these observations cannot be accepted as fact, but the trends noted here do seem to continue in more recently excavated tombs at Mycenae as well.

VI.4: CHAMBER TOMBS EXCAVATED BY NIKOLAOS VERDELIS, 1962-1966

BACKGROUND & CURRENT STUDY

The Kalkani Hill continued to be explored by subsequent archaeologists, including Nikolaos Verdelis, Curator of Antiquities, during the period of his work at Mycenae between 1961-1966. Verdelis investigated three chamber tombs on the southwestern slope of the Kalkani Hill during his 1962 campaign.[805] All of these tombs yielded LH III material, although only one of them is discussed in detail below while a second one is only briefly summarized.[806] I also review *another* tomb he excavated in 1964 in the area known as Boliari. The information for both tombs is drawn entirely from Verdelis' reports in the Πρακτικά (Proceedings of the Archaeological Society at Athens) in 1962 and the Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον (annual reports of the Greek Ministry of Culture) with some reference also to the short coverage of these tombs by I. Tzonou-Herbst in her doctoral dissertation.

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[803] Halstead 1995; 2017: 107.
[804] Wace, A. J. B. 1932: 47-48, Pl. XXIV and XXV.
[805] Not the same location as "Kalkani South," excavated by Wace's team, which is actually on the north bank of the Kalkani Hill itself. See Iakovides et al. 2003: 66 and Map 6 for a helpful concordance and map of the tombs excavated by both Wace and Verdelis in relation to one another.
[806] Verdelis 1962: 67-81; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 107.

VI.4.1 TOMB A (TA)

Verdelis' Tomb A in the Kalkani Cemetery produced terracotta figurines in addition to other typical ceramics of the LH IIIA-B period.[807] The tomb itself did not seem to have been looted – in antiquity or otherwise – and provides another paradigmatic example of a chamber tomb assemblage that is generally contemporary with Petsas House production.[808] The tomb consisted of the usual elements: inclined dromos, intact blocking wall, and roughly rectangular chamber.[809] The dromos yielded many sherds, particularly of kylikes, and two female figurines.[810] Verdelis does not describe the deposit in detail or offer any interpretation of its relationship to the material inside the chamber. The human and artifactual remains inside the chamber were concentrated on the east side, particularly in one major secondary, commingled deposit in the northeast quadrant. A singular bovine figurine was recovered from this deposit along with some typical LH IIIA pottery.[811] Other scattered remains filled the rest of the eastern half. The western half, by contrast, was found completely empty of remains, although the floor appeared to have been "carefully arranged." Verdelis interpreted the western half of the chamber as a space that had been intentionally cleared of remains and the floor prepared to receive a new burial that was never realized.[812]

Although the surviving remains in both the dromos and the chamber are severely mixed and moved around, their chronological restriction to LH IIIA-B and lack of subsequent disturbance indicates that the grave gift assemblages are generally intact. As we have seen in other LH III funerary assemblages in the Kalkani Cemetery, the figurines are categorically distinguished between burial deposits. In the dromos, the two female figurines are also typologically restricted to the Phi B type and both datable to LH IIIA2.[813] One Phi B is slightly shorter than the other, but they are otherwise nearly identical in form and decoration. Both have ovoid upper bodies, rounded breasts applied at the shoulders, bare heads with applied plaits that extend all the way to the (low) waist, and columnar stems with raised bases. The shorter figurine has slightly wavier lines on her upper body and a few extra lines on her stem than the taller one. Both have typically painted facial features and horizontal bars on their plaits. The paint is not particularly well preserved, however, and their surfaces seem to be generally pocked and worn. It is possible that the degraded surfaces are due to the age of the figurines at the time they were deposited, but are more likely due to soil and (post-)depositional conditions (not detailed by Verdelis) because the two pieces are exactly contemporary with one another stylistically and are equitably worn on all sides.[814]

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807 Verdelis 1962: 67-73; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 107.

808 A small portion of the roof over the west side of the chamber had broken, however, and collapsed in. The hole visible on the surface of the hillside alerted locals and archaeologists to its presence (Verdelis was working elsewhere on site at the time this tomb was excavated). See Verdelis 1962: Pl. 66-68.

809 Some of the stones of the blocking wall had fallen into the chamber, but there was no indication of intentional removal or destruction. Verdelis 1962: 67 and 70.

810 Both very close to the stomion. Verdelis 1962: 71; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 107.

811 Mostly dated to LH IIIA2, including a piriform stirrup jar, two feeding bottles, and three small jugs (see pp. 71-72, #s 1-6 and pls. 77, 78a, 79a, 78b, and 80a). The human bones from the NE deposit were studied and identified as belonging to one adult of indeterminate gender, a woman, and one or more subadults. Verdelis 1962: 70, note 2; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 107.

812 Verdelis 1962: 70-71.

813 See Verdelis 1962: 71 and 73, Pl. 81.

814 The quality of the clay of each of these figurines is certainly a contributing factor here, but without color images or personal study, I cannot comment further. No information is provided about the condition of the pottery fragments found with them – only kylix sherds are specifically mentioned. The fragmentary condition of those sherds, however, is perhaps enough to assume a similar state of wear. Tzonou-Herbst reads the presence of female figurines and kylikes near entrances as meaningful placement by the deceased's family/social group during funerary ritual (see Tzonou-Herbst, I. 2002: 107 and 160). This is certainly possible in some cases, perhaps even here in TA. The information provided by Verdelis,

The singular bovine figurine from inside the chamber is Wavy 2 type with a well-shaped snout, wide-set crescent horns, a cylindrical torso, and thick rounded legs (back right foot does not touch the ground). Its characteristic wavy-line decoration covers the entire body and no facial features are detailed.[815] The bovine likely dates to the early side of LH IIIA2 based on its style and associated finds.[816] Luckily, more is known about the vessels from the heap of bones in the northeast corner of the chamber where this figurine was found. Although none of the finds can be directly tied to any of the human remains, the assemblage is entirely contemporaneous with the life of the Petsas House workshop (LH IIIA) and the stirrup jar in particular exhibits stylistic characteristics that indicate it *could* have been made there.[817] The same can be said of this figurine – its morphological and decorative traits fit well within the norms of bovid figurine production during the earlier stages of the workshop's lifetime. Without personal examination of these pieces (and all the ceramic finds from this tomb), it is impossible to hypothesize further about their manufacture, but we can at least feel comfortable that the figurine is generally contemporary with the pottery and possibly exactly contemporary with the piriform stirrup jar – to the point the two *could* have been acquired from one place. Taken as a whole, Verdelis' Tomb A upholds the trend witnessed elsewhere in the Kalkani Cemetery where groups of visually similar female figurines are found in burial deposits that are clearly differentiated from deposits that yield bovids or 'other' types (and these tend not to occur in multiples). These differentiated deposits can not only coexist, but can even be contemporary (as is the case here) and hint at different funerary events with choices made according to the individuals involved.[818]

VI.4.2 TOMB Δ (TΔ)

At first glance, two female figurines from the dromos of Tomb Δ appear to illustrate a *different* depositional pattern. Verdelis excavated a fourth chamber tomb, Tomb Δ, in the area of Pera Sfalaktra or Paliomandri during his 1962 season.[819] Tomb Δ, like Tomb A, yielded two female figurines in the dromos (very close to the stomion again), but in this case they are of different types: an intact miniature Phi and the (severed) head of a second, average-sized female that wears a tall polos. They were found in proximity to a one-handled cup and a kylix. No details are provided about the dromos deposit and not all finds from it are catalogued. The female figurines in this case *could* indicate a departure from the trend mentioned above, but their stylistic differences suggest to me that they are also separated in

however, is not enough to ascertain the exact positioning of the figurines in relation to the stomion or understand the fill context(s) associated with them. In the case of Wace's tombs, Wace generally interprets dromos deposits as secondary ones removed from the chamber (and while this may or may not be true, his tombs do not seem to exhibit wide enough chronological ranges that would make this impossible). In some cases, dromoi have their own intentional burials too. At present I do not believe there is enough solid evidence to substantiate Tzonou-Herbst's interpretation of figurines' association with the activity of drinking and/or pouring libations at an entrance. Restudy of original excavation documentation and autopsy of the figurines and pottery may help shed better light on her hypothesis, though.

[815] Verdelis 1962: 73, Pl. 82a.

[816] See also Verdelis' note on the date of these figurines on p. 73. He places all of them in LH IIIA. It is probable, in fact, the tomb itself was limited in use to LH IIIA or possibly into early IIIB.

[817] If so, it would have been made earlier in the workshop's lifetime, comparanda for which is somewhat less in the extant corpus. Still, there are similar parts of vessels at Petsas House (pers. communication with K. Shelton). The same comments can be extended to the bovine figurine: it embodies characteristics of terracotta bovids produced earlier in the workshop's lifetime and we do have some comparanda, though not as many as for the slightly later and more stylized linear style bovids. Future (re)study of the finds from this tomb will help clarify and/or limit these possibilities.

[818] Or only one deposit with one grouping of figurines can occur in a tomb. And, of course, there are tombs with just one figurine (female, animal, or 'other') or with chronologically distinct deposits that yield different figurine distribution patterns within particular periods.

[819] Verdelis 1962: 78-81, Pl. 86-87.

time with the miniature Phi dating to LH IIIA and the head with polos dating to LH IIIB. They could therefore indicate the presence of disturbed/redeposited remains of two (or more) funerary events.

The finds from inside the chamber do not help clarify the situation and no more figurines were recovered from inside. The chamber's east side hosted one burial of a child along with scattered other skeletal remains and the west side held a separate burial.[820] The burial(s) on the east side were accompanied by LH IIIA-B pottery, but the west side burial had no furnishings.[821] These differentiated deposits evidence multiple distinct funerary events, at least, but not enough information is provided in the publication to test any hypotheses. Future (re)study of the finds could help illuminate some of the choices/depositional patterns connected to Tomb Δ.

VI.4.3 BOLIARI TOMB

Verdelis excavated a few other tombs in subsequent years, most often when one became known from a collapsed roof.[822] In 1964, for example, he very quickly excavated a small chamber tomb in the Boliari area that had partially collapsed and in which a looting attempt had been made before being spotted and reported by the property owners.[823] This tomb yielded *excellent* terracotta figurines, but there is no contextual information shared in the report. Verdelis did, at least, say that no finds were recovered from the dromos, so all the terracottas (eleven are catalogued) must have been found inside the chamber. The chamber was very small in size and had a roughly rectangular shape. The only skeletal remains mentioned in the report were found in the middle of the chamber and were interpreted by Verdelis as belonging to a child since they were small in size.[824] He also claimed that the *gender* of the purported child skeleton could be determined by the adjacent offerings.[825] He did not, however, go on to specify that gender or what the offerings were. Verdelis did not describe any additional human remains located in the tomb nor the exact locations of *any* of the grave goods catalogued in his report.[826] Not enough information is provided to reconstruct any depositional practices within this tomb, but the "offerings accompanying the child" must have consisted of (at least some of the) terracotta figurines and likely the two miniature handmade vessels he inventoried.[827]

His catalogue itemizes eleven female figurines: four Tau, one Hollow Psi, five Psis (described only as "similar" to the one Hollow Psi that is fully detailed; the relevant plate shows the one Hollow Psi as well as three Psis with solid stems and the catalogue does not specify the type of stem of the remaining Psi, though Verdelis did state that it was missing its "wings" and part of its polos [which is

[820] Verdelis does not detail *how* he arrived at the identification of (some of) the human remains as belonging to a child, but I presume this is based entirely on size of the bones (see below). Verdelis 1962: 80.
[821] Verdelis 1962: 80.
[822] Such is the case with a tomb he excavated in 1963 on the north bank of the Kalkani Hill (Bouzioti), but the finds from the tomb were not published in the report: Verdelis 1963: 111-113.
[823] The Demopoulos family, the very same who housed, fed, and generally cared for me during my extended stay in Mycenae during the pandemic. Verdelis 1964: 119.
[824] Verdelis 1964: 119-120. Size can be informative, of course, but it is problematic to assume age/sex based on bone sizes in the ancient world.
[825] Verdelis 1964: 119.
[826] Verdelis 1964: 118-121. See also Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 109.
[827] Verdelis 1964: 120. I base this on the fact that the only finds catalogued at all for this tomb are the two miniature handmade vases, the eleven figurines, and the base of a kylix. Verdelis was also a contemporary of G. Mylonas who excavated simultaneously at Mycenae and who was a major proponent of the interpretation of figurines as gifts dedicated specifically to children. Mylonas 1937; 1953-1954; 1954-1955; 1956; 1957; 1966a. See Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 73-79 for a useful summary of this interpretation and its proponents. What Verdelis had in mind with respect to gender of the remains is anyone's guess (and obviously problematic methodology).

why it didn't make it into the photo, I assume]), and a fragment of a Phi B or Psi.[828] Eight of these are illustrated in the plates attached to the report: two separate images with four figurines in each (one shows the four Tau-type terracottas and the other shows three Psis and one Hollow Psi).[829] The plates were arranged in such a way as to highlight the visual similarity between the type groups. The four Taus are nearly identical (one is smaller than the others, on the verge of being miniature) with high poloi as well as plastically applied plaits and arms. The poloi are decorated with festoons in every case. The Psi types are also extremely similar to one another and also wear tall poloi decorated with festoons. They each have rounded breasts applied at the center of the chest as well as pointed 'wings'/upraised arms.

Personal autopsy of the figurines (and miniature vessels) is required to say more about their manufacture and more excavation data is needed to say more about their deposition, but we can appreciate at least one, if not two distinct groups of female figurines. I believe that all are (at least roughly) contemporary and date to LH IIIB.[830] Whether they formed part of one funerary gift assemblage or more is not possible to ascertain at this time. If there *was* only the one burial (child or otherwise) in the tomb, then we have an instance of one person accompanied by eleven (!) female figurines. There is more than one type among them, but they are all contemporary enough that this remains a possibility. If additional human remains were originally interred in the chamber, then perhaps the figurines did accompany distinct individuals and form part of separate funerary events.[831] Their contemporaneity, again, implies that, even if they formed parts of distinct assemblages, the people who were interring the deceased would have seen the other figurines already in the tomb and made similar decisions as their predecessors (or that they themselves had made slightly earlier in time). In any case, I believe that the figurines from this tomb at least continue the tradition of depositing and displaying multiple female figurines in some sort of visual dialogue with one another and with the people they accompanied.

VI.5: CHAMBER TOMBS EXCAVATED BY GEORGE MYLONAS, 1964 & 1972

BACKGROUND & CURRENT STUDY

Verdelis' work at Mycenae took place under the general supervision of Prof. George Mylonas, Director of the Archaeological Society of Athens' excavations at Mycenae between 1957 and 1985. Most of Mylonas' work centered on the acropolis itself: he explored the areas uncovered (and unpublished) by Tsountas, he established a chronological sequence for the site, and he investigated the Cult Center. In the 1960s and 1970s, he also excavated several chamber tombs in the surrounding

[828] Verdelis 1964: 120-121; Tzonou-Herbst 2002: 109.
[829] Verdelis 1964: Pl. 118.
[830] I also find it likely that the "fragment of a Phi B or Psi" is, in fact, another Psi. Verdelis dates the Tau figurines to LH IIIA2 and the Psi figurines to LH IIIB, but I believe they should all be dated to LH IIIB. No Tau figurines are counted among the LH IIIA2 Petsas terracottas. Plus, all the figurines pictured, regardless of specific type, have short upper bodies and wear poloi with similarly executed festoons (this type of decoration on the polos also does not occur at Petsas House). The two miniature handmade vessels are shown in Pl. 118 and can easily be dated to LH IIIB. The kylix foot is not pictured, but would not likely alter the dating of the finds/tomb.
[831] I find it highly probable that additional human remains were buried in the tomb at one point. Verdelis mentions only the supposed child, but he also excavated that tomb within the span of one week with the help of two workmen and two undergraduate students. He worked elsewhere on site that year and it seems quite possible/probable that he was not physically present for the entire excavation and that some remains were missed, discarded, or misinterpreted. Verdelis 1964: 119. To my knowledge, no bioarchaeological studies have been conducted on any remains from this tomb or others he excavated.

countryside, particularly in the areas of Gortsoulia, Paleogalaro East/ Kapsala, Kapsala North/ Vlachostrata, and Panagia. Several tombs in these distinct cemeteries yielded primarily (or exclusively) LH III ceramics and figurines, but I highlight only two tombs from two different cemeteries.[832] My reviews of these tombs are facilitated by Mylonas' Πρακτικά reports for the relevant years, but especially by Shelton's recent full publication of the chamber tomb cemeteries excavated by Mylonas in 1964 and 1972.[833]

VI.5.1 TOMB 3, GORTSOULIA (G-III)

The first tomb with ceramic vessels and numerous figurines datable to LH III was found and excavated in 1964 in the area of Gortsoulia.[834] The tomb itself exhibits some structural differences from those described above, namely in the form of two intentionally carved out niches in one wall of the dromos – both of which were also walled up with stones after their use.[835] On the bedrock floor of one of these two niches, approximately in its center, were found two female Hollow Psi-type figurines, one laying across the other.[836] No bones were recovered from the niche, which has suggested to Shelton that it had been made for an infant whose fragile remains decomposed long ago.[837] The other niche contained only soil and a single coarseware sherd. Again, an infant burial is assumed in this case.[838] The rest of the dromos had been filled in the customary manner and yielded the usual assortment of ceramics, including five kylix stems, deep bowl sherds, fragments of a ring-handled cup, and two fragments of a female Phi B type figurine.[839] The stomion's blocking wall was intact and the interior of the chamber preserved a number of burial deposits on or near the chamber floor.[840] Just west of the doorway, in fact, were found some bones and a female Phi figurine. Close to the north wall of the chamber was a shallow cist that had been capped with two plaque-shaped stones and that contained some human remains. More bones, possibly from the same individual, were found just outside of the cist, however, indicating that it had been disturbed or redeposited at some point. No pottery could be associated with these remains, unfortunately.[841] Another cist was discovered a little to the west of the first that held a single individual and a few coarseware sherds.[842] A final deposit of

[832] Terracotta figurines were found in a few other tombs, but their contexts were unclear or irrecoverable based on the notebooks (in one case, two bovine figurine fragments cannot even certainly be associated with the use of the tomb at all) and/or they were in too fragmentary condition to include in publication.
[833] Shelton 2000.
[834] Tomb 3 (or G-III in Shelton's publication). The tomb was visible from the surface because the roof had partially collapsed which resulted in a depression in the ground. See Mylonas 1964*a*: 68, Pls. 70-71. Mylonas only briefly summarizes the four tombs his team excavated at Gortsoulia and includes a photograph of the dromos/ entrance of Tomb 2 as well as an illustration of two stirrup jars from Tombs 1 and 2. Both Cavanagh & Mee (1998: 89, 92) and Tzonou-Herbst (2002: 109) reiterate Mylonas' single sentence claiming that all the tombs are datable to LH IIIC and were poorly furnished. Shelton's recent restudy of the tombs, however, fully catalogues the pottery and other finds from the tombs and shows definitively that they date to the LH II - IIIC periods, are variously appointed, and indicate continued burial practices at Mycenae in LH IIIC instead of the establishment of new/different tombs in IIIC. See Shelton 2000: 27-43 and 63-64. For exact location on a map, see Iakovides et al. 2003: map 4.
[835] Shelton 2000: 36.
[836] Niche α' at the northern end of the west wall of the dromos. The interior was roughly semicircular in shape with a height of 0.80 m., a length of 0.70 m., and a depth of 0.55 m. and was filled with soil. Shelton 2000: 37.
[837] Shelton 2000: 37.
[838] Niche β' further south along the same western wall of the dromos. It measured 0.90 m. long and 0.95 m. deep. Shelton 2000: 37.
[839] Shelton 2000: 37.
[840] Some disturbance was caused by the partial roof collapse, however. See Shelton 2000: 37.
[841] Shelton 2000: 38.
[842] Shelton 2000: 38.

human remains was removed from the east side of the chamber as well. In total, at least seven burials were identified in the chamber of this tomb, although only three skulls were actually counted and recovered.[843] The niches in the dromos signify an additional two burials. The ceramics collected from both the dromos and the chamber demonstrate that this tomb was in use from LH IIIA1-IIIC. In fact, the most securely dated burials in this tomb are datable by their terracotta figurines: the one on the western side of the chamber with its LH IIIA female Phi figurine and the burial niche in the dromos with its IIIB Hollow Psi figurines. The rest of the diagnostic vessels were recovered from fill and not certainly associable with specific skeletal remains.[844]

The figurines themselves are not illustrated in the publication(s) and so I cannot comment extensively on their style or other details, but Shelton does identify them by type and include their primary features in her catalogue.[845] The most important take-away from this tomb is that there were clearly differentiated burial events that included female terracotta figurines at different stages in LH III. One intact female Phi B figurine was securely associated with the burial west of the doorway and is dated to LH IIIA late by Shelton.[846] Two fragments of a second, similar Phi B figurine of the same date were found in the dromos fill and cannot be associated with human remains, but could plausibly have been removed from the chamber (intentionally or not) during subsequent burial events.[847] The worn surface condition and faded paint on this piece in comparison with the good condition of the Phi B from the chamber perhaps supports this. In any case, its presence and date indicate that at the time it was interred, even if it accompanied a different burial than the one west of the entrance, the people who used this tomb at roughly the same time/generation made the same decision in choosing a Phi B figurine (again) – even though we cannot reconstruct the exact sequence of events.

The two female Hollow Psi figurines, conversely, *were* found together in the northernmost burial niche in the dromos. More than this, they were found in a possibly meaningful arrangement (lying one across the other) in the only space a (small) body could have lain.[848] There is no conclusive information about the individual(s) they would have accompanied, only supposition from the absence of evidence, but the fact that this niche (and the other one) were intentionally walled-up and those walls were intact at the time of excavation makes the hypothesis of a child/infant burial most plausible. The contemporaneity of the two Hollow Psi figurines, both dated to LH IIIB, and the general similarity of their form and style support the idea that multiples of similar-looking female figurines were acquired together and, in this case, clearly buried together. This shows intentionality in the selection of those figurines. Were they newly acquired at a workshop or from a merchant at the time of death, chosen specifically for their symbolic properties, or were they only hastily selected from an existing at-home collection for quick burial? The considerable energy and labor required to carve the niches out of bedrock and subsequently wall them up with masonry indicates not only devotion and care, but also time enough to have made purposeful grave gift choices and acquisitions. Still, one of

[843] Shelton 2000: 38.
[844] Shelton 2000: 38-39.
[845] Shelton 2000: 41.
[846] Shelton 2000: 38, 41.
[847] The co-occurrence here of a female figurine and kylix sherds would have fit well into Tzonou-Herbst's hypothesis of figurines' association with drinking activities at burial events. The very fragmentary nature of the kylikes in the dromos of G-III, however, along with the fact that the assemblage of sherds as a whole ranges in date from LH IIB – IIIB, in my opinion, makes it more likely that the dromos fill resulted from the multiple entries and exits during many burial events. In any case, the excavation notes were not detailed enough to differentiate between distinct dromos deposits if there were any.
[848] Further commentary about this niche and its contents: Shelton 2000: 64.

the Hollow Psi figurines was broken – so maybe it had been used previously to interment.[849] More information may yet be gleaned from renewed study of these figurines.

VI.5.2 TOMB 1, PANAGIA (P-I)

The other tomb I want to showcase here is Mylonas' "Tomb 1" in the Panagia Cemetery.[850] The Panagia Cemetery was first explored by Tsountas in 1887 and 1888 when he excavated chamber tombs as well as the Panagia Tholos Tomb (see above).[851] Just south of the tholos, three additional tombs were identified and excavated in 1972 by Mylonas' team.[852] Only Tomb 1 (P-I) was of the typical form, the other two were either unfinished (P-II) or of an entirely different type (P-III).[853] Tomb 1's short, narrow dromos was found filled with a large amount of sherd material and a number of terracotta figurines, but no strict stratification of the fill and/or material was observed. Included among the debris were fragments of approximately *seventy* kylikes from a concentrated area not far from the doorway. Only the decorated sherds were kept, but it was noted that the vast majority of the kylikes were undecorated.[854] In this deposit, in fact, the amounts of closed and open vessels were practically equal – which is unusual for a tomb and might indicate that some portion of this fill was either wash from above or brought in as dump material from elsewhere (i.e. the settlement area not far away and upslope) and does not represent *only* material from the tomb itself.[855] Also remarkable was the quantity of terracotta figurines in the dromos fill, both whole and fragmentary: eight female examples (Phi and Psi types) and two bovids.[856] The dromos hosted two additional architectural features: a cist and a niche. The cist occupied most of the width of the dromos floor in front of the stomion. Disorganized fragments of a child skeleton were found inside.[857] No whole finds were associated with the burial, but a few sherds were recovered (including five stems of undecorated kylikes) and part of the torso of a Psi figurine.[858] The small niche was carved out of the dromos' southern bedrock wall a little above the cist. In it were found the disturbed remains of *another* child skeleton, an intact stirrup jar at the back of the niche, a piriform jar in one corner, and another stirrup

[849] Was it interred broken? If it broke *after* the niche was walled up, we would expect all pieces to be accounted for. It is not impossible that the niches represent some other type of memorial or ritual installation – a cenotaph or 'niche shrine,' but the deliberate walling off would have limited its accessibility to a short period of time and should have preserved any durable ceramic finds as they were when they were initially deposited. Then again, both niches were filled with soil which could have been acidic and deteriorated some of the clay of the figurines – and it was the figurine that lay on top of the other that was broken (more directly exposed to the soil whereas the lower one was protected by the upper). Or, the missing piece might have been accidentally overlooked/discarded during excavation.

[850] Labeled "P-I" in Shelton's publication of the tomb. See Mylonas 1972: 114-116 and Shelton 2000: 51-59.

[851] Tsountas 1888: 120-121; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 31-34; and Shelton 1993: 199-201.

[852] Shelton 2000: 51.

[853] Shelton 2000: 51.

[854] Shelton 2000: 51-53.

[855] Shelton 2000: 51-52. The well-known Atreus Bothros (into which the dromos of the Treasury of Atreus was cut) is just on the other side of this same hill and represents dump from the settlement at the top (up to LH IIIA1). It could be interesting to compare the materials from the dromos and chamber fills of P-I with those of the Atreus Bothros to see if they compare in character/content even if the pieces are not exactly contemporary. In any case, it is clear that the heavy construction (the House of Lead, for example) and daily-life activities in the settlement resulted in major accumulations of discard and debris further downslope on the Panagia ridge.

[856] Shelton 2000: 52. Most probably date to LH IIIB based on Shelton's descriptions, see catalogue pp. 57-58.

[857] Shelton 2000: 52.

[858] Shelton 2000: 52.

jar that had been broken in two prior to its deposition and placed on top of the bones.[859] The burial remains inside both architectural features were disturbed in antiquity and it seems likely that some of the contents of the dromos fill were associated with them originally.[860] It is also entirely possible that those same burials had been removed from their primary interment within the chamber and subsequently redeposited in the cist and niche. Later burial activities, in this case, could have/would have disturbed them – especially since they were rather inconveniently placed right in front of the blocking wall that would have needed to be dismantled and rebuilt with each subsequent burial and the dromos emptied and refilled. Soil from elsewhere might have been used in those refillings (or washed down into it), complicating the depositional sequence still further.

Behind the intact blocking wall, the chamber, though small in size, contained a respectable number of terracotta figurines and vessels. Its roof had collapsed in spots and some of the resulting fill, like that of the dromos, may have been contaminated by wash from above or even brought in intentionally.[861] Just above the floor of the chamber, two deposits of human remains were identified, one in the center of the chamber and the other to the north of the first.[862] Both deposits were heavily disturbed and commingled with no artifacts certainly attributable to them. Two female figurines were first identified in association with these remains, but Shelton suggests that they were more likely associated with a slightly earlier deposit lying on the floor near the north wall. The skeletal material from that deposit consisted exclusively of children's remains and was accompanied by terracotta figurines and two miniature handmade vessels.[863] The figurines recovered from this disorderly deposit include a seated figure on an openwork "throne"[864] and at least one female Transitional-type figurine.[865] Partial skeletal remains were discovered in a small cist in the back corner of the chamber and vessel fragments were recovered throughout the fill of the entire chamber – none of it securely connected to any particular individual(s). No final, *in situ* burial was uncovered in the tomb and *all* finds, whether skeletal or ceramic, had been mixed and disturbed.[866]

The interpretation of this tomb is difficult considering that the Mycenaeans themselves seem to have left it in a state of disarray in addition to the possible post-depositional processes that confounded any stratigraphy (like soil erosion from upslope and/or the intentional movement of soil [and rubbish] from elsewhere for (re)filling the dromos and chamber). The best dating evidence falls within the LH IIIB period and is based primarily on the figurines from the floor of the chamber (the throne and all three females) as well as the vessels in the dromos niche.[867] Since the terracottas from the dromos fill are not pictured in the publication and because their association with any burials or even the dromos itself remains unclear, I wrap up with a few comments only about the figurines in the chamber.

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[859] Shelton 2000: 53. I believe that the identification of these children is based on the small size of the skeletal remains, particularly their skulls. Since the remains were disturbed and in disarray, however, it would be beneficial to have a bioarchaeologist examine the human remains and properly determine the age(s)/sex(es), etc.

[860] Shelton 2000: 51-53.

[861] Shelton 2000: 53.

[862] Shelton 2000: 53.

[863] Shelton 2000: 53. Again, I assume this identification is based on size of the skeletal remains, but proper study of the bones would be beneficial here (if they are still available for examination). The miniature handmade vessels were a kalathos and hydria (fig. 16a and b respectively).

[864] Shelton 2000: 53 and fig. 18A.

[865] Shelton 2000: 53 and fig. 18D – identical to one (fig. 18C) and very similar to the other (fig. 18B) of the two figurines first identified (mentioned above) between the *slightly* higher-level human remains in the center and north of the chamber. The occurrence of this Transitional figurine (fig. 18D) among the children's remains is what has led Shelton to conclude they were all part of this one deposit, originally, based on their extreme similarity in form and decoration. More below.

[866] Shelton 2000: 54.

[867] Shelton 2000: 54.

In the first place, I agree entirely with Shelton's identification of the three female figurines from the chamber as part of one assemblage. She highlights the "twinning" effect of the two Transitional figurines and the extreme visual similarity of the third, Hollow Psi type.[868] Even though the burial remains surrounding them were mixed, their physical proximity to one another inside the chamber supports this hypothesis. The tendency to bury female figurines in multiples, as we have seen so far, also strengthens this interpretation. Up until this point, bovids and 'other' types have occurred singularly within a tomb or burial deposit.[869] In this case, however, it is quite possible that the seated figure was deposited at the same time as the female figurines and even as part of the same burial gift assemblage. Given the available data, it is also possible that the seated figure was dedicated to a deceased individual on a *separate* occasion, but the two occasions could not have been very distant in time (all terracottas date to LH IIIB). Their contemporaneity, at least, suggests that the people who made (and moved) the burials in this tomb were in the habit of gifting figurines to their deceased (children?) and that they were aware of which figurines were already in the tomb when depositing a new burial. Were the human remains and their associated gifts in visual proximity and dialogue to one another during their primary burial stage? And/or since figurines are most often found in commingled deposits, is it possible that they were dedicated later, once the human remains had decomposed significantly and had been redeposited elsewhere (in the chamber, in the dromos, etc.)? If so, might the meaning of terracottas be connected to the *stage* of burial (/afterlife) of the deceased instead of to the identity of the deceased individual during their life?

VI.6: CHAMBER TOMBS EXCAVATED BY OTHERS

The end of Mylonas's tenure as Director of the Archaeological Society's excavations roughly coincided with a cessation of excavations at Mycenae by the British School. Since then, the local archaeological service has conducted rescue excavations of additional chamber tombs around Mycenae, but the results of those endeavors remain to be published. For this reason, I cannot include here any discussion of the finds from those tombs. The excavations that I am aware of include the following: first after Mylonas, V. Aravantinos excavated seven tombs in the Kapsala North/ Vlachostrata Cemetery in the late 1970s.[870] He was followed shortly after in 1981 by Z. Aslamatzidou who excavated eleven chamber tombs in the Souleimani Cemetery. According to the very brief published report, the Souleimani tombs had been looted but still contained many burials in pits and against the walls. Terracotta figurines were mentioned in conjunction with these burials as well as in association with vessels, beads, and a few bronze objects.[871] Beginning in 1980 and continuing through the present, E. Palaiologou has excavated a great number of tombs in the Vythisma South, Batsourorachi, Loupouno, Asprochoma West, Asprochoma East, Koutsoumbela, and Khani Cemeteries as well as some cemeteries close to the neighboring villages of Monastiraki and Phyktia – these are also unpublished.[872]

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[868] Shelton 2000: 53.

[869] Tsountas *mentions* a female figurine and 'chair' figurine in his brief journal entry for T30, but we do not know whether they were kept & stored or not. If they were, they must be among the terracottas from unknown tombs, but we have no way of knowing exactly which ones they might be. Tsountas' T79 did contain more than one 'other' type of terracotta within the same tomb, but they were differentiated by burial deposit. Refer to **TABLES 7** and **8** above. The only tomb so far detailed with two 'other' types, in this case combination figurines, most likely belonging to the same burial event are the two driven oxen from Wace's T513.

[870] Shelton 2000: 46; Iakovides et al. 2003: 65.

[871] Demakopoulou 1981: 99 (no further detail was provided in the brief summary); Iakovides et al. 2003: 64-65.

[872] Iakovides et al. 2003: 64-68.

Although systematic publication is lacking, many of the artifacts from these tombs can be observed in the Archaeological Museum of Mycenae. The first room in the lower exhibit hall contains clusters of artifacts from many of the chamber tomb cemeteries listed above. Scores of vessels and terracotta figurines fill each display case.[873] The great majority of those figurines are LH IIIA-B female figurines. Their quantity and quality give the impression that the conclusions reached in this analysis hold true in other tombs and cemeteries at Mycenae – or that we can at least continue to test some of those conclusions as their publications are (hopefully) released.

VI.7: CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing selection of LH III tombs from Mycenae represents the very few for which anything substantial can be said about the terracotta figurines deposited within them based on available published information. Consequently, they represent a small and biased selection. The patchy history of excavation and documentation at Mycenae began with Schliemann, continued under Tsountas, and only began to improve under Wace. Even so, figurines' (micro)contextual data – when recorded at all – did not usually make it all the way to the publication stage. The contextual data for figurines that we *do* have from tombs boils down to mixed/disturbed burial deposits or deposits without *any* skeletal remains. None of this adds up to positive evidence for specific practices conducted by particular individuals or groups of people.[874] To achieve the next level of understanding of Mycenaean funerary practices, especially at the stage of final deposition of human remains with grave gifts, we need more bioarchaeological and micromorphological studies. For many of the tombs described above, skeletal remains were never collected/kept and are lost forever. In other cases, human bones have been misplaced, mislabeled, or even purposefully discarded. Burial event details preserved in microlayers would also add greatly to our interpretations. It is time then to find out what legacy material *is* available that can be analyzed and to conduct collaborative, systematic restudies of at least some of these tombs and their contents.[875] Only then can we begin to recognize patterns of behavior and to offer answers to questions of life and death in the community.[876] In the meantime, we continue to rely heavily on architectural and ceramic data to tide us over in our knowledge of LH III funerary practices. Lacunose though our data may be, some interesting patterns *have* come to light as a result of this study.

In the first place, the majority of terracotta figurines associated with interments in LH III burials in chamber tombs at Mycenae are female types. The specific types shift over time, naturally, beginning with Phi figurines in LH IIIA and ending with Tau figurines in LH IIIB with Psi figurines bridging both periods and extending into LH IIIC.[877] Part of the reason for the predominance of

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[873] Almost the entire hall is devoted to displaying finds from local chamber tombs. A few vases from Grave Circle B are on display as well, but since the most spectacular finds from the Grave Circles (and Tsountas' chamber tombs) are on display in the National Archaeological Museum, the Mycenae Museum is left with the "poor," mostly ceramic finds of the chamber tombs. The display cases contain excellent terracottas from tombs in the Souleimani, Vraserka, Batsourorachi, and Asprochoma Cemeteries in addition to the Kalkani and Third Kilometer Cemeteries excavated and published by Wace.

[874] I do not believe the association of terracotta figurines with children can be advanced (or ruled out) until there is more reliable data about human remains. That information, along with more systematic analyses of figurines, feeding bottles, miniature handmade vessels, etc. might begin to provide better data that can prove/disprove this popular interpretation.

[875] Especially from tombs excavated by Verdelis and onward (1960s to the present day).

[876] Some bioarchaeological studies, of course, have begun to address important questions at Mycenae – especially for the shaft graves. Newly excavated human remains from other sites (and time periods) are underway as well and are continuously yielding new information about the people buried in chamber tombs. To my knowledge, no widescale systematic study of skeletal material from chamber tombs at Mycenae is currently in progress – although I hope that this may be true or may be planned for the near future.

[877] None of the figurine deposits detailed in this chapter date to LH IIIC, although there are plenty of tombs at Mycenae that do continue in use into the LH IIIC period. The available data so far suggests that the inclusion of terracotta figurines

female figurines has to do with the second pattern recognized by this study: that they tend to be buried in multiples.[878] When multiple female figurines are interred with the deceased, moreover, they are visually united. Most of the time, they are restricted typologically (only Phi or only Tau, etc.) even if they include examples in different sizes.[879] In a few tombs/burials, more than one type is represented, but there are morphological and/or decorative traits that align them aesthetically in every case.[880] This proclivity toward curated groupings extends to pottery as well. Several identical or visually similar vessels can accompany a single burial – with or without a corresponding group of terracotta figurines.[881] The deliberate accumulation of select vessels and figurines implies two things. One, that they were chosen and acquired together for the distinct purpose of burial with the deceased.[882] Two, that the display of these items was an important part of their use. Concern for such display may have played a larger role in funerary events that were presumably communal in nature and that took place *before* final deposition in the chamber tomb, such as exposition of the body, processions, vigils, etc. The fact that grave gifts and skeletal remains were moved aside when it was time for a new burial could suggest that the intended function of the gifts and any social capital connected to them had also expired. Still, the evidence reviewed above also shows that similar choices (at least for terracotta figurines) were made by the people who were responsible for burying the dead in a given tomb on more than one burial occasion.[883] This is likely due to the fact that the same group of people carried out more than one burial, so they had knowledge of what was already in the tomb and/or had accompanied other deceased individuals during pre-burial rituals. Some level of visual dialogue between grave gifts inside the chamber must have motivated certain choices (consciously or not) – at least for a short while within the tomb's use-life.[884] Purposeful acquisition and conscientious display of grave gifts further suggest that there was enough time between moment of death and final interment for surviving family/community to make such decisions and arrangements. Chamber tomb construction and use imply the same. The time that it took for the deceased's survivors to dig out the dromos (whole or in part), remove the blocking wall (whole or in part), prepare the chamber for the new corpse by moving aside preexisting burials, etc. – or even to carve out a new niche in the dromos – implies that final burial did not immediately follow death.[885]

Categorical and typological repetition in figurine preferences implies that the survivors of the deceased had time to make intentional, meaningful selections. Beyond this, though, the repetition of

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was not as frequent in this time period, but we are still lacking publication for most relevant tombs. The LH IIIC material that is published so far focuses on pottery.

[878] Even in cases of burials with only one associated figurine (most of which are not reviewed above), however, there are still more females than bovids or 'others.'

[879] For example, Tsountas' T91 and T98 (Phi As, at least), Wace's Tomb 519, and Mylonas' G-III.

[880] Such as Tsountas' T89, Wace's T504, Verdelis' Boliari Tomb, and Mylonas' G-III (chamber) and P-I.

[881] Tsountas' T89 is a good example of contemporaneous groups of female figurines (Phi) and vessels (alabastra) with each 'set' being aesthetically united.

[882] That is to say, each *type* of object – groups of vessels or groups of figurines – were acquired and selected together. It is entirely probable that both types of objects were selected and acquired together from a single workshop, but future in-person studies will have to address those questions.

[883] Tsountas' T98, Wace's T524 and T525, and Mylonas' G-III are good examples of tombs with differentiated burial deposits dated to separate periods but exhibiting similar preferences in female figurines. The sixteen figurines labeled as NAM 2265, if they do in fact belong to one tomb (T5 as suggested by Xenaki-Sakellariou) would also fit well into this category.

[884] For an interesting new take on the role played by burial assemblages in funerary ritual and performance, see Wheeler 2023: esp. 111-138.

[885] Even if these steps were carried out by a professional group devoted to tomb construction/maintenance instead of the deceased's kin, and even if that professional group could carry out the job relatively quickly, some time would still be required to notify/hire the group and to do the job. Of course, not every death was sudden, so any of these steps could also have been carried out during the final days of a person's life.

types allows for detailed comparison between individual pieces and consequently for attribution to a single workshop in some cases.[886] The detectable workshop signatures within these groups of female figurines correlate quite well with the 'batches' or artisan groups of (female) figurines identified in the Petsas House corpus, especially in Room Γ (see Chs. IV.8 and V.1). Their presence in tombs confirms not only the impression that artisans made more than one figurine at a time, but also that their finished products could remain together at the distribution/use stage(s).[887] Furthermore, since we can correlate figurines in grave gift assemblages typologically and chronologically with artisan groups at Petsas House, it seems reasonable to conclude that 'batches' or sets of female figurines could be made to order for the specific purpose of funerary dedication.[888] Whether these groups of 'made-to-order' female figurines were produced *after* an order was put in by a customer or whether they were pre-fabricated according to a standard formula and made readily available at the workshop is another question. To put it another way, when multiple figurines were desired, did customers *always* commission them specially or did they shop for them at the workshop itself (or through intermediary peddlers/agents)? How often were groups of vessels a part of this equation? None of this is to say that figurines and vessels were *always* acquired new around the time of burial. We know that heirloom items, foodstuffs, textiles, and gifts in precious and semi-precious materials were frequently included in funerary gift assemblages. At least at Mycenae, though, the clear intention and mindful curation of at least some of these ceramic groups (in addition to any of the above in various combinations) shows the creative agency behind the gathering and depositing of grave goods for a deceased individual. It also shows that the substantial demand for these specific ceramic commodities was met by (probably local) suppliers.

The immense funerary landscape at Mycenae is the subject of *much* scholarly literature, but the increased construction of new cemeteries and tombs during LH III both in the immediate vicinity of the acropolis and in the surrounding hillsides, in addition to the continued use of older tombs, must have made funerary practice an almost daily and rather mundane experience for the living.[889] It also created business opportunities for local potteries.[890] When so many burials in chamber tombs were furnished with pottery and figurines, ceramicists had plenty of orders to fulfill. I believe that this widening of access to the Mycenaean funerary landscape from LH II to LH III (which also impelled the large-scale building projects and changes to the traditional funerary center by the citadel) caused a corresponding increase in demand for the goods intended to accompany the dead. We catch a glimpse of that demand through the distribution of ceramic vessels and figurines in tombs at Mycenae as well as the consequent efforts to increase supply and meet those demands by craftspeople at Petsas House.

The "business" of death seems to have been big business at Mycenae. But Mycenae was a large and far-reaching urban center whose local industries catered to other markets too. The following chapter turns to significant figurine deposits at sanctuary sites in the Argo-Saronic region that lend further nuance to our understanding of the *motivations* behind figurine production as well as the decision making by customers/local constituencies.

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[886] Including Tsountas' T80, T91, T98 as well as the NAM 2265 figurines; the driven oxen in Wace's T513 and T527; probably the Psi and Tau figurines from Verdelis' Boliari tomb; the Hollow Psi figurines from the dromos niche in Mylonas' G-III as well as the Transitional & Hollow Psi figurines from the chamber of P-I.

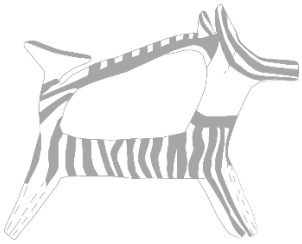
[887] The best example of this so far that has been verified by personal autopsy is Tsountas' T80 (see above). How *exactly* the finished products made their way from the artisans/workshop into the hands of the customer (and ultimately into the burial) are exciting questions for future studies: shops? peddlers? markets?

[888] This holds true after LH IIIA2, too. Large groups of Tau, Psi, and Hollow Psi figurines from LH IIIB deposits show manufacturing signatures too. The figurines grouped under NAM 2265 (possibly from Tsountas' T5, see above) are a good example of this as are the Tau figurines from the Boliari tomb excavated by Verdelis.

[889] Boyd 2015: 442.

[890] And, presumably, workshops devoted to other crafts as well: specialized garments/textiles, custom jewelry, etc.

VII. CULT, REVISITED: FIGURINES AT ARGO-SARONIC SANCTUARIES



Chapter VI focused on identifying distribution patterns of terracotta figurines in chamber tombs during LH III at Mycenae. The great quantity of terracottas discovered in those chamber tombs, especially female figurines of the canonical types (Phi, Psi, and Tau), allowed not only for the identification of depositional trends with burials, but also for the detection of workshop production traits within discrete assemblages. Recognition of repeated patterns in figurine assemblages accompanying burials illuminated choices made by individuals or groups interring the deceased with gifts and presumably engaging in associated funerary customs. The detection of *production* attributes in those same assemblages resituated those choices and practices within a wider socioeconomic context.

The last 150 years of excavation at Late Bronze Age sites throughout the eastern Aegean, however, has made clear that figurines were considered appropriate by the Mycenaeans for *many* different types of activities – not just for burial. This chapter, therefore, turns away from burials and away from Mycenae and moves to a different type of 'use' site: the so-called sanctuary.[891] I focus on two major Mycenaean sanctuaries active during LH III and located within a commutable distance from Mycenae: the sanctuary of Aphaia on the island of Aegina and the site of Agios Konstantinos on the Methana peninsula.[892] I focus on these two sites for three principal reasons. One, the large sample size of LH III terracotta figurines discovered at each site; two, the interpretation of those figurines (and by extension the sites themselves) as exemplars of continuity of cult in the Argo-Saronic from prehistoric into historic times; and three, the geographic location of each site within proximity to communication networks between the Argolid, Attica, the Cyclades, and beyond. As before, I consider aspects of social practice alongside patterns of commodity production and exchange that are detectable within each collection with an aim toward illuminating nuances of customer choice(s) and motivations behind the manufacture of terracottas in bulk.

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[891] I say "so-called" because most Mycenaean sanctuaries are identified as such on the basis of the terracotta figurines found within them. As Ch. II hopefully made clear, prehistoric female figurines have almost exclusively been associated with religious practice in Greece and elsewhere in Europe. Once they are found in an archaeological context, they are used to identify the type of space in which they occur. Even when Renfrew tried conscientiously *not* to do this, his "archaeological correlates" still ended up applying primarily to figures and figurines (see Ch. II.3). Even when figurines were first recovered in quantity at Petsas House (Ch. V.1) and at the potter's workshop at Berbati (Weiberg 2009; Scallin 2015, 2019), they were thought to represent cultic spaces – not evidence of their manufacture. I maintain the terms "sanctuary" and "shrine" in this chapter because that is how they are referred to in mainstream literature. I have my doubts about the interpretation of the Aphaia Sanctuary (Pilafidis-Williams adjusted Renfrew's correlates, but still built her interpretation upon the presence of figurines, see below VII.1.7), but the "shrine" at Agios Konstantinos truly does seem to represent a specialized, delimited space devoted to some kind of repeated (i.e. ritualized) activity. Its figurine assemblage, moreover, is so far unique.

[892] Commutable via road network and/or proximity to a port. The Aphaia Sanctuary is situated about 15-min walk to the port of Agia Marina (Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 1; Salavoura 2014: 61-62, Fig. 30a) and the Agios Konstantinos Sanctuary is likewise located on the coast in proximity to ancient and modern harbors (Konsolaki 2002: 25). Both were likely linked to the overland road system further north that led to Mycenae. Tartaron 2015: 400; 2018: esp.76-83.

VII.1: THE SANCTUARY OF APHAIA

BACKGROUND

The Sanctuary of Aphaia sits atop a mountain ridge in the northeast corner of the island of Aegina with superb views of the Saronic Gulf and the city of Athens.[893] The site is best known in scholarly literature (and in the tourism industry) for its Early Classical Doric temple and especially for the spectacular pedimental sculptures it supported.[894] Those sculptures, discovered by German and English travelers in the early nineteenth century, alerted the scholarly community to the potential importance of the site.[895] Later that century, the area around the temple was minimally explored by Greek archaeologist Valerios Stais.[896] It was not until the beginning of the *twentieth* century, however, that systematic excavation of the site was undertaken by classical scholar Adolf Furtwängler.[897] In addition to uncovering new sculptural and architectural elements of the temple complex during his single-season campaign, Furtwängler identified and described Mycenaean pottery and figurines recovered from the site for the first time. These finds were concentrated east of the temple.[898] The presence of Mycenaean figurines in this location, in fact, convinced Furtwängler that they constituted evidence of a Bronze Age cult on the very spot where the later 7th-, 6th-, and 5th-century altars were located.[899] He even suggested that Aphaia, the enigmatic goddess to whom the later temple was dedicated, had her origins in the Late Bronze Age and was worshiped at the site from that early period.[900]

After Furtwängler's campaign, the sanctuary was not systematically explored again until the late 1960s when Dieter Ohly, Director of the Staatliche Antikensammlungen, returned to the site in the hope of discovering information that might enhance a new display of the pedimental sculptures in the Munich Glyptothek.[901] Before long, Ohly had launched his own excavation which lasted until 1979.[902] Ohly's multi-year, systematic excavation program led to the discovery of substantial remains of an older Archaic temple in the fill of the later terrace walls.[903] While those terraces did preserve

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[893] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 1. On clear days, visitors can see the entire city of Athens with its monuments – and even as far as Corinth.

[894] For a recent review of the evidence for dating the temple and its sculptures, see Bankel 2022.

[895] Early travelers referred to the temple as that of Jupiter Panhellenius (Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 142 with references). The sculptures were first brought to Italy, then sold to King Ludwig I of Bavaria. They remain on display in the Munich Glyptothek to this day. See Furtwängler 1906: 175-188 and "Temple of Aphaia," *Odysseus* (Greek Ministry of Culture & Sports website): http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/3/eh351.jsp?obj_id=2354.

[896] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 2.

[897] Furtwängler worked under the auspices of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens (DAI) and managed to both define and study the area of the sanctuary during his short campaign. Furtwängler 1906: i-ix; Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 2.

[898] Documentation was limited and exact findspots are generally not known. See Furtwängler 1906: i-ix and Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 2.

[899] Furtwängler 1906: 470-473.

[900] Furtwängler was also first to positively identify the later temple's deity as Aphaia upon his discovery of a dedicatory inscription. D. Williams supported this identification (1982: 55-68; Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 142-143 with references). Subsequent scholars and excavators have generally accepted Furtwängler's identification of the goddess Aphaia as well as the connection of Mycenaean material with an early version of a cult in her honor. For example, J.P. Harland supported the idea in his *Prehistoric Aegina* (1925: 32) as did G. Welter (1938: 70) and D. Ohly (1986: 24). The first (and only?) to reject the idea was R. Hope-Simpson (1981: 32). See also, Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 121-153 and Spathi 2022: 215-216, 222.

[901] Some restoration works had been carried out by A. Orlandos and E. Stikas between 1956-57, before D. Ohly's arrival. See Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 2; "Temple of Aphaia," *Odysseus* (Greek Ministry of Culture & Sports website): http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/2/eh251.jsp?obj_id=535, and "Ohly, Dieter," in *Dictionary of Art Historians* (website): https://arthistorians.info/ohlyd/.

[902] The project ran between 1966 and 1979. Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 2.

[903] Archaic architectural members were made of poros limestone. That temple is believed to have been destroyed by the Persians in 480 BC. See Bankel 2022.

some of the sanctuary's history in their fills, they also complicated it quite a bit. Terrace builders imported soil from elsewhere (probably on multiple occasions) to maintain and stabilize the sanctuary's terraces and architecture.[904] The massive construction campaigns connected to the Archaic and Classical temples not only destroyed any stratigraphy that might have accumulated on the rocky peak of the hill, they obliterated any trace of Bronze Age architecture that might have existed where the temple complex now stands.[905] Stratigraphic obstacles notwithstanding, Ohly's team attempted to isolate deposits that had been sealed off by later buildings.[906] Those efforts were fruitful and resulted in several findspots that yielded prehistoric and Geometric material. None of the deposits contained *only* Bronze Age finds, however. All were mixed. Still, Ohly was able to reconstruct a basic chronology of the site and its major stages of construction and use.[907] Ohly's premature death in 1979 resulted in a gradual halt to fieldwork. He died before the results of his excavations were published and subsequent scholarship has therefore relied heavily on his field notebooks and those of his team.[908]

One example of the excellent work carried out by Ohly's team after his death is the in-depth study and publication of the Late Bronze Age material from the Aphaia Sanctuary. In the 1980s and 90s, Korinna Pilafidis-Williams devoted her doctoral dissertation (1987) and subsequent publication (1998) to the Mycenaean figurines, pottery, and miscellaneous finds that were discovered during Ohly's excavations. She included details, images, and contextual information for those discovered by Furtwängler whenever possible as well.[909] Most of her publication was dedicated to an extensive catalogue of the Bronze Age finds, but she also foregrounded the question of a Bronze Age cult on the spot of the later temple complex as well as whether or not the finds evinced a 'continuity of cult' between the Bronze Age and the Classical period.[910] She drew attention to the fact that, in addition to Furtwängler's initial findings, the largest concentrations of Bronze Age pottery and figurines excavated under Ohly's supervision *also* occurred on the East Terrace. The two largest deposits of Mycenaean material were discovered under and around the Late Archaic altar as well as just south of the large ramp leading into the east entrance of the temple (see **FIGURE 38**).[911]

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[904] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 3.

[905] Especially where the altars and annex buildings stand. Though unlikely, it is technically still possible that there are traces of BA architecture underneath the Early Classical Temple that cannot be accessed by excavation.

[906] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 3.

[907] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 3.

[908] E-L. Schwandner and M. Ohly continued working on site after the death of D. Ohly until 1988. See Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 3 and "Temple of Aphaia," *Odysseus* (Greek Ministry of Culture & Sports website): http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/2/eh251.jsp?obj_id=535.

[909] Some of the finds from Furtwängler's excavations were lost after World War II, but the terracottas had been published by him beforehand, so Pilafidis-Williams was able to include his images and descriptions in her extensive catalogue. Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 5.

[910] See also Spathi 2022: 222-223 who, in her study of the Archaic and Classical terracottas from the Sanctuary of Aphaia, considers the continuity of cult between the prehistoric and historic periods quite probable. She also links the existence of Archaic "pot-bellied dwarf" figurines (a version of Egyptian Bes) with the Mycenaean Kourotrophos figurines in their roles connected to fertility, childbearing, and the death of children.

[911] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 3.

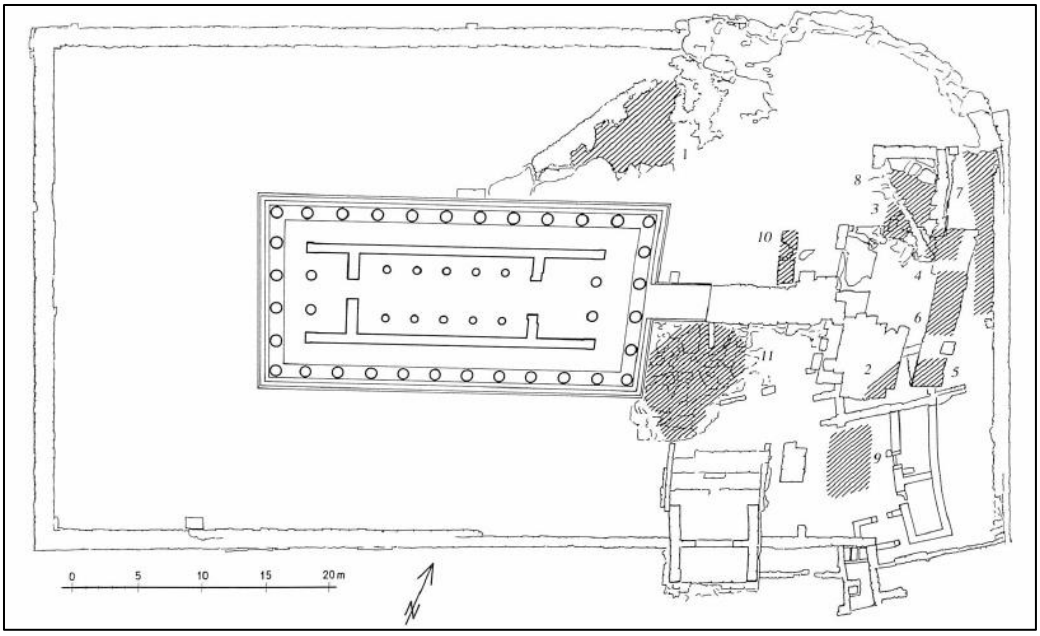


FIGURE 38: Plan of the Sanctuary of Aphaia. Findspots of Bronze Age materials shaded (Pilafidis-Williams 1998: Figure 2). The shaded area near #1 on the plan represents terracing fill and is not a secure context (contained imported soil).

In looking at the material from the East Terrace deposits, Pilafidis-Williams interrogated the finds against the set of "archaeological correlates for the performance of sacred ritual" set forth by Renfrew (see Ch. II.3).[912] She aimed to determine what cult looks like archaeologically and whether or not the Aphaia material could be construed as evidence for cultic practice. She did adapt Renfrew's correlates to better suit the archaeological conditions of the Aphaia Sanctuary, but she too decided in favor of a Bronze Age cult on the location of the later sanctuary.[913] Her conclusion was based mainly on the very large quantity of terracotta figurines (along with the fragments of at least one wheel- or coil-made figure), but also on the site's location on a rocky hilltop with no known settlement or cemetery nearby, the preference for open shapes in pottery (indicative of ritual drinking), the presence of specialized vessel shapes (zoomorphic rhyta, askoi, miniature vessels, a ring vase), as well as the presence of sealstones and beads.[914] She took her conclusion a step further, in fact, and suggested that the nature of the deity worshiped at the sanctuary could be ascertained by identifying the type of artifact that was most particular or restricted to this site and its assemblage. She identified the female Kourotrophos figurine as fulfilling that criterion and therefore indicative of the deity's characteristic properties. She surmised that Aphaia (and/or her Bronze Age counterpart) would have been connected to childcare and fertility based on the presence of thirteen Kourotrophos figurines in the assemblage.[915] The relative scarcity of Kourotrophoi elsewhere – with none at all found in other Late Helladic sanctuaries – strengthened this identification, in her view.

[912] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 121-134; Renfrew 1985: 19-21.

[913] Renfrew's correlates presuppose a built environment. Pilafidis-Williams adjusts some of his criteria to conform to a natural setting (or at least one without architecture) and she condenses some of the others.

[914] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 121-134.

[915] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 129, 135-137; 2009: 123-124. She bases this interpretation on the presence of thirteen terracotta Kourotrophoi in the assemblage. While this number is not very large, she finds it significant because Kourotrophoi "have not been found at any other sanctuary." She also highlights the co-occurrence of Kourotrophoi with other finds that have

In a 2009 article, Pilafidis-Williams extended her conclusions further. Building upon results of chemical analyses applied to the figurines and pottery from Aphaia (see below), she suggested that Kourotrophoi were specially commissioned from potters for dedication at sanctuaries (or tombs) on occasions when a deep emotional state connected to childbirth or death demanded their creation and use.[916] She observed that Kourotrophoi were not mass-produced (as other female figurines were) and so not only would they have been commissioned on special occasions by consumers, but the craftsperson from whom they were commissioned would have been a "potter who manufactured more specialized terracottas."[917]

VII.1.1 CURRENT STUDY

Not only did Pilafidis-Williams take on the long-standing question of a Mycenaean cult at the site of the Aphaia temple, but she also offered a nuanced interpretation of that cult including what properties the deity might have had and why specific types of dedications were made by worshipers. She took this discussion even further by contemplating *who* had manufactured those dedications. She did not hesitate to conclude that potters were also figurine makers and that some of them specialized in certain types of figurines.[918] But she did not stop there. Pilafidis-Williams also wanted to know *where* those figurine makers might have been located, so she subjected a limited selection of the Aphaia terracottas to Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA).[919] The technique is used to determine concentrations of chemical elements in a given material, in this case clay, in order to detect geological source via chemical signature.[920] The method has been successfully applied to Mycenaean pottery in recent decades and has provided chemical confirmation that Mycenaean vessels discovered in contexts in Anatolia, Egypt, and Cyprus, for example, were made in the Argolid.[921] Pilafidis-Williams was the first and the only, to my knowledge, to apply this technique to Mycenaean figurines.[922] The chemical tests confirmed that many of the Aphaia figurines of several different types were made of Argive clay and specifically fit within the Mycenae-Berbati cluster.[923] So, Pilafidis-Williams' study not only connected depositional trends of Mycenaean figurines with production for the first time, but proved that figurines made in the Argolid – not just vessels – were carried beyond their point of production (in multiples or on multiple occasions) for use in some other context, ritual or otherwise.[924]

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been connected to children based on their presence in chamber tombs: feeding bottles, askoi, miniature Phi figurines, and glass beads. She points to the absence of male figures and figurines as further indication of the importance and prominence of femininity of the cult deity at Aphaia (p. 140).

916 Pilafidis-Williams 2009: 124.

917 Pilafidis-Williams 2009: 124.

918 Following on French 1971: 174.

919 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 166-170. Pottery sherds were also included in the NAA study.

920 In order to conduct the analysis, a physical sample is extracted from an artifact and subsequently bombarded with neutrons. This causes its constituent elements to form radioactive isotopes. Specialists are then able to study spectra of the emissions of the radioactive sample and determine concentrations of the elements within it. Glascock "NAA Technical Overview," https://archaeometry.missouri.edu/naa_technical.html. Very small drill holes remain on the figurines that were sampled (a likely reason why more figurines from other sites are not subjected to NAA), mostly in the breaks or other inconspicuous places.

921 Mommsen et al. 1992; Maran et al. 1997; Mommsen & Maran 2000–2001; Mountjoy & Mommsen 2001; Mommsen et al. 2003.

922 A helpful comparison can be found in Sears 2017 who used NAA in combination with XRF and microscopy to investigate the pastes used in Mayan figurines.

923 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 166-170. About the Mycenae-Berbati cluster, see Maran et al 1997 and French & Tomlinson 2012 (both with further bibliography).

924 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 166-170.

When conducting my own study, I wanted to both test and build upon some of Pilafidis-Williams' conclusions. In the first place, how unusual or special were the female Kourotrophos figurines in light of the Petsas House corpus, considering both their typology and relative quantity? In terms of production, could any of the scientifically identified Mycenae-Berbati figurines be matched stylistically with artist groups at Petsas House? Could *any* of the Aphaia figurines – both the ones subjected to NAA and the ones not – yield information about their production at the macroscopic level (as the figurines from the tombs at Mycenae did)? In my effort to address these questions, I was fortunate to receive permission to (re)examine the figurines from the Aphaia Sanctuary which are currently housed in the Archaeological Museum of Kolonna.[925] Below I offer a summary of the entire assemblage based on Pilafidis-Williams' publication. The summary is followed by a nuanced analysis of types and trends at Aphaia as well as by a comparative analysis based on my own examination of the Aphaia figurines and the Petsas House collection.

VII.1.2 THE TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

A total of 535 Mycenaean terracotta figurines were recovered from Furtwängler's and Ohly's excavations and catalogued by Pilafidis-Williams, see below **TABLE 9**. In addition to the figurines, the excavators collected thirteen fragments of large-scale figure(s) that have been interpreted as part of the cultic assemblage.[926] Late Bronze Age sherds and miscellaneous finds total just over 300 pieces (including a few stray sherds from the Middle Bronze Age).[927] The terracotta figurines (and figures), then, significantly outnumber all other finds and form the main argument for the site's interpretation as a cultic one during LH III.[928] Pilafidis-Williams collates all of the material and catalogues it in her volume according to type of object. She begins with the terracotta figurines since they are the most numerous type of find and since they are the focus of her analysis. She follows the figurines with a catalogue of the thirteen fragments of large-scale figures, then pottery, then miscellaneous small finds. She provides detailed definitions and discussions of the typologies along with comparanda from other collections whenever possible. Below, in **TABLE 9**, I present a simplified, schematic representation

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[925] Permission to study the figurines was granted by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Piraeus and the Islands and facilitated by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Deep thanks to Ioanna Damanaki (ASCSA), Stella Chrysoulaki (EFAPN), Sophia Michalopoulou (EFAPN), and Michalis the head site guard at Kolonna for their administrative and/or on-site assistance. The finds from the Sanctuary of Aphaia were originally housed in a small on-site museum west/ southwest of the temple, but were recently transferred to the Archaeological Museum of Kolonna. The "Aigina Museum" numbers provided by Furtwängler 1906 (and by Piladifis-Williams for Furtwängler's material) refer to that museum. The finds from Ohly's excavations are systematized by their own internal registration numbers (by object class) in Pilafidis-Williams' catalogue and in their current storage location in the Kolonna museum. Some figurines were missing from the assemblage. In some cases, they had been excavated by Furtwängler and have been missing since the Second World War. In other cases, the figurines were misplaced sometime *after* Pilafidis-Williams published them. Unfortunately, these included some of the most intact and impressive figurines. To me this suggests that they had been stored separately – perhaps with the intention of putting them on display, as a consequence of having been on display already, or were set aside for conservation - and consequently divorced from the rest of the Aphaia figurines. Perhaps this separation was compounded by the transfer from the Aphaia museum to the Kolonna museum. A new archaeological museum is currently under construction on Aegina and it is therefore possible that the figurines will move again in the not-too-distant future.

[926] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 77-82 and 126-127. See also below, VII.1.6.

[927] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 82-120.

[928] True quantification of the original amount of Mycenaean material on the site is, of course, not possible due to the later Archaic and Classical building activities on site in addition to natural erosion of the entire hilltop. Pilafidis-Williams also states that there are about "150 missing terracottas and around 100 missing pottery fragments" from Furtwängler's excavations, but that the "numerical superiority [of figurines] at Aphaia [regardless of the missing pieces] is in itself suggestive of the sanctity of the site." Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 128-129.

of Pilafidis-Williams' catalogue of the terracottas. She identifies twenty-two distinct types of figurines in the Aphaia collection, including the familiar female and bovine types as well as more specialized types such as Kourotrophoi and chariots.[929]

TABLE 9: Terracotta Figurines at the Sanctuary of Aphaia. Following Pilafidis-Williams' (1998) categorizations.

	Type of figurine	Quantity of fragments
1	Female Phi	47
2	Female Transitional	3
3	Female Psi, Hollow	7
4	Female Psi, High-Waisted	23
5	Female Psi	62
6	Female Psi, Late	22
7	Female Kourotrophos	13
8	Female, Heads	72
9	Female, Stems	90
10	Bovine Wavy 1 & 2	5
11	Bovine Linear 1 & 2	75
12	Bovine Spine 1 & 2	23
13	Bovine Ladder	1
14	Bovine, Other	20
15	Bovine, Heads	27
16	Bovine, Legs & Horns (62 legs, 6 horns)*	1
17	Animal	2
18	Combination, Chariot	17
19	Combination, Other (abbreviated chariot or driven oxen)	8
20	Combination, Male (?) Riders	6
21	Furniture and/or combination, Thrones & Seated Figures	9
22	Other, Boats	2
	TOTAL FIGURINES	**535**

*The disaggregated legs and horns from bovine figurines are here (and in Pilafidis-William's publication) lumped together and counted as one so as not to significantly eschew the total bovine count.

Since my study of the Petsas House figurines and Pilafidis-Williams' study of the Aphaia figurines both base their typological schemata on French's work, the types included in **TABLE 9** coincide with those discussed in Chapters III-V.[930] The differences lie in chronology. Whereas the Petsas House figurines are limited to LH IIIA2, the Aphaia figurines range in date between LH IIIA2-LH IIIC. *Nuances* of typology, therefore, differ between the two collections. Since the Aphaia figurines are in a poorer state of preservation, moreover, not all typological distinctions can be made as easily. For example, in **TABLE 9** there is one lump category for "female stems." At Petsas House, the "stem" category included stems *only* from Phi B or Psi types limited to LH IIIA2, but here they include all Phi and Psi types from LH IIIA2-C. Similarly, whereas Phi A and B types were clearly distinguishable in the Petsas corpus, here there is only one group labeled "Phi." Close study of those Phi figurines,

[929] Pilafidis-Williams follows E. French's typological scheme (1971).
[930] French 1971.

though, shows that they are in fact nearly all Phi B type.[931] The same is true of the stems. All stems belong to a Phi B or Psi type figurine, but are not limited to LH IIIA2.[932] Several Psi subvarieties that are not part of the Petsas production repertoire (namely the LH IIIB-C High-Waisted, Hollow, and Late types) are numerous in this collection and therefore differentiated in Pilafidis-Williams' catalogue.[933] **TABLE 9** shows similar groupings of the bovine figurine types. The Wavy, Linear, and Spine types include both their '1' and '2' subvarieties because their quantities are not high enough and/or their surfaces not preserved well enough to securely distinguish them in most cases.

Typological nuance aside, some familiar patterns begin to emerge, especially at the categorical level: out of the total 535 terracotta figurines in the Aphaia assemblage, 63% are female (339 individual fragments).[934] Bovids make up 28% of the total (152 pieces)[935] and all 'other' types the remaining 9%.[936] Some of the fragments may come from one figurine but cannot be joined in their current state. For example, an isolated head of a female figurine could theoretically belong to the same terracotta as one of the stem fragments, but since they cannot be joined, they are counted separately here. For this reason, the high 63% female figurines is likely somewhat inflated. Since the severed appendages of the bovine figurines are not included in this count, however, the estimated 28% is likely a truer representation of the overall ratio. Even with the inevitable discrepancies and uncertainties due to preservation, I remain convinced that female figurines significantly outnumber bovids and other types in this collection.

This high-level breakdown closely parallels the one for Petsas House where approximately 50% of the total 1,118 terracotta figurines is made up of female varieties, about 35% bovine, and 15% 'other' types (including both combination figurines and furniture models), see **FIGURE 39** below for a visualization of this categorical breakdown from both sites.

[931] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 6-9.

[932] The same considerations apply here. The stems really can be classified as belonging to Phi B or Psi, but the morphological and decorative details range more widely due to the broader chronological parameters of this collection.

[933] The Aphaia collection includes figurines from LH IIIA, B, *and* C. Conspicuously absent from the collection is the female Tau type, popular in LH IIIB (as seen in the previous chapter). Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 14.

[934] This calculation includes the female Kourotrophos figurines. It is not as easy to estimate a Minimum Number of Individuals in any category considering the state of preservation of the figurines.

[935] The disaggregated bovine legs and horns are removed from this calculation (as was done for Petsas House).

[936] Combination figurines come in at about 6% (31 pieces) and 'others' at 3% (13 fragments).

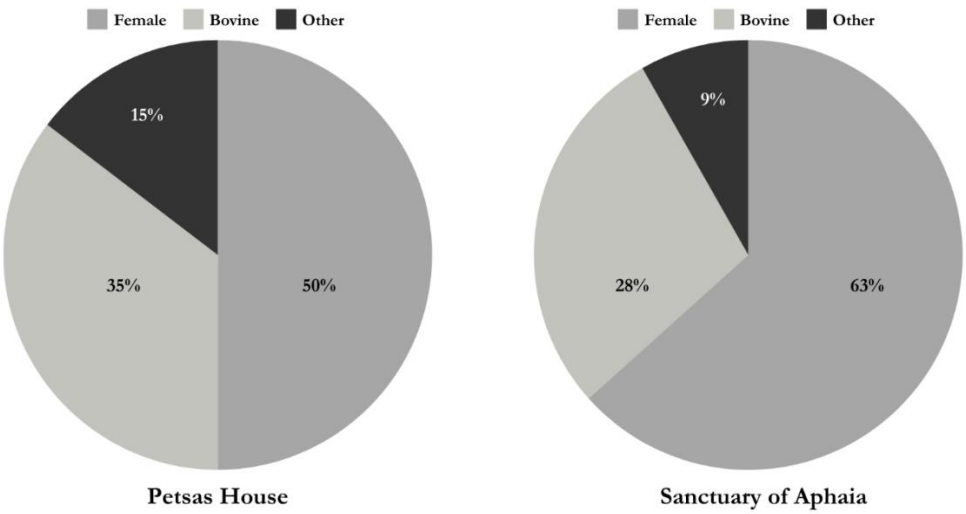


FIGURE 39: Comparison of Figurine Categories Between Petsas House and the Sanctuary of Aphaia. A visualization of the quantities of figurines at the categorical level. In these pie charts, I have grouped together the separate types of female, bovine, and combination figurines to provide a high-level overview of the figurine assemblages from both Petsas House and the Sanctuary of Aphaia.

FIGURE 39 shows that at the high-order categorical level, the large assemblages of terracottas at both Petsas House (production) and the Aphaia Sanctuary (consumption) break into similar proportions of females, bovines, and 'others.' In what follows, I explore this breakdown at the typological level and offer some observations that relate to both production and consumption. I begin here with the female Kourotrophos figurines because of the emphasis placed on them by Pilafidis-Williams in her analysis and the importance awarded to them in her interpretation of the sanctuary and its history.

VII.1.3 KOUROTROPHOI

In calculating the categories described above, I grouped the Kourotrophos figurines with the rest of the females.[937] When the Kourotrophoi are separated out, however, the thirteen pieces identified by Pilafidis-Williams as Kourotrophoi comprise only 2.4% of the entire collection at Aphaia.[938] This number should be slightly reduced, however. While I agree with Pilafidis-Williams' identifications in nearly all cases, there are three Kourotrophoi that I believe should be removed from her count. One, MT 170, represents only the detached head of an infant by Pilafidis-Williams' reckoning (**FIGURE 40**).[939] While this identification is not impossible, I consider it more likely to be

[937] I did the same in the calculations for Petsas House.

[938] This is based on thirteen Kourotrophos fragments, or 3.8% of the total quantity of *female* figurines. It should be noted that I was not able to personal view/study all thirteen Kourotrophoi in person. During my visit to the Kolonna Museum in October of 2022, the following Kourotrophoi were missing from the collection: MT 158, 161, 164, and 165. Photographs for all thirteen Kourotrophoi (including these missing examples) can be found on Pls. 42, 43 of Pilafidis-Williams 1998.

[939] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 35 (cat. #177, Pl. 43). The Mycenaean figurines recovered during Ohly's excavations are assigned MT numbers (Mycenaean Terracotta).

the end of a connector piece in a combination figurine.[940] Another, MT 169, represents part of one side of a "Phi triad" group figurine (**FIGURE 41**).[941] In this case, I agree with her identification but consider it both categorically and semantically separate from the rest of the Kourotrophoi. The piece preserves the right-side Phi B figurine from the neck down. An extra strip of clay extends from the figurine's left side where it would have connected to the second Phi B (presumably). While the best-known parallel is the 'triad' from Tsountas' T79 at Mycenae, it cannot be proven in this case that there was a child/third figure between the two. It is likely, of course, but we cannot know based on this fragment's current state of preservation.[942] A third piece, MT 160, should probably also be removed from the count (**FIGURE 42**).[943] It is the upper half of a female Phi B figurine with the left side broken and misshapen. Even Pilafidis-Williams admits that the uneven surface is likely due to damage before firing. The combination of that early damage as well as later breakage and wear make it difficult to determine whether there originally was an attached infant on the figurine's left side. What remains of its decoration, however, suggests to me that there was no attachment and that this figurine is not, in fact, a Kourotrophos.[944]



FIGURE 40: MT 170, "Head of an Infant." One of the Kourotrophos figurine fragments that I believe may not in fact be part of a Kourotrophos. **Left**: front (with one horizontal crossbar remaining). **Right**: back (with attachment area). Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 35 (cat. #177, Pl. 43). Photos by author.

[940] Perhaps the connecting piece in a driven oxen combination. Where Pilafidis-Williams sees the infant's head where it attached to the mother's breast, I see the end of the connector where it attached to the person or animal. The remaining decoration on the fragment – one well executed horizontal bar – also fits well with this revised ID. Still, the condition of the piece leaves room for doubt in either case.

[941] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 35 (cat. #176, Pls. 2[dwg] and 43[photo]). She compares it to NAM 3230 from T79 excavated by Tsountas at Mycenae (see Ch. VI.2.6) and another from Tomb 6 at Voula. For comparanda, see Xenaki-Sakellariou 1985: 219-222, esp. p. 222; Pl. 104 (3230); Mylonas 1956: 120, Pl. XV(9); and Papadimitriou, I. 1954: 85, Fig. 11.

[942] The interpretation of these group figurines is another question since there are very few examples (including the 'ivory triad' from Mycenae). For more on their possible meaning(s), see Mylonas 1956; Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2018: 68.

[943] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 33 (cat. #167, Pl. 43).

[944] The canonical vertical wavy lines are continuous from the lower breast onto the belly. Similar decoration extends onto the flattened left side and under the break. Unfortunately, the breakage makes it very difficult to feel confident about the identification of this figurine one way or another.

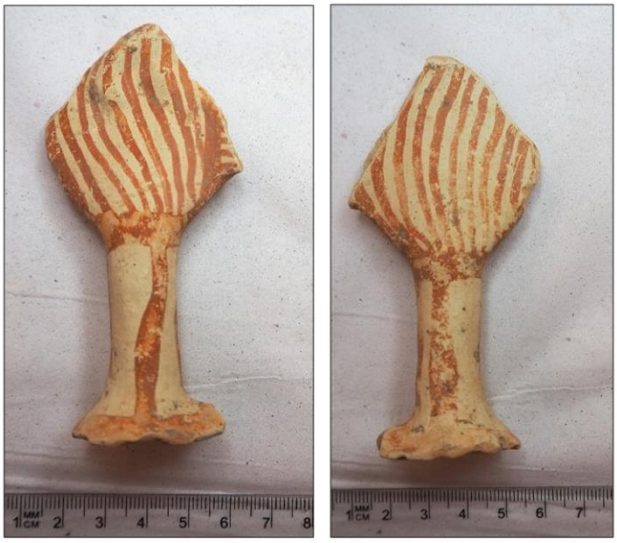


FIGURE 41: MT 169, "Phi Triad." Another Kourotrophos figurine fragment that I believe may not in fact be part of a Kourotrophos. **Left**: front. **Right**: back. Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 35 (cat. #176, Pls. 2[dwg] and 43[photo]). Photos by author.



FIGURE 42: MT 160, "Kourotrophos." The third figurine that I believe may not in fact be part of a Kourotrophos, but just a misshapen Phi B. **Left**: front. **Right**: back. Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 33 (cat. #167, Pl. 43). Photos by author.

When these three terracottas are removed from the count, the number of Kourotrophoi is reduced to ten, or less than 2% of the entire assemblage.[945] In other specialized types, such as chariots, there are twice as many individual pieces. All of the 'other' types together yield *quadruple* the number of Kourotrophoi. In **FIGURE 43**, I present another high-level visual breakdown of this information organized into a hierarchy of frequency that highlights the relatively small proportion of Kourotrophoi in the overall assemblage.[946]

[945] 1.87% of the total assemblage and 2.95% of the 339 female fragments.
[946] See below for further discussion of 'other' types and their importance at the Aphaia Sanctuary.

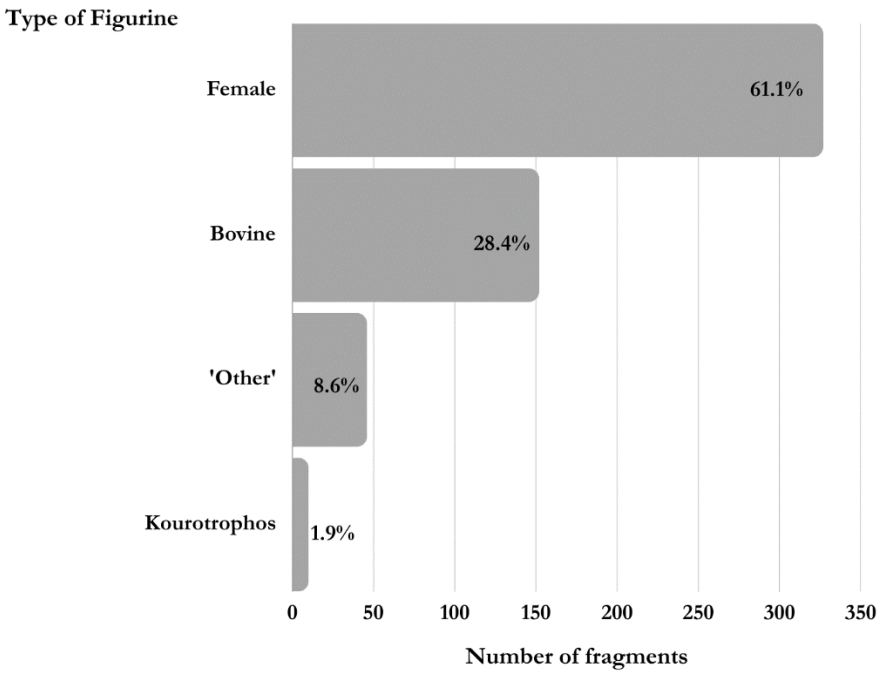


FIGURE 43: Categories of Figurines at the Sanctuary of Aphaia. In this visualization of the quantities of figurines at the categorical level. I have separated the Kourotrophoi from the rest of the 'female' category for ease of reference and comparison. I have also removed MTs 170, 169, and 160 from the count of Kourotrophoi and reallocated them to their respective categories as described above. In this chart, then, the 'female figurines' are represented by 327 fragments, the bovids by 152 fragments, 'other' by 46 pieces, and Kourotrophoi by 10 fragments for a total of 535.

The ten remaining Kourotrophoi all date to LH IIIA2-B, but can be further distinguished by type: two Phi B, five Transitional, and three Psi.[947] At the macroscopic level, none of these Kourotrophoi share any morphological or decorative traits with each other that could suggest common manufacture.[948] At the microscopic level, however, more information is available. Six out of those ten Kourotrophoi were subjected to Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) and all six indicated Mycenae-Berbati origin.[949] Three of the four that were *not* tested with NAA were Transitional Kourotrophoi recovered during Furtwängler's excavation, the fourth a Psi Kourotrophos.[950] The *stylistic* attributes of those four, however, as well as the observations provided by Pilafidis-Williams in her catalogue, are consistent with Argive manufacture as well – or at least find their best parallels in

[947] Phi B Kourotrophoi: MT 158 [missing], 159. Transitional Kourotrophoi: MT 161- 165 [MT 161, 164, 165, and the lower half of MT 162 missing; MT 165 is Hollow]. Psi Kourotrophoi: MT 166-168. Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 30-35, Pls. 42-43.

[948] This is not to say that they *must* all have been made in different workshops, only that in their current state of preservation, there are either not enough common features to correlate or their dates are just different enough to prevent morphological/decorative attribution (as was possible for the figurines at Petsas House and for those in some of the tombs around Mycenae).

[949] Subjected to NAA: Phi B Kourotrophoi MT 158, 159; Transitional Kourotrophoi MT 162, 163; Psi Kourotrophoi MT 166, 167. Of the three 'Kourotrophoi' that I rejected above: MT 160 (Phi B) was tested and also proved to be of Argive manufacture, the Phi triad (MT 169) was tested but yielded an uncertain result, the "infant" was not tested. Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 30-35 and 166-170, Pls. 42-43.

[950] The three Transitional Kourotrophoi not tested: MT 161, 164, 165. These three terracottas were not present in the collection when I conducted my study in the museum at Kolonna and have likely been missing since World War II. Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 5 (w/references to Furtwängler). One Psi Kourotrophos not tested: MT 168.

the Argolid.[951] Although none of the Aphaia Kourotrophoi share distinctive morphological or decorative traits with each other, there is some overlap with Kourotrophoi from Petsas House. For example, one of the Transitional Kourotrophoi tested (MT 163) can be compared to a similar example from Petsas House (BE #512). The immediate difference is that the Aphaia figurine does not wear a polos while the Petsas one does. Otherwise their attributes are remarkably similar: the dimensions and diamond shape of the torsos, the placement of the arms (and the differentiated decoration on the arms), the applied plaits, and the placement of the infants with their long bodies extending across the mothers' bellies (see **FIGURE 44**).[952] An example of a Psi Kourotrophos from the Sanctuary of Aphaia that was tested with NAA (MT 166) also finds a close parallel with a Psi Kourotrophos from Petsas House (SF (14) 00/12019). Both have narrow triangular bodies, no plaits, and applied infants indicated only by short strips of clay curled around the mothers' left breasts and a painted dot eye.[953] Other selected traits in each corpus can be correlated as well, but none of the Aphaia Kourotrophoi are preserved well enough to assign to a known artist group from the Petsas House workshop. At Petsas House itself, only a few Kourotrophoi survive – not enough to reconstruct the full range of variability within the repertoire.[954] Still, the chemical results and stylistic attributes described above at least prove that Kourotrophoi made at or near Mycenae traveled as far as Aegina in bulk and open up the *possibility* of Petsas figurines at the Aphaia Sanctuary.

Pilafidis-Williams' identification of the goddess to whom the Mycenaean sanctuary would have been dedicated, one connected to fertility and childcare, hinged not only on the presence of Kourotrophoi in the assemblage, but also on the fact that they were not mass-produced types and must have been commissioned by worshipers from specialists on specific occasions.[955] While I agree that Kourotrophoi were likely commissioned, the study of the figurines from Petsas House helps us nuance this picture. Out of the 1,118 figurines in the Petsas corpus, only about seven are Kourotrophoi; they represent less than 1% of the assemblage. The surviving examples do yield a good deal of information about their production, but their relative scarcity leads me to believe that they were, in fact, commissioned on a more occasional basis – as Pilafidis-Williams suggested. The Petsas repertoire includes Kourotrophoi in each of the LH IIIA2 female types: Phi B, Psi, and Transitional in more than one size (**FIGURES 19** and **20**). Importantly, both the Phi B and Psi Kourotrophoi conform completely to the typological requirements of their standardized forms and decoration with

[951] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 34-35 with comparanda.

[952] The Aphaia Kourotrophos (MT 163) has an applied plait decorated only with the vertical line decoration of the upper body beginning below the neck band while the Petsas Kourotrophos (BE #512) has horizontal bar decoration beginning below the neck band. In both cases, though, the back of the head and upper plait are very similarly executed. Although these two examples are slightly different in this way, there are plenty of parallels at Petsas House for plaits like the one on the Aphaia Kourotrophos. The same goes for both Phis and Psis with and without poloi.

[953] Pilafidis-Williams considers the Psi-type Kourotrophoi as "liberated" caretakers who were able to participate in daily activities or worship with two free arms. She suggests that women wore slings or carriers for the infants in order to achieve that liberation and that the Psi Kourotrophoi are depictions of this, Pilafidis-Williams 2009: 118. I do not believe that the Psi Kourotrophoi necessarily reflect any reality, rather they reflect the need of craftspeople to adapt their standard formulas to speedily create Kourotrophoi on demand. Likewise, I do not believe that the painted decoration of any of the Kourotrophoi are meant to represent actual clothing or garments worn by mothers. The decorative nuances are consistent with the range of painted decoration present in *all* standardized figurines – this range reflects varying levels of ability and time on the part of the manufacturers as well as slight morphological differences in each figurine. Though standardized and "mass-produced," they are handmade after all.

[954] Although all three types are present in the Petsas House corpus: Phi, Transitional, and Psi. Most of the applied infants are represented by flattened strips of clay, but at least one Phi Kourotrophos has a more fully formed baby placed in an upright position (SF (51) 07/ 07038), perhaps comparable to MT 162 from Aphaia, but the lower half (with baby) of that fragment is now missing.

[955] Pilafidis-Williams 2009: 113 and 124.

their *only* elaboration being the extra bit of applied clay at the left breast representing the infant.[956] The Transitional Kourotrophoi represent a variation of the Psi type where the arms are folded across the chest to hold the infant instead being of raised upward, an adaptation contemporary with other manipulations of the (new) Psi type (see Ch. IV.4-6). All Kourotrophos types were made by the same artisans who were accustomed to crafting the standardized female Phi and Psi types at speed; they needed only to make small adjustments in order to turn them into Kourotrophoi. At Petsas House, this is best illustrated by BE #513, a small-sized Transitional Kourotrophos that belongs to Group B which also includes standard Phi B and Psi types (see Ch. IV.6).

We also know from the terracottas deposited in Tomb 80 at Mycenae that Kourotrophoi of more than one type could be produced by a single artisan.[957] T80 yielded several terracottas of the standard (i.e. "mass-produced") varieties that were likely made in the same workshop as the two Kourotrophoi. All of this is to say that while Kourotrophoi should be considered specialized types that were likely produced on demand, they were not *so* specialized that a workshop would need to call in experts trained only in the art of Kourotrophos construction every time a commission was placed. Instead, figurine makers who habitually manufactured the standardized female Phi and Psi types at scale could easily adjust their formulas to create Kourotrophoi when needed. So, while their relatively low frequency in the Aphaia assemblage (and in the Petsas House collection) supports the notion that Kourotrophoi were commissioned on particular occasions, their conditions of manufacture suggest they were regularly made by workshop personnel. Since Kourotrophoi commonly occur in tombs, settlements, and other types of archaeological deposits in the Mycenaean world, moreover, we must assume polysemy and flexibility in their use and interpretation.[958] Individuals and groups could commission them from a common source, but use them in different ways and carry them to different places.

[956] Again, Petsas House SF (51) 07/ 07038 has a more fully sculpted infant and is the only exception to this statement.
[957] I refer specifically to NAM 3221 and 3105 from Tsountas' T80, see above Ch. VI.2)
[958] Pilafidis-Williams discusses the occurrence of Kourotrophoi in tombs at length. See 1998: 136-137 and 171-181. She sees their presence in tombs as another expression of the deep emotional/physical state connected to childbirth and death. I do not disagree with the points she raises in her discussion, but as new osteological and ceramic data continue to emerge from legacy collections and recent excavations, there is still much to learn about Kourotrophoi.



FIGURE 44: Transitional Kourotrophoi from Aphaia and Petsas House. **Left**: Upper body of a Transitional Kourotrophos of Argive provenience found at the Sanctuary of Aphaia, MT 163 (Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 34, Pl.43). Photo by author. **Right**: Transitional Kourotrophos from Petsas House (BE #512). Photo by J. Tseng.

A final thought about the Aphaia Kourotrophoi: Pilafidis-Williams describes the very locally relevant content of the later myths associated with the goddess Aphaia – and she connects some of the attributes of that goddess to her counterpart in the Bronze Age which are then physically expressed by means of the Kourotrophos figurines.[959] But if nearly all (possibly all) the Kourotrophos figurines at the sanctuary were produced in the Argolid, can we still posit that they represent aspects of a local Aeginetan deity? Surely fertility/motherhood/childcare are universal concerns for women and families, but if this aspect of the deity was of special importance at this specific location on the island of Aegina, shouldn't there be locally made Kourotrophoi too?[960] Perhaps instead Kourotrophoi (and other figurines) reflect the identities and choices of their dedicators, not a deity (on this topic, see more below).

VII.1.4 "OTHER" TYPES OF FIGURINES

The variety of 'other' types of terracottas present in the Aphaia assemblage supports this idea. **TABLE 9** and **FIGURE 43**, above, show that combination figurines along with models of furniture and boats comprise a much higher proportion of the assemblage than Kourotrophoi. Whereas the Kourotrophoi comprise only ~2% of the assemblage, 'other' types make up ~9%. Pilafidis-Williams acknowledges the importance of these special types, but since they are more frequently found at other

[959] Especially the Archaic/Classical goddess's virginity and association with fertility, see Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 142-146. She also suggests that several examples of zoomorphic vessels in the shape of hedgehogs can be interpreted as an extension of this connection to fertility, see pp. 137-138 (I do not agree with the identification of hedgehogs in every case).
[960] There are locally made examples of *other* types of figurines. See Pilafidis-Williams' description of local clays from Aegina (1998: 166-169). There are Kourotrophoi from tombs elsewhere on the island of Aegina, too. It would be interesting to subject those to chemical analysis in a future study to see if they too were imported or made locally (see p. 171).

cult sites, she does not factor them into her interpretation of the deity or ritual practice at this sanctuary.[961]

The most frequent type in the 'other' category is the chariot combination, represented by seventeen fragments in the Aphaia assemblage.[962] As was the case for the Kourotrophoi, none of the chariot fragments is similar enough to any other to create meaningful groupings or to discern any pattern of production or customer preference. Every example falls within the LH IIIA2-B date range, like the Kourotrophoi. Less NAA information is available in the case of the chariot figurines because only two of the seventeen chariot fragments were chemically tested. One of the sampled chariots (MT 434) yielded an Argive provenience while the other (MT 435) proved to be made of Aeginetan clay. Both figurines feature separately modeled chariot boxes with at least two human figures riding inside them. The first, MT 434, made in the Argolid, preserves also the head of the right-side horse in what would have been a chariot driven by two horses.[963] It finds very close parallels at both Mycenae and Agios Konstantinos on Methana, all examples probably dating to LH IIIB.[964] The locally made example, MT 435, also preserves a well-modeled chariot box with the bottoms of two attached passengers, but likely attached to only one horse.[965] A third, MT 433, not chemically tested, preserves two decorative motifs known from pottery (FM 18C and 58) on its box, not unlike a contemporary one from Nauplion with two motifs on the box (FM 18B and 23).[966] Other fragments consist of partial horses in a range of sizes with rough attachment areas indicating their original inclusion in more complex combinations. These are mostly decorated in the usual motifs of this time period: Linear and Spine. All find good parallels in the Argolid, but not exclusively.[967]

Some combinations are abbreviated to the point where drivers are applied directly to the back of the animal's body. Some might be chariots, others driven oxen. Most consist of one driver or passenger and one animal. The state of preservation of each piece often precludes secure identification, however. One such combination, MT 450, is somewhat large in size and, at the macroscopic level, does not bring to mind any Argive parallels, but in fact proved to be of Argive provenience through NAA.[968] Another unusual type, the bull-leaper/wrangler, also occurs in the Aphaia assemblage where there are at least three examples.[969] One of those (MT 462) was tested with NAA and again yielded an Argive origin.[970] Pilafidis-Williams provided some comparanda for the bull-leaper/wrangler from Aphaia, but much better comparanda now come from Petsas House (SF (65)

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961 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 64-77, 129, 138-139, Pls. 53-55.

962 MT 433-449 (cat #s 493-509). Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 64-67, Pls. 53-54. The chariot fragments make up just over 3% of the entire assemblage of terracottas at the Aphaia Sanctuary.

963 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 60 (cat. #494), Pl. 53.

964 NAM 2262, currently on display; Piraeus Museum 5480, see Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 379 and Fig. 16; 2016b: 51, Fig. 12a-b.

965 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 60 (cat. #495), Pl. 53. Only one connector piece extends from the box, but that piece could also have connected to a yoke or other connecting piece that would have joined two animals.

966 Aphaia chariot: MT 433 (Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 65-66, cat. #493, Pls. 3, 53). Nauplion chariot: NAM 3492, currently on display). Both LH IIIB. Now see also Piraeus Museum 5477 from Agios Konstantinos on the Methana peninsula (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 378 and Fig. 13), see below.

967 See Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 64-71 with comparanda.

968 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 70 (cat. #510, Pls. 3, 54) and 166-170.

969 Unfortunately, two of those (MT 460 and 461) are from Furtwängler's excavation and were not found during my study (I believe that Pilafidis-Williams was able to examine them personally, but I am not certain on that point). Most publications refer to this type as "bull leapers." Pilafidis-Williams describes them as "ridden oxen" or "ridden bovine." French did not believe they portrayed leapers, rather "riders" in representations of mundane daily life (1971: 167). I prefer to see them as 'wranglers' or 'riders,' but I am not convinced that they represent a scene from daily life. Their low manufacture rates suggest, like the Kourotrophoi, occasional production to meet occasional demand – which implies *special* occasions. Several examples of this type are now known from the nearby 'sanctuary' at Agios Konstantinos on Methana, see below.

970 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 73 (cat. #522, Pls. 3, 55) and 166-170.

08/02056) and the sanctuary at Agios Konstantinos on Methana.[971] In each of these examples, the rider was applied directly to the animal's neck/head and grasped the bovid's horns with both hands. All have well-shaped snouts, too, but the Petsas House piece most closely resembles the trumpet-shaped snout of the Aphaia piece, see **FIGURE 45**.[972]

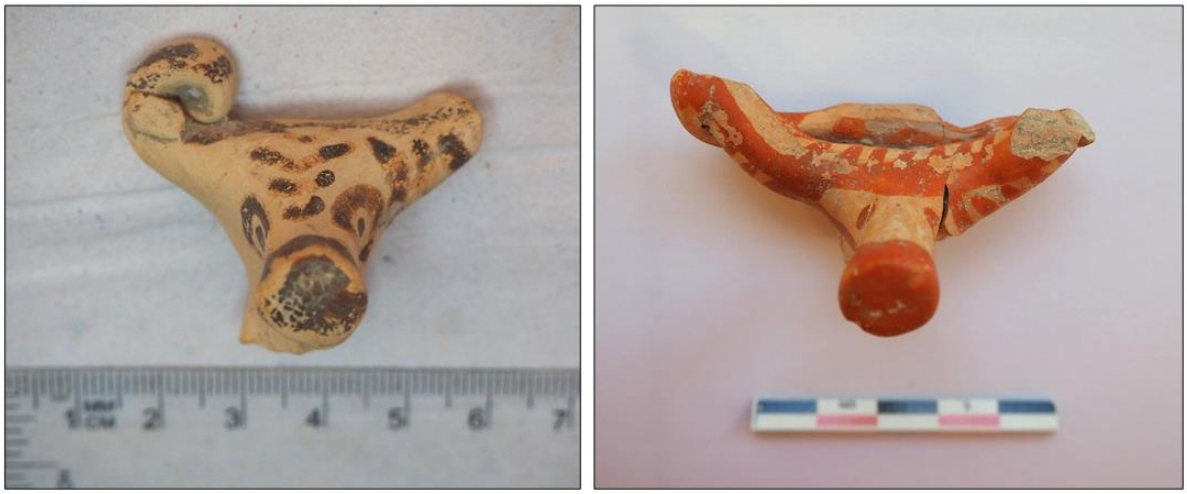


FIGURE 45: Bull-leaper/wranglers from Aphaia and Petsas House. **Left**: Head of "bull-leaper/wrangler" combination figurine of Argive provenience found at the Sanctuary of Aphaia, MT 462 (Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 73, Pls. 3, 55). **Right**: Similar bull-leaper/wrangler figurine from Petsas House, SF (65) 08/02056 with more of the rider/wrangler preserved. Photos by author.

Other special types, such as seated figures and boat models, are very few in number (see **TABLE 9**), in a poor state of preservation, and were not subjected to NAA.[973] Still, the sheer variety of types present in the Aphaia assemblage is remarkable. Perhaps most interesting, though, is that all the 'other' types tested chemically yielded an Argive origin, with the one exception of the locally made chariot (MT 435).[974] Even if the current state of the evidence shows a preference for figurines made in the Argolid, the NAA results reveal that there must have been at least one workshop on the island from which people could have acquired specialized figurines. That leaves us a *minimum* of two ceramic workshops located at a considerable distance from one another that contributed to the assemblage as it is currently preserved. Contemporary chariot figurines from other sites make it clear that there were options available in terms of their composition: a fully modeled chariot box (or not), one or multiple passengers, parasols, one horse or two, standard linear decoration or borrowing motifs from pottery,

[971] Piraeus Museum 5492 and 5523. Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 377, Figs. 10-11; 2016a: 50, Pl. XVIIIa, both currently on display in the Archaeological Museum of Poros.

[972] The most unusual feature of the Aphaia bull-leaper/wrangler is how curled the horns are. Most other figurines of this type (including the comparanda listed in the previous note) have wide-set, crescent-shaped horns.

[973] One of the two boat models (MT 474) was recovered during Furtwangler's excavation and was not present in the collection during my study. The other (MT 475), however, does find two good parallels from Mycenae: one from Petsas House (BE #467 + SF (71) 06/19035 + (70) 13/02132) and NAM 3099 from T79. All three have well-shaped keels and more elaborate decoration on their interiors.

[974] The Phi Triad (MT 169) was tested with NAA, but yielded an 'uncertain result.' A throne figurine (MT 471) did yield Attic origin, but I believe that it should be redated to the Archaic period, contra Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 76 (cat. #531, Pls. 4, 56) and 166-170. The sampled figurines of local, Aeginetan origin are female Phi and Psi types, the one chariot (MT 435), and a fragment of a large figure (MT 476, on which see more below).

and so on. The morphological similarity between the Argive and local examples, then, show workshop responses to the same demand in two locations.

VII.1.5 FEMALE & BOVINE FIGURINES

So, how do the 'standard' types of female and bovine figurines fit into to this picture? **TABLE 9** and **FIGURES 39 and 43** show that the vast majority of the assemblage is composed of the female and bovine terracottas that are most typical of the Mycenaean palatial period, with a few stretching into the postpalatial period as well. Female figurines make up about 61% of the entire assemblage (not including the Kourotrophoi) and are split between Phi B and Psi types for the most part. Whereas the LH IIIA2 collection at Petsas House favored the Phi B type, the LH IIIA2-B assemblage at the Aphaia Sanctuary favors the Psi type(s).[975] Most of the fragments are isolated heads or stems of female figurines that cannot be classified fully, but all belong to the standardized types. Most also are average sized, but there are a few miniature and large female figurines too. The same goes for the bovine figurines, representing 28% of the assemblage. Nearly all conform to the usual palatial-era decorative standards, namely the Linear and Spine types, with a strong preference for Linear. A few have unusual decoration, like chevrons or dots. Together, the female and bovine figurines comprise 89% of the assemblage and show no real deviation from the prescriptive forms and décor of terracottas from any other site.

Out of the 479 fragments of standard female and bovine figurines, only eighteen were tested with NAA.[976] Three of those are local manufacture, the remaining fifteen Argive.[977] In the case of the locally made figurines, all three examples are female (Phi B, Psi, and Late Psi). The Argive figurines, however, include females and bovids in each of the major types (Female Phi B, Psi, Hollow Psi, and Late Psi; Bovine Linear and Bovine Spine). Macroscopic examination of the rest of the figurines, moreover, suggests an Argive origin for hundreds more. Many of the LH IIIA2 types are quite consistent with Petsas House production. There is an example of an early Psi figurine from the Aphaia Sanctuary (MT 83), for instance, that very closely parallels one of the same type at Petsas House (SF (65) 06/16531), see **FIGURE 46**. Both have long upper bodies with relatively short stems, long applied plaits, and neither wears a polos; they differ in slip color and in execution of the vertical wavy lines.[978] Many of the Linear 1 and Spine 1 bovine figurines also match their Petsas House counterparts quite faithfully – even to the point where some could potentially be placed in one of its artisan groups. The head of a bovine from the sanctuary (MT 423), for example, can be compared to examples from Group G (see **FIGURE 28**). Even some of the more unusually decorated bovids find excellent comparanda from the workshop, see **FIGURE 47**.[979] While it cannot be proven that these (and others) were actually manufactured at Petsas House, it remains a solid possibility. If not at Petsas House, then

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[975] This is consistent with the general preference for Psi type(s) across most Mycenaean sites during LH IIIB.

[976] 479 = 327 female figurines +152 bovids. The remaining 56 figurines comprise 46 'other' types and 10 Kourotrophoi. This is an adjusted count after the removal of the three Kourotrophoi from that category (see above).

[977] **Local**: MT 40 (Female Phi B), 82 (Female Psi), and 151 (Female Late Psi). **Argive**: MT 6, 25, and 37 (Female Phi B); MT 81, 96 (Female Psi); MT 52 (Female Hollow Psi); MT 150 (Female Late Psi); MT 345, 346, 355, 356 (Bovine Linear 1); MT 352 (Bovine Linear 2); MT 383, 396 (Bovine Spine 1). Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 166-170.

[978] There are, however, plenty of Phi B figurines from Petsas House that have more finely executed lines that are more like the ones on the Aphaia Psi. In the assemblage from the Sanctuary of Aphaia, there are at least two more early Psi examples, both larger in size (MT 81 and 82). One of these was tested chemically (MT 81) and does have an Argive origin. See Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 20-21 (cat. #s 81 and 82, Pl. 35).

[979] Interestingly, one use context where we might have expected to find "fancy" bovids, the Sanctuary at Agios Konstantinos, did not have any comparable examples.

at another contemporary workshop in the Argolid in direct contact and/or competition with Petsas House.



FIGURE 46: Female Early Psi Figurines from Aphaia and Petsas House. **Far Left**: Early Psi type (LH IIIA2) from the Aphaia Sanctuary, MT 83 (front). **Left**: Same figurine (back). See Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 21 (cat. #83, Pl. 35). **Right**: Similar Early Psi type (LH IIIA2) from Petsas House, SF (65) 06/16531 (front). **Far Right**: Same figurine (back). Photos by author.



FIGURE 47: Custom Bovine Figurines from Aphaia and Petsas House. **Far Left**: Hindquarters of a bovine figurine with chevron panel decoration from the Sanctuary of Aphaia (MT 409) (side). **Left**: Same figurine (top). See Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 59 (cat. #445, Pl. 51). **Right**: Similar bovine figurine from Petsas House, SF (29) 02/16132, Group J (side). **Far Right**: Same figurine (top). Photos by author.

One pattern that stands out upon closer inspection of the standard female figurines from the Aphaia Sanctuary is that there is a very limited range of types present, see **TABLE 9**. In LH IIIB, many options were available to consumers: High-Waisted Psi, Hollow Psi, Tau, Hollow Tau, Hollow Transitional, as well as Kourotrophos versions of all of these. While the Psi type is well represented in the Aphaia assemblage, there are only a handful of examples with hollow stems among them.[980]

[980] Seven Hollow Psi, see **TABLE 9**. While there are more High-Waisted Psis, I consider these to be a further step in the standardization and stylization of the canonical Psi type, not an independent subtype. In that case, they date only to LH IIIB, perhaps even beginning in the second quarter of IIIB while the examples with lower waists belong to LH IIIA2 and

There are no Tau figurines whatsoever (or Kourotrophos versions of them).[981] The preference for Phi B and Psi figurines (with solid stem) remains true throughout LH IIIB it seems. The Late Psi types in the collection continue the trend into the postpalatial period too, although there were fewer types of female figurines to choose from in LH IIIC. It is notable, though, that two Late Psi types were part of the NAA sample selection – one revealed Argive clay composition (MT 150), the other local (MT 151). Does this pattern suggest a level of conservatism being practiced by the Mycenaeans who visited/utilized this site? If Argive visitors or merchants were responsible for providing the LH IIIB Phi B and Psi type female terracottas, they *could* have supplied more Hollow varieties or the Tau type – but they didn't.[982] Even after the supposed demise of Mycenae and potentially reduced circumstances elsewhere in the Argolid, visitors to the sanctuary continued the tradition by choosing to bring Late Psi types almost exclusively. The Argive connection did not die out either, it seems. The Late Psi type just mentioned (MT 150) proves a continued Argive presence at the Aphaia Sanctuary into LH IIIC. So, both Argive and local workshops were, again in the postpalatial period, contributing to the assemblage, whether in cooperation, competition, or neither.[983]

The bovine figurines are somewhat less informative on both the typological and chronological fronts.[984] By and large, the types represented in the corpus favor the earlier side of their production – so, Linear 1 and Spine 1. Relatively few pieces can be classified securely as Linear 2 or Spine 2, with very few that extend beyond that chronologically and straddle the divide between LH IIIB Late and IIIC. None of the latest pieces were tested chemically. Even though there were fewer bovine than female varieties to choose from in either the palatial or postpalatial period, this too gives the impression of conservative choices made over an extended period of time – especially since we know figurines were brought in from multiple workshops. Another extension of this conservatism might be the occurrence of at least two bovine figurines that have evidence of repair. One example (MT 420) is an unusual bovid with linear decoration, but with incised nostrils and mouth.[985] Only the head survives and the horns are broken off, but where they have broken off, the breaks themselves have been coated with paint. Another piece (MT 454), actually counted in the 'other' category, is the head of a Linear 1 bovid that is part of a driven ox combination.[986] In this instance too, the horns are broken off, but the slipped decoration continues onto those breaks. In both examples, the color of the paint

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the first quarter of LH IIIB for the most part. I keep Pilafidis-Williams' classification scheme here for ease of reference and comparison.

[981] Pilafidis-Williams points this out as well, but draws attention to a few scant references by Furtwängler that *could* have applied to Tau types. All of those fragments are missing, however. No Tau types were recovered during Ohly's excavation (1998: 14).

[982] Tau type figurines and all the Hollow types are quite popular at Mycenae (and elsewhere in the Argolid) during LH IIIB, see previous chapter and French 1971: 126-127. Interestingly, Tau types are also missing from other geographic regions, such as Crete, Messenia, and the Levant. Future study may prove that Tau-type females found outside the Argolid are, in fact, Argive imports – as could likely be the case here at the Aphaia Sanctuary if Furtwängler *did* find any Taus during his early excavations (see Vetters 2016: 43-44 with references).

[983] Perhaps in a future study it will be possible to determine if there is a workshop at Tiryns or somewhere else during IIIC that leaves a different chemical signature than the Mycenae-Berbati group. A more robust dataset of NAA results would help answer many of the questions raised in this study.

[984] There are fewer types of bovine figurines in general throughout LH IIIA2-C. The three standard types remain the Linear, Spine, and Ladder varieties. There are certainly other decorative schemes, but they do not seem to be standardized or produced at scale. French 1971: 151-158.

[985] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 62 (cat. #437, Pl. 52). Pilafidis-Williams does not seem to have noticed the paint on the breaks of the horns. She dates the piece to LH IIIB. She does not provide comparanda for this piece, but the best parallels are probably to be found on Crete – and tend to date either earlier or later than LH IIIB.

[986] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 71 (cat. #514, Pl. 54). Dated to LH IIIB by Pilafidis-Williams, but finds very close parallel at Petsas House in the driven ox combination in the Stripey artisan group (BE #452). She does not seem to have noticed the paint on the breaks in this case either.

on the breaks is identical to the rest of the decoration. If the slip and paint were applied pre-firing, then the damage had to occur at the workshop. If this is the case, was the damage simply not important to the consumers? Was there a limited enough supply of figurines that a customer would still choose an imperfect piece (indicating that the selection of the type was more important than its condition at the time of acquisition)? In any case, a level of both conservatism and conservation is detectable among the bovids too.[987]

VII.1.6 LARGE-SCALE FIGURES

Although the focus of this study is on the small-scale figurines, it is important to note here that, according to Pilafidis-Williams, there are fragments of at least ten large-scale figures in the collection.[988] All are female. She interpreted this phenomenon as further proof that the deity worshiped on site should be identified as a goddess.[989] Personal inspection of the fragments confirmed at least three female figures, but the other fragments can be interpreted in more than one way.[990] The female figure with the most surviving fragments, MT 476, was partially reconstructed by Pilafidis-Williams and chemically tested during her study. The NAA results indicate that the figure was made of local, Aeginetan clay.[991] She compared another of the well-preserved figure pieces, MT 557, to the large-scale figure recovered on Mt. Oros during G. Welter's excavations. She suggested that the stylistic similarities between the two figures point to a relationship between the two cult centers as well as possible common manufacture in a single workshop.[992]

Future study will hopefully test and expand upon her ideas, but, in the meantime, it is interesting to point out that the locally made female figure (MT 476) and figurines show considerable range in style and date. The figure dates to LH IIIA2-B as does a large-size early Psi figurine (MT 82, LH IIIA2) and the chariot described above (MT 435). The other local figurines, a Phi B (MT 40) and Late Psi (MT 151) date to LH IIIC. None of the figures or figurines that are contemporary with one another show any macroscopic affinities in clay composition, morphology, or decoration. Does this suggest five distinct local workshops (some of which would have been contemporary with one another and possibly in competition)? Or two workshops (one for the palatial period and another for the postpalatial) where different clay mixes were utilized by artisans over the lifetime of the workshops or for different types of figurines? Or could these all have been made at one unusually long-lived workshop somewhere on the island that mined its clay from more than one bed?

Manufacturing conundrums aside, I do believe that the locally made figure is better evidence than the Kourotrophoi for local cult practice at the site during the Mycenaean period. This does not necessarily mean that the *entire* hill of Aphaia was devoted to worship, however. Most cult places seem to have been integrated into multifunctional complexes, especially in the palatial period.[993]

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[987] At Petsas House, too, there are two isolated bovine horn fragments that likely belonged to the same figurine (but found at different levels of the well in Room Π) that have painted red slip on the breaks. More of the horns survive, but not the head. They must also be instances of repair during manufacture since the paint is fired on. The two fragments are SFs (77a) 06/16535 and (87b) 06/16538.

[988] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 77-82.

[989] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 140-142.

[990] MTs 476, 480, and 557, I believe, can be securely identified as belonging to female figures.

[991] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 80 and 166-169, Pls. 5, 57-60.

[992] Pilafidis-Williams 1995: 234 (with further references); 1998: 80.

[993] For example, the sanctuary at Agios Konstantinos on Methana (see below), the Cult Center at Mycenae (French 1981, 1985; Wardle 2003; French & Taylour 2007), the rooms in the lower citadel at Tiryns (Kilian 1981; Vetters 2015*a*, 2016), and the storage contexts of some figures and figurines at Midea (Demakopoulou & Divari-Valakou 2009).

VII.1.7 RETHINKING THE SANCTUARY OF APHAIA IN THE BRONZE AGE

If we revisit Pilafidis-Williams' interpretation of the site, we may then begin to nuance it in light of the observations presented above. She described the site as an "open-air hill sanctuary," which she believed was consistent with the character of the deity worshiped there, a "nature-loving goddess," because it was situated away from any settlement, on an isolated hill in the forest.[994] She surmised that the worshipers who visited the sanctuary belonged to multiple social classes and left gifts for the deity. Terracotta figurines were individual offerings available and affordable to members of any social class whereas large-scale figures and more precious items (like jewelry, seals, etc.) were left by people in the upper echelons of local society.[995] The "staggering number" of figurines at the Aphaia Sanctuary, in her view, showed that it could be understood as a "popular, communal cult" with at least one of the large-scale figures serving as cult image.[996] The nature of the deity, a goddess connected to nature, childcare, and fertility, would have attracted a large following that included local and extra-local constituents.[997] Pilafidis-Williams likened the cult of Aphaia to religious traditions practiced in modern Greece where locals make a pilgrimage to a mountaintop church once or twice a year. The events are attended by rich and poor alike, some make their way uphill on foot, others by mule or truck. Today, participants sometimes spend the night in that location and she suggests the same was done in antiquity. People might even have stayed for a few days and feasted as part of their ritual performance. During other times of the year, local caretakers were responsible for maintaining the sanctuary.[998]

Both the remote location of the Aphaia Sanctuary and its religious importance in the historical era (beginning as early as the 7th century BC) are called upon as evidence in support of the identification of the site as a religious one in the Bronze Age. The later myths connecting the goddess Aphaia with Crete, fishermen, and virginity are expertly tied back to the earliest traces of activity on the hilltop (including very few Minoan sherds) as well as to the connotations of fertility, motherhood, and nature that are brought out by the Kourotrophos figurines during the Late Bronze Age.[999] While Pilafidis-Williams' arguments are innovative and alluring, they are difficult to substantiate based on the existing archaeological evidence. For instance, while it is true that no Bronze Age architecture was identified on the site during excavation, it is not possible to know what lies beneath the Early Classical temple. Considering the scale of the earthworks and construction campaigns in the Archaic and Classical periods, moreover, it is highly unlikely that any Late Helladic architecture could have survived on the rocky peak of the hill. The fact that most Bronze Age and Geometric artifacts derived from fissures in the bedrock can be explained as displacement caused by the large-scale building projects because fragments in those cracks join with pieces outside of them.[1000] More than this, to my knowledge, no systematic survey of the Aphaia hill or its immediate surroundings has been carried out or documented. It is possible, then, that there *are* settlement remains or tombs in the vicinity that have not been recognized yet. Parallels for the Aphaia Sanctuary in the Bronze Age, such as Apollo Maleatas, Agios Konstantinos, or even nearby Mt. Oros *do* have architectural remains on or close to the hilltops they occupied (see more below). Its "remote" location, then, may just be an archaeological illusion.

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994 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 147-153.

995 Or could have been left by an organized group/community. Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 147-153.

996 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 77-80, 127, 140-141, 152.

997 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 152.

998 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 153.

999 Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 142-145.

1000 It is not impossible that some are "foundation deposits" of sorts made in the Archaic period during construction projects during which they gathered up bits of figurines and pottery from earlier periods, but this would be hard to prove. Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 125, 149, and 162-165.

Establishing the "nature of the deity" based on this "remote" location and the presence of so many terracotta figurines is also problematic. In the first place, we do not know that the Mycenaeans treated "nature" as a conceptual space distinct from their habitation space.[1001] Besides the major center at Kolonna, was there anywhere on the island of Aegina that could not also be described as situated in a natural or remote landscape based on present evidence?[1002] The terms 'nature' and 'remote' are perhaps too subjective to employ at present. Regarding the deity's supposed connection to fertility and childcare as evidenced through the specially commissioned Kourotrophos figurines, can we really say that ten figurines – most of which, if not all, were manufactured in the Argolid – represent the most essential aspect of this local Aeginetan deity? Another problem with this interpretation is that fertility seems to be the favorite interpretation of *all* clay figurines in the prehistoric and early historic periods in southeastern Europe (see Ch. II.2-4). Every type of figurine described above (female, bovine, Kourotrophos, driven ox, etc.) has at some point been linked to fertility in scholarship. The many different types of terracotta figurines from the Aphaia temple that date to the Archaic period have *also* been interpreted as votives dedicated by the faithful in order to ensure fertility for themselves, their animals, and the landscape.[1003] Linking so many different types to one archetypal concept reduces the creativity, complexity, and agency of ancient individuals and communities and it more closely reflects twentieth-century, Judeo-Christian societal norms.[1004] In the 1990s, Tringham & Conkey (and other feminist archaeologists) called for a problematization of the concept of fertility in connection with ancient social practice (see above, Ch. II.4) and we have yet to do a better job of this in the Aegean.[1005]

Pilafidis-Williams' interpretation of the figurines as votives left by worshipers is possible, but cannot be proved based on contextual clues or on the existing body of knowledge about Mycenaean religious practice. The very act of dedication and the existence of 'votives' are not without question in Mycenaean Greece. The Linear B tablets include the names of several deities as well as places and occasions in their honor, but not much beyond that is known. The work of E. French and I. Tzonou, moreover, has made it abundantly clear that figurines are found in *many* contexts, not just "sacred" ones (see Ch. II.3-4).[1006] The lack of any trace of original context(s) at the Aphaia Sanctuary make it impossible to determine the terracottas' role as 'votives' or not. I do agree with Pilafidis-Williams' point that terracotta figurines were accessible to any sector of the population, however. One of the goals of this project has been to begin decoding representations of status through common artifacts, in this case figurines. The quantity and variety of types of terracottas in the Aphaia assemblage supports the notion that many people were responsible for the accumulation of these goods – whether in a ritual way or not. The chemical analyses show that these people had access to at least two distinct ceramic workshops – one at a considerable distance from the sanctuary (Mycenae-Berbati area) and

[1001] More evidence for a conceptual distinction between 'nature' and 'town/habitation' comes from the Minoan world (according to *most* interpretations of the Minoan iconographic record). The literature on that topic is immense, but see the following (with further references): Rutkowski 1986; Marinatos 1993: 112-126, 193-200; Younger & Rehak 2008; Lupack 2010; Taiz & Taiz 2017.

[1002] There is evidence for a port/settlement at nearby Agia Marina as well as a settlement further south at Lazarides. None are comparable in scale to Kolonna. Salavoura 2014: 67; 77-87 (with further references).

[1003] Spathi 2022.

[1004] The very same that were reflected in the nineteenth-century scholarship discussed above in Ch. II: male-female sex and gender bipolarity, the primary association of females with reproduction and fertility, the conflation of anatomical sex with gender, etc. Tringham & Conkey 1998: 25-26, 36. Aegean scholars have linked bovine figures and figurines (including combination figurines) with the male sex as well as male fertility and the fertility of the earth. Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 140-141; Shelton 2009b; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a, 2016b.

[1005] Tringham & Conkey 1998: 25-26, 36 (with additional bibliography).

[1006] French 1971; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 2009, and 2010. Pilafidis-Williams acknowledges this, to be sure, but ultimately deduces that the site is a religious one based primarily on the presence of the figurines (1998: 121-134).

the other closer to the site itself on Aegina. This number of workshops is probably to be increased significantly considering the lifespan of the sanctuary, approximately 170-200 years.[1007] Multiple suppliers over such a long period of time could have (should have?) resulted in an even wider variety of types in the Aphaia deposit, especially among the female figurines, but we have seen that there is a conservative streak to the collection. If we remove the problem of 'identifying the deity' and focus instead on what the finds reflect/refract about the identities of the people who acquired them and brought them to this location, what further insight might we gain?

The chemical and stylistic analyses of the Mycenaean figurines from the Aphaia Sanctuary go a long way toward providing some of that insight. To summarize the information presented above, thirty terracotta figurines were sampled with Neutron Activation Analysis during Pilafidis-Williams' study. Twenty-four of those figurines were of Argive provenience while four were locally manufactured.[1008] A fragment of a large-scale, coil-made figure, MT 476, was also sampled and proved to be made of local clay. In addition to terracottas, twenty-three fragments of Bronze Age pottery were sampled. The majority of the sherds too, seventeen pieces, were of Argive origin.[1009] As was the case for the figurines, the Argive sherds showed considerable variety of type: flasks, Vapheio cups, kylikes, deep bowls, a handmade jug, and even a zoomorphic rhyton. The only vessel with secure results indicating local manufacture was a conical cup. Stylistic autopsy of the assemblage suggests that many, many more of the figurines (and vessels) originated in the Argolid.[1010] Pilafidis-Williams described the Argive figurines and vessels as "imports" to the sanctuary, but did not delve deeper into the mechanics of how or why they were "imported."[1011] One possibility is that Aeginetans were acquiring these "imports" from locally based merchants or traveling peddlers and subsequently carrying them up to the "hill sanctuary" on select occasions. Since none of the specialized types of figurines in the 'other' or 'Kourotrophos' categories and none of the more standard bovine and female figurines could be grouped in ways that might securely suggest common manufacture (beyond NAA results), we can hypothesize a more piecemeal accumulation of the collection than what we saw in the grave assemblages at Mycenae.[1012] In this scenario, do the Argive figurines evidence a level of conspicuous display where people of means could afford votive gifts that were brought in from the "big city" (i.e. Mycenae)? Would the average worshiper/visitor/consumer have even been able to tell the difference between a chariot figurine constructed in the Argolid vs. Aegina? Or is it better to assume the "pots=people" model and interpret the figurines as votives or commodities brought in by Argive visitors or settlers throughout the palatial period?

Both figurines and sherds have more stories to tell, and more comparisons can be drawn between the two object classes and their corresponding chemical results. Since the figurines and sherds from the collection are not in complete enough condition to put on display in a museum, moreover, a case could (and should) be made for further scientific testing.[1013] How the figurines factor into the already quite ancient and robust Aeginetan ceramic system(s) is an important question. Commercial and craft activities at Kolonna, on the island's northwest coast, began in the Late Neolithic period and

[1007] LH IIIA2-B2/C Early. See Manning 2010: 11-28, especially Table 2.2. This time period might expand or contract depending on refined chronologies in the future. There is much still to learn about LH IIIC figurines in particular.

[1008] The other two had two different outcomes: one had an uncertain provenience (the Phi triad, MT 169, see above), the other had an Attic origin (MT 471). As noted above, however, I believe this last should be redated to the Archaic period.

[1009] One was local, two probably local, and three uncertain. Two of these (one probably local and one uncertain) dated to the Middle Bronze Age. See Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 166-170.

[1010] The vessel fragments were not part of the study I conducted in October 2022.

[1011] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 152 and 167.

[1012] This idea could stand to be further investigated in a renewed study of the figurines (and vessels).

[1013] A combination of NAA and petrography (as was done on a selection of sherds from Pylos [Galaty 1999 and 2007]) would considerably expand the results of the original study by Pilafidis-Williams & Hughes as well as this short pilot study (Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 166-170).

Argive pottery was brought in at least by the Early Bronze Age.[1014] By LH IIIA, however, Kolonna's prominent social and commercial role on the island (and in the Saronic) experienced decline, but not demise.[1015] Not only did Argive imports continue into the palatial period, but the construction in LH IIIA of a large ceramic kiln inside the remains of an Early Mycenaean "mansion" testify to shifting social dynamics and a reorientation of local craft traditions.[1016] Sporadic postpalatial ceramic finds evince some level of activity at Kolonna and elsewhere on the island, but this period is not particularly well understood.[1017] In any case, throughout Aegina's long history of specialized ceramic production and participation in far-reaching exchange networks, terracotta figurines do not seem to have been an integral part of local consumption or production practices.[1018] It was only in LH IIIA with the rise of palatial centers in the Argolid that terracotta figurines became part of the consumption (i.e. social) practices of the local population. The greatly increased demand for terracottas at sites like the Aphaia Sanctuary in LH III reflects those shifting social (and power) dynamics on the island during the palatial period.

A fruitful avenue of study in figurine consumption practices on Aegina could be pursued by more closely comparing the Aphaia figurines (and vessels) with those from the settlement and cemetery at Lazarides on Aegina. Like the Aphaia Sanctuary, the settlement at Lazarides showed signs of earlier habitation and trade activity during the Early Mycenaean period, but it really developed in LH IIIA2.[1019] Unlike the Aphaia Sanctuary, however, the sherds and figurines from this period are made of predominantly local clay.[1020] Like Kolonna, moreover, copious amounts of locally produced ceramics suggest that Lazarides served as a node of connection in the exchange systems between the island and the northeast Peloponnese (and beyond) before, during, and possibly after the palatial period.[1021] In terms of the figurines, almost all of the examples from both the settlement and the nearby cemetery are "of good quality" and made of local clay.[1022] N. Polychronakou-Sgouritsa states that "some of them have peculiar features, for example the formation of the hands and the atypical form of the polos or, rather, what seem to be probably crowns, done in open work instead of the closed variety."[1023] She goes on to say that in comparison to the many figurines discovered at the Aphaia Sanctuary, the terracottas from Lazarides "remain stylistically isolated finds on the island."[1024] There is indication of both distinct type preferences and manufacturing traits between the figurines in the settlement and the cemetery.[1025] The assemblage that stands out most at Lazarides is the group of sixteen LH IIIA2 female figurines from Tomb A, which exhibits the *exact* same range of types (Phi B, Psi, Transitional Kourotrophos) as was being produced at Petsas House and deposited in funerary

[1014] As have imports from the Cyclades and other regions. Gauss 2007: 163; Gauss & Kiriatzi 2011: 242, 248–250; Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2015: 325 (with further references).
[1015] Fortification walls were still active as was the nearby chamber tomb cemetery on "Windmill Hill." Gauss 2010: 746.
[1016] Gauss 2010: 746.
[1017] At Kolonna, this is especially due to historical-era overbuilding. Gauss 2010: 747; Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2015: 326 (with additional bibliography).
[1018] A few Minoan-style figurines have been found at Kolonna and in graves on the island. They show that figurines were occasionally imported during the Middle and early Late Bronze Ages from Crete (with which Kolonna maintained strong contacts, especially during the Middle Bronze Age. Gauss 2010: 745). During this time on the mainland, however, the production/presence of clay figurines in archaeological sites is not attested. Vetters 2016: 38.
[1019] Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2015: 327.
[1020] Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2015: 327-328.
[1021] With imports almost exclusively from the Argolid during the palatial period. Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2015: 328.
[1022] Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2015: 329.
[1023] Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2015: 329-330, see especially Fig.9.
[1024] She also compares some of the figurines from tombs at Lazarides with the female figurine from the infant burial in Room C at Agios Konstantinos (see Ch. VII.2 with references). Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2015: 330. Another similar one (unpublished) comes from the cemetery on the "Windmill Hill" near Kolonna.
[1025] Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2019: 65.

assemblages at Mycenae.[1026] The Tomb A assemblage from Lazarides not only corroborates the depositional (and social) patterns noted in Ch. VI, but the local fabric of which they were constructed and their aesthetic uniformity betray the work of an Aeginetan (specialized) workshop.[1027] All of these can now be compared on stylistic grounds to the contemporary terracottas at Petsas House *and* they can be differentiated both contextually and stylistically from the figurines in the Aphaia collection. An in-depth analysis of these terracottas, their clay compositions, and their consumption (micro-)contexts will provide an important comparative (or contrastive) data set for the Aphaia figurines and will certainly yield nuanced insight into local practices during the changing commercial and social dynamics that characterize LH III.

VII.2: THE SANCTUARY AT AGIOS KONSTANTINOS

BACKGROUND

Not far from the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina, on the nearby Methana Peninsula, is another sanctuary site located on a hilltop with impressive views of the mainland littoral and the neighboring island of Poros (ancient Kalaureia).[1028] The Mycenaean site occupies the highest terrace of a hill along the eastern coast of the peninsula (approximately 1.5 km northeast of the modern port).[1029] It is referred to as "Agios Konstantinos" in scholarly literature because the remains underlie and surround a small modern church dedicated to Agios Konstantinos and Agia Eleni.[1030] The Bronze Age remains, in fact, were discovered when the local priest applied for permission to extend the modern church westward.[1031] Work on the new pronaos had scarcely begun when, approximately ten centimeters below the surface, laborers encountered quantities of Mycenaean figurines and sherds.[1032] Consequent excavation of this site was carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service under the direction of E. Konsolaki between 1990-2000 during which time a sizable architectural complex and megaron structure were brought to light.[1033]

The site of Agios Konstantinos is generally interpreted as a mid-sized Mycenaean settlement within which operated a religious center.[1034] A series of three small rooms, Rooms A-C, immediately adjacent to the west end of the modern church, seem to have comprised the religious heart of the settlement (see **FIGURE 48** for a plan of the site).[1035] Each of the sanctuary's three rooms was distinct in content and character, but the primary focal point of cultic activity seems to have been Room A.

[1026] There are Psi and Transitional Kourotrophos figurines in Tomb A that wear a shorter version of the "basket polos" shown on Petsas House SF (43) 13/02119 (Ch. IV.5, **FIGURE 17**). The range of figurines in this tomb can be directly compared not only to the Petsas manufacturing assemblage, but also to those in the consumption assemblage represented by Tsountas' T80 (Ch. VI.2.2, **FIGURES 35** and **36**). Of further interest, the three "built chamber tombs" at Lazarides (the other two each yielded one figurine) were all built in LH IIIA2 and are completely distinct from other tombs so far discovered on the island. Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2009: 624-625, 628, see especially Fig. 10.

[1027] Fragments of combination figurines, driven ox and chariot, were also found in the cemetery. Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2009: 628, Fig. 10; 2019: 65.

[1028] Konsolaki 2002: 25.

[1029] Konsolaki 1995: 242; 2016a: 49 (with further references).

[1030] The church was built sometime after 1950, but might have replaced an earlier one on site because tile-graves and architectural remains of the Early Byzantine period were discovered west of it. Konsolaki 1995: 242; 1996: 71; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a: 49, Pl. XVIIa.

[1031] Konsolaki 1996: 71; 2002: 25, note 2.

[1032] Konsolaki 1996: 71; 2002: 27.

[1033] Excavation by the Greek Archaeological Service on behalf of the 2nd Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities. Konsolaki 1996: 2002: 25, note 2; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a: 49.

[1034] Konsolaki 1995: 242; 2002: 26.

[1035] Konsolaki 1995: 242; Konsolaki--Yannopoulou 2016a: 49 (with further references).

The unusual architecture and the large quantity of terracotta figurines (and other "ritual artifacts") discovered in that room set it apart from the rest of the sanctuary and qualify it as a Mycenaean "bench shrine" (see more below).[1036] Room B, immediately to its north, had a hearth set into its northwest corner. Near that hearth, the discovery of a tripod cauldron led the excavator to conclude that Room B's primary function was the preparation of ritual meals that would have been consumed outside the building, possibly in an open area now under the modern church.[1037] Moving slightly north again, Room C had two separate entrances with stone thresholds as well as a stone-paved floor. That paving was disturbed in the south end of the room where a pit had been dug out and re-filled with earth.[1038] Inside the pit, a stone-lined cist-grave contained an intact infant burial along with remains of earlier interments of infants.[1039] Two female figurines were associated with the burial (a Phi A type beneath the skeletal remains and an early Psi above them) as well as two bronze rings and several beads of various materials (glass, steatite, serpentine, fluorite, carnelian, gold).[1040] Konsolaki dated the cist to LH IIIA2-IIIB1, making it contemporary with the use of Room A (see below). She even suggested that the grave was purposely created to contain ritual interments of infants in an effort to protect them by proximity to the shrine in Room A and perhaps even to exorcise from them the maladies that had caused their early deaths.[1041]

Since the remains of this sanctuary and the rest of the settlement's structures were found directly beneath the modern ground surface and since most rooms still retained their contents in minimally disturbed floor deposits, Konsolaki suggested that the site was destroyed suddenly (probably at the very beginning of the postpalatial period) and abandoned immediately afterwards.[1042]

[1036] Konsolaki 1995: 242; 2002: 27 with further references regarding the characterization of Mycenaean bench shrines in the Aegean.
[1037] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 68. I assume her interpretation of "ritual meal" is based more on this room's proximity to Room A (as well as the infant burials in Room C). Can't all meals be considered ritual?
[1038] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 68-69.
[1039] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003b; 2004: 69.
[1040] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003b: 259-262, Figs. 9 & 10 for the female terracotta figurines; 2004: 68-69.
[1041] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004: 69.
[1042] Konsolaki 2002: 32.

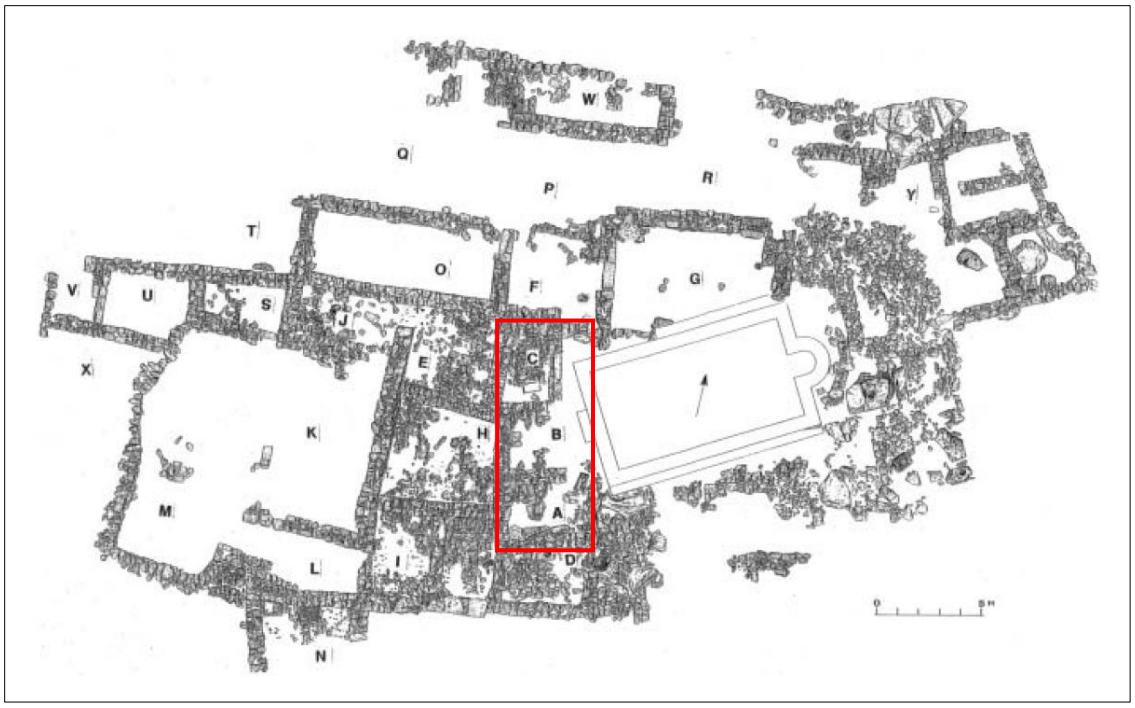


FIGURE 48: Plan of the Shrine at Agios Konstantinos, Methana. LH III Architectural complex with outline of modern church at center. The main sanctuary rooms are labeled A, B, and C and are set off by the red box (after Hamilakis & Konsolaki 2004: 138, Fig. 2). See also Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a: Pl. XV II for a high-quality aerial photograph of the site.

VII.2.1 ROOM A

While each room in the sanctuary at Agios Konstantinos is worthy of deeper analysis and discussion, this section focuses on Room A and its collection of terracotta figurines. Although not impressive in terms of its overall size, measuring only 4.30m by 2.60m., Room A's built features and material finds qualify it as one of the most impressive LBA structures in the Argo-Saronic.[1043] Access to the room at ground level would have been achieved through a doorway on its east side. Immediately left of the entrance, a small hearth was tucked into the southeast corner of the room. Ash and burnt animal bones filled the hearth and lying beside it was equipment for food preparation (a stone saddle quern and spit stand). Terracotta cooking wares were found in close proximity to the hearth as well. These traces led the excavator to the conclusion that the hearth had been used both for cooking meals and for making animal sacrifices.[1044] Opposite the entrance and nestled into the northwest corner of the room, Konsolaki's team discovered a built-in, three-stepped bench. The bench was built of rubble masonry, but finished with upright slabs around its eastern and southern sides (the other two sides would not have been visible because they abutted the room's northern and western walls).[1045] The terracotta figurines from Room A were found either on the steps of this bench or in its immediate vicinity, indicating that they had been set up and displayed upon it originally (see below for further

[1043] The northeast corner of the room had been previously destroyed by a large pit that had been dug presumably when the modern church was constructed. Konsolaki 2002: 27.
[1044] Konsolaki 2002: 28-29 and Fig. 6. Konsolaki also notes that more animal bones, food residues, and many limpet shells were found scattered throughout the room. For a fuller analysis of the animal remains, see Hamilakis & Konsolaki 2004.
[1045] Konsolaki 2002: 27 and Figs. 2-5.

discussion of the figurines).[1046] A long, low platform made of stone slabs ran along the south wall (and possibly the western wall, originally) opposite the stepped bench.[1047] In a central zone between this long platform and the stepped bench, another pavement of stone slabs formed a low dais.[1048] Surrounding this feature, the rest of the floor was composed of beaten earth and pebbles lying directly over the natural bedrock (that had been intentionally leveled).[1049] Tiny though Room A was, every inch of it was packed with custom-built features.

The artifacts recovered in and around the architectural installations in Room A were equally impressive. According to Konsolaki, the finds span a period of about 200 years, from LH IIIA-B (like the Aphaia collection).[1050] The majority of the ceramic evidence – sherds and figurines – dates to LH IIIB and indicates that the room went out of use near the end of LH IIIB2.[1051] "Cultic paraphernalia" in the southwest corner of the room included the upper part of a large jar with the neck angled in such a way that it could have been used for libations in that corner of the room.[1052] Near to it were additional vessels that suggested libation practices: a dipper, a two-handled cup, an alabastron, a zoomorphic rhyton, and a fragment of a conical rhyton with octopus decoration.[1053] Additional finds from this floor deposit included two steatite sealstones with figural representations of goats as well as a steatite bead and conulus.[1054] Opposite this important assemblage, on or near the three-stepped bench in the northwest corner of Room A were found many terracotta figurines (see below), vessels, and a worked triton shell.[1055] The vessels included eight kylikes (mostly undecorated), a deep bowl, a rounded alabastron, a miniature flask, and a miniature dipper.[1056] The limited space of the stepped bench might not have been enough to hold all of the figurines, vessels, and large shell, in fact, which led Konsolaki to propose the existence of wooden shelves or wall niches above the bench for additional storage.[1057]

VII.2.2 THE TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

By far the most numerous type of artifact recovered from Room A in the area of the stepped bench was terracotta figurines. The assemblage included approximately 150 figurines, about 100 of which were bovids ranging in style and date from early naturalistic types to the standardized palatial types.[1058] The remaining figurines were specialized types, mostly combinations of humans and animals (ridden and driven bovids and equids). These types are summarized in **TABLE 10**, below.

[1046] Konsolaki 2002: 27 (with further references for comparanda of stepped altar/bench constructions in the Minoan and Mycenaean worlds).
[1047] Konsolaki 2002: 28 and Fig. 5.
[1048] This is compared to a similar feature in the "temple" at Mycenae. Konsolaki 2002: 28 and Fig. 5 (with references).
[1049] Konsolaki 2002: 28 and Fig. 5.
[1050] A date as early as LH IIIA1 is suggested for a few of the finds, like the animal-head rhyton (decorated with stipple, FM 77) and some naturalistic-style bovine figurines. Konsolaki 2002: 32.
[1051] Although a small amount of LH IIIC Early pottery was found in places in the settlement. Konsolaki 2002: 32.
[1052] Konsolaki 2002: 29 and Fig. 7.
[1053] See Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2001; 2002: 29, Fig. 8.
[1054] Konsolaki 2002: 32.
[1055] The triton shell was broken, but seems to have been worked at the apex. Konsolaki suggests it was used as a musical instrument, but concedes that its use for libation is also possible. Konsolaki 1996: 72; 2002: 31-32 (with further comparanda and references), Fig.9; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a: 55.
[1056] Konsolaki 1996: 72; 2002: 31.
[1057] Konsolaki 1996: 72; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a: 49.
[1058] Konsolaki 1996: 72; 2002: 31; Konsolaki--Yannopoulou 2003a: 376, 385; 2016a: 49. To my knowledge, no monograph with a full catalogue of these finds has been published. The counts of the terracottas, therefore, are approximate and are based on Konsolaki's various articles and chapters which highlight selections of the figurines (usually the most specialized and impressive examples of combination figurines).

TABLE 10: Terracotta Figurines at the Sanctuary of Agios Konstantinos. All date to LH IIIA-B. (After Konsolaki 2003a: 376 and 385).

	Type of figurine	Quantity of fragments
1	Bovine, all types*****	ca. 100
2	Combination, Driven Oxen	17
3	Combination, Chariot	10
4	Combination, (Male) Riders on Horses	5
5	Combination, Bull-Leapers/Wranglers	3
6	Combination, Tripod tables with applied animals******	2
7	Furniture, 3-legged Throne B	2
8	Animal, Horse	2
9	Animal, Unknown	1
10	Animal, Bird*******	1
11	Furniture, 3-legged Table	1
12	Female, Hollow Psi	1
13	Other, Boat	1
	TOTAL FIGURINES	**146**

***** The existing publications do not break this category down any further into specific quantities of the standardized types (Linear 1, Linear 2, Spine 1, Spine 2, etc.); see more below.
****** These two are included in the figurine count, but the tripod tables themselves are quite large (though still handmade). The applied animals are small-average figurine size, however.
*******This "figurine" is hollow and could also have been a zoomorphic rhyton.

Beginning, as before, at the categorical level, it is immediately clear that the major categories of terracottas present in this assemblage do not quite align with the Petsas and Aphaia collections. Whereas bovine and combination figurines are well represented at Agios Konstantinos, **TABLE 10** shows that there are almost no female figurines at all. A single female Hollow Psi (LH IIIB) accompanies the bovids and 'others' from Room A.[1059] Both the Petsas House and Aphaia assemblages, in contrast, were dominated by standardized female figurine types. The reigning category of bovids at Agios Konstantinos makes up nearly 70% of the assemblage while 'other' types comprise the remaining 30% (the lone female figurine represents less than 1%, see **FIGURE 49**).

[1059] Konsolaki 1996: 72; 2002: 31; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 381, Fig. 23; 2016a: 54 (note 37) and Pl. XXIb. There are, however, a few additional female figurines from other rooms. Just north of Room A, in Room C, two female figurines were associated with the infant burials in the cist grave (see above). A female Proto-Phi type was found in Room G (refer to plan in **Figure 48**) and two fragmentary Psis and a bare head were recovered from Area F.

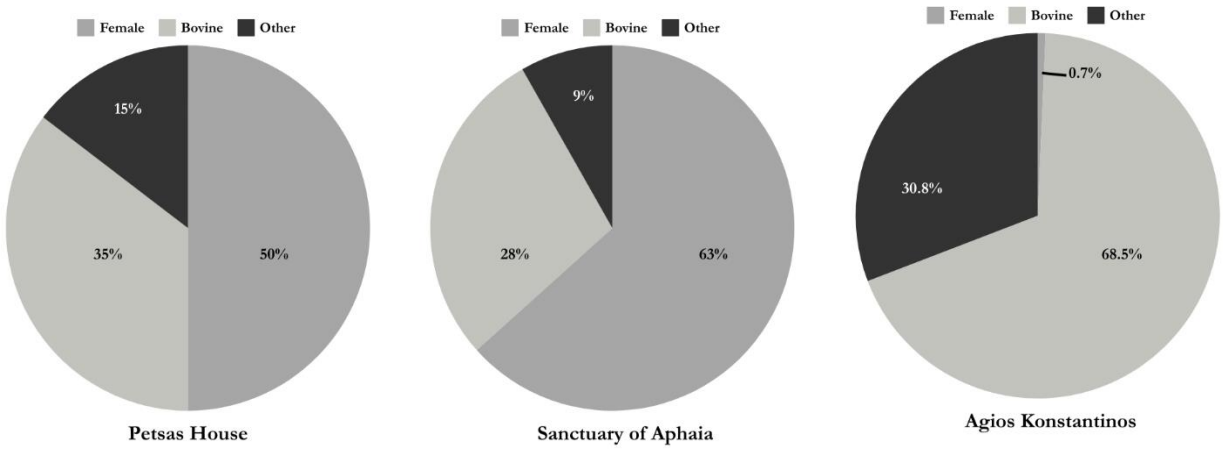


FIGURE 49: Comparison of Figurine Categories Between Petsas House, the Sanctuary of Aphaia, and Agios Konstantinos. In these pie charts, I have grouped together the separate types of female, bovine, and combination figurines to provide a high-level overview of the figurine assemblages from all three sites.

Even though there are only two real categories of terracottas represented at Agios Konstantinos, bovine and 'other,' there are still many distinct types within each. Based upon the published data, **Table 10** shows thirteen figurine types out of 146 total pieces. This number is inexact, however, since the bovine figurine types are not differentiated in existing publications.[1060] The total number of types should be at least eighteen when the bovids are broken down typologically: Wavy 2, Linear 1, Linear 2, Spine 1, Spine 2, and Ladder.[1061] Eighteen different types out of 146 individual figurines can be compared to the twenty-two distinct types in the 535-piece collection at the Sanctuary of Aphaia and twenty-five types out of ca. 1,100 terracottas at Petsas House (see Ch. IV.3). This means that, although categorically deficient, the Agios Konstantinos collection is typologically rich – in bovids, but especially in 'other' types.

VII.2.3 "OTHER" TYPES OF FIGURINES

If, for the moment, we put aside the standard bovine figurines, we are left with twelve distinct 'other' types from Room A at Agios Konstantinos. By way of comparison there are six 'other' types at the Aphaia Sanctuary and thirteen at Petsas House. Relative to the size of each collection, then, the twelve 'other' types at Agios Konstantinos represent an astonishing array of diversity, especially considering they are from one discrete context. The types common to all three sites include chariots, driven oxen, bull leapers/wranglers, thrones (type B), boats, and fragments of 'other' animals (unidentifiable in some cases, but also horses not attached to chariots). The superior quantity, quality, and state of preservation of these types at Agios Konstantinos allows for direct comparative analysis between the specialized types from this site and other sites as well as for internal analysis between specific pieces in this assemblage.

[1060] Specific bovine types (such as Linear or Spine) are *mentioned*, but no exact counts are published yet, to my knowledge.
[1061] I base this on personal observation of the bovine figurines from Agios Konstantinos currently on display in the Poros Archaeological Museum and the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus. Several examples of Wavy 2, Linear 1, Linear 2, Spine 1, Spine 2, and Ladder types are represented in those displayed.

The three bull leapers/wranglers (called bull-and-taureador groups by Konsolaki) at Agios Konstantinos perhaps best exemplify the rare quality of this assemblage.[1062] Two of them are quite similar to the Petsas House example pictured above in **FIGURES 22** and **45** (SF (65) 08/02056).[1063] Each of these includes a rider/wrangler applied directly to the back of the bovid's head with the arms grasping the horns and legs straddling the animal's shoulders. In each of these combinations, the bovid is a typical Linear 1 bovid with differentiated decorative panels across the top of the head/horns. The third bull leaper/wrangler figurine, however, stands out from the others in both size and composition.[1064] The bovid is large in size, hollow, and decorated in Wavy 2 style with horizontal bars on the legs and horns. The rider/wrangler, assumed to be male based on the absence of breasts, is attached to the bovid's head at the *lower* body. The figure's upper body rises above the animal's head with arms stretched wide to grasp the horns.[1065] Since the fragments of this figure were recovered in the destruction layer overlying Room A, Konsolaki suggested that it topped the bench feature in Room A and served as cult image.[1066] The figure is morphologically and stylistically similar to a hollow bovine figure from Tholos Tomb 1 at Megali Magoula (Troezen).[1067] That figure, along with others from the same tomb speak further to the clear local preference for bovids, particularly hollow bovids in LH III, in a range of sizes, and often with well-shaped horns and other naturalistic features.[1068] In her interpretations of the tomb deposits and the 'shrine' in Room A, Konsolaki draws a sharp contrast between the two assemblages. Whereas the bovids from the tholos tomb evince their inclusion in elite burial practices, in her view, those in Room A demonstrate their use in popular cult.[1069] Although the religious or social significance of the bovids is not fully known, their occurrence in both the monumental tomb(s) and the settlement on Methana (in their solid, hollow, singular, and combination varieties) does suggest a common thread of meaning running through the social activities practiced at both sites.

Chariot figurines, too, are particularly impressive at Agios Konstantinos. Most of the ten examples comprise two-horse chariots with two or more passengers and exhibit a similar range of decorative schemes as described for those from the Sanctuary of Aphaia. In fact, at least one of the two-horse chariots from Agios Konstantinos (Piraeus Museum 5480) is similar enough in form, finish,

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[1062] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a: 50.

[1063] Piraeus Museum 5492 and 5523 (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 377, Figs. 10-11; 2016a: 50, Pl. XVIIIa), both currently on display in the Archaeological Museum of Poros.

[1064] Piraeus Museum 5493. Konsolaki 2002: 34-35, Fig. 13; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 377-378, Fig. 12; 2016a: 50 (Pl. XVIIIb).

[1065] Konsolaki 2002: 34-35, Fig. 13; Konsolaki--Yannopoulou 2003a: 377-378, Fig. 12; 2016a: 50 (Pl. XVIIIb).

[1066] Konsolaki 2002: 34-35.

[1067] Poros Museum 2445. See, Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016c: 160, Fig. 10.6.

[1068] The two hollow bovids mentioned below, Piraeus Museum 5514 and 5515, are further examples of this marked preference. Both of these, moreover, are made of reddish clay with red slip, in contrast to most of the other figurines from Room A which have a buff finish with dark red or brown slipped decoration. Perhaps this is a local clay? A solid-torso Wavy 2 bovine figurine displayed immediately to their left (from the viewer's vantage point) in the Piraeus Archaeological Museum (museum number not found in published works) is *very* comparable to the solid-torso bovid in Tholos 1 at Megali Magoula too (buff clay in both cases). The stylistic similarities between some of the bovids could signal the existence of a local workshop in the nearby settlement of Magoula Galatas during LH IIIA from which (at least some of) the tomb figurines and some from Agios Konstantinos could have originated. See Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016b for a discussion of the early worship of Poseidon in the area of Troezen (including Methana and Poros); the Bronze Age precursor of Poseidon, in her view, is the deity whose attributes are reflected in the figurine preferences at Agios Konstantinos and elsewhere in the region. There are stylistic comparanda for these figurines at Mycenae and Prosymna, of course, but they tend not to occur in such concentrations. Still, having NAA data for the Methana and Troezen figurines could pave the way for deeper studies of these types, their manufacture, and their distribution in the future.

[1069] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016c: 166. She notes, however, that the cult in Room A must have been on the "official level" or included more than one social stratum given the range of figurine types present.

and decoration to MT 434 from the Sanctuary of Aphaia and NAM 2262 from Mycenae to suggest common manufacture for all three.[1070] The Aphaia chariot (MT 434) was among those tested chemically and proved to be of Argive origin. If these three figurines *were* made at one workshop, then, might we assume that some of the specialized figurines in Room A at Agios Konstantinos were also brought from the Argolid? Other chariots in the collection have stylistic parallels in the Argolid as well. A two-horse, two-passenger chariot from Agios Konstantinos (Piraeus Museum 5477) has a chariot box decorated with a floral motif used on pottery, FM 18, in similar fashion and date to the one mentioned above from the Sanctuary of Aphaia (MT 433) and its comparandum from Nauplion (NAM 3492).[1071] There is not enough data at present to prove local or extra-local production, but there are enough physical similarities between the chariot combinations present in this assemblage, especially the more elaborate ones, that suggest some of them could have been acquired from a common source during LH IIIA2-B1.[1072] Others, however, are not quite as painstakingly executed and could evidence other producers, production batches, or moments in time when they were acquired.[1073]

Driven oxen are the most numerous 'other' type in the Room A assemblage and, like the chariot figurines, show internal and external similarities. Each of the major types of bovine figurine is found in this combination: Linear 1, Spine 1, Linear 2, and Ladder and therefore represent a date range from LH IIIA2-B. The human drivers are, for the most part, bare-headed and attached directly to the backside of the animal while "hugging" the reins. At least one of the earlier examples from Agios Konstantinos very closely resembles one from Petsas House, crafted by the Group F artisan (BE #452, see Ch. IV.6, **FIGURE 29** [left], currently on display in the Mycenae Museum). It includes a bovine figurine in Spine 1 style with wide-set crescent horns and a well-shaped snout. The driver is decorated with horizontal stripes across the front and vertical lines down the back while the facial decoration is typical of other bare-headed (female) figurines.[1074] The execution of the decoration on the animal and on the driver is *very* close to the Petsas example and at least suggests a common date (LH IIIA2) if not an Argive provenience. Konsolaki compares the Agios Konstantinos example with another in the same assemblage that could easily have been made in the same workshop as the first.[1075] The same could be said of another two driven oxen identical in dimension and overall composition to the first, but with Linear 2 style animals.[1076] The Petsas House assemblage shows that the same artisans were making standard bovine figurines (and combinations) in more than one type, so it is quite possible that many of the driven oxen from Room A were acquired from a single source. Whether the Spine 1 and Linear 2 animals do indeed mark distinct moments in time or just exemplify different choices made at the same time is difficult to determine since the morphologies and general

[1070] These three were mentioned above in VII.1.4. Konsolaki also noted the similarity of the one from Agios Konstantinos and the one from Mycenae and proposed manufacture in a single workshop as well. See Konsolaki 2002: 33, Fig. 10; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 378-380, Figs.16-17. She also mentioned an unpublished figurine from elsewhere on the island of Aegina that is quite similar to these, but I was not able to find a record of it. For MT 434 from the Sanctuary of Aphaia, see Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 60 (cat. #494), Pl. 53.

[1071] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 378, Fig. 13.

[1072] See, in particular, Piraeus Museum 5477, 5486, and 5484. There is another that belongs to this group of "fancy" or very well-made chariots on display in the Poros Archaeological Museum (but I was not able to find a museum number for it in the existing publications). Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 378-380, Figs. 13-15.

[1073] For example, Piraeus Museum 5481 (on display in Poros) and 5482 (in Piraeus). Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 378-380, Figs. 18-19. Another on display in the Poros Museum (number not found in publications) is a one-horse, one-passenger chariot similar to Petsas House SF (244+) 03/16288.

[1074] I was unable to find a museum number for this figurine, but it is pictured in Konsolaki 2002: 34, Fig. 12 (left). It is currently on display in the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus.

[1075] Again, I was unable to find the museum number for this figurine, but it is pictured together with the previous in Konsolaki 2002: 34, Fig. 12 (right). It is currently on display in the Poros Archaeological Museum.

[1076] Piraeus Museum 5496 [in Piraeus] and 5500 [in Poros]. Their similarity was noted by Konsolaki and highlighted in 2003a: 381, Fig. 22.

compositions of each piece are so similar. An unusual example of a driven ox combination includes a Linear-style animal, but the driver wears a conical cap, has a fringe, and extends the arms out toward the animal's reins.[1077] Konsolaki suggested that it might have even held a staff or similar object in its right hand originally.

This unusual figurine (Piraeus Museum 5494) is distinct within the 'driven ox' type in the Agios Konstantinos assemblage, but it shares some stylistic traits with *another* type of combination figurine: the rider. Riders have not been discussed in detail so far in this project because they occur only rarely.[1078] At Agios Konstantinos, however, there are five "horseback riders" that are the best-preserved examples of this type so far known from the Mycenaean world.[1079] While Konsolaki classifies all five examples as riders on horses, I believe one animal is in fact a bovid.[1080] In every case, the human (presumably male) rider wears a conical cap (or helmet) and grasps the animal at its neck or head.[1081] For the most part, the lower bodies of the riders are not carefully modeled, but their abbreviated legs seem to indicate that they are straddling or possibly standing atop the horses' backs. The horses (and one bovid) are decorated in the usual motifs, Spine and Linear, but some of the horses are embellished with painted dots on their bodies as well. Even though each animal and each rider is unique in its morphology and decoration, four out of the five are visually unified by their similar dimensions, their homogenous clay finishes, and their painted slip color.[1082] These four share stylistic features with other combination figurines in the collection as well. For example, one of the ridden horses (Piraeus Museum 5490) is quite similar in shape and decoration to the horses in at least two of the chariot combinations (Piraeus Museum 5477 and 5486). One of them, Piraeus Museum 5477, even has the added painted dots on its body. I believe that the stylistic (and, by extension, chronological) connections between the combination figurines in this collection and the simple bovids, demand further attention in the future.

[1077] Piraeus Museum 5494. Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 380, Fig. 20.

[1078] There is one human (male?) rider figurine from Petsas House (BE #460) from the north end of Room Gamma, but the animal it sat upon does not seem to have been found during the excavation of Papadimitriou and Petsas in 1950 or since. It is not similar to the human riders at Agios Konstantinos because it does not wear a conical cap and is generally better modeled. The piece is not discussed at length above, but could signal that the rider type was in fact produced at Petsas House as well. Comparanda from more secure contexts at Petsas House have not yet been discovered. **Table 9** shows six 'riders' in the Aphaia collection, but three of them are the bull-leapers/wranglers (MT 460-462), discussed above. Two of the remaining three pieces were missing from their boxes at the time of my study (from Furtwängler's excavations) but are included in Pilafidis-Williams' catalogue: one is a horse with tall neck and traces of its attached rider (MT 458), the other is a rider with conical cap (MT 459). The last piece is only a fragment of the animal's torso with one of the rider's lower feet still attached MT 463). Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 71-73, Pls. 3, 55.

[1079] See Konsolaki 1999 and Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a for fuller descriptions and interpretations of these figurines.

[1080] Piraeus Museum 5491 is referred to as a horseback rider in Konsolaki's publications. It is currently on display in the Piraeus Museum along with the other riders on horses. I believe, however, that it is a ridden ox. It is distinct from the bull-leapers/ wranglers because of its conical cap and because it does not grasp the animal's horns. It is also distinct from *driven* oxen because in this case the rider sits astride the animal's back, like the other riders on horses, it is not attached directly to the bovid's backside and connected via strip of clay/reins. For description and image of Piraeus Museum 5491, see Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 377, Fig. 9; 2016a: 51, Pl. XVIIIc.

[1081] For interpretations of the conical caps/helmets, see Hood 1953; Crouwel 1981; and Konsolaki 1999.

[1082] Piraeus Museum 5487, 5488, 5490, and 5491. All on display in the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus. See Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: Figs. 5-9. The fifth, Piraeus Museum 5489 is currently on display in Poros and seems to have a slightly different clay composition and is decorated with red slip.

VII.2.4 BOVINE FIGURINES

There are additional 'other' types that are unique to this collection. In particular, the tripod tables with animals grazing/feeding on top are not, to my knowledge, paralleled anywhere else in Late Bronze Age Greece.[1083] Since the largest proportion of this assemblage, however, is given over to standard bovine figurines, it is worth making a few observations about them here. As mentioned previously, exact counts of each type are not provided in existing publications, but their thoughtful display in the Archaeological Museums of Poros and Piraeus make it possible to appreciate their similarities and differences.[1084] In the first place, the variety of bovine types (from Wavy 1/2 – Linear 2/Spine 2) does seem to indicate a long use-life for Room A. Upon closer inspection, however, the uniformity of size, construction, and clay finishing choices in most of the standardized bovine figurines might instead suggest that they represent a shorter chronological range than French's typological scheme allows for.[1085] In this case, were some bovine figurine makers purposely decorating their products in slightly "old-fashioned" styles or did the Wavy styles just live on longer in the Argo-Saronic than at Mycenae? Two large, hollow bovids on display in Piraeus, for example, show enough similarity in construction, clay finish, morphology, and decoration to suggest common manufacture.[1086] They show some morphological features that imply an earlier date: very curved horns, incised facial features, and at least one has a dewlap. Their decoration, on the other hand, implies a later date since it is essentially the Wavy 2/Linear 1 transitional type isolated in the Petsas corpus. Additional panels of Ladder pattern on their spines also nudge them stylistically later. Typologically they bear resemblance to the Wavy 2 hollow bovid in the large bull-leaper/wrangler combination (Piraeus Museum 5493) from Room A as well as the aforementioned hollow bovid from Tholos Tomb 1 at Megali Magoula.[1087] Deeper analysis of these figurines in comparison with the pottery from each assemblage could help clarify their date(s), but observable stylistic traits suggest that naturalistic bovine features lived longer in the Argo-Saronic than in the Argolid proper and anticipated the widespread popularity of hollow bovine figures in LH IIIC.

Konsolaki pointed out two additional (solid) bovine figurines that could have been acquired as a "pair" and likely were made in the same workshop.[1088] Both figurines are essentially Linear 1 bovids with flat heads and horizontal horns, tall necks, and tails that rise above their backs. Both are finished in buff colored clay and decorated with red-to-brown slip. Each has its eyes indicated by

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[1083] For images, descriptions, and interpretations, see Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 382, Figs. 33-34; 2016a: 55, Pls. Pl. XXIIa-b.

[1084] It is clear that E. Konsolaki (and/or her team) consulted or designed the arrangement of the figurines on display in both museums. Similar types of figurines are displayed next to one another and make it easy to observe connections in the sizes and styles among them. Both displays are quite well done and are easily appreciable by specialists and the general public.

[1085] French 1971: 151-164. See also Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 82 on this topic.

[1086] Piraeus Museum 5514 and 5515. Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 382, Figs. 27-28. Both figurines are similar in dimension, both are made of the same color clay and decorated with the same color slip, both have curvy, forward-facing horns and prominent snouts. Both also have incised facial features (nostrils and mouth on the snout, punctured eyes). One, 5515, also has a prominent dewlap. The other might have also had a dewlap, but is broken in such a way that makes it difficult to say for sure. Both are decorated in mostly Wavy 2/Linear 1 style, but have a narrow panel in Ladder pattern down their spines. Konsolaki discusses how these do and do not fit within E. French's chronological scheme (1971), but, based on the Petsas House collection, I believe both bovids can be dated to LH IIIA2 when all of these features and decorative motifs are found in bovine figurines (hollow and solid). Both of these can also be compared to the bovine figures from Phylakopi, in decoration and construction if not in size. See French 1985: 236-245, but the relevant decorative details are difficult to make out in the drawings. The Phylakopi figures are currently on display in the Archaeological Museum of Melos.

[1087] Poros Museum 2445. See, Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016c: 160, Fig. 10.6.

[1088] Piraeus Museum 5527 and 5528. Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2003a: 382, Fig. 32.

painted dots with extra rings around them as well as extra collar bands around their upright necks. There are certainly more examples of "pairs" or shared workshop traits within each type and across types, particularly among the figurines on display in Poros. In general, the standardized bovine terracottas appear to be more evenly split between Linear and Spine types (whereas the Petsas and Aphaia collections showed a marked preference for Linear types). The combination figurines that include bovids also make use of each of these major bovine types. Across all the figurines in the Agios Konstantinos collection (standard and combination), there seems to be less variation in size, quality, and clay finishes than in the Aphaia collection.[1089] This suggests fewer points of origin for the figurines themselves, shorter elapsed time for their accumulation in Room A, and some external organizing force in the choices made. Whether that organizing force was a collective of individuals and families or a 'ruling' class (secular or sacred) is not possible to tell from figurines alone.

VII.2.5 CONCLUSIONS

The terracotta figurines from the 'sanctuary' at Agios Konstantinos are remarkably preserved and certainly constitute a use context unlike any other so far known from the Mycenaean world.[1090] Without chemical or other scientific data that yield insight into their region of manufacture and without personal autopsy of the collection, I can only provide very general observations here. E. Konsolaki, moreover, has done an admirable and very thorough job of describing the physical details of the most impressive pieces and offering a nuanced interpretation of the collection (see below). The most striking feature of the assemblage is the near total exclusion of the female category. A single female figurine (Hollow Psi) accompanied the ca. 150 bovine and 'other' types. The dearth of female figurines starkly contrasts the prevailing trends in every other collection analyzed so far where the standard female varieties outnumber all other types. This was true in the case of the production context at Petsas House as well as in the depositional contexts in tombs at Mycenae and at the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina. Bovine and combination figurines not only comprise the entire collection in Room A, but also occur in surprising diversity (to say nothing of their excellent state of preservation).

Macroscopic inspection of the bovine and combination figurines at Agios Konstantinos shows both internal and external connections. Whereas the closest stylistic parallels for many figurines are to be found at Mycenae and the Argolid, the best piece of evidence for the Argive provenience of one piece comes by way of stylistic comparison to a very similar piece in the Aphaia collection which certainly *was* produced in the Argolid.[1091] Other examples of specialized types now find their best comparanda in the Petsas House collection (bull-leaper/wrangler types and bare-headed driven oxen). At the regional level, the inclusion of hollow bovine figurines and even solid bovids with naturalistic features closely align with types chosen as grave gifts in one of the monumental tholoi on the nearby coastal mainland. Internally, similarities in the form and decoration of some of the 'other' types from Room A show that artisans responsible for making them were likely in direct dialogue (possibly competition) with one another. The noticeable visual unity of most of the male "horseback riders" suggest common manufacture even if the minute details of each piece differ from one another. The modeling and decorating of horse figurines in both the 'rider' and chariot combinations further suggest that at least some of these pieces might have been made in the same workshop. Pairs and even groups

[1089] Although this could be (at least partly) a mirage based on the poorer state of preservation of the Aphaia figurines.
[1090] The best parallels for this space are the Cult Center at Mycenae and the cult areas within the Lower Citadel at Tiryns, but both spaces show a preference for female figurine types (and figures). See Kilian 1981; Moore & Taylour 1999; Wardle 2003; French & Taylour 2007; Vetters 2015a, 2016.
[1091] Chariot figurines: Piraeus Museum 5480 from Agios Konstantinos and MT 434 from the Sanctuary of Aphaia (tested chemically with NAA and yielded Argive origin), see above.

of driven oxen combinations and standardized bovids imply that some figurines were not only made in a single shop, but were likely also acquired in sets at specific moments in time.

Whereas the range of types (including sizes and clay compositions) present in the Aphaia collection evinced a piecemeal accumulation of terracottas in that location over a long period of time, the very specific types of figurines in Room A at Agios Konstantinos and their stylistic/chronological integrity suggest a more 'punctuated' accumulation. Some figurines show evidence of having been acquired and dedicated in groups at once (or very close in time), as in the tombs around Mycenae, while others are highly individualized and point toward specific commissions on special occasions (the centerpiece bull-rider/wrangler, for example). Both types of accumulation – in conjunction with the highly specialized content of this assemblage – indicate that individuals and/or groups of people brought the figurines to Room A on marked occasions and that they had enough time in advance to commission and transport special forms if desired. Appropriate types and themes were understood by interested parties *before* bringing figurines into this space. I believe this evidence of 'punctuated,' purposeful accumulation supports Konsolaki's interpretation of Room A as one for ritualized activity.

In her various publications, Konsolaki has convincingly suggested that the bovine and combination terracottas in Room A reflected the nature of the deity worshiped in that space. She interpreted them as indication of a male deity closely associated with cattle, horses, the fertility of the earth, and even the violent nature of the sea (based on the single boat figurine, the triton shell, and limpet shells scattered about the room).[1092] She likened this deity to the later Greek Poseidon and provided detailed evidence of the worship of Poseidon in Troezen and the Argo-Saronic, suggesting a continuity of cult practice in the region.[1093] The single female figurine in Room A represented a female consort of this deity, something perhaps alluded to in the Linear B tablets at Pylos where both male Poseidon (po-se-da-o) and his female counterpart (po-si-da-e-ja) are recorded on tablet Tn 316.[1094] The specialized terracottas such as the bull-leapers/wranglers, driven oxen, and, especially, chariots were manifestations of the ideology and symbolic repertoire of the local elite, in her view.[1095] The three tholos tombs excavated at Megali Magoula near Galatas provided architectural evidence for the existence of a local elite since the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. The megaron structure (Building Z) at Agios Konstantinos, similarly elevated the nature of the settlement and any on-site cult activity to an "official level." Local elite or rulers could have administered cult practices directly from that megaron.[1096]

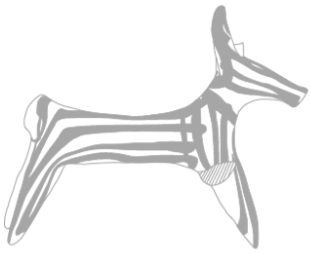
While I remain skeptical that we can ever reach a true definition of religion or cult practice for Bronze Age societies, the various threads of evidence from Room A support most aspects of Konsolaki's interpretation. Whether one prefers to view figurines as votives that reflect the nature of the deity or as representatives of the particular segment(s) of the population that participated in social activities in Room A, we can at least confirm that the ritualized practices at Agios Konstantinos provide a concrete example of how communal activities and special occasions were major motivators behind figurine production. Standardized bovids, in addition to elaborate ensembles, could be specially commissioned (or acquired through intermediaries) and deposited together – just like the female figurine groups in the tombs at Mycenae. The visual integrity and uniform aesthetic of the collection evince careful curation over time as well as some level of conspicuous, and possibly competitive, display. Although the precise nuances of typology and chronology remain open questions, I find it probable that the length of time represented by this collection (including the pottery) is significantly

[1092] The most detailed accounts of Konsolaki's interpretation of the assemblage can be found in Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a and 2016b.
[1093] See especially Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016b.
[1094] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a: 56-57 (with further references); 2016b: 53.
[1095] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a: 55-56.
[1096] Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016a: 55.

shorter than the length of time evidenced in the Aphaia collection. Even if it can be restrained to LH IIIA2-B1, however, that is still a period of roughly 120 years where members of this community made repeated choices in a specific context.

The internal, regional, and extra-regional connections in the figurines (and pottery) situate Agios Konstantinos at the end (or possibly beginning) of a local traditional continuum that is integrated into the movements and networks of settlers, traders, and locals during the palatial period. The simultaneous consolidation and amplification of (probable) cult practice at Agios Konstantinos on Methana during LH IIIA2, the establishment of the Sanctuary of Aphaia during the same period (whether it was cultic in nature or not), changes in the funerary and settlement landscape of the Argo-Saronic region (see next chapter), the major building projects in/around the citadel at Mycenae, and the increased scale of ceramic production (including terracotta figurines and vessels) at Petsas House, paint a vivid picture of expansion from west to east during the height of palatial society as the major powers in the Argolid explored business prospects further east.

VIII. CRAFT & COMMERCE: CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE



VIII.1: RESULTS OF THIS STUDY

This project has attempted to do two things: to lay out the evidence for the production of terracotta figurines at the Petsas House workshop in Mycenae and to take a deeper look at contemporary consumption and distribution of figurines as evinced by well-preserved assemblages both at Mycenae and in the Argo-Saronic region. I stated in Ch. III.6 that production cannot be conceptually isolated from the complementary systems of distribution and consumption because the latter inform the former.[1097] Pinning down the range of figurine types available to consumers at the end of LH IIIA2 and comparing it against the types present in tombs and sanctuaries has begun to show how certain social practices (demand) motivated the production of figurines (supply). It has also shown how choice (individual and/or collective) has actively influenced extant assemblages in use contexts.

The hope here has been to continue the scholarship of E. French, I. Tzonou, M. Vetters, and others who began the work of including terracotta figurines in archaeological discourses about context, distribution, *chaîne opératoire*, agency, exchange, etc. and to move away from our previous tendencies toward immediate mystification or sanctification of figurines upon discovery in an archaeological context (see Ch. II.4-5). There is no conclusive evidence that terracotta figurines were *not* tied to a belief system. Even recent, methodologically sound studies suggest that they were.[1098] The discovery of the Petsas House context and content now allows us to flip our approach to figurine interpretation, however, and to use it to (re)calibrate our readings of external assemblages with more precise data at hand. The results outlined in the previous chapters may not do much to illuminate the *meaning(s)* (religious or otherwise) that figurines held for an individual or community, but they do show that the specific contexts in which they *would* have held meaning necessitated their manufacture by trained artisans with the skill to make them according to socially/contextually defined expectations. Craftspeople in ceramic workshops met that demand by developing a stylistic shorthand which facilitated the manufacture of figurines at scale (or with periodic intensity).[1099] Those finished products were subsequently transmitted to interested consumers for use in those specific, meaning-filled contexts. The consumption and production/distribution of certain vessel types followed similar patterns.[1100] In short, this project makes a first attempt at integrating terracottas into the "ceramic system" of the Argolid/Argo-Saronic. I borrow M. Galaty's definition of a "ceramic system" as

[1097] Costin 1991: 2-3.
[1098] Konsolaki 2001; Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2004, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c; Shelton 2009a, 2009b; Vetters, M. 2011a, 2011b, 2015a, 2015b, 2016; Schallin 2015, 2019; Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2016, 2019 to point out a few.
[1099] See Costin 1991: 29-32 for the difficulties involved in differentiating between scale and intensity in the archaeological record.
[1100] Galaty 2010: 240-241.

indicating "a regional network of production and distribution that supplies items of fired clay to a certain identifiable consumer population."[1101] In my effort to explore how figurines fit into the Argive ceramic system, I first outlined some features of figurine production visible in the Petsas House corpus and then isolated patterns in their consumption and distribution in the region in the hope of revealing choices made by "the consumer population."

Throughout this project, I understand the Petsas House workshop to be a specialized industry focused on potting and – to a much lesser extent – also on figurine making. I follow K. Shelton and her team in understanding the household/workshop as part of an economic system whereby the community, palace, or trade partners would have provisioned food (among other goods and possibly land) for the residents (and resident artisans) as they, in turn, supplied the community with particular types of high-quality vessels (and figurines).[1102] Economic relationships (and, consequently, production) may have shifted seasonally, during periods of stress, and/or during other phases of the cultural year (around festival times, harvest times, etc.).[1103] Whether Petsas House represented a single, nucleated workshop or a member of a more extensive potting community (where it worked cooperatively and even collaboratively with other local potting/craft establishments in a cluster of industrial complexes) has yet to be determined.[1104] Cooperating potters would hypothetically have been able to meet demand for their wares more quickly and efficiently than a single workshop could.[1105] Perhaps the nearby pottery workshop at Berbati formed part of such a collective during LH IIIA.[1106] If the two (or more) workshops shared resources such as clay beds, mixing agents, even laborers, that would explain why chemical analyses cannot distinguish a provenience more specific than Mycenae-Berbati.[1107] In either scenario, nucleated workshop or member of a potting community, the vessels made at the specialized shop would have been "wheel-made, highly standardized, made almost exclusively from superior clays, well-fired, and widely distributed."[1108] Both the vessels and the figurines made at Petsas House met all of these criteria – with the adjustment that the figurines were handmade.

These criteria were met by the end of LH IIIA2, but possibly beginning as early as LH IIIA1. The study of the figurines has shown that they likely formed part of the workshop's repertoire from

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[1101] Galaty 1999: 8.

[1102] Shelton 2015; Meier et al. 2023.

[1103] Meier et al. 2023.

[1104] The archaeological evidence for both types of production loci are very difficult to distinguish with certainty. Costin 1991: 8, 14; Galaty 1999: 25.

[1105] At Pylos, ceramic analyses suggest that several large, regional potting facilities or collectives served large numbers of consumers. Galaty 1999: 25; 2010: 236.

[1106] The considerable distance between the two locations might not have been conducive to such a partnership, but there *was* a developed road system connecting them. The restricted chronological deposits in the two workshops work against us in designing a study to test such a scenario. There is evidence of early production at Petsas House (see Ch. V.3.8-14) and there is an LH II kiln (and production) at Berbati, but the kiln went out of use by LH III (Åkerström, Å. 1968; Schallin, A.-L. 1997 and 2002). There is a *possible* LH III kiln at Petsas House, but future work needs to confirm this hypothesis (Ch. V.3.21-22). During the time that Petsas House would have been in full sway, there is only limited evidence for production at Berbati from a refuse deposit. The LH IIIB evidence is much stronger. The fact that Petsas House was *not* rebuilt after its destruction at the end of LH IIIA2 while the neighboring HWM *was* rebuilt could evince a consolidation of the craft (presumably on the part of the palace) in LH IIIB. Instead of backing a guild (?) of independent but cooperative workshops, the palace attempted to consolidate production of wares intended for international trade and ritual (among other things). Perhaps a IIIB kiln waits to be discovered in/around Berbati. This idea does generally align with the situation at Pylos where preexisting, independent industries were pulled into the palace's workshopping system when the item produced was of prestige or ritual value. Wright, J.C. 2004: 127; Galaty 2007: 85; 2010: 241.

[1107] Galaty 1999: 22; 2010: 240 (with references); Mommsen et al. 2001: 347; Mommsen et al. 2003; Mommsen & Maran 2000–2001; French & Tomlinson 2012.

[1108] Galaty 1999: 27.

its earliest iteration. This evidence comes in the form of (*many*) figurine fragments included as temper in the paste of mud bricks, in sub-floor leveling fills, and in isolated pre-LH IIIA2 deposits (Ch. V.3.8-14). The vessels and figurine fragments from those contexts strongly suggest that (a version of) Petsas House was in business before the palatial system was in full sway. Their quality and uniformity further imply that at least some of that enterprise was specialized.[1109] The early deposits also allowed for the reconstruction of the gradual shift toward stylization/standardization of select products made in the workshop – especially kylikes and female figurines of the Phi type (Ch. IV.4).[1110] Current scholarship construes both kylikes and figurines as politically and ritually charged objects.[1111] Since it is probable that both objects carried social information for their users that may have been connected to status, group affiliation, belief, etc., the in-tandem standardization of both products evinces an increasing desire or need on the part of consumers to acquire the goods fashioned in a particular (i.e. standardized) way.[1112] This consumer-driven standardization becomes a (maybe *the*) production specialty of the workshop.[1113] The level of involvement of the palace and/or religious sector in patronizing, sponsoring, or regulating production (of kylikes and figurines, but also of other vessels with ritual or social significance such as conical cups, stirrup jars, and pictorial kraters) is an ongoing debate, but, at Petsas House, institutional interest is implied by the presence of Linear B tablets.[1114] Independent, that is non-institutionally affiliated, consumers in any social tier might have been supplied by the workshop through market exchange.[1115]

While standardization certainly characterized the workshop's ceramic repertoire by the end of its life (LH IIIA2 late), it was not to the extreme that it precluded rare and exceptional pieces demanding of more labor and time investment (Ch. IV.5).[1116] Archaeological studies have tended to interpret craft objects that show the most artistry and uniqueness as the work of the "most skilled" craftspeople and the "mass-produced" or highly standardized pieces as the work of less specialized artisans.[1117] The notion of consumer-driven standardization, however, along with the figurine data from Petsas House, implies that these two modes of production (individualistic vs. standardized) could be achieved by one artisan.[1118] Both Groups B and F include canonical female and bovine types, respectively, in addition to more individualistic ensembles (Ch. IV.6). It is true that the *most* elaborate

[1109] Ongoing study of the material from these deposits may change this picture in the future.

[1110] See Costin 1991: 12-13 for the evolution of an independent workshop especially in the context of a dense population, regional political integration and peace, inexpensive modes of transportation, etc. as was the case at Mycenae. See also Shelton 2014 for an in-depth review of the standardization of kylikes at Petsas House.

[1111] Galaty 1999: 29-32; 2007: 74-76, 86; 2010: 236; Shelton 2010: 194-195; 2014 (with additional bibliography). See also Ch. II.4-5 on figurines and religion.

[1112] So they can "fit in" with the crowd during use of the objects. Costin 1991: 33 (with further references). See also Galaty 2007: 74-76 for an example of this phenomenon with respect to ceramic kylikes.

[1113] Costin 1991: 34. This scenario works also if Petsas House were part of an industrial cluster of potters.

[1114] Costin 1991: 11-12, 34; Shelton 2002-2003; 2010: 197-198; Galaty 2010: 240-241; Pullen 2013a: 441-442. This again is comparable with the situation at Pylos in LH IIIB where palatial archives and pantries show that pottery was "a product and industry worthy of administration, if not by the palace itself, then by potters, potting families, or pottery brokers, in particular those with access to good clay and the wherewithal to produce for a mass market." Galaty 2010: 236. See also a good comparandum from Pylos for the Petsas House tablet (Shelton 2002-2003), PY *Tn 996* possibly representing a purchase order or delivery receipt. Galaty 1999: 31-32, 79-80; 2007: 74-76, 83-86. As for interest of "the religious sector," there is both textual and archaeological evidence for the involvement of religious personnel in craft production at Mycenae and Pylos (and potentially extra palatial sites too), see Lupack 2007 and 2008. Agents who might have been involved in the distribution of products and/or the collection of goods for the palace are also known from Linear B tablets. See, for example, Nakassis 2006: 316-325; 2008, 2013, and 2020.

[1115] Pullen 2013a: 441-442.

[1116] Shelton 2010: 192; 2016: 322.

[1117] Costin 1991: 34 (with further references), 40. This, to some degree, is the concept also behind Beazley's "master/workshop/circle/manner" system. Beazley 1971, 1964, 1963, and 1956; Ch. III.8.

[1118] On this topic but applied to the pottery from Petsas House, see Shelton 2010: 192-193; 2016: 322.

figurines (and figures) in the collection elude attribution due to their uniqueness, but the fact that the Groups B and F artisans could build upon the individual morphological and stylistic elements of standard figurines to create less-common types shows that Petsas artisans had the skill to adapt and expand when desired or required.[1119] This variability in the repertoire reflects skill, then, but also the reality of the craft: each figurine was independently handmade, after all, not thrown on the wheel. It might also have been *intentional* to some degree. P.M. Thomas, in reference to (hand)painted motifs on standardized vessels, observes that subtle differences are "highly reminiscent of how high-volume manufacturers in modern economies produce masses of similar, yet subtly differentiated, products to meet a paradoxical desire for both individuality and commonality."[1120] Artisans could exercise a level of micro-decision making when sculpting or painting a figurine using "standard" formulae and could find ways to meet the "paradoxical desires" of consumers.[1121] Whether these artisanal micro-decisions reflect creativity, playfulness, boredom, or even workshop directive is impossible to know.[1122]

Uniformity, variability, intention, and great skill, then, could be harnessed in the same object(s) to meet the same demand(s). These characteristics also reflect the likely reality that Petsas products were created for different markets in distinct social and/or geographical realms.[1123] Theoretically, this could be tested by identifying differential distribution of particular types of finished products.[1124] The shipment of workshop wares caught in the destruction of the building in Room Γ (Chs. IV.8 and V.1) offered an entry point (literally and figuratively) for running a pilot test of this hypothesis. The north end deposit provided a rare glimpse into the variety of ceramic products that could be distributed to consumers at one moment in time. This included decorated and undecorated open and closed vessels as well as terracotta figurines in a wide range of types. The figurines, at least, also demonstrated that several pieces made by a single artisan/team could be a part of that shipment (Ch. IV.6 and IV.8). The next step then, was to see if and how that shipment aligned with contemporary figurines (and vessels) in deposition contexts (or not).

The consumption context of local funerary assemblages served as an ideal place to begin observing distribution patterns because of the relative proximity of the chamber tomb cemeteries to the workshop itself (and accessibility via road network) and because of the large quantities of well-preserved figurines they contained (Ch. VI).[1125] The study concluded that the majority of terracotta figurines associated with interments in LH III at Mycenae were female types.[1126] Female figurines, moreover, seem to have been dedicated in groups that were restricted typologically or that were at least aesthetically united. This pattern implied that figurines (as well as some vessels) were purposefully selected and acquired together with the intention of depositing them together in a tomb with the

[1119] Some of the most individualized pieces include the bovine figurine with chevron decoration in **FIGURE 18** (SF (58) + (89) 04/16321 + (65) 12/07182 + BE #422); the Transitional Kourotrophos in **FIGURE 20** (BE #512); the one-horse, one-passenger chariot in **FIGURE 24** (SF (244+) 03/16288), the deer in **FIGURE 21** (BE #457), and the head of a bovine figure (BE #455).

[1120] Thomas 2005: 540; Pullen 2013a: 441-442.

[1121] For a brief synopsis of these micro-decisions at Petsas House, see Ch. IV.3.

[1122] M. Vetters also points out that the most unique examples of terracottas known from the Mycenaean world occur at times when standardization is at its highest. Conversely, there are fewer "singletons" in LH IIIC, a period characterized by a reduction of standardization and more creative license on the part of craftspeople. See Vetters 2016: 43 for a nice summary of this phenomenon. She suggests that some of the more unique pieces take inspiration from other forms of Mycenaean art, such as wall- and vase-painting, ivories, etc.

[1123] Shelton 2010: 197; 2016: 325. The same is proposed for the products from the Berbati workshop, see Åkerström 1968: 51; Whitelaw 2001: 60; Schallin 2002: 152-155; Galaty 2010: 241.

[1124] Costin 1991: 4.

[1125] For the location of chamber tomb cemeteries along road networks and routes of movement, see Iakovides et al. 2003: 28-31, 35-38; Boyd 2015: 443; and Efkleidou 2019.

[1126] Although not all of the terracottas from cemeteries excavated in recent decades are published, the display of many of them in the Mycenae Museum suggests that the same trends hold true in those cemeteries as well (see above, Ch. VI.6).

deceased. It also suggested that the appearance and display of figurines could have been a meaningful part of funerary rituals.[1127] This purposeful selection and exhibition of grave gifts further implied that there would have been enough time between the moment of death and final interment for surviving family/community to choose the types of gifts they wanted to include and to make necessary arrangements for their acquisition – whether this meant specially commissioning particular vessels and figurines or simply selecting them from the inventory of a nearby shop.[1128] Beyond even this, the repetition of types allowed for detailed comparison between individual figurines and for attribution to a single workshop in some cases.[1129] This confirmed the results of the Petsas House study in that individual artisans crafted more than one figurine at a time in more than one type, but also showed that an artisan's finished products could remain together after they left the workshop.[1130]

More questions remain to be explored after this funerary consumption/distribution analysis. Were groups of (especially female) figurines produced *after* an order was put in by a customer[1131] or were they prefabricated by artisans on a rolling basis? In either scenario, it seems that a single production group could be acquired at once by the interested party.[1132] To be sure, there were smaller numbers of bovine and 'other' types of figurines represented in the tombs as well. Some tombs did not contain *any* female figurines, or, at least, no standardized ones. In each of those cases, however, either the same concern for aesthetic/symbolic cohesion could be detected in the 'other' types (Wace's T513, Ch. VI.3.8) or contextual variation evinced piecemeal deposition of the figurines during distinct burial events (Tsountas' T79, Ch. VI.2.6). In every case, the overall impression from the chamber tomb assemblages at Mycenae was one of clear intention and mindful curation of (ceramic) gifts. The substantial demand for terracotta figurines (and vessels) for use as grave gifts in LH IIIA-B chamber tombs aligns well with M. Boyd's description of widening access to the Mycenaean funerary landscape during the transition from LH II to LH III.[1133] Widening access (more consumers) led to increased demand and intensified production. The coordinated study of figurine types at Petsas House and in chamber tomb cemeteries showed that death and burial were one social context that created a demand for terracottas, a demand that was met by suppliers with increasing frequency/intensity over the course of LH IIIA-B. The fortune to have archaeological evidence in both deposition and production contexts at Mycenae is truly remarkable.

The next stage of the investigation turned to a different type of social/ritual consumption: cult.[1134] The large and well-known Argo-Saronic cult sites, the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aegina and the Sanctuary of Agios Konstantinos on Methana, served up the largest contemporary figurine assemblages for analysis. Both sites were situated on communication routes that connected them

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[1127] Consistent with our understandings and reconstructions of the very public (or, at least, collective) nature of Mycenaean funerals which included creation of the tomb, procession, interment, etc. See Boyd 2016.

[1128] Again, each of the points about the time and personal investment necessary to prepare and equip a burial are consistent with M. Boyd's recent elaboration of the events involved in funerary rituals (Boyd 2016: especially 61-81).

[1129] Including Tsountas' T80, T91, T98 as well as the NAM 2265 figurines; the driven oxen in Wace's T513 and T527; probably the Psi and Tau figurines from Verdelis' Boliari tomb; the Hollow Psi figurines from the dromos niche in Mylonas' G-III as well as the Transitional & Hollow Psi figurines from the chamber of P-I. See above, Ch. VI.

[1130] The best example of this so far that has been verified by personal autopsy is Tsountas' T80 (see above).

[1131] Presumably *after* the death of the individual to be interred (or when death had become an inevitable certainty)?

[1132] Just *how* the Petsas 'artist groups' reflect the work of single artisans or consistent teams (discrete firing batches produced by fewer artisans *or* products of quite a few separate artisans, see above IV.6-7) remains to be determined. My use of 'production group' here is meant to capture any of these possibilities.

[1133] Boyd 2015: 441-442.

[1134] I find the 'cult' designation problematic because of the scholarly history of circular argumentation connected to it (see Ch. II). At the moment, however, it remains archaeological fact that 'sanctuary' sites tend to have a lot of figurines.

westward to the Argolid as well as eastward to the Saronic Gulf, Attica, and beyond.[1135] The figurines from each site revealed somewhat more complicated, though comparable patterns of consumption and differentiated distribution.

The truly impressive array of LH III terracotta figurines from the Sanctuary of Aphaia was difficult to (re)interrogate because the long history of construction on the site obliterated any Bronze Age architectural remains that might have once provided a context for the finds (Ch. VII.1). As a result, the figurines and sherds were considerably more abraded and fragmentary than those from other sites examined in this project. Still, some information could be gleaned. In overall composition, the Aphaia assemblage mirrored that of Petsas House: the majority of terracottas fell into one of the standardized female or bovine types, but smaller numbers of 'other' types occurred too. Though fewer in number, the "other" types exhibited considerable variety: furniture, boats, chariots, bull-leapers/wranglers, and large-scale figures to name a few. One subgroup of these, the female Kourotrophoi, had previously been called into the service of identifying the nature of the supposed deity worshiped on site. The lack of context, the relatively few examples of Kourotrophoi in comparison with other types, and the geographical and chronological leaps required to substantiate such an identity, however, make that interpretation difficult to accept. A blend of scientific and stylistic analyses of the figurines, furthermore, showed that a large proportion of those Kourotrophoi had been brought in from the Argolid. Most of the figurines that had been chemically tested yielded an Argive origin (Mycenae-Berbati), in fact, and represented a range of about ten distinct types.[1136] The few of verified local provenience were standardized female figurines, a chariot, and a large-scale figure. The mixed origin of the assemblage as well as signs of specialized production at the local level could indicate both a mixed consumer population and competitive or emulative Aeginetan production. The chronological dimension of both the chemically tested figurines *and* the rest of the assemblage (LH IIIA-C) further indicated that commercial ties to the Argolid lasted beyond the decline of the palaces. LH IIIC female Psi figurines in both Argive and local fabrics demonstrated a tradition of preference at the Aphaia Sanctuary if not also a sustained demographic with continued exchange relationships at local and regional levels.

The terracotta figurine assemblages at the Aphaia Sanctuary as well as at the settlement and cemetery of Lazarides reflect *new* consumption/social practices in LH IIIA2 that fueled a new demand for terracottas. The choices exercised by the consumers of those products at Aphaia also reveal a streak of conservatism in not choosing to acquire female Tau figurines during LH IIIB. Or perhaps this reflects a bias in the transfer network(s) from producer (in the Argolid) to consumer (at Aphaia) that is archaeologically invisible.[1137] Otherwise, however, the community seems to have readily acquired the full range of types available during the palatial period: mostly standardized female figurines, but also stylized bovids, combination figurines, and 'others.' On the Methana peninsula, four nautical miles from Aegina,[1138] new levels of figurine consumption are *also* attested in LH IIIA2 but show such specific typological preferences that they allude to (pre)existing social practices or belief systems. Funerary assemblages on the nearby mainland (Troezenia) demonstrated limited female figurine deposition in tombs by LH IIIA1, but it was, again, in LH IIIA2 when *concentrations* of figurines

[1135] The Aphaia Sanctuary is situated about 15-min walk to the port of Agia Marina (Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 1; Salavoura 2014: 61-62, Fig. 30a) and the Agios Konstantinos Sanctuary is likewise located on the coast in proximity to ancient and modern harbors (Konsolaki 2002: 25; add more). Both were likely linked to the overland road system further north that led to Mycenae. Tartaron 2015: 400; 2018: esp.76-83.

[1136] Pilafidis-Williams 1998: 167.

[1137] Based on current evidence, it might even be possible to suggest that Tau figurines were made exclusively in the Argolid during LH IIIB. See Ch. VII.1.5 and Vetters 2016: 43-44.

[1138] Polychronakou-Sgouritsa 2015: 330.

occurred in tombs both on the mainland and on the peninsula.[1139] When terracottas occurred in such concentrations, they showed an *extreme* preference for bovine and combination figurines. In Room A at Agios Konstantinos, humans occurred *only* in combination with animals (bovids and equids) except for the lone female Hollow Psi. The hollow bovine figurines in Room A, including the "centerpiece" bull-leaper/wrangler ensemble, are quite similar to the terracottas from Tholos Tomb 1 at Megali Magoula and could signify shared symbolic significance or even consumer population.[1140] More importantly, both Tholos Tomb 1 and Room A showed that this preference for bovids was part of local figurine consumption from the outset of the palatial period (and integration of figurines into social practices at the local level). Instead of accepting all types into their repertoire of consumption practices, like the Aeginetans did, Methana locals deemed a specific range of types appropriate for their needs.[1141]

Beyond pure typological preference, macroscopic observation of the Agios Konstantinos figurines through photographs and display cases revealed shared workshop traits visible both within and between certain types.[1142] As in the tomb assemblages at Mycenae (and Lazarides), these identifiable traits suggest consumer acquisition at one moment in time. So, at least some of the figurines in Room A could have been produced and subsequently acquired and then deposited (or 'dedicated') in multiples. The limited range of figurines in Room A also showed clear *intention* in the acquisition of appropriate forms as well as sustained curation and maintenance of the collection throughout the palatial period. For the moment, I interpret these observations as indicative of 'punctuated' accumulation where figurines would sometimes have been brought into the sanctuary in groups and sometimes individually. The general aesthetic homogeneity of the collection, moreover, implies to me that the figurines were either selected or commissioned from a few, maybe *very* few, workshops during LH IIIA2-B. No chemical or petrographic data is yet available for these figurines – and such analyses will likely have to wait until current scientific methods are less destructive – but tying down a provenience for these figurines would be very informative. Stylistically, Ch. VII.2 shows that the best parallels for most of the figurines in Room A are to be found in the Argive plain and especially at Mycenae. Depositionally, however, a locally motivated consumption pattern is detectable. If demand drives production, then, it seems probable that "local"/(sub)regional producers were responsible for the figurines in Room A, but it is also entirely possible that particular distribution networks connected to manufacturers in the Argolid were able to channel specific types to this region based on demand, possibly through market exchange.[1143] Further (scientific) tests may one day confirm or change these possibilities.

[1139] For LH III figurines from tholos tombs and a discussion of the possible symbolism and associated funerary cult, see Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016c. The "peninsula" burial I refer to here is from Room C at Agios Konstantinos (see Ch. VII.2).

[1140] I refer specifically to the bovine figure and figurines from Tholos Tomb I at Megali Magoula, all dated to ca. LH IIIA2 - the same time period when the Room A "shrine" on Methana begins to receive 'dedications' of figurines. See Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016c: 158-161.

[1141] This observation could align well with E. Konsolaki's interpretation of the region of Troezen (including Methana) as particularly devoted to a Bronze Age version of Poseidon: Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 2016b.

[1142] By "workshop traits," I mean nearly identical morphology and decoration of particular figurines. I could not identify any such traits securely in the Aphaia assemblage.

[1143] If most of the figurines in the Agios Konstantinos assemblage were made somewhere in the region of Troezen, then it seems probable that the one or few workshops responsible for their creation were capable of the same level of stylization/standardization that Petsas House artisans were (evidenced especially in the bovine figurines), variations on that theme (the combination figurines), and extreme artistry (the large bull-leaper/wrangler and the unique tables with grazing animals, see Ch. VII.2 with references). Or perhaps this range should be taken as evidence in favor of Argive production? On market exchange, see Pullen 2013a.

The terracotta assemblage from Room A and its specialized architectural context strongly support the excavator's interpretation of the space as one for ritual activity. The room's unusual built-in features and highly specialized artifact assemblage are paralleled most closely in Argive palaces like Mycenae and Tiryns or other 'fortified' sites like Phylakopi on Melos. The concept of 'punctuated' accumulation, moreover, could be explained both in terms of periodic use of the 'shrine' in connection with particular seasons, festivals or rituals and/or in terms of intermittent access to finished products at seasonal or occasional markets. Whether the figurines were truly votives reflecting the nature of the deity worshiped in Room A, as proposed by the excavator, or whether they were emblematic of the identities of individual participants (or otherwise nuanced social practices), they do, at least, support the notion that ritualized practices at Agios Konstantinos (and beyond) could be strong motivators of figurine production.

VIII.2: CONCLUDING REMARKS

Terracotta figurine consumption in tombs at Mycenae took off in LH IIIA1 and went into overdrive in LH IIIA2-B (Ch. VI).[1144] In the Argo-Saronic region, sporadic examples of LH IIIA1 terracottas appear in tombs, but major concentrations of them begin in LH IIIA2, especially at sanctuary sites like the ones at Aphaia and Agios Konstantinos, but also in settlements and tombs as demonstrated at Lazarides (Ch. VII). In the Argo-Saronic region, the social and commercial sphere that had previously revolved around Kolonna experienced a reorientation toward the Argolid at this time. This much is known. T.F. Tartaron et al. sum it up nicely by stating that "a flood of Mycenaean ceramics swept over the region, and the number of sites almost doubled during the palatial period. These new Saronic foundations took on many characteristics of settlements in the Mycenaean heartland, including architectural styles and burial forms and practices."[1145] Mycenae went so far as to construct a monumental harbor at the site of Kalamianos (in direct view of Kolonna) to facilitate their access to (and control of?) the Saronic Gulf.[1146] This harbor was accessible via land routes that began in the area of Korphos-Kalamianos, passed through Limnes and Berbati, and reached Mycenae.[1147]

The figurines show us that when this "flood of Mycenaean ceramics" hit the Argo-Saronic region, they were immediately emulated in local fabrics and selected by local groups in ways that were both similar to and different from how they were being selected and used at Mycenae itself. The deposition of sixteen locally made female figurines in a newly constructed LH IIIA2 built chamber tomb (one of three that were unlike any other tombs on the island) at Lazarides shows adoption and adaptation of social practices brought over from the Argolid. The Aphaia collection, on the other hand, is split between Argive and local material, with a bias toward Argive imports. Whether the site was devoted to ritual, settlement, or some other activity, the figurines match the full range of availability and indicate both varied and sustained consumer access. At Methana, locals made very different *choices* in selecting their figurine types and they clustered them in a space and manner that was distinct from comparable Argive contexts.

M. Galaty (and others) have cautioned that "research designed to determine the scale and mode of regional pottery production, as well as exchange, often suffers problems of equifinality. That is, the different types of production and exchange may produce identical patterns of product variability

[1144] Robust figurine consumption in *settlement* contexts during LH IIIA1 is also probable and is best exemplified by the Atreus Bothros deposit at Mycenae. Wace, A.J.B. 1939: 211-212; French 1971: 112-114, 143-145, 152-155 and elsewhere as related to LH IIIA figurines.
[1145] Tartaron et al. 2011: 630.
[1146] Tartaron et al. 2011: 630-631; Tartaron 2015: 400.
[1147] Tartaron 2015: 400.

and distribution."[1148] I hope that this project has shown that a close analysis of figurine production and distribution can, sometimes, avoid that archaeological equifinality. Continued studies of localized consumption practices will certainly lead to new insights into the distribution and production of terracottas.[1149] Figurines, as H. Schliemann rightly observed and understood on some level, serve as a useful intersection between form and meaning, but also between craft and commerce. Terracottas evidently intersected with all cultural domains – social, political, economic, and ritual – and they reveal that their makers did too.[1150] Some potential connections between artisans and their customers have been highlighted in this project, but there are certainly more to discover. Both artisans and consumers accepted, created, or negotiated the social legitimacy of production and the *conditions* of production and distribution on a continuous basis.[1151] These active collaborations must have contributed to or even defined the social identities of artisans – and maybe their customers too. The Petsas House collection will no doubt allow future researchers to tease out these questions and relationships more fully both within the Argolid, but certainly beyond it as well. This is only the beginning.

[1148] Galaty 1999: 22 (with additional references).
[1149] M. Vetters (2016: 43-44) also calls for in-depth study of local and regional consumption of figurines. She notes that later on in the palatial period (and afterwards), preference shifts toward bovine figures and figurines and that distribution patterns reflect even stronger regional differences at the end of the palatial period in LH IIIB2.
[1150] Costin 1998: 3.
[1151] Costin 1998: 3.

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APPENDIX A: Petsas House Terracotta Figurines: "Artist Groups"

Chapters III.8 and IV.6-7 detail some of the challenges involved in identifying and characterizing these "artist groups." Even though it is not precisely clear what each group represents (an individual artist in every case or a combination of specific craftspeople and firing batches), each one is distinguishable and repeated enough that it stands out against the backdrop of hundreds of other terracottas. The importance of Room Gamma cannot be overstated with respect to the artist groups (see Chs. IV.8 and especially V.1 with **TABLE 3** for a full synopsis of all the figurines in this context). Without this relatively intact assemblage, we might not be able to detect artisans/batches at all, let alone correlate them across distinct deposits within the house. Nearly every artistic grouping detailed below has at least one representative in Room Γ and most often more than one. Even when the figurines from the north end of the room are pared down to the minimum number of individuals that are intact enough to even potentially attribute to an 'artist group,' there are 115 intact pieces with 48 of them attributable.[1152] There are exceptions, of course. Group E does not have a representative in Room Γ because it is a stylistically earlier type (LH IIB/IIIA1 Proto-Phi). The examples in this group were recovered primarily from the north end of the Middle Terrace (see below and Chs. IV.4 and V.3.8-14). Group J, on the other hand, *is* contemporary, but is so far restricted to the well context in Room Π (on which, see Ch. V.3.15).

The groups labeled below are not arranged in chronological order because I am building off the work of K. Shelton (2009a) who first identified artist "hands" and began labeling them alphabetically. I begin with the female figurines, as she did, and then continue with the bovids. There are more potential groups in the collection, but I highlight here eleven groups that are better preserved and/or have more than three figurines in them.

FEMALE FIGURINES

GROUP A

Morphology:
This group is currently identified in two types of female figurine: Phi B and Psi. The defining morphological features include sharp, pointy breasts that are well placed on the body (probably molded in place) and applied plaits. The Phi B figurines have flat, discoid upper bodies while the Psi figurines have wide, flat, triangular upper bodies with short arms raised at 90 degrees and rounded hands. Only one figurine from this group has an intact head, a Psi figurine (BE #561, 1951), and she wears a very short polos. All have very nicely shaped stems with raised, concave bases.

Decoration:
The decorative features are, in every case, composed of very thin, evenly spaced vertical lines. These lines always curve to the figurine's right side on the front of the body and to the left on the back side. The plaits are especially diagnostic because they are decorated with very thin horizontal bars that look like diagonal dashes set close together. On the one figurine with surviving head (BE #561), the short polos has only minimal decoration: a thin band around the top of the polos and a mirroring one around its base. The plait decoration consists of horizontal bars that begin just underneath the back

[1152] Disaggregated bovine parts are not included in this count. Female fragments that do not come from a part of the figurine that can yield information about an artist (particularly loose stems and heads) are also not counted. Chronological outliers and any 'unknown' fragments have also been removed from this count.

of the polos and extend down the back of the neck and upper body all the way to the figurine's waist. On this example, the collar band does not cross the plait (other figurines are broken below the neck and so it is not possible to ascertain whether this feature is common to all). Each figurine in this group also has a thinly painted waist band and thin vertical lines down the stem. In terms of finish, most surviving examples have a buff-colored slip with brown paint for decoration. There is at least one definite member of this group that has red paint instead (BE #564).

TABLE 11: Female Figurines Currently Attributed to Group A

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Psi	BE #561	1951	Room Γ, north end
2	Phi B	BE #564	1951	Room Γ, north end
3	Phi B	BE #565	1951	Room Γ, north end
4	Phi B	BE #525	1951	Room Γ, north end?

TABLE 12: Female Figurines Possibly Attributable to Group A

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Psi	(127)/19263	2008	Area T, south half
2	Psi	(49)/22035	2013	Trench 22, south end
3	Phi B	BE #569	1950?	Room Γ, north end
4	Phi B or Psi	BE #488	1950	Room Γ, north end?



FIGURE 50: Representative Sample of Group A Figurines. **Top:** Frontal view. From left: BE #561, #565, #564, and #525. **Bottom:** Same figurines, same order, back view (showing dash-like decoration on plaits). All photos by author.

GROUP B

Morphology:

This group is currently identified in three types of female figurine: Phi B, Psi, and Transitional Kourotrophos. The defining morphological features for the Psi type include a short polos and a much more V-shaped upper body than the Psi figurine(s) in Group A. The upraised arms appear to be wider than the arms on the Psi in Group A, but their shape cannot be determined at this time. The Phi B types have typical bare heads that are flattened on the top (almost giving the impression of a polos) as well as more ovoid upper bodies than their counterparts in Group A. In overall shape, the Transitional Kourotrophos is almost identical to the Psi type, but the one surviving example is executed at a smaller scale than the average-sized (ca. 11cm height) Psi and Phi Bs. The Transitional Kourotrophos has plastically applied arms beginning at the shoulder and extending horizontally across the chest as well as an applied left breast and applied infant. The infant has a rounded head, but the body is just a strip of clay that extends underneath the mother's left arm and then parallel to the mother's upper body until just above the waist. All types in this group have applied plaits that begin at the top of the polos (in the case of the Psi) or top of the head (Phi B). All have apparently modeled breasts (except for the left breast of the Transitional Kourotrophos, a modification made specifically for that type), somewhat shorter stems than the figurines in Group A, as well as low, natural waists. All have well-shaped stems with raised, concave bases.

Decoration:
Only the Psi figurine wears a polos which, unlike the polos in Group A, is painted monochrome. The most recognizable decorative feature in every example is the plait. In each case, the applied plait has horizontal bar decoration on the top half (which is not interrupted by a painted neck band) while the lower plait takes on the vertical wavy line decoration of the rest of the upper body. In every type, the upper body decoration is characterized by vertical wavy lines that curve to the figurine's left on the front of its body and to the right on its back. In terms of finish, most surviving examples have a matte, buff-colored slip with brown paint for decoration. There are two Phi B figurines, however, that have slightly more orange slip with red paint for decoration (BE #571 and SF (112) 05/ 16433).

TABLE 13: Terracotta Figurines Currently Attributed to Group B

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Psi	BE #559	1951	Room Γ, north end
2	Phi B	BE #530	1951	Room Γ, north end
3	Phi B	BE #531	1951	Room Γ, north end
4	Phi B	BE #571	1950	Room A
5	Phi B	SF (112) 05/ 16433	2005	Room Π, well
6	Transitional Kourotrophos	BE #513	1951	Room Γ, north end?



FIGURE 51: Representative Sample of Group B Figurines. **Left:** Frontal view. From left: BE #559, #531, #530, and #513. **Right:** Same figurines, same order, back view (showing plait decoration stopping at mid-back). All photos by author.

GROUP C

Morphology:
This group is currently identified in only one type of female figurine, the Phi B. Defining characteristics include a typical bare head that is fairly well flattened and has a prominently pinched-out nose (at least on examples that preserve the head). The applied plait begins at the top of the head and continues to mid-back. Upper bodies are very wide, almost oblong in shape with large and poorly applied breasts placed high on the body. All have well-shaped stems with raised, concave bases.

Decoration:
Applied plaits have horizontal bar decoration on back of neck, a neckband that crosses the plait, and below the neck band the remainder of the plait takes on the vertical wavy lines of the rest of the body. Execution of the lines is more variable and not as finely executed as those of Groups A and B. Again, most surviving examples have a matte, buff-colored slip with brown paint for decoration. There are some with more orange exteriors and with red paint for decoration (BE #535, SFs (1) 00/14002, (77) 08/02058, and (128) 08/19263.

TABLE 14: Terracotta Figurines Currently Attributed to Group C

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Phi B	BE #529	1951	Room Γ, north end
2	Phi B (small)	BE #535	1950	Room A
3	Phi B	BE #541	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end?
4	Phi B	SF (128) 08/19263	2008	Area T, south half
5	Phi B	SF (32) 13/22023	2013	Trench 22

TABLE 15: Terracotta Figurines Possibly Attributable to Group C

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Phi B	BE #549	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end?
2	Phi B	SF (1) 00/14002	2000	Trench 14, east of [A]
3	Phi B	SF (77) 08/02058	2008	Area B, west half



FIGURE 52: Representative Sample of Group C Figurines. **Left:** Frontal view. Top left: BE #541; bottom left: BE #535; middle: BE #529; right: SF (32) 13/22023. **Right:** Same figurines, same order, back view (showing plait decoration stopping at neckband). All photos by author.

GROUP D

Morphology:
This group is also limited to a single female type, in this case Psi. Unlike groups A-C, there are only two figurines that are certainly part of this one. Because the Psi figurine is less common in the Petsas

repertoire and more experimental in its morphology, I think this group is important to include here – even if there are fewer surviving examples than usual. In terms of defining characteristics of their shape, the Psi figurines in Group D both wear a short polos, like the other Psi figurines we've seen in Groups A and B. They also have applied plaits that begin at the top of the polos and extend to just above the figurine's waist. They both have wide, triangular bodies and their upraised arms are oblong in shape (only slightly rounded edges). Breasts are probably applied instead of modeled, but they are quite well formed and fully smoothed onto the body in a realistic position. Only one example retains the stem (BE #557+483) which is short-to-average height with raised, concave base.

Decoration:
The short polos on both of these figurines is decorated differently than the other poloi in the Groups A and B, in this case with vertical rays. The applied plaits have thick horizonal bars down the entire length. Upper bodies are decorated with the usual vertical wavy lines, but the restored figurine (BE #557+483) has its waist band sitting slightly lower on the stem than the other (BE #563). The other decorative variation is that the central facial line on BE #557+483 extends onto the figurine's neck, which is not the case in BE #563. Both figurines are finished in an orange-tan slip and decoration is in red paint.

TABLE 16: Terracotta Figurines Currently Attributed to Group D

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Psi	BE #557+483	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end
2	Psi	BE #563	1950	Room Γ, north end



FIGURE 53: Representative Sample of Group D Figurines. **Left:** Frontal view of BE #557+483. I was not able to take a photo of the back of this figurine because it is currently integrated into the exhibit of figurine typology/chronology in the first gallery of the Mycenae Museum. **Middle:** Frontal view of BE #563. **Right:** Back view of BE #563 showing plait. All photos by J. Tseng.

GROUP E

At the other end of Petsas' chronological spectrum, Group E figurines are also restricted to one type: LH IIB/IIIA1 Proto-Phi. The details of both the form and decoration of these figurines vary somewhat more than Groups A-D, but I attribute that to their early stage in the development of the Phi type and to the less intense demand for female figurines at this time. They are consistent enough to imply common manufacture.

Morphology:

The Proto-Phi figurines are identified by their bulbous heads with large, applied eyes. Discoid upper bodies are rendered with long, pronounced arms that are applied to the body and positioned with the left reaching up between the applied breasts and the right resting on the belly. In two examples, fingers are separately indicated by either modeling (SF (21) 13/ 21120) or modeling *and* paint (SF (15) 13/ 21117). Only one in this group retains its stem (SF (9) 12/ 04022); it is quite short, wide, and has a nicely flared base (concave). There are additional stems in the collection that are likely from figurines of this type and group, but I leave them out at this time since it is the upper bodies that best define the characteristics of Group E.

Decoration:

The decoration on these figurines stands out because it is so elaborate: the large heads are randomly decorated with dots and lines. The upper bodies have fringe along the shoulders and chest, crosses or stars on the breasts, horizontal bars on the arms, and other wavy lines and dots all over their torsos. The back bodies have vertical, very wavy lines that begin on the head and extend all the way down the back. Decoration of the stem is linear in all instances, but there are more and thicker lines than later Phi types have.

TABLE 17: Terracotta Figurines Currently Attributed to Group E

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Proto-Phi	BE #521	1950	Room Z
2	Proto-Phi	SF (24) 01/ 16052	2001	Room Π, south half
3	Proto-Phi	SF (9) 12/ 04022	2012	Room Δ
4	Proto-Phi	SF (8) 13/ 22005	2013	Trench 22

TABLE 18: Terracotta Figurines Possibly Attributable to Group E*

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Proto-Phi	SF (15) 13/ 21117	2013	Room Φ, well
2	Proto-Phi	SF (21) 13/ 21120	2013	Room Φ, well

* Both of these figurines are pictured in Ch. IV.4, **FIGURE 6.**



FIGURE 54: Representative Sample of Group E Figurines. Left: From Left: Frontal view of BE #521 and SF (8) 13/ 22005. **Right:** Same figurines, same order, back view. Photos by author.



FIGURE 55: Group E Figurines, cont. **Left:** Frontal view of SF (9) 12/ 04022. **Right:** Back view of the same figurine, no plait. Photos by author.

BOVINE FIGURINES

GROUP F

This group is currently identified in three types of figurine: bovine Linear 1, Spine 1, and a driven-ox combination. I believe that this group *also* included Wavy 2/Linear 1 types (see Ch. IV.4), but for the present moment, I do not include those here. The examples included below, therefore, represent a conservative estimation of Group F. This representative sample *plus* the additional fragments in the collection that are not included here imply to me that the Group F figurines do represent an artisan/team and not a firing batch (fuller discussion in IV.6-7). There are enough figurines in this group to include somewhat more variations in clay finish, execution of the lines, and size than the other groups presented so far. These variations are slight and the overall impression is uniformity, but there is range enough to accommodate a craftsperson (or duo) who is making these repeatedly, but on separate occasions.

Morphology:
Primary morphological traits of the Linear 1 and Spine 1 types include wide-set horns that are not quite as nicely crescent shaped as those in Group G, below. Their snouts are well shaped. Their main bodies are characterized by thin, cylindrical torsos and tall legs that are only slightly splayed (the fact that the legs are mostly upright helps in differentiating them from similar figurines in other collections; standard bovids elsewhere often have legs that splay more widely). Attached tails are visibly smoothed and tucked between the back legs. The driven ox, of course, has more morphological features than the standard bovids. The abbreviated driver is applied directly to the back of the animal's body and hugs the connector piece that arches from the driver's front body to the top of the bovid's head. The driver is of ambiguous gender and has a typical bare head common in Phi-type figurines.

Decoration:
As the names of these types imply (as defined and established by E. French [1971: 151-159]), the decoration is entirely linear all over the body. In the case of the Linear 1 examples, lines run along the body in parallel with the torso. In the Spine 1 types, there is only a central line along the back that runs parallel with the body and from it radiate shorter, perpendicular rib lines. In both types, though, the chest and front legs are decorated with vertical lines that begin at the neckband and continue to the feet. Body lines connect directly to the neckband, too, although it is true that a few pieces are missing their neckband entirely. The two features that allow us to attribute different types to one group is their shared morphology and the extreme stylization of the decoration. Any natural features, namely the eyes, are completely left out of the decoration in all types. Lines completely engulf their faces. The driven ox combination (BE #452) maintains this characteristic. The main decorative difference in the combination figurine is that there is no central line running along the back of the bovid, the rib lines just encircle the torso – and so it is not *officially* a Spine 1 bovid, but it is nearly identical to others in this group. The connecting strip between driver and animal has been restored in this figurine, but comparable examples of this type indicate that it would probably have been decorated with horizontal crossbars. The driver has painted eyes and the crown of its head is monochrome. As noted above, there is somewhat more variation in clay finish in this group.

TABLE 19: Terracotta Figurines Currently Attributed to Group F

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Spine 1	BE #408	1950	Room Γ, north end?
2	Driven Ox	BE #452	1950	Room Γ, north end?
3	Spine 1	BE #410	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end?
4	Linear 1 or Spine 1	BE #420	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end?
5	Linear 1	BE #414	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end?
6	Linear 1	BE #415	1951	Room Γ, north end
7	Linear 1	BE #416	1951	Room Γ, north end
8	Linear 1	BE #417	1951	Room Γ, north end
9	Driven Ox	BE #463*	1951	Room Γ, north end?
10	Linear 1	SF (15) 01/16020	2001	Room Π, west half
11	Linear 1	SF (6) 03/ 16202	2003	Room Π, well
12	Linear 1 or Spine 1	SF (66) 13/02132	2013	Area B, west half

*BE #463 can only *probably* be attributed to this group because it does not preserve the front body of the bovid (which is the most characteristic part of the body for Group F). The back half of the body is *very* similar to BE #452 with the only difference being that the animal is painted in Linear 1 style. Instead of making a separate table for this less certain piece, I include it here for ease of reference and because I do believe it belongs in this group.



FIGURE 56: Representative Sample of Group F Figurines. **Top:** From Left: Frontal view of BE #415, #417, #416, #408, and #410. **Bottom:** Same figurines, reverse order; back view. All photos by author.

GROUP G

Morphology:

Unlike group F, this group is typologically restricted to Spine 1 and is so far only identifiable in the *front* bodies of bovine figurines. No example is complete enough to comment on the back body and the average body diameter of Group G is not measurable, though must be similar to the body diameters of group F (ca. 1.5cm).[1153] In every case the animal is crowned with wide, crescent-shaped horns and has a long, cylindrical snout that is well-shaped and flattened at the end.

Decoration:

The decoration always consists of the central spine beginning at the very tip of the snout and extending over the head (and, presumably, along the back and all the way to the end of the tail). The group's most distinctive features are the lack of any other paint on the snout, the intersection of spine and lines on the back of the neck in a sort of asterisk pattern, and the wide, painted eyes. All examples in this group are finished in a buff slip and decorated in red or red-to-brown paint.

TABLE 20: Terracotta Figurines Currently Attributed to Group G

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Spine 1	BE #412a	1951	Room Γ, north end?
2	Spine 1	BE #404	1951	Room Γ, north end?
3	Spine 1	SF (140) 03/16264	2003	Room Π, well
4	Spine 1	SF (167) 06/ 16595	2006	Room Π, well
5	Spine 1	SF (16) 07/10018	2007	Area K
6	Spine 1	SF (2) 13/ 07306	2013	Area H



FIGURE 57: Representative Sample of Group G Figurines. **Left:** From Left: Frontal view of SF (167) 06/ 16595 and BE #404. **Right:** Same figurines, reverse order; back view. Photos by author.

[1153] As noted above, bovine figurines most often break at the neck/body (shoulder) join. Group G is only identifiable when the front body, particularly the head, is preserved. Future work may be able to repair the heads in this group with bodies that are either not currently attributed.

GROUP H

Morphology:
Like the preceding group, Group H is typologically restricted to Spine 1 and is so far only identifiable in the mid and back bodies of bovine figurines. They are not, however, the counterpart to the Group G fragments because there is a difference in size. Group H has cylindrical torsos that are smaller in diameter than those of group F, ca. 1.0-1.2cm (which is also too small to connect to any of the torso breaks in Group G). The few pieces that preserve the bottom part of the neck indicate that neck was often very upright and straight. I find it likely that this group contained combination figurines, but I cannot prove that based on existing fragments. Again, a conservative estimation is provided here.

Decoration:
Decorative aspects of the bovids in this group also do not align with any other so far presented. The most distinctive feature is the sharp execution of the rib lines. All end in very fine, sharp points in an overlapping arrangement on the animal's belly. There also appears to be a preference for finish in the surviving examples: buff clay surface and red to deep-red paint (but there is some brown paint too).

TABLE 21: Terracotta Figurines Currently Attributed to Group H

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Spine 1	BE #412c	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end?
2	Spine 1	BE #412d	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end?
3	Spine 1	BE #412e	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end?
4	Spine 1	SF (6) 00/ 03007	2000	Room Γ, south end (stairs)
5	Spine 1	SF (126) 03/ 16260	2003	Room Π, well
6	Spine 1	SF (143+176) 08/19275	2008	Area T, south half
7	Spine 1	SF (154) 12/19370	2012	Area T, north half
8	Spine 1	SF (7) 13/ 02106	2013	Area B, west half



FIGURE 58: Representative Sample of Group H Figurines. **Left:** SF (143+176) 08/19275 showing side body and upright neck. **Right:** BE #412c turned on its side in order to appreciate the sharply ending and overlapping rib tips. Photos by author.

GROUP I

Morphology:
Group I consists so far of Linear 2 bovids. Each animal in the group is characterized by a cylindrical torso similar in dimension to the ca. 1.5cm torsos of group F. It shares the upright leg stance of the bovids in that group. At the end of the torso, the attached tail is abbreviated in size and shape. Only one example still has the front body (BE #420b) and shows that the other pieces in this group likely also had the wide-set crescent horns and well-shaped snouts of Group G.

Decoration:
Each figurine is decorated with a few longitudinal lines along the body and two perpendicular bands that run across the back body. Each of these bands starts at the foot of one back leg and extends to the tip of the other back leg. The level of execution of the bands varies a bit, however. Some are quite wobbly while others are very straight. The one figurine that preserves the front body (BE #420b) has a thick neckband with vertical lines extending from it (sharply perpendicular to the body lines). The end of that animal's snout is painted solid while horizontal dashes run along the top of the snout up to the forehead.

Note: Both the shape of the horns and the manner of execution of the painted eyes is nearly identical to that of Group G and could indicate that these two groups were made by one artisan/team. I await more examples in each group to determine if this is the case.

TABLE 22: Terracotta Figurines Currently Attributed to Group I

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Linear 2	BE #420b	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end?
2	Linear 2	BE #420c	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end?
3	Linear 2	BE #420d	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end?
4	Linear 2	SF (205) 03/16293	2003	Room Π, well



FIGURE 59: Representative Sample of Group I Figurines. **Left:** From Left: BE #420b, #420d, #420c, and SF (205) 03/16293. **Right:** Same figurines, same order; back view. Photos by author.

GROUP J

Morphology:
This next group of bovids is quite different from the others and there are only a few fragments. They are distinct enough from other bovine figurines in both their shape and decoration, however, to warrant their own group. Morphological features include large heads that are flat on top with shorter snouts than seems proportional. Each has very wide-set, upturned horns (although only the bases survive). Necks are also short and ovoid in section. The torsos too are not cylindrical, but ovoid in section. As always, there are additional small fragments that probably belong to this group which I do not include here.

Decoration:
The decoration of Group J really stands out. The heads are not equally preserved and I cannot verify that they are the same, but the two that survive both have painted dot eyes with rings around them. The better-preserved head (SF (10+) 06/16506+) has additional wavy lines and chevrons all over the sides of the face and top of the head. Elsewhere on the body, panels of enclosed chevron pattern cover the body. One long panel runs down each of the front legs; another panel runs along each side of the body; and, in some cases, a third narrow panel runs along the top (spine) of the body. One example only (SF (25) 04/16311) appears decorated in the same way, but the chevrons are not arranged in enclosed panels. Each figurine included in this group is crafted of orange clay, has an orange slip, and is decorated with red paint.

Note: How/if this group is connected to SF (58+) 04/16321+ (pictured in Ch. IV.5, **FIGURE 18**) is difficult to ascertain at this time. The arrangement of the decoration on the body (not the head) is the same, but the clay, shape, and quality of execution are vastly different. That figurine was reconstructed from several fragments that originated in different parts of the house, including one tiny horn fragment from the 1950s excavation in Room Γ. A final thought: (SF (10+) 06/16506+) also shares clay/paint preference and an unusual decorative trait (painted dots) with group K and so I include the same figurine in both groups. Perhaps these two groups are one and the same artisan?

TABLE 23: Terracotta Figurines Currently Attributed to Group J

	Type	**Number** (BE or excavation)	**Year of Excavation**	**Context**
1	Custom	SF (29) 02/16132	2002	Room Π, well
2	Custom	SF (25) 04/16311	2004	Room Π, well
3	Custom	SF (99+) 05/16429+	2005	Room Π, well
4	Custom	SF (10+) 06/16506+	2006	Room Π, well



FIGURE 60: Representative Sample of Group J Figurines. **Left:** SF (10+) 06/16506+ side view showing head and body decoration. **Right:** SF (99+) 05/16429+ showing partial head and body decoration. Photos by author.

GROUP K

Morphology:

This grouping is somewhat arbitrary and is based entirely upon decoration. I include figurines in at least three distinct categories (and types): female, bovine, and furniture. I refer the reader to **FIGURES 61** and **62** for a view of the morphology of each category/type.

Decoration:

The unifying characteristics of this group include thin wobbly lines that are interspersed with painted dot columns. In the case of the table model (BE #240), lines and dot-columns alternate all over the surface of the table. The bovid I include here is also included above in Group J (SF (10+) 06/16506+). In addition to the chevron panels described above, there are painted dots arranged vertically along the front legs as well as on one side of the snout. On the female Phi B figurine (SF (78) 06/16535), a singular, centrally placed column of dots on the front upper body. Each of the figurines in this group has an orangey-to-buff slip and is decorated in red paint. I am not certain that these three figurines really should be grouped together, but they are different enough from other figurines in the collection that they might represent something meaningful.

TABLE 24: Terracotta Figurines Currently Attributed to Group K

	Type	Number (BE or excavation)	Year of Excavation	Context
1	Furniture, table	BE #240	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end
2	Bovid, custom	SF (10+) 06/16506+	2006	Room Π, well
3	Female, Phi B	SF (78) 06/16535	2006	Room Π, well
4	Bovid, Spine 1*	BE #406	1950-1951	Room Γ, north end?

*This bovine figurine also has a centrally placed row of dots, so I include it here, but the lines on the body are better executed than on the other three figurines.

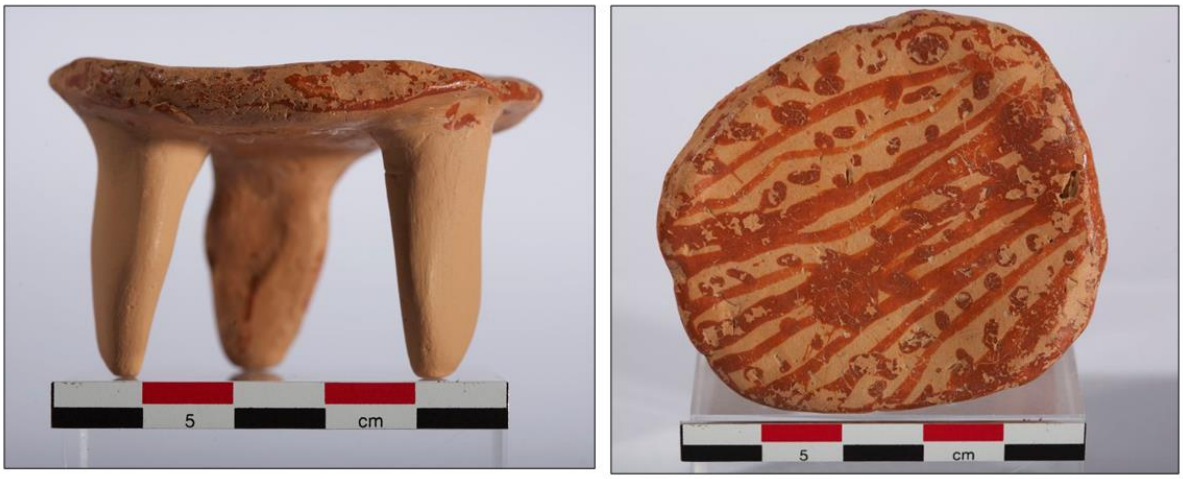


FIGURE 61: Representative Sample of Group K Figurines. **Left:** BE #240 side view with restored legs. **Right:** same figurine, top view showing alternating wobbly lines and dots. Photos by J. Tseng.



FIGURE 62: Group K Figurines, cont. From left: female Phi B (SF (78) 06/16535) and custom bovid (SF (10+) 06/16506+) with similar decoration. Photo by author.

APPENDIX B: Petsas House Figurines by Room

TRENCH 00: "SECOND ANALYGMMA"

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
1950	Trench 04 [Δ]; 2nd analyg.	198	444	Bovine, Wavy 2 or Wavy 2/Linear 1		
1950	BE #280; Trench 10 [K]		47721	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		M/Y
1951	2nd analyg.	802	450	Bovine, Wavy 2		
1951	BE #280		47722	Animal, Horse (head)		
1951	BE #280		47723	Bovine, leg		
1950?	2nd analyg.	294?/299?/ 244?	440	Bovine, Wavy 2		
1950-1951	2nd analyg.?		449	Animal, head		
1950-1951	2nd analyg.		448	Bovine, Wavy 2 or Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
1950-1951	2nd analyg.		447	Bovine, Wavy 2		M
1950-1951	2nd analyg.?		442	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
1950-1951	2nd analyg.?		445	Bovine, Linear 1?		
1950-1951	2nd analyg.?		443	Animal, mini horse		
1950-1951	Trench 03 [Γ]: North end? 2nd analyg.?		446	Bovine, mini Linear 1		

TRENCH 01: ROOM A

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
1950	Trench 01 [A]	102	423	Female, Phi		
1950	Trench 01 [A]?	7	535	Female, mini Phi B	Group C	
1950	Trench 01 [A]	99	571	Female, Phi B	Group B	
2001	Baulk, south half	(2)/01002	29758	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		

TRENCH 02: AREA B

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
1951	From sherds BE 338	BE 338	47725	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	West Extension	(59)/02054	37705	Bovine, horn		
2008	West Half	(7)/02010	37667	Bovine, leg		

2008	West Extension	(24)/02035	37673	Bovine, leg		
2008	West Extension	(27)/02041	37676	Bovine, leg		
2008	West Extension	(37)/02043	37679	Bovine, leg		
2008	West Extension	(51)/02049	37687	Bovine, leg		
2008	West Extension	(52)/02049	37688	Bovine, leg		
2008	West Extension	(56)/02052	37689	Bovine, leg		
2008	West Extension	(57)/02052	37690	Bovine, leg		
2008	West Extension	(68)/02057	37694	Bovine, leg		
2008	West Extension	(71)/02059	37696	Bovine, leg		
2008	West Extension	(85)/02043	46392	Bovine, leg		
2008	West Half	(91)/02016	47751	Bovine, leg		M
2008	West Extension	(92)/02047	47802	Bovine, leg		
2008	West Extension	(76)/02046	37699	Bovine, tail		Y
2008	West Extension	(25)/02036	37674	Bovine, Wavy 2		
2008	West Extension	(65)/02056	37693	Combination, Bull-leaper		
2008	West Extension	(26)/02039 + (82)/02056	37675, 46137	Combination?		
2008	West Extension	(60)/02055	37706	Bovine, Linear 1		
2008	West Extension	(61)/02055 + (64)/02056	37707	Bovine, Linear 1		
2008	West Extension	(63)/02056	37691	Female, mini Phi B		
2008	West Half	(99)/02021	47830	Female, Naturalistic?		
2008	West Extension	(45)/02047	37685	Female, Phi		
2008	West Extension	(23)/02035	37672	Female, Phi A		
2008	West Extension	(78)/02058	46126	Female, Phi B		
2008	West Extension	(77)/02058	46128	Female, Phi B	Group C?	
2008	NE Corner	(1)/02003	37665	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	West Extension	(72)/02059	37697	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	West Extension	(79)/02057	46127	Female, Phi B or Psi		

2008	West Extension	(80)/02056	46135	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	West Extension	(84)/02050	46391	Furniture, Throne B		
2008	West Extension	(73)/02059	37698	Unknown		
2008	South Baulk	(20)/02033	37670	Unknown/Sherd		
2008	West Extension	(49)/02049	37686	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2013	West Quadrant	(70)/02132	42974	Other, Boat		
2013	West Quadrant	(60)/02128	42964	Bovine, (?) leg		
2013	South Half	(26)/02112	42930	Bovine, head		
2013	West Quadrant	(19)/02108	42923	Bovine, horn		
2013	South Half	(48)/02123	42952	Bovine, horn		
2013	West Quadrant	(52)/02124	42956	Bovine, horn		
2013	West Quadrant	(54)/02124	42958	Bovine, horn		
2013	SE Corner	(3)/02104	42907	Bovine, leg		
2013	South Half	(8)/02105	42912	Bovine, leg		
2013	West Quadrant	(16)/02108	42920	Bovine, leg		
2013	South Half	(25)/02112	42929	Bovine, leg		
2013	South Half	(28)/02112	42932	Bovine, leg		
2013	South Half	(36)/02116	42940	Bovine, leg		
2013	West Quadrant	(38)/02117	42942	Bovine, leg		
2013	South Half	(42)/02119	42946	Bovine, leg		
2013	West Quadrant	(47)/02122	42951	Bovine, leg		
2013	West Quadrant	(50)/02124	42954	Bovine, leg		
2013	SE Corner	(4)/02104	42908	Combination, Connector		
2013	South Half	(6)/02105	42910	Combination, Connector		
2013	West Quadrant	(66)/02132	42970	Bovine, Linear 1	Group F	
2013	West Quadrant	(9)/02106	42913	Bovine, mini Linear 1		
2013	South Half	(62)/02129	42966	Bovine, mini Spine 1		
2013	South Half	(17)/02109	42921	Female, Phi B		
2013	West Quadrant	(51)/02124	42955	Female, Phi B or Psi		M
2013	West Quadrant	(58)/02126	42962	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2013	South Half	(43)/02119	42947	Female, Psi with basket polos		

2013	West Quadrant	(7)/02106	42911	Bovine, Spine 1		

TRENCH 03: ROOM Γ

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
1950	North End	201	466	Combination, Seated Figure		
1950	North End	176	570	Female, Phi B		
1950	North End	188	524	Female, Phi B		
1950	North End	94	531	Female, Phi B	Group B	
1950	North End	90	540	Female, Phi B		
1950	North End	91	550	Female, Phi B		
1950	North End	189	563	Female, Psi	Group D	
1950	North End?	108	474	Combination, Chariot		
1950	North End?	104	472	Animal		
1950	North End?	124	468	Bovine, Wavy 1		
1950	North End?	190	452	Combination, Driven Ox	Group F	
1950	North End?		243b	Furniture, Throne A		
1950	North End?		243c	Furniture, Throne A?		
1950	North End?	93	423	Female, Phi B		
1950	North End?	247?/241?	461	Bovine, Custom		
1950	North End?	123	413	Bovine, Linear 1		
1950	North End?	89	408	Bovine, Spine 1	Group F	
1950	North End?	199	412b	Bovine, Spine 1		
1950	North End?	472	412c	Bovine, Spine 1	Group H	
1950	North End?	683	420a	Unknown		
1950	North End?	667	421d	Bovine		
1950	North End?	191	421g	Bovine		
1950	North End?	101	554	Female, Phi B		
1950	North End?	186	536	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1950	North End?	235	488	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1950	North End?	885	507	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1950	North End?	111	562	Female, Psi		
1950	North End?	100	514	Female, Proto-Phi		
1950	North End?	324	516	Female, Proto-Phi		
1950	North End?	116	520	Female, Proto-Phi		
1950	North End?	260	498	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		
1950	North End?	106	515	Female, Proto-Phi		
1950?	North End	768	460	Male?, Rider		
1950?	North End	185	569	Female, Phi B	Group A?	
1950?	North End	170, 187	528	Female, Phi B		
1950?	North End?	211?	511	Female, Kourotrophos		
1950?	North End?	180	423	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1950?	North End?	259?	421a	Bovine, Custom		

1950?	North End?	103	423	Female, Phi		
1951	North End	792	459	Bovine, Wavy 2		
1951	North End	757	415	Bovine, Linear 1	Group F	
1951	North End		417	Bovine, Linear 1	Group F?	
1951	North End		416	Bovine, Linear 1	Group F	
1951	North End	794	412f	Bovine, Ladder	Group H?	
1951	North End	780	555	Female, Phi B	ca. Group B	
1951	North End	757	534	Female, Phi B		
1951	North End	765	532	Female, Phi B		
1951	North End	763	530	Female, Phi B	Group B	
1951	North End	781	545	Female, Phi B		
1951	North End	749	529	Female, Phi B	Group C	
1951	North End	759	526	Female, Phi B		
1951	North End	750	564	Female, Phi B	Group A	
1951	North End	753	565	Female, Phi B	Group A	
1951	North End	778	482	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End	778	539	Female, Phi B		
1951	North End	778	544	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End	869	503	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End	777	479	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End	777	489	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End	777	492	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End	777	499	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End	777	495	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End	745	559	Female, Psi	Group B	
1951	North End	762	561	Female, Psi	Group A	
1951	North End?	769	456	Combination, Seated Figure		
1951	North End?	830	465	Combination, Seated Figure? Chariot?		
1951	North End?	886	467	Other, Boat		
1951	North End?	779	475	Combination, Chariot?		
1951	North End?	832	470	Other, Wheel		
1951	North End?	831	477	Unknown		
1951	North End?	779	477	Unknown		
1951	North End?	785	463	Combination, Driven Oxen		
1951	North End?	887	455	Bovine, Figure (head)		
1951	North End?	803	473	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
1951	North End?	817	457	Animal, Deer		
1951	North End?		418	Bovine, Linear 1		
1951	North End?	7?2	404	Bovine, Spine 1	Group G	
1951	North End?	726 or 796	412d	Bovine, Spine 1	Group H	
1951	North End?	8?0	412e	Bovine, Spine 1	Group H?	
1951	North End?	798	420c	Bovine, Linear 1	Group I	
1951	North End?	795	420d	Bovine, Linear 1	Group I	
1951	North End?	800	420e	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
1951	North End?	799	420f	Bovine, Wavy 2/		

				Linear 1		
1951	North End?	801	420j	Bovine, Linear 1		
1951	North End?	802	420l	Bovine, Linear 1		
1951	North End?	812	420n	Bovine, Linear 1	Group F?	
1951	North End?	815	421e	Bovine, head		
1951	North End?	813	421f	Bovine, Spine 1	Group G?	
1951	North End?	814	421h	Bovine, head		
1951	North End?	901	421l	Bovine, leg		
1951	North End?	716	525	Female, Phi B	Group A	
1951	North End?	911	553	Female, Phi B		
1951	North End?	736	500	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End?	731	566	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End?	734	485	Female, Phi B or Psi	Group B?	
1951	North End?	760	542	Female, Phi B or Psi	Group B?	
1951	North End?	744	504	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End?	816	509	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End?	777	502	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End?	756	481	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End?	778	484	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End?	778	480	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End?	779	501	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End?	755	543	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951	North End?	829	573	Female, Psi		
1951	North End?	767	513	Female, Kourotrophos	Group B	
1951	North End?	999	522	Female, Transitional or Naturalistic		
1951	North End?	886	471	Female, Naturalistic		
1951	North End?	820	523	Female, Proto-Phi		
1951	North End?	820	523	Female, Proto-Phi		
1951	North End?	830	486	Female, Phi A		
1951	North End?	823	505	Female, Phi A		
1951?	North End?	764	527	Female, Phi B		
1951?	North End?	754	546	Female, Phi B		
1951?	North End?	780	551	Female, Phi B		
1951?	North End?	732	508	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951?	North End?	773	506	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951?	North End?	720	494	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1951?	North End?	748	568	Female, Psi		
1950-1951	North End	840	239	Furniture, Table		
1950-1951	North End	841	240	Furniture, Stool/Table	Group K?	
1950-1951	North End	751	572	Female, Phi B		
1950-1951	North End	171, 735	557, 483	Female, Psi	Group D	
1950-1951	North End	790, 749	451	Bovine, Wavy 2?		
1950-1951	North End		422	Female, Psi		

1950-1951	North End		422	Female, Psi		
1950-1951	North End		422	Female, Psi		
1950-1951	North End		422	Bovine, legs		
1950-1951	North End		405	Bovine, Spine 1		
1950-1951	North End?	171?, 373?, 78-?	476	Furniture, Throne B		
1950-1951	North End?	171?, 373?, 78-?	476	Furniture, Throne B		
1950-1951	North End?	171?, 373?, 78-?	476	Furniture, Throne B		
1950-1951	North End?		453	Combination, Chariot		
1950-1951	North End?		454	Combination, Chariot	Group H?	
1950-1951	North End?		433	Combination, Driven Oxen		
1950-1951	North End?	?	414	Bovine, Linear 1	Group F	
1950-1951	North End?	743	538	Female, Phi B		
1950-1951	North End?	?	423	Female, Phi B		
1950-1951	North End?	209?	423	Female, Phi B		
1950-1951	North End?		423	Female, Phi B		
1950-1951	North End?	95	423	Female, Phi B		
1950-1951	North End?	775?	423	Female, Phi B		
1950-1951	North End?	775?	423	Female, Phi B		
1950-1951	North End?	784?	423	Female, Phi B		
1950-1951	North End?	268? 968?	423	Female, Psi		
1950-1951	North End?	776	423	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1950-1951	North End?	776	423	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1950-1951	North End?	776	423	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1950-1951	North End?		423	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1950-1951	North End?	103	423	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		

1950-1951	North End?	718	423	Female, Phi		
1950-1951	North End?	900	423	Female, Phi B		
1950-1951	North End?	775	423	Female, Phi		
1950-1951	North End?	15, 776	242	Female, Psi		
1950-1951	North End?	776	242	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1950-1951	North End?		424	Bovine, legs		
1950-1951	North End?		462	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
1950-1951	North End?		425	Bovine, Wavy 2		
1950-1951	North End?	717	409	Bovine, Ladder		
1950-1951	North End?	739	411	Bovine, Ladder		
1950-1951	North End?		419	Bovine, Linear 1		
1950-1951	North End?		406	Bovine, Spine 1	Group K?	
1950-1951	North End?		407	Bovine, Spine 1		
1950-1951	North End?		410	Bovine, Spine 1	Group F	
1950-1951	North End?		412a	Bovine, Spine 1		
1950-1951	North End?	715	420b	Bovine, Linear 1	Group I	
1950-1951	North End?		420g	Bovine, Linear 1		
1950-1951	North End?		420h	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
1950-1951	North End?		420i	Bovine, Linear 1		
1950-1951	North End?	??4	420k	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
1950-1951	North End?	741	420m	Bovine, Linear 1	Group F?	
1950-1951	North End?	781?	420o	Bovine, head		
1950-1951	North End?		421b	Bovine, body (no dec)		
1950-1951	North End?		421c	Bovine, body (no dec)		
1950-1951	North End?		421i	Bovine, hindquarter		

1950-1951	North End?		421j	Bovine, Linear 1		
1950-1951	North End?		421k	Bovine, Linear 1		
1950-1951	North End?		533	Female, Phi B		
1950-1951	North End?	727	541	Female, Phi B	Group C	
1950-1951	North End?	719	549	Female, Phi B	Group C	
1950-1951	North End?	728	547	Female, Phi B		
1950-1951	North End?		497	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1950-1951	North End?		496	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1950-1951	North End?		493	Female, Phi B or Psi		
1950-1951	North End?	175 and 736	567	Female, Psi		
1950-1951	North End?		560	Female, Psi		
1950-1951	North End?		558	Female, Psi		
1950-1951	North End?	177 and 717	512	Female, Kourotrophos		
1950-1951	North End?		478	Unknown		
1950-1951	North End?		478	Female, Psi, Hollow		
1950-1951	North End? Unknown?		423	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		
1950-1951	North End? 2nd analyg.?		446	Bovine, Linear 1		
2000	East Wall	(1)/03002	28786	Female, Phi A		M
2000	East Wall	(2)/03002	28788	Female, Psi		
2000	Stairs	(3)/03006	28911	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1	Group F?	
2000	Stairs	(4)/03006	28912	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		
2000	Stairs	(6)/03007	28910	Bovine, Spine 1	Group H	
2000	Stairs	(8)/03007	28909	Bovine, Spine 1	Group I?	
2000	South End	(12)/03009	28919	Unknown		
2000	South End	(14)/03010	28923	Female, Proto-Phi		
2000	South End	(16)/03012	28924	Female, Phi B		
2000	West Wall	(21)/03003	29267	Yoke?		
2000	Stairs	(a)/03006	28905	Bovine, Spine 1		
2000	Stairs	(a)/03007	28907	Bovine, leg		

TRENCH 04: ROOM Δ

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
1950	Trench 04 [Δ]	242	458	Combination, Throne A/Seated Figure		
1950	Trench 04 [Δ]	198	444	Bovine, Wavy 2		
1950	Trench 04 [Δ]?	499B	510	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		
1950-1951	Trench 04 [Δ] - 05 [E]	N/A	490 and 556	Female, Phi B		
2012	East of N-S Wall	(3)+(4)/04011	39888, 39889	Bovine, Wavy 2	Group H?	
2012	East of N-S Wall	(5)/04014	39890	Female, Proto-Phi		
2012	PMTW	(9)/04022	39894	Female, Proto-Phi	Group E	
2012	West End	(10)/04000	39895	Bovine, Wavy 2		
2012	East End	(12)/04039	39897	Unknown		
2012	East End	(13)/04040	39898	Bovine, Wavy 2		
2012	West of N-S Wall	(21)/04018	39906	Female, Proto-Phi		
2013	North of West End of [Δ]	(1)/04100	43056	Female, Phi B		
2013	West End, Apex	(7)/04109	43062	Animal, head		
2013	West End, Apex	(9)/04106	43064	Unknown		

TRENCH 05: ROOM E

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
1950-1951	Trench 04 [Δ] - 05 [E]	N/A	490 + 556	Female, Phi B		
2006	Central edge of baulk	(8)/05022	32935	Animal		

TRENCH 06: ROOM Z

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
1950	Trench 06 [Z]	107	464	Bovine, Wavy 1		
1950	Trench 06 [Z]?	247	469	Bovine, Wavy 2		
1950	Trench 06 [Z]	197	519	Female, Transitional		
1950	Trench 06 [Z]	248	518	Female, Proto-Phi		
1950	Trench 06 [Z]	249	521	Female, Proto-Phi	Group E	
1950	Trench 06 [Z]	220? 224? 240?	517	Female, Proto-Phi		

TRENCH 07: AREA H

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2007	NE Extension	(9)/07009	34544	Bovine, head		
2007	NE Extension	(78)/07028, 07032	45639	Bovine, head		
2007	NE Extension	(45)/07036	34943	Bovine, horn		
2007	NE Extension	(76)/07033	45636	Bovine, horn		
2007	NE Extension	(79)/07028	45640	Bovine, horn		
2007	NE Mound	(30)/07031	34875	Bovine, leg		
2007	NE Extension	(42)/07035	34930	Bovine, leg		
2007	NE Extension	(49)/07036	34950	Bovine, leg		
2007	NE Mound	(39)/07033	34931	Bovine, leg or horn		
2007	Fill on North Wall	(52)/07039	34971	Bovine, leg or horn		
2007	NE Extension	(81)/07018	46112	Bovine, leg or horn		
2007	NE Extension	(82)/07014	46114	Bovine, leg or snout		
2007	NE Extension	(84)/07015	46117	Combination, connector		
2007	NE Extension	(85)/07027	46119	Furniture, leg?		
2007	NE Mound	(40)/07033	34932	Animal, horse?		
2007	NE Extension	(66)/07045	35057	Animal, horse?		
2007	Fill on North Wall	(55)/07039	34979	Bovine, horn (large)		Y
2007	NE Extension	(6)/07005	34388	Bovine, Linear 1		
2007	NE Mound	(16)/07017	34742	Bovine, Linear 1		
2007	NE Mound	(21)/07022	34791	Bovine, Linear 1		
2007	NE Mound	(37)/07033	48773	Female, Phi B		
2007	NE Mound	(23)/07024	34817	Female, Phi B		
2007	NE Extension	(57)/07038	34974	Female, Phi B		
2007	NE Extension	(10)/07012	34357	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2007	NE Extension	(43)/07034	34929	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2007	East Quarter	(62)/07041	34998	Female, Phi B or Psi		M
2007	North Quarter	(69)/07XXX	35066	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2007	NE Extension	(51)/07038	34945	Female, Phi Kourotrophos		
2007	06 Excavation Dump	(3)/07001	34385	Female, Transitional		
2007	NE Extension	(72)/07042	45617	Unknown		
2007	NE Extension	(80)/07024	46111	Unknown		
2007	06 Excavation Dump	(2)/07001	34384	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		M
2007	NE Mound	(35)/07033	34881	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1	Group F?	
2007	NE Mound	(36)/07033	34879	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2012	NE Extension	(65)/07182	39937	Bovine, Custom	ca. Group J	
2012	NE Extension	(17)/07104	39695	Bovine, horn		
2012	NE Extension	(88)/07213	39957	Bovine, horn		
2012	NE Extension	(34)/07106	39709	Bovine, leg		

2012	NE Extension	(54)/07110	39926	Bovine, leg		
2012	NE Extension	(96)/07158	TBD	Animal, leg		
2012	NE Extension	(35)/07107	39710	Combination, connector		
2012	NE Extension	(79)/07198	39950	Female, Phi B		
2012	NE Extension	(95)/07128	TBD	Female, Phi B		
2012	NE Extension	(44)/07115	39916	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2012	NE Extension	(11)/07113	39689	Bovine, figure snout?		
2012	NE Extension	(90)/07213	39959	Unknown		
2012	NE Extension	(10)/07111	39688	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2012	NE Extension	(28)/07128	39703	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2012	NE Extension	(36)/07107	39711	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2012	NE Extension	(55)/07111	39927	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2013	Center	(77)/07359	43050	Figure, bovine		
2013	N of Kiln	(11)/07315	42985	Bovine, leg		
2013	N of Kiln	(12)/07315	42986	Bovine, leg		
2013	N of Kiln	(14)/07316	42988	Bovine, leg		
2013	N of Kiln	(26)/07323	43000	Bovine, leg		
2013	N of Kiln	(31)/07324	43005	Bovine, leg		
2013	Center	(80)/07359	43053	Bovine, leg?		
2013	Far SE Extension	(56)/07340	43029	Female, Other		
2013	N of Kiln	(30)/07324	43004	Animal, leg		
2013	E of the W Mycenaean Wall	(74)/07355	43047	Animal?, leg		
2013	Far SE Extension	(46)/07335	43019	Bovine, Linear 1		
2013	Far SE Extension	(50)/07337	43023	Female, Phi A		
2013	Far SE Extension	(54)/07339	43027	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		
2013	Kiln	(1)/07303	42975	Female, Psi		
2013	Far SE Extension	(2)/07306	42976	Bovine, Spine 1	Group G	
2013	Far E Extension + N of Kiln	(5)/07307 + (29)/07324	42979, 43003	Bovine, Spine 1		
2013	Far SE Extension	(41)/07333	43015	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2013	Far SE Extension	(42)/07334	43016	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2013	Far SE Extension	(45)/07334	43018	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		

TRENCH 08: ROOM Θ

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2008	West Center and East Extension	(1)/08103	37702	Bovine, leg		
2008	East Extension	(2)/08103	37703	Bovine, mini		
2008	East Mound/Extension	(3)/08103	37704	Bovine, Linear 1		
2008	East Extension	(5)/08109	47821	Female, mini Phi		

TRENCH 10: AREA K

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
1950	Trench 10 [K]	BE #280	47721	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		Y
1951	Trench 10 [K]	898	548	Female, Phi B	Group B?	
1951	Trench 10 [K]-Trench 02 [B]	BE #338	47725	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2007	South Extension	(6)/10009	34838	Bovine, figure (head)		
2007	South Extension	(7)/10009	34852	Bovine leg		
2007	South Extension	(20)/10021	35012	Bovine, mini Linear 1		
2007	South Extension	(27)/10010	46488	Female, Phi		
2007	South Extension	(12)/10015	34928	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2007	South Extension	(24)/10013	45641	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2007	South Extension	(21)/10021	34984	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		
2007	South Extension	(16)/10018	34973	Bovine, Spine 1	Group G	
2007	South Extension	(14)/10017	34942	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2007	South Extension	(30)/10021	46849	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2008	South Extension	(25)/10116	37625	Bovine, (Naturalistic or Wavy 1?)		
2008	South Extension	(60)/10125	37637	Bovine, horn		
2008	South Extension	(65)/10127	37639	Bovine, horn		
2008	South Extension	(88)/10133	37648	Bovine, horn		
2008	South Extension	(91)/10134	37650	Bovine, horn		
2008	South Extension	(94)/10134	32652	Bovine, horn		
2008	South Extension	(100)/10135	37654	Bovine, horn		
2008	South Extension	(47)/10121	37631	Bovine, leg		
2008	South Extension	(50)/10121	37633	Bovine, leg		
2008	South Extension	(61)/10125	37638	Bovine, leg		
2008	South Extension	(66)/10127	37640	Bovine, leg		
2008	South Extension	(71)/10128	37642	Bovine, leg		
2008	South Extension	(76)/10130	37643	Bovine, leg		
2008	South Extension	(70)/10128	37641	Bovine, leg (gritty)		

2008	South Extension	(89)/10133	37649	Bovine, Linear 1 modified		
2008	South Extension	(52)/10121	37635	Bovine, other		Y
2008	South Extension	(7)/10103	37620	Combo, chariot?		
2008	South Extension	(110)/10133	47709	Animal, horse (head)		
2008	South Extension	(5)/10102	37619	Female, mini Hollow Psi		
2008	South Extension	(111)/10134 + (118)/10109	47710, 47742	Female, mini Phi A		
2008	South Extension	(45)+(46)/10121	37629, 37630	Female, mini Phi B		
2008	South Extension	(108)/10128	47707	Female, Phi A?		
2008	South Extension	(10)/10108	37622	Female, Phi B		
2008	South Extension	(42)/10121	37627	Female, Phi B		
2008	South Extension	(49)/10121	37632	Female, Phi B		
2008	South Extension	(96)/10134	37653	Female, Phi B		
2008	South Extension	(109)/10133	47708	Female, Phi B		
2008	South Extension	(56)/10124	37636	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	South Extension	(103)/10138	37655	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	South Extension	(106)/10135	47705	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	South Extension	(113)/10125	47737	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	South Extension	(51)/10121	37634	Female, Phi B or Psi (head)		
2008	South Extension	(8)/10103	37621	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		
2008	South Extension	(114)/10130	47738	Unknown		
2008	South Extension	(116)/10121	47740	Unknown		
2008	South Extension	(24)/10117	37624	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2008	South Extension	(44)/10121	37628	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1	Group F?	
2008	South Extension	(93)/10134	37651	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2008	South Extension	(79)/10130	37645	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1 or Linear 1	Group F?	M
2013	NW Corner	(2)/10202	43077	Bovine, leg		
2013	NW Corner	(3)/10203	43078	Female, Psi		

TRENCH 11: AREA Λ

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2013	West "nose"	(1)/11000	43091	Female, Proto-Phi		
2013	West of [Δ], hump	(4)/11010	43094	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2013	West of [Δ], hump	(5)/11015	43095	Female, Phi B or Psi		Y
2013	West of [Δ], SE	(9)/11024	43099	Bovine, horn		
2013	West of [Δ], SE	(10)/11024	43100	Bovine, leg		
2013	West of [Δ], SE	(16)/11034	43106	Bovine?, leg		

TRENCH 12: EAST OF Γ

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2000	E Baza, S Center	(23)/12021	28853	Other, Basket/cradle?		
2000	Southeast Corner	(a)/12100	30198	Other, Bird? Askos?		
2000	East Extension	(11)c/12011	28825	Bovine?, leg		
2000	East Edge	(3)/12003	28785	Bovine, horn		
2000	South/Southeast of [Γ]	(38)/12009	28995	Bovine, horn		
2000	East Extension	(40)/12017	28997	Bovine, leg		
2000	Southwest Corner	(a)/12018	28841	Bovine, leg		
2000	West Half	(a)/12020	28843	Bovine, leg		
2000	West Side	(a)/12026	28860	Bovine, leg		
2000	Northeast Quadrant	(a)/12028	28863	Bovine, leg		
2000	Northeast Quadrant	(b)/12028	28863	Bovine, leg		
2000	Southeast Corner	(a)/12101	30203	Bovine, leg		
2000	Southwest Corner	(a)/12007	28802	Bovine, leg or horn		
2000	Southwest Quarter	(51)/12025	29255	Female, figure?		
2000	NE Quarter	(19)b/12022	28848	Human?, leg?		
2000	North Side = [O]	(46)/12038	29252	Female, Naturalistic or Proto-Phi		
2000	NE Quarter = [O]	(28)/12039	28890	Female, Phi A		M
2000	NE Quarter = [O]	(29)/12039	28889	Female, Phi A		M
2000	NE Quarter	(21)/12022	28850	Female, Phi B		
2000	NE Quarter	(19)a/12022	28848	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2000	East Edge	(35)/12003	28992	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2000	East Edge	(36)/12003	28993	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2000	NE Corner = [N]	(34)/12043	28929	Female, Proto-Phi		
2000	NE Quarter	(20)/12022	28851	Female, Psi		
2000	S Baza, E Edge	(14)/12019	28838	Female, Psi Kourotrophos		
2000	East Edge	(37)/12005	28994	Bovine, Spine 1		
2000	North Side = [O]	(44)/12037	29248	Bovine, Spine 1		
2000	NE Quarter = [O]	(30)/12039	28893	Bovine, Spine 1 head		
2000	Southwest Quarter	(50)/12025	29254	Furniture, Table		
2000	Center	(43)/12032	29245	Furniture, Throne B		
2000	East Extension	(11)a/12011	28825	Bovine, Wavy 2		
2000	East Extension	(11)b/12011	28825	Bovine, Wavy 2		M
2000	NE Quarter	(22)/12022	28849	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2000	NE Quarter	(24)/12024	28854	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2000	West Side	(52)/12026	29257	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		

TRENCH 13: ROOM Υ

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2000	Southeast Quarter	(4)/13005	28957	Bovine, hindquarter		
2000	East Edge	(5)/13009	28958	Female, Psi, high-waisted		
2000	East Edge	(1)/13008	28813	Unknown		
2003	East Central	(a)/13109	30758	Bovine, leg		
2003	Southeast	(2)/13102	30668	Combination, Chariot		
2003	Southwest	(10)/13120	31861	Combination, Chariot		
2003	Northeast	(6)/13115	30801	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2003	Southeast	(a)/13101	30638	Female, Phi B or Psi		Y
2003	Southwest	(9)/13120	30920	Female, Phi B		
2003	Southeast	(5)/13106	30721	Female, Psi		
2003	Northeast & East	(8)/13116	30823	Female, Psi (prob.)		
2005	North Central	(6)/13207	32066	Bovine, horn		
2005	North end	(16)/13225	39639	Combination, connector		
2005	North Central	(7)/13211	32131	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		
2005	West Central	(8)/13214	32149	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		M
2005	North & West Central	(17)/13227	39644	Furniture, Table?		
2005	Southwest Corner	(a)/13210	32117	Unknown		
2005	East Central	(a)/13219	32233	Unknown		
2006	North Edge	(4)/13314	44811	Female, Phi A		M
2006	West Edge	(1)/13305	33192	Female, Proto-Phi		
2007	East of Γ W Wall	(14)/13423	34795	Bovine, horn		
2007	Center	(9)/13419	34685	Bovine, leg		
2007	West of W Wall	(10)/13422	34773	Bovine, leg		
2007	West of W Wall	(12)/13423	34792	Bovine, leg		
2007	East Half	(20)/13425	34814	Bovine, leg		
2007	Center	(38)/13432	34937	Bovine, leg?		
2007	East Half	(21)/13425	34816	Combination, Chariot		
2007	Center	(50)/13441	35020	Female, shoulder		
2007	South of W Wall	(8)/13417	34636	Bovine, Linear 1		
2007	Olive tree baulk	(24)/13426	34849	Bovine, Linear 1		
2007	Along N boundary, 'pit'	(64)/13449	35063	Bovine, Linear 1	Group F?	
2007	E of retaining wall	(125)/13404	45340	Female, Naturalistic?		
2007	Inside pithos <3>	(110)/13472	35140	Female, Phi A(?)		
2007	Northeast Corner, 'pit'	(121)/13458	35269	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2007	E of retaining wall	(3)/13404	34383	Female, Psi		
2007	Southeast Corner	(43)/13436	34976	Female, Seated Phi		
2007	Olive tree baulk	(30)/13430	34882	Bovine, Spine 1		
2007	Olive tree baulk	(34)/13431	34933	Unknown		
2007	South of W Wall	(6)/13415	34538	Bovine, Wavy 1/2		

2007	West Half	(72)/13457	35103	Bovine, Wavy 1?		
2007	West Half	(71)/13457	35104	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2008	SW Extension	(115)/13538	47848	Bovine, head		
2008	Along E baulk	(29)/13512	37658	Bovine, leg		
2008	Along E baulk	(30)/13512	37650	Bovine, leg		
2008	N Extension	(59)/13531	37660	Bovine, leg		
2008	Baulk around pithos <3>	(68)/13540	37661	Bovine, leg		
2008	East Half	(114)/13502	47843	Bovine, snout		
2008	SW Extension	(116)/13538	47849	Female, Naturalistic?		
2008	East Half	(113)/13510	47832	Female, Phi B or Psi		M

TRENCH 14: ROOM Ξ

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2000	E Extension	(1)/14002	28835	Female, Phi B	Group C?	
2000	SE Quadrant	(2)/14007	28881	Bovine, Spine 1		
2000	East of [A]	(7)/14001	29282	Female, Psi, hollow		
2000	Center	(8)/14013	29284	Bovine, Wavy 2		
2000	SE Quadrant	(9)/14006	29303	Bovine, leg		
2000	SE Quadrant	(10)/14006	29304	Female, Psi		
2001	South	(1)/14101	29782	Female, Phi B		
2012	Trench 14 [P]	(1)/14103	40136	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		

TRENCH 15

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2001	East of [N]	(49)/15002	30024	Animal		
2001	East of [II]	(3)/15004	29529	Animal, small		
2001	South End	(56)/15054	30084	Furniture? Bed?		
2001	Center	(16)/15034	29593	Bovine, forequarter		
2001	South End	(42)/15039	29811	Bovine, head		
2001	South End	(46)/15050	29821	Bovine, leg		
2001	Bedrock Cutting	(a)/15029	29587	Bovine, leg		
2001	South End	(32)/15064	29664	Bovine, hollow		
2001	Bedrock Cutting	(a)/15038	29607	Bovine?		
2001	South End	(40)/15085	29740	Unknown		
2001	South End	(17)/15043	29601	Bovine, Linear 1		
2001	South End	(44)/15050	29819	Female, mini Proto-Phi		
2001	Above and E of [II]	(29)/15058	29648	Bovine, mini Spine 1		
2001	East of [II]	(2)/15004	29528	Other, tripod		
2001	South End	(20)/15045	29617	Female, Phi B		
2001	South End	(18)/15042	29600	Female, Phi B		

2001	East of [N]	(1)/15002	29530	Female, Phi B or Psi	Group C?	
2001	South End	(11)/15031	29585	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2001	South End	(45)/15050	29820	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2001	South End	(55)/15031	30080	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2001	South End	(38)/15080	29709	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		
2001	South End	(22)/15049	29618	Combination, Seated Figure		
2001	South End	(57)/15067	30085	Unknown		
2001	Bedrock Cutting	(b)/15029	29587	Unknown		
2001	Bedrock Cutting	(b)/15064	29674	Unknown		
2001	Above & E of [N]	(33)/15069	29690	Bovine, Wavy 1/2		
2001	South End	(24)/15049	29616	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		

TRENCH 16: ROOM Π

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2001	Above & to East	(8)/16006	29633	Askos?		
2001	Above & to East	(9)/16007	29637	Female, Proto-Phi		
2001	Area of Burned Lateral Timber	(12)/16018	29663	Bovine, leg		
2001	West Edge	(14)/16017	29662	Female, Phi B		
2001	West Edge	(15)/16020	29666	Bovine, Linear 1	Group F?	
2001	East of threshold	(18)/16029	29711	Female, Phi A		
2001	Pit,' West Side	(23)/16043	29756	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2001	Extreme S. End	(24)/16052	29779	Female, Proto-Phi	Group E	
2001	Black Soil Dump	(a)/16017	29676	Bovine, leg		
2001	East Side	(a)/16025	29696	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2001	South Edge	(a)/16044	29778	Bovine, leg		
2001	Black Soil Dump	(b)/16021	29705	Bovine, leg		
2001	West Edge	(b)/16022	29694	Unknown		
2002	Pit,' West Half	(14)/16124	30168	Female, Phi		
2002	North of [Π]	(16)/16123	30166	Female, mini Proto-Phi		
2002	Pit,' SW	(27)/16132	30189	Female, Seated Phi		
2002	Pit,' West Half	(29)/16132	30192	Bovine, Custom	Group J	
2002	Pit,' NW	(37)/16139	30213	Female, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2002	Pit,' South End to NW	(a)/16120	30162	Bovine, Spine 1		
2002	Pit,' West Half	(a)/16128	30181	Bovine, horn?		
2002	Pit,' West Half	(a)/16132	30201	Bovine, leg		
2002	Pit,' North Half	(a)/16193	30096	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2002	Pit,' East Part	(b)/16134	30200	Unknown		
2003	Pit,' NE Half	(6)/16202	30488	Bovine, Linear 1	Group F	

2003	Pit,' NE Half	(10)/16202	30487	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' NW	(12)/16203	30492	Bovine, leg	Group H?	
2003	Pit,' NE	(17)/16206	30499	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2003	Pit,' NW	(23)a/16208	30509	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' NW	(23)b/16208	30509	Bovine, horn		
2003	Pit,' SW	(27)/16209	30530	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2003	Pit,' SW	(29)/16209	30533	Bovine, horn		
2003	Pit,' SE	(30)/16210	30532	Female, Phi B		
2003	Pit,' Center West	(38)/16215	30528	Bovine, snout		
2003	Pit,' Center West	(39)/16215	30529	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2003	Pit,' SE	(44)/16218	30545	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' SE	(46)/16218	30543	Bovine, head		
2003	Pit,' NE	(47)/16220	30547	Female, Proto-Phi? Kourotrophos?		
2003	Pit,' SE	(55)/16224	30560	Bovine, horn		
2003	Pit,' Center East	(56)/16225	30559	Chariot? Furniture?		
2003	Pit,' Center West	(60)/16228	30558	Animal, horse		
2003	Pit,' SW	(63)/16229	30586	Female, Phi B		
2003	Pit,' SE	(64)/16230	30585	Bovine, leg?		
2003	Pit,' NE	(68)/16232	30590	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' Center West	(83)/16240	30615	Bovine, Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' SW	(84)/16241	30621	Animal, Deer		
2003	Pit,' SW	(86)/16241	30622	Female, Phi B		
2003	Pit,' Center East	(92)/16243	30644	Animal, Deer		
2003	Pit,' Center West	(97)/16246	30658	Female, Phi B	Group A?	
2003	Pit,' SW	(99)/16247	30657	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' SW	(101)/16247	30656	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' Center West	(107)/16252	30687	Combination, Driven Ox?		
2003	Pit,' Center West	(108)/16252	30691	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' NE Half	(11)/16202	30491	Animal, Deer?		
2003	Pit,' SW	(112)/16253	30700	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' SW	(113)/16253	30699	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' Center East	(119)/16255	30720	Bovine, Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' NE	(123)/16259	30715	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' NE	(125)/16259	30713	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' NE	(126)/16260	30708	Bovine, Spine 1	Group H	
2003	Pit,' NE	(129)/16261	30712	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' NE	(130)/16261	30705	Bovine, snout		
2003	Pit,' NE	(131)/16261	30706	Bovine, horn		
2003	Pit,' NE	(137)/16263	30790	Unknown		
2003	Pit,' Center West	(139)/16264	30778	Unknown		
2003	Pit,' Center West	(140)/16264	30780	Bovine, Spine 1	Group G	

2003	Pit,' Center West	(142)/16264	30777	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' SW	(146)+(147)/16265	30779, 30776	Animal, Deer		
2003	Pit,' Center East	(154)/16269	30803	Bovine, head		
2003	Pit,' Center East	(157)/16269	30820	Bovine, leg?		
2003	Pit,' NE	(159)/16271	30809	Bovine, horn		
2003	Pit,' NW	(163)/16273	30832	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' NW	(164)/16273	30819	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' NW	(165)/16273	30816	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' NW	(166)/16273	30817	Bovine, horn		
2003	Pit,' NW	(168)/16273	30808	Bovine, mini Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' NW	(169)/16273	30821	Female, mini Phi A		
2003	Pit,' SW	(172)/16274	30815	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' SW	(182)/16281	30842	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' SW	(183)/16281	30849	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' NE	(19)/16206	30517	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' NW	(191)/16285	30857	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' SW	(193)/16286	30912	Animal, Deer (leg)		
2003	Pit,' SE	(197)/16288	30919	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' NW	(201)/16291	30918	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' SW	(203)/16292	30931	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' SE	(205)/16293	30939	Bovine, Linear 1	Group I	
2003	Pit,' SE	(209)/16297	30952	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' NW	(211)/16203	30994	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2003	Pit,' SE	(222)/16242	31497	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' NE	(229)/16251	31567	Bovine, horn		
2003	Pit,' Center West & NW	(231)/16252	31572	Furniture, Table?		
2003	Pit,' SW	(234)/16253	31575	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' SE	(239)/16267	31642	Combination, Driven Ox?		
2003	Pit,' NW	(240)/16273	31739	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' Center West & NW	(241)/16280	31753	Furniture, Table?		
2003	Pit,' SW	(242)/16281, 16286, 16292	31862	Furniture, Table		
2003	Pit'	(244)+++/16288	31866	Combination, Chariot		
2003	Pit,' SE	(a)/16205	30495	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' SW	(a)/16223	30579	Bovine, frag?		
2003	Pit,' NW	(a)/16233	30601	Female, Phi B or Psi		

2003	Pit,' Center West & NW	(a)/16252	30682	Bovine, leg		
2003	Pit,' NW	(a)/16285	30867	Combination, Driven Oxen? Chariot?		
2003	Pit,' SE	(a)/16288	30947	Bovine, Linear 1		
2003	Pit,' SE	(b)/16293	30946	Bovine, horn		
2003	Pit,' NE	(b)/16295	30960	Unknown		
2003	Pit,' SE	(c/16293	30946	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2003, 2004	Pit,' NE & SW	(224)/16244 + (16)/16308	31496, 31371	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1	Group F?	
2004	Pit,' SE	(6)/16302	31316	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' SW	(9)/16304	31349	Animal, Deer		
2004	Pit,' SW	(15)/16308	31373	Bovine, horn		
2004	Pit,' SW	(17)/16308	31364	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2004	Pit,' NE	(22)/16310	31390	Bovine, Wavy 2		
2004	Pit,' NW	(24)/16311	31404	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' NW	(25)/16311	31401	Animal, Horse?		
2004	Pit,' SW & NE	(37)/16315 + (54)/16320	31425, 31482	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2004	Pit,' SW	(38)/16315	31419	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' NW	(40)/16316	31421	Bovine, horn		
2004	Pit,' SW	(42)/16317 + (65)/16325	31435, 31484	Female, Phi B		
2004	Pit,' SW	(45)/16317	31436	Bovine, leg?		
2004	Pit,' SE	(50)/16319	31470	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2004	Pit,' NE	(52)/16320	31471	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' NE	(55)/16320	31481	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' NW	(56)a/16321	31456	Animal?		
2004	Pit,' NW	(56)b/16321	31456	Bovine, leg?		
2004	Pit,' NW	(56)c/16321	31456	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' NW & SE	(58)/16321 + (89)/16333	31457, 31594	Bovine, Custom	ca. Group J	
2004	Pit,' NE	(60)/16322	31480	Bovine, leg?	Group K?	
2004	Pit,' NW	(68)/16326	31509	Animal, small Deer		
2004	Pit,' NW	(69)/16326	31507	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' NE	(72)/16327	31527	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' SE	(77)/16329	31522	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2004	Pit,' SW	(82)/16330	31537	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' NW	(84)/16331	31559	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' NE	(87)/16332	31553	Animal, horse		
2004	Pit,' NE	(88)/16332	31558	Furniture, Chair?		
2004	Pit,' SE	(93)/16334	31586	Female, Phi		
2004	Pit,' SW	(95)a/16335	31591	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' SW	(95)b/16335	31591	Bovine, leg		

2004	Pit,' NE	(99)/16337	31663	Bovine, horn		
2004	Pit,' SE	(102)/16338	31673	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2004	Pit,' SE	(103)/16338	31677	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' SE	(104)/16338	31687	Bovine, leg?	Group J?	
2004	Pit,' SE	(105)/16338	31675	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1	Group F?	
2004	Pit,' NW	(110)/16341	31683	Bovine, horn		
2004	Pit,' SE	(115)/16343	31676	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2004	Pit,' SE	(118)/16344	31713	Unknown		
2004	Pit,' SE	(119)/16344	31714	Bovine, horn		
2004	Pit,' SW	(121)/16345	31703	Bovine, Wavy 2		
2004	Pit,' SW	(122)/16345	31712	Bovine, horn		
2004	Pit,' SE	(128)/16349	31719	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2004	Pit,' SW	(130)/16351	31721	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' SW	(133)/16308	31930	Combination? Other?		
2004	Pit,' SE	(134)/16324	32008	Furniture, Foot		
2004	Pit,' SW	(135)/16325	32009	Female, mini Phi B or Psi		
2004	Pit,' NE, NW, & SE	(138)+/16333	32176	Furniture, Throne B		
2004	Pit,' NE	(139)/16337	32173	Furniture, Throne B?		
2004	Pit,' NW	(142)/16311	38179	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' NE	(a)/16320	31465	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' NE	(a)/16322	31490	Combination, connector?		
2004	Pit,' SW	(a)/16335	31605	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2004	Pit,' NE	(a)/16337	31658	Bovine, horn		
2004	Pit,' NW	(a)/16341	31762	Bovine, horn		
2004	Pit,' NE	(a)/16342	31756	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' NW	(a)/16347	31745	Bovine, leg		
2004	Pit,' NE	(b)/16337	31658	Unknown		
2005	Pit,' NE	(5)/16403	31970	Bovine, Linear 1		
2005	Pit,' SE	(7)/16403	31965	Animal, horse?		
2005	Pit,' SW	(10)/16404	31993	Bovine, Linear 1		
2005	Pit,' NE	(112)/16433	32326	Female, Phi B	Group B	
2005	Pit,' SE	(116)/16434	32365	Bovine, snout		
2005	Pit,' NW	(12)a/16405	31999	Bovine, leg		
2005	Pit,' NW	(12)b/16405	31999	Bovine, leg or horn?		
2005	Pit,' NW	(12)c/16405	31999	Unknown		
2005	Pit,' NW	(16)b/16406	31996	Bovine, Linear 1		
2005	Pit,' NW	(16)c/16406	31996	Animal, horse?		
2005	Pit,' SW	(18)a/16407	32020	Bovine, leg		
2005	Pit,' SW	(18)b/16407	32020	Bovine, leg		

2005	Pit,' SE	(21)a/16408	32015	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2005	Pit,' SE	(21)b/16408	32015	Bovine, horn		
2005	Pit,' SE	(21)c/16408	32015	Bovine, snout?		
2005	Pit,' NW	(29)/16411	32064	Bovine, leg		
2005	Pit,' SW	(33)/16412	32068	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2005	Pit,' SE	(39)/16413 + (16)a/16406	32085	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2005	Pit,' NW	(52)/16415	32106	Bovine, leg		
2005	Pit,' NW	(54)/16415	32088	Bovine, leg		
2005	Pit,' SW	(57)/16416	32101	Bovine, leg or horn		
2005	Pit,' SW	(62)/16417	32135	Bovine, leg		
2005	Pit,' SE	(65)/16418	32124	Human?		
2005	Pit,' SE	(80)/16422	32254	Bovine, mini Wavy 2		
2005	Pit,' SE	(83)/16422	32267	Bovine, leg		
2005	Pit,' SE	(85)/16423	32247	Bovine, leg		
2005	Pit,' NE	(95)/16428	32302	Bovine, Linear 1		
2005	Pit,' SE	(99)/16429 + (145)/ 16435	32310, 33322	Bovine, Custom	Group J	
2005	Pit,' SE	(120)/16434	32343	Bovine, horn		
2005	Pit,' SE	(123)c/16435	32327	Bovine, leg		
2005	Pit,' SW	(127)+(123)b/ 16437	32357	Bovine, Linear 1		
2005	Pit,' NE	(132)/16402	32435	Combination, Chariot?		
2005	Pit,' SE	(134)/16408	32962	Furniture, Throne B?		
2005	Pit,' NW	(135)/16411	32964	Bovine, horn		
2005	Pit,' SW	(136)/16412	32967	Unknown		
2005	Pit,' SW	(137)/16412	32961	Unknown		
2005	Pit,' SE	(138)/16413	32965	Furniture, Throne B		
2005	Pit,' NE	(139)/16414	32966	Unknown		
2005	Pit,' SE	(141)/16422	33114	Unknown		
2005	Pit,' SW	(146)/16436	33325	Furniture, foot		
2005	Pit,' SW	(a)/16407	32502	Bovine, Spine 1		
2005	Pit,' SW	(a)/16416	32119	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2005	Pit,' SW	(a)/16417	32113	Unknown		
2005, 2006	Pit,' NE	(93)/16428 + (111)/16433 + (3)/16502 (2006)	32296, 32358, 32668	Bovine, Linear 1		
2005, 2006	Pit,' NW & SW	(144)/16432 + (246)/16534	33323, 35193	Furniture, Throne B		
2006	Pit,' NE	(10)/16506 + (50)/16527 + (54)/16528 + (87)/16538	32665	Bovine, Custom	Group J	

2006	Pit,' NE	(11)/16506	32646	Female, mini Phi		
2006	Pit,' NE	(32)/16521	32736	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SE	(36)a/16522	32751	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SE	(36)b/16522	32751	Bovine, horn		
2006	Pit,' SW	(37)/16523	32750	Female, Phi B		
2006	Pit,' SW	(38)/16523	32747	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' NE	(45)/16525	32749	Female, mini Phi B		
2006	Pit,' SE	(51)/16527	32738	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SE	(52)/16527	32758	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2006	Pit,' NE	(57)/16529	32735	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SW	(60)/16530	32784	Bovine, horn		
2006	Pit,' SW	(63)+(72)+(77)b+…/16530	32771	Bovine, Linear 1		
2006	Pit,' SE	(65)/16531 + (89)/16538 + (248)/16537 + (301)/16517	32804	Female, Psi		
2006	Pit,' SE	(67)/16531	32786	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SW	(76)a/16534	32787	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SW	(76)b/16534	32787	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SE	(77)a/16535	32779	Bovine, horn		
2006	Pit,' SE	(77)c/16535	32779	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SE	(77)d/16535	32779	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SE	(77)e/16535	32779	Bovine?, leg		
2006	Pit,' SE	(77)f/16535	32779	Bovine?, leg		
2006	Pit,' SE	(78)/16535	32773	Female, Phi B	Group K	
2006	Pit,' SW	(87)a/16538	32810	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SW	(87)b/16538	32810	Bovine, horn		
2006	Pit,' SW	(88)/16538 + (a)/16520	32805	Other, Chair Person		
2006	Pit,' SE	(91)/16539	32814	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' NW	(94)/16540	32809	Animal?, leg		
2006	Pit,' SE	(97)/16543	32841	Bovine, horn		
2006	Pit,' SE	(102)/16547	32840	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SW	(119)/16560	32899	Bovine?, leg		
2006	Pit,' SW	(151)/16583	33000	Bovine?, leg		
2006	Pit,' NE	(167)/16595	33093	Bovine, Spine 1	Group G	
2006	Pit,' SW	(174)/16600	33104	Female, Phi B		
2006	Pit,' NW	(183)/16606	33170	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2006	Pit,' SW	(186)/16608	33165	Female, Phi B		
2006	Pit,' SW	(187)/16608	33164	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2006	Pit,' SW	(196)/16615	33191	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2006	Pit,' SW	(207)/16623	33196	Animal?, leg?		
2006	Pit,' NW	(213)/16626 + (224)/16633	33260, 33318	Female, Psi		
2006	Pit,' NW	(214)/16626	33316	Animal, leg		

2006	Pit,' NE	(217)/16628	33254	Female, mini Phi B or Psi		
2006	Pit,' SE	(221)/16631	33256	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' NE	(227)/16635	33259	Bovine, horn		
2006	Pit,' NE	(237)/16510	34522	Combination, Chariot		
2006	Pit,' NE	(239)/16521	34528	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2006	Pit,' NW	(240)/16520	34529	Bovine, horn		
2006	Pit,' SE	(244)/16531	35197	Unknown		
2006	Pit,' SE	(249)/16535	35195	Furniture, Throne B		
2006	Pit,' NE	(261)/16563	37609	Unknown		
2006	Pit,' NE	(269)/16578	37599	Female, Phi B		
2006	Pit,' SE	(274)/16589	37585	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2006	Pit,' NW	(279)/16598	37597	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2006	Pit,' NE	(282)/16603	37614	Unknown		
2006	Pit,' NE	(286)a/16607	37611	Combination, Chariot?		
2006	Pit,' NE	(286)b/16607	37611	Combination, Chariot?		
2006	Pit,' SE	(291)/16624	37612	Combination, Chariot?		
2006	Pit,' SW	(295)/16546	38180	Animal		
2006	Pit,' NE	(300)/16502	45341	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2006	Pit,' NE	(a)/16506	32643	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' NE	(a)/16515	32676	Unknown		
2006	Pit,' SW	(a)/16523	32721	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SW	(a)/16538	32827	Bovine?, leg		
2006	Pit,' SW	(a)/16542	32836	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SW	(a)/16546	32881	Bovine, leg		
2006	Pit,' SE	(a)/16547	32863	Bovine, Linear 1		
2006	Pit,' NW	(a)/16548	32869	Female, Phi B or Psi?		
2006	Pit,' NE	(a)/16558	32874	Unknown		
2006	Pit,' NE	(a)/16582	32973	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2006	Pit,' SE	(a)/16597	33138	Animal, horse?		
2006	Pit,' NE	(a)/16603	33131	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		
2006	Pit,' NE	(b)/16506	32643	Bovine?		
2006	Pit,' SW	(b)/16538	32827	Bovine, horn?		
2006	Pit,' SW	(b)/16546	32881	Bovine, leg		
2007	Pit,' NW	(1)/16701	34307	Bovine, horn		
2007	Pit,' SE	(7)/16706	34299	Bovine, leg		
2012	"Chute"	(32)/16825	39997	Bovine, leg		
2012	"Chute"	(36)/16835	40001	Female, Phi		

TRENCH 17: ROOM Σ

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2003	E Extension	(b)/17020	30759	Bovine, horn		
2003	E Extension	(a)/17020	30759	Bovine, leg		
2003	E Extension	(a)/17012	30602	Female, mini Phi B or Psi		Y
2003	North End	(a)/17003	30506	Female, Phi B or Psi		Y
2003	N of E Extension	(a)/17040	30923	Female, Phi B or Psi		M
2003	NE Extension	(a)/17045	30966	Female, Phi B or Psi?		M
2004	Far North Extension	(38)/17108	31884	Bovine, forequarter		
2004	Far North Extension	(44)/17118	33347	Bovine, torso		
2004	N and E	(13)/17118	31562	Bovine, leg		
2004	Far North Extension	(39)/17108	31885	Animal, horse?		
2004	Far North Extension	(31)/17138	31659	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2004	Far North Extension	(36)/17143	31705	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2004	Far North Extension	(a)/17113	31543	Female, Phi B or Psi?		
2004	N and E	(14)/17118	31556	Female Psi, High-waisted		
2004	N and E	(10)/17116	31554	Female Psi, Hollow		
2005	NE 1/3	(74)/17245	32202	Bovine, horn		
2005	Far North Extension	(129)/17254	40156	Bovine, horn		
2005	East Half	(63)/17238	32127	Bovine, leg		
2005	NE 1/3	(77)/17245	32215	Combination, Bull-leaper?		
2005	N-S Wall, foundation trench	(64)/17239	32145	Bovine Wavy 2/ Linear 1		M

TRENCH 18:

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2004	N Extension	(a)/18007b	31603	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		
2004	West of [Σ]	(a)/18014	31652	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2004	W of Terrace Wall	(8)/18016	31691	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2004	East of [E]	(4)/18003	31429	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2004	West of [Σ]	(6)/18010	31632	Bovine, horn		

2005	W of PMTW	(1)/18101	31895	Female, Proto-Phi, small		
2005	W of E Boundary	(2)/18103	31900	Female, Phi A (head)		
2005	SW Corner	(17)/18130	32201	Female, Phi B		
2005	W of PMTW	(9)/18118	32023	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2005	N of Cobble	(4)/18104	31898	Bovine, leg		
2005	W of PMTW	(8)/18117	32016	Animal, horse		
2005	South Half	(18)/18134	32208	Animal, horse?		
2005	SW Extension	(24)/18121	41968	Unknown		
2007	Western 1/3	(29)/18208	45343	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A		
2007	Western 1/3	(7)/18208	34534	Female, Phi (head)		
2007	Large S Room	(31)/18216	45345	Bovine?, leg		

TRENCH 19: ROOM T

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2006	NE Corner	(1)/19001	32666	Female, Phi B		
2006	E Half	(3)/19004	32783	Bovine, leg		
2006	S Half	(13)/19015	32933	Bovine, horn (bone)		
2006	S Half	(14)/19015	32932	Bovine?, leg		
2006	S Half	(68)/19045	33290	Bovine, horn		
2006	S Half	(69)/19028	33363	Bovine, Custom		
2006	S Half	(71)/19035	35187	Other, Boat		
2006	S Half	(73)/19007	44815	Bovine, horn		
2006	S Half	(74)/19021	44816	Combination, connector		
2007	W Extension	(28)/19113	34306	Female, Phi B or Psi (large head)		
2007	N Half	(34)/19120	34509	Unknown		
2007	N Half	(41)/19126	34546	Female, Proto-Phi		
2007	N Half	(77)/19137	34880	Bovine?, leg		
2007	N Half	(90)/19142	34944	Bovine, horn		
2007	W Extension	(100)/19147	34986	Bovine, leg		
2007	N Half, W Extension	(114)/19114	45628	Female, Phi B or Psi		M
2007	N Half	(116)/19126	45630	Female, Phi A		
2007	N Half	(117)/19121	45631	Female ,Phi B		
2007	N Half	(118)/19118	45632	Animal		
2007	Fresco Cluster, NE Edge	(120)/19129	45642	Female, Naturalistic?		
2008	W Extension	(28)/19209	37712	Female, Naturalistic? (head)		
2008	W Extension	(34)/19213	37715	Female, Proto-Phi		
2008	E Half	(53)/19222	37718	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	SW End	(59)/19225	37719	Animal (head)		

2008	W Extension	(71)/19230	37720	Bovine?, leg		
2008	W Extension	(72)/19233	37721	Bovine, Wavy 2		
2008	South Wall Area	(100)/19247	37730	Bovine?, head		
2008	W Extension	(102)/19250	37731	Bovine, leg		
2008	SE Area	(108)/19255	37732	Bovine, leg		
2008	SE Area	(112)/19259	37734	Bovine, leg		
2008	SE Area	(113)/19260	37735	Bovine, leg		
2008	SE Area	(114)/19260	37736	Bovine, Linear 1		
2008	W Extension	(115)/19256	37737	Bovine, leg		
2008	W Extension	(117)/19256	37738	Combination, Chariot		
2008	SE Area	(123)/19263	37742	Bovine, leg		
2008	N Half	(124)/19264	37743	Female, Phi B		
2008	N Half	(126)/19264	37744	Bovine, leg		
2008	SE Area	(127)/19263	37745	Female, Phi B or Psi	Group A	
2008	SE Area	(128)/19263	37746	Female, Phi B	Group C	
2008	N Half	(129)/19265	37747	Bovine, leg		
2008	N Half	(135)/19265	37750	Female, Phi B, Miniature		
2008	S Half	(137)/19268	37751	Bovine, Linear 1		
2008	S Half	(141)/19273	37752	Female, Phi B		
2008	S Half	(143)+(176)/19275	37753, 38749	Bovine, Spine 1	Group H	
2008	S Half	(150)/19279	37755	Bovine, horn (bone)		
2008	S Half	(151)/19279	37756	Female, Phi B or Psi		M
2008	S Half	(154)/19281	37757	Bovine, leg		
2008	N Half	(158)/19283	37758	Bovine, leg or horn		
2008	N Half	(159)/19283	37759	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	S Half	(161)/19284	37760	Combination, Chariot		
2008	S Half	(162)/19284	37761	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	S Half	(165)/19284	37764	Bovine. leg		
2008	S Half	(172)/19269	37768	Female, mini Phi B		
2008	S Half	(175)/19268	38748	Bovine, leg (gritty)		
2008	S Half	(180)/19281	46129	Unknown		
2008	S Half	(183)/19281	46134	Female, Phi B or Psi		M
2008	S Half	(185)/19284	46351	Combination, Arm? Bull leaper?		
2008	S Half	(186)/19284	46352	Bovine, leg		
2008	S Half	(187)/19284	46353	Female, Phi B		
2008	S Half	(188)/19284	46354	Female, Naturalistic?		
2008	N Half	(190)/19283	46394	Bovine, leg or horn		
2008	N Half	(191)/19283	46395	Bovine, leg		

2008	NW Quadrant	(192)/19280	47790	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	S Half	(193)/19279	47791	Bovine, horn		
2008	N Half	(194)/19278	47792	Animal?, leg		
2008	NW Quadrant	(197)/19274	47805	Female, Naturalistic?		
2008	NW Quadrant	(198)/19274	47806	Bovine, figure (snout)?		
2008	N Half	(199)/19265	47808	Female, Phi B		
2008	N Half	(201)/19265	47811	Furniture? Combination?		
2008	N Half	(203)/19272	47818	Unknown		
2008	SE Area	(204)/19259	47814	Bovine, leg		
2008	SE Area	(205)/19263	47819	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2008	SE Area	(212)/19260	47828	Bovine, Miniature		
2008	W Extension	(216)/19242	47836	Unknown		
2012	S Half	(11)/19318	39740	Bovine, horn		
2012	S Half	(15)/19320	39744	Bovine, leg		
2012	S Half	(17)/19320	39746	Bovine, leg?		
2012	S Half	(27)/19322	39756	Animal?, leg/foot		
2012	S Half	(38)/19327	39766	Bovine, horn or leg		
2012	S Half	(42)/19328	39770	Bovine, leg		
2012	S Half	(44)/19329	39772	Combination, Chariot (horse head)		
2012	S Half	(46)/19329	39774	Bovine, leg		
2012	S Half	(47)/19329	39775	Bovine, horn		
2012	S Half	(48)/19329	39776	Bovine, leg		
2012	S Half	(64)/19336	39792	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(69)/19340	39797	Female, Psi		
2012	N Half	(72)/19340	39800	Combination, connector (2)		
2012	N Half	(75)/19342	39822	Bovine, horn		
2012	N Half	(80)/19343	19343	Female, mini Phi B or Psi		
2012	N Half	(82)/19344	39829	Female, Phi B		
2012	N Half	(85)/19344	39832	Bovine, leg		
2012	S Half	(86)/19345	39833	Bovine, horn		
2012	N Half	(97)/19350	39844	Female, Proto-Phi?		M
2012	N Half	(99)/19351	39846	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(109)/19354	39856	Unknown		
2012	N Half	(110)/19354	39857	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(114)/19355	39861	Female, Phi B or Psi		M
2012	N Half	(115)/19355	39862	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(118)/19357	39865	Bovine, Linear 1		
2012	N Half	(120)/19358	39867	Female, Proto-Phi or Naturalistic?		
2012	N Half	(121)/19358	39868	Unknown		

2012	N Half	(122)/19359	39869	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2012	N Half	(123)/19359	39870	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(127)/19360	39874	Bovine, Miniature		
2012	N Half	(128)/19360	39875	Female, Phi B or Psi		M
2012	N Half	(132)/19362	40032	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(135)/19363	40035	Bovine, mini leg		
2012	N Half	(137)/19364	40037	Female, Phi B or Psi		M
2012	N Half	(139)/19365	40039	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(141)/19366	40041	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(142)/19366	40042	Female, Phi B		
2012	N Half	(144)/19367	40044	Female, Phi B or Psi		Y
2012	N Half	(146)/19368	40046	Female, Phi B or Psi		M
2012	N Half	(147)/19368	40047	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(149)/19369	40049	Female, Phi B or Psi		M
2012	N Half	(150)/19369	40050	Female, Phi B or Psi		M
2012	N Half	(151)/19369	40051	Combination, Bull leaper (horn)		
2012	N Half	(152)/19369	40052	Bovine, horn		
2012	N Half	(154)/19370	40054	Bovine, Spine 1	Group H	
2012	N Half	(155)/19370	40055	Bovine, Miniature		
2012	N Half	(156)/19370	40056	Female, mini Phi		
2012	N Half	(157)/19370	40057	Bovine, Linear 1		
2012	N Half	(159)/19371	40059	Female, Phi B		
2012	N Half	(160)/19371	40060	Bovine, horn		
2012	N Half	(161)/19371	40061	Female, Phi B or Psi (head)		
2012	N Half	(164)/19373	40064	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(166)/19374	40066	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2012	N Half	(167)/19374	40067	Bovine, horn		
2012	N Half	(168)/19374	40068	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(169)/19374	40069	Bovine, snout		
2012	N Half	(170)/19374	40070	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2012	N Half	(172)/19375	40072	Female, Phi B or Psi		Y
2012	N Half	(173)/19375	40073	Bovine, horn		
2012	N Half	(174)/19375	40074	Bovine, Linear 1		
2012	N Half	(178)/19380	40078	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(179)/19380	40079	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(183)/19382	40083	Bovine, horn		
2012	N Half	(184)/19382	40084	Animal, (head)		
2012	N Half	(185)/19383	40085	Bovine, leg		

2012	N Half	(186)/19384	40086	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(188)/19383	40088	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(190)/19385	40090	Bovine, horn		
2012	N Half	(191)/19385	40091	Bovine, leg		
2012	S Half	(195)/19316	49159	Bovine, leg		
2012	Center	(205)/19337	49169	Female, Phi		
2012	N Half	(207)/19339	49173	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2012	S Half	(211)/19335	49176	Unknown		
2012	N Half	(212)/19339	49178	Bovine, Linear 1		
2012	N Half	(213)/19339	49179	Female, Phi B		
2012	N Half	(214)/19339	49180	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2012	N Half	(215)/19342	49181	Female, Phi B		
2012	N Half	(216)/19355	49182	Female, Phi B		
2012	N Half	(220)/19348	49187	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2012	N Half	(221)/19350	49188	Bovine, leg		
2012	N Half	(230)/19363	49200	Unknown		
2012	N Half	(231)/19366	49201	Female, Phi B		
2012	N Half	(235)/19363	49208	Female, Phi B		
2012	N Half	(236)/19365	49209	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2012	N Half	(237)/19368	49210	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2012	N Half	(238)/19369	49212	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2012	N Half	(239)/19369	49213	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2012	N Half	(240)/19370	49243	Combination, Chariot		
2012	N Half	(253)/19374	49256	Unknown		
2012	N Half	(256)/19376	49259	Female, Phi B		
2012	N Half	(257)/19376	49260	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2012	N Half	(258)/19376	49261	Female, Phi B or Psi		
2012	N Half	(275)/ 19370	49278	Animal, Deer		

TRENCH 21: EAST OF [Z]/ROOM [Φ]

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2012	East of [Z]	(1)/21002	40094	Female, Proto-Phi		
2012	East of [Z]	(3)/21010	40096	Female, Phi A		
2012	East of [Z]/ Room [Φ]	(4)/21011	40097	Female, Proto-Phi		
2013	Well	(9)/21114	42833	Female, Proto-Phi		
2013	Well	(15)/21117	42839	Female, Proto-Phi	ca. Group E	
2013	Well	(16)/21117	42840	Unknown		

2013	Well	(20)/21118	42844	Unknown		
2013	Well	(21)/21120	42845	Female, Proto-Phi		
2013	Well	(22)/21120	42846	Bovine, Naturalistic		

TRENCH 22

Year	Context/ Findspot	Excavation #	MM/BE #	Figurine Category & Type	Artist Group	Altered?
2013	Lump	(7)/22005	42853	Bovine, Wavy 2?		
2013	Lump	(8)/22005	42854	Female, Proto-Phi	Group E	
2013	Lump	(17)/22010	42863	Bovine, Wavy 2		
2013	Lump	(22)/22016	42868	Bovine, Wavy 2/ Linear 1		
2013	Lump	(32)/22023	42878	Female, Phi B	Group C	
2013	Lump	(35)/22005	42881	Unknown		
2013	Lump	(40)/22028	42886	Female, Proto-Phi or Phi A (head)		
2013	Center	(42)/22031	42888	Furniture, Bed, small		
2013	South End	(44)/22034	42890	Bovine, leg		
2013	South End	(46)/22035	42892	Bovine, leg		
2013	South End	(47)/22035	42893	Female, Psi (arm)		
2013	South End	(48)/22035	42894	Bovine, leg	Group J?	
2013	South End	(49)/22035	42895	Female, Psi	Group A?	
2013	East Edge	(53)/22038	42898	Female, Psi (arm)		
2013	East Edge	(55)/22038	42900	Bovine, leg		
2013	SW Corner	(59)/22015	42904	Bovine, leg		