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ELEFThERIA KARDAMAKI

A new group of figures and rare figurines from a Mycenaean workshop installation at Kontopigado, Alimos (Athens)

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A new group of figures and rare figurines from a Mycenaean workshop installation at Kontopigado, Alimos (Athens)

ELEFThERIA KARDAMAKI

Eine neue Gruppe von Figuren und seltenen Figurinen aus einer mykenischen Werkstattanlage in Kontopigado, Alimos (Athen)

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG Vor kurzem in Kontopigado, Alimos, 5 km südlich der Akropolis von Athen durchgeführte Grabungen haben die Reste einer großflächigen mykenischen Anlage noch unbekannter Verwendung zutage gebracht. Während der Nutzung und nach Aufgabe des Ortes im frühesten Abschnitt von SH III C Früh wurden in der Nähe von und innerhalb dieser Anlage mehrere Brunnen mit großen Mengen von Fundmaterial verfüllt. Unter diesen Funden verdienen die Fragmente einmaliger oder sehr seltenen Typen angehörender Figurinen sowie von Figuren besondere Aufmerksamkeit. Antropomorphe und zoomorphe Terrakottafiguren stellen Objekte dar, die hauptsächlich mit Kultaktivität offiziellen Charakters verbunden waren, sodass ihr Erscheinen die Existenz eines oder mehrerer Kultplätze im unmittelbaren Umfeld der Anlage nahelegt. Die Neufunde unterstreichen einmal mehr die engen Verbindungen zwischen Werkstätten und Kult; zudem bieten sie neue Anhaltspunkte für die sozio-politische Organisation Attikas in dieser Zeit.

Schlagwörter Kontopigado / Athen; mykenische Kultur; Werkstatt; Figuren; männliche Gottheiten.

ABSTRACT Recent excavations in Kontopigado, Alimos, 5 km south of the Acropolis of Athens have brought to light remains of an extensive Mycenaean installation of still unknown use. During the use and after the abandonment of the site in the earliest stages of LH III C Early, several wells located near or within this installation were filled with huge quantities of material. Among the finds from the fills the fragments of unique or very rare figurine types and figures deserve special attention. Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures represent objects that are primarily connected with official cult activities, and their presence would suggest the existence of one or more cult places in the direct vicinity of the installation. The new finds once more stress the close connection between workshops and cult, providing new evidence for the socio-political organisation of Attica during that period.

Keywords Kontopigado / Athens; Mycenaean culture; installation; figures; male deities.

Νέα ομάδα ειδώλων και σπάνιων ειδωλίων από μια μυκηναϊκή εργαστηριακή εγκατάσταση στο Κοντοπήγαδο Αλίμου (Αθήνα)

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ Οι πρόσφατες ανασκαφές στο Κοντοπήγαδο Αλίμου, 5 χλμ. νοτίως της Ακρόπολης των Αθηνών, έφεραν στο φως κατάλοιπα εκτεταμένης μυκηναϊκής εγκατάστασης άγνωστης ακόμα χρήσης. Κατά τη διάρκεια της χρήσης της θέσης και μετά την εγκατάλειψή της κατά τη διάρκεια των πρωιμότετων φάσεων της ΥΕ III Γ πρώιμης περιόδου, διάφορα πηγάδια πλησίον ή εντός της εγκατάστασης επιχώσθηκαν με μεγάλες ποσότητες υλικού. Μεταξύ των ευρημάτων των επιχώσεων αξιοπρόσεκτα είναι τα θραύσματα μοναδικών ή πολύ σπάνιων τύπων ειδωλίων και ειδώλων. Ανθρωπόμορφα και ζωόμορφα είδωλα αναπαριστούν αντικείμενα, τα οποία σχετίζονται πρωτίστως με δραστηριότητες της επίσημης λατρείας, και η παρουσία τους θα μπορούσε να υποδηλώνει την ύπαρξη ενός ή περισσότερων λατρευτικών χώρων στην άμεση γειτνίαση της εγκατάστασης. Τα νέα ευρήματα υπογραμμίζουν εκ νέου τη στενή σχέση εργαστηρίων και λατρείας παρέχοντας νέα στοιχεία για την κοινωνικοπολιτική οργάνωση της Αττικής κατά τη διάρκεια αυτής της περιόδου.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Κοντοπήγαδο / Αθήνα. Μυκηναϊκός πολιτισμός. Εγκατάσταση. Είδωλα. Ανδρικές θεότητες.

INTRODUCTION

This article examines a group of five figures and two rare figurine types found during recent rescue excavations that have led to the discovery of a workshop installation in the area known as Kontopigado, 5 km south of the Athenian Acropolis (*fig. 1*)¹. According to the definition proposed by E. B. French² which will be adopted here, figures and figurines form two distinct find groups. The term ›figure‹ is used to describe large anthropomorphic and zoomorphic clay statuettes that are wheel-shaped or hollow, as opposed to the small handmade figurines that form the vast majority of anthropomorphic clay statuettes from the late Mycenaean period³. In addition, the group of figures includes large or medium-size solid statuettes. The latter can be clearly distinguished from small figurines in terms of style, manufacture and size⁴. French divides anthropomorphic figures into two groups: type A figures form the largest group and represent, in most cases, female clay statuettes with up-raised arms⁵ varying in size from 15 to 45 cm⁶, while type B figures are large monochrome barrel-shaped clay statuettes with areas reserved for facial features⁷. The latter do not wear any headgear, and include gestures that are different from those displayed by figures of type A⁸. To date, type B figures have only been found in the Temple Complex of the Cult Centre in Mycenae⁹ and possibly in Tiryns¹⁰. Finally, figures represent objects that, due to their context, size and manufacture, are associated with official cult activities or rituals, and have been interpreted as representations of deities¹¹. These large clay statuettes were the recipients of offerings, and were either placed on benches within shrines, or held or attached

I am very grateful to the director of the project, K. Kaza-Papageorgiou, for allowing me to study and publish the group of the objects presented here and to InstAP for making the execution of the drawings of the figures and figurines possible. For fruitful discussions on the material I would like to thank V. Hachtmann, K. Kaza-Papageorgiou, M. Veters, Ch. Boulotis, R. Jung, J. Maran and P. Day. For the drawings of the figures I am grateful to V. Hachtmann. Special thanks go to P. Westlake for improving the English text. Finally I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their valuable comments.

¹ The installation was excavated in 2006 and 2007. Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου et al. 2011, 201–208, 203 fig. 2.

² French 1981, 172; French 1985, 209; French 2003, 311–316.

³ French 1971, 107.

⁴ See French 1985, 217 fig. 6.5; 221 f. 223–230 for the solid female head and the solid male figures from Phylakopi.

⁵ French 2001, 275 describes the type A figures as »canonical examples of known figurine types but at a somewhat larger size«. For a recent evaluation of the figures and a list of most of the type A figures published so far see Pliatsika 2012, 609–625. It should be pointed out, however, that not all statuettes display clear indication of their female gender (French 1985, 213 fig. 6.3; Moore – Taylour 1999, 51 f. pl. 11. 12). Type A figures also include the so-called pot-figures (Moore – Taylour 1999, 51 pl. 11 a).

⁶ Pliatsika 2012, 611.

⁷ French 2001, 275. Type B figures can be up to 70 cm high (Moore – Taylour 1999, 48.338 [68-1589]). The

distinction between figures of type A and B has been adopted by most scholars. See Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 77 f.; Moore – Taylour 1999, 46; Whittaker 2009, 98; Albers 2009, 89 f.; Pliatsika 2012, 609. A more detailed classification has been applied by Kilian 1978, 465; Kilian 1981, 53 f. fig. 6; Kilian 1988, 144. Kilian distinguishes figures with upraised arms from large Psi figures and small handmade figures. Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 78–80 has characterised some fragments from Aphaia as a local alternative form of the type A figure.

⁸ These are defined by French 2001, 275 as »raised arms, arms grasping something, and what for convenience may be nicknamed the flagbearers«. Moore – Taylour 1999, 48 pl. 13–21 divided the gestures in Poses 1–3. Figures, like figurines, appear under Cretan influence at the end of LH II (French 1971, 103 f.). For the dating of most of the type B figures only a terminus ante quem is provided in LH III B Middle (Moore – Taylour 1999, 50). Based on stylistic grounds French 1985, 215 has argued that some female figures in Phylakopi and the Cult Centre are older (LH III A2 and LH III B) than their final destruction context (see note 219).

⁹ Moore – Taylour 1999, 47–50 pl. 13–22 a.

¹⁰ One fragment, possibly of a type B figure, comes from the ›syringes‹ (Weber-Hiden 1990, 76 f. pl. 48, 160). It belongs to a hollow base that is handmade rather than wheel-made. Its surface bears traces of vertical burnishing marks.

¹¹ Hägg 1981, 37; Renfrew 1985, 363 f.; Kilian 1990, 196; Albers 1994, 135–138; Moore – Taylour 1999, 87–92.

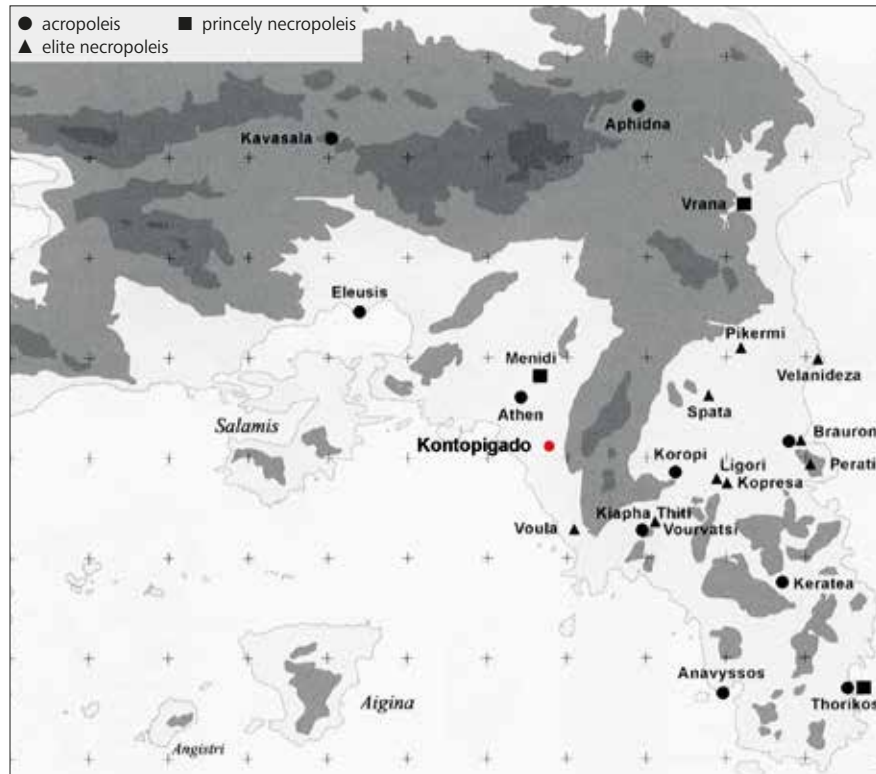


Fig. 1 Attica during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages

to poles and carried during processions¹². For some figures, other interpretations as cult celebrants or votaries have also been forwarded¹³.

Most of the objects presented here are fragmentary, and were found within fills of wells that were deposited during the latest stage of Late Helladic (henceforth LH) III B and the earliest LH III C Early horizon¹⁴. Although not discovered in their primary contexts, the figures of Kontopigado represent a very important group, since they belong to a class of finds that is very rarely attested in Attica. So far only one fragment of a hollow anthropomorphic figure has been reported from an unstratified deposit on the south slope of the Acropolis¹⁵. Of particular interest here is the head of an apparently armed male statuette for which no parallels among other clay figures of that period have been found (*fig. 13*). Moreover, the clay statuettes from Kontopigado can be added to the small number of finds discovered in non-palatial centres, and their presence here could shed some light on the significance of the site and its possible connection with Athens during the late 13th and the beginning of the 12th century B.C.

¹² Mylonas 1972, 30; Boulotis 1979, 60 fig. 1; 63 f.; Kilian 1981, 55 f. See Hiller 1984, 139–150 for *teoporija* (mentioned twice in the tablets of Knossos). For a recent analysis of the term *teoporija* and other words ending in *-poro* in the Linear B tablets that are possibly associated with ritual processions see Weilhartner 2013, 157–162. For a possible depiction on a larnax from Tanagra see Σπυρόπουλος 1974, pl. 10 a.

¹³ Renfrew 1985, 372, 389; Moore – Tylour 1999, 96, 100 f. On the basis of iconographic and written evidence from the Near East as well as parallels from

historical times Ruppenstein 2011, 253–270 suggests that Psi figurines and figures with upraised arms represent priests rather than deities.

¹⁴ For the relative dating of the fills see Καρδαμάκη 2011, 221–230.

¹⁵ Part of a hollow head from Pythio on the south slope of the Acropolis (Δημακοπούλου 1970, 174–183 pl. 58). According to Δημακοπούλου the head could come from a sphinx. For bovine figures from the Acropolis see Gauß 2000, fig. 2, 1, 3; 189 fig. 8, 5.



Fig. 2 The installation of Kontopigado (Building Complex III) with the location of wells 6 (●) and 7 (■) and the findspot of the figure head (X)

THE WORKSHOP INSTALLATION AND THE SETTLEMENT IN KONTOPIGADO

During rescue excavations conducted by the 26th Ephorate of Antiquities over the last 30 years in Alimos, south of Athens, the remains of a Mycenaean settlement and a workshop installation have come to light in the area known as Kontopigado¹⁶ (*fig. 1–3*). The settlement lies on a low hill 3 km from the coast, and was heavily damaged in modern times, particularly by the construction of Vouliagmeni Avenue in the 1960s. Within the settlement, at least two separate building complexes were identified and partially excavated (Building Complexes I, II)¹⁷. These constitute residential units and were connected by a 30 m path carved into the natural bedrock. In Building Complex I, which lies at the foot and on the slope of the hill, three subsequent Mycenaean floors were found, only the two higher ones of which could be uncovered to any greater extent¹⁸. The lowest floor appeared only in a trial trench and occupies an area of 10 m²¹⁹. In areas where the excavation reached deeper levels, it was possible to observe that both the lowest floor discovered in the trial trench and the intermediate floor were built immediately above Early Helladic house remains and the Early Helladic fill of a stream²⁰. This led to the assumption that the lowest floor either represented an occupation level of limited size, or, more likely, that much of the lowest floor was removed during the rebuilding

¹⁶ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου 2006, 37–41; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου et al. 2011, 197–203; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 141–199; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 51–139.

¹⁷ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 145 pl. 1; 147 pl. 2; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 52 pl. 1.

¹⁸ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 152–194; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 73–78, 105–112.

¹⁹ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 90–96.

²⁰ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 151, 169–172; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 113 f.

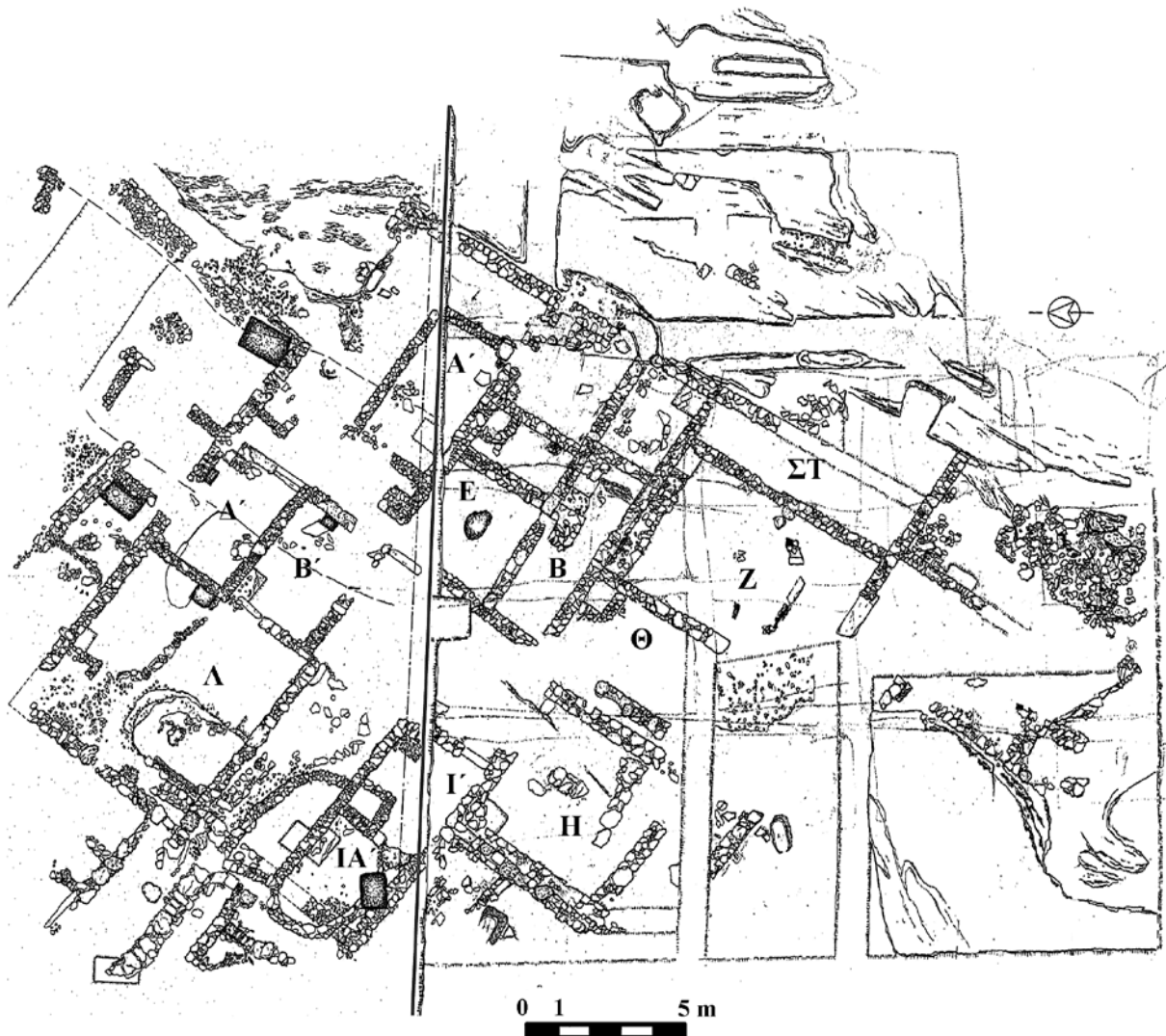


Fig. 3 The settlement at Kontopigado (Building Complex I)

phase represented by the intermediate floor. Pottery evidence would suggest that the lowest floor was in use during LH III B (a more precise dating to LH III B1 or LH III B2 being impossible²¹), while the two higher levels yielded pots and potsherds that date to LH III C Phase 1²², or the Transitional LH III B2 / LH III C Early as defined by J. B. Rutter and P. A. Mountjoy respectively²³. Since potsherds dating to LH III A2 were found in almost all excavated areas of Building Complex I and in Building Complex II²⁴, the hypothesis that first building activities during the Mycenaean period started here during that period cannot be excluded. LH II B pottery has also been found in the settlement but is very rare in general.

²¹ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 94 fig. 23; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη forthcoming.

²² Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 154–160, 155 fig. 8; 168 fig. 11, 32–36; 173–175. 177–183. 178 fig. 16; 182 f. fig. 18. 19; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 79–81 fig. 14–16.

²³ Mountjoy 1995a, 195–212; Mountjoy 1997, 109–121; Rutter 2003, 192–214. For the pottery phase in Kon-

topigado and Kanakia, Salamis, see Καρδαμάκη 2011, 221–230. 234–252 fig. 6–16; Μαραμπέα 2012, 161–217 respectively.

²⁴ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 155 fig. 8, 1–3; 163 fig. 10, 16. 21; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 68 fig. 8, 3–6; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη forthcoming.

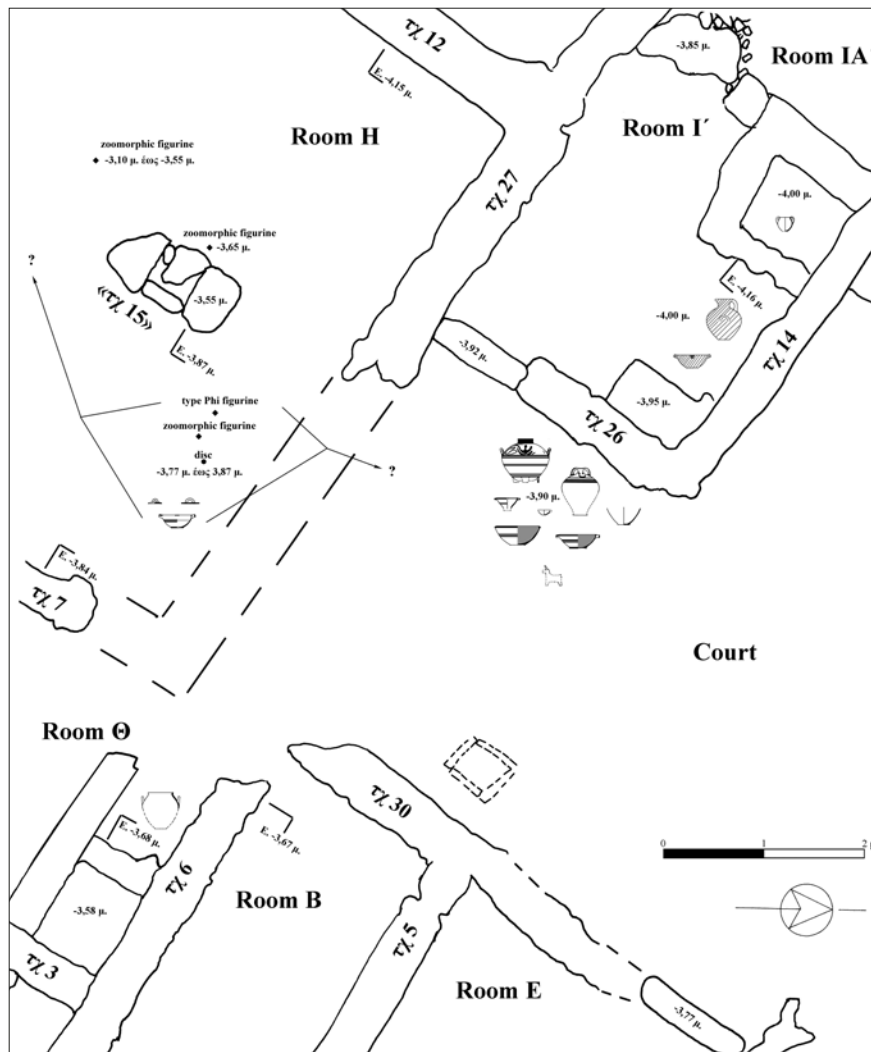


Fig. 4 Building Complex I. The court with in situ finds (scale 1 : 75)

The contexts that have been most thoroughly examined so far come from Building Complex I²⁵. This Complex provides evidence for several activities such as cooking²⁶, consumption of food and small scale storage²⁷. In addition to this, some areas and rooms of Building Complex I yielded evidence of cult activities and specialised production. The latter is indicated by the discovery of a partly preserved wheel, clay objects, kiln wasters as well as stone and bronze tools²⁸. The wheel and the wasters were found in secondary deposits and

²⁵ For practical reasons, the study and publication of Building Complex I was divided into three areas: the east, the southwest and the northwest sectors. The publication of the latter is being prepared. For the first two see Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 152–188; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 51–139.

²⁶ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 157 fig. 9, 14, 15; 186 fig. 22; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 106 fig. 4; 107 fig. 31, 32; 116 fig. 36, 112.

²⁷ Among the largest vessels that are most abundant in the settlement are the large bath tubs that were set into the floor. Fewer pithoi, which were also installed in the floors, have been found (Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 184 fig. 21; 185–188; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 67 fig. 7; 91 fig. 20, 21; 98 fig. 25, 26).

²⁸ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου et al. 2011, 206 fig. 4; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 191 fig. 30; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 88 fig. 19, 57; 95 fig. 24, 69.

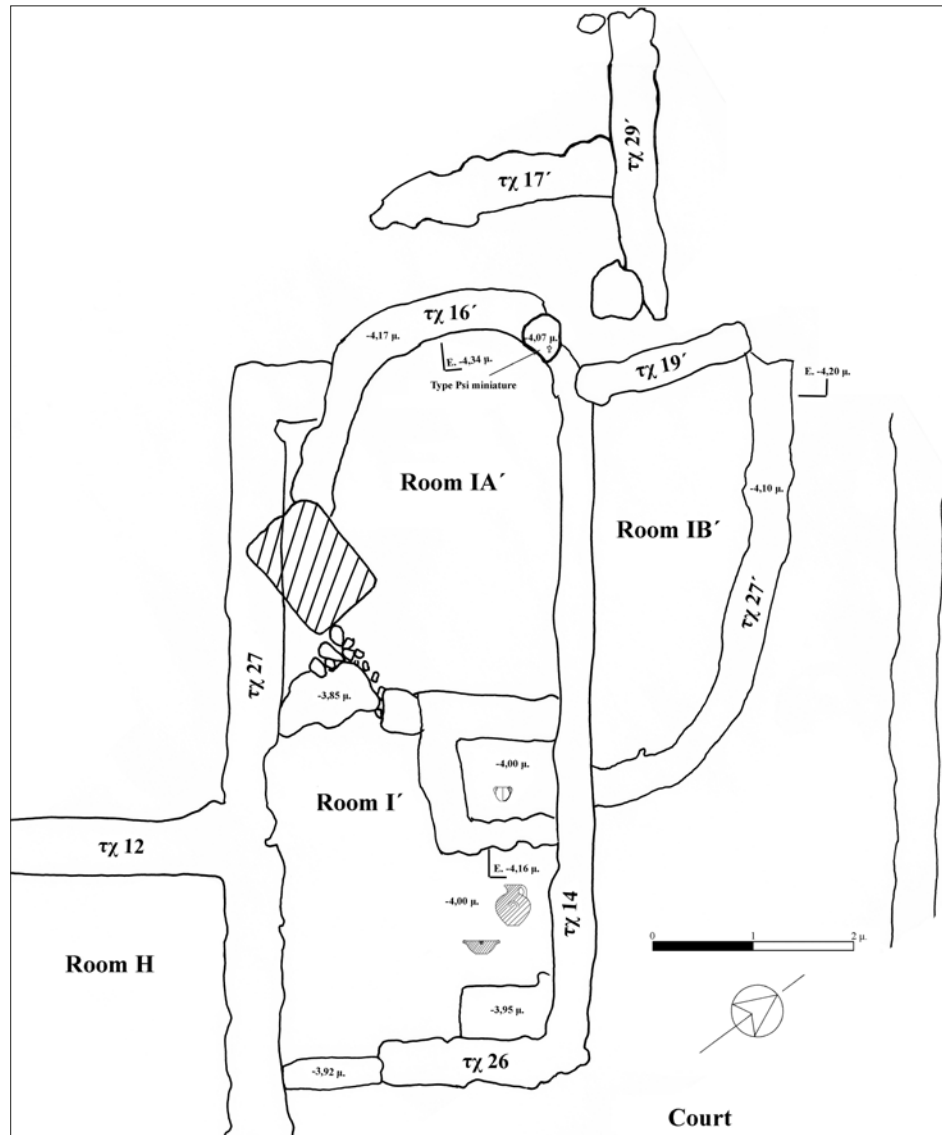


Fig. 5 Building Complex I. The rooms IA' and I' (scale 1 : 75)

dumps²⁹. The cultic character of some rooms is suggested by their general lay-out and the installations found within these rooms.

Such installations include the niche built in room A', which had a corridor running along its east and north sides³⁰, a 50 cm high platform built approximately in the centre of room H³¹, a 40 cm high built platform along the narrow side of the room Z³², and a built platform with

²⁹ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 166. The wheel was found in a narrow room in the eastern part of Building Complex I (room ΣΤ) that was abandoned and filled at some point before the final abandonment of the settlement.

³⁰ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 147 pl. 2; 184 fig. 20; 185. The room had a floor consisting of slabs. Apart from an unpainted basin, it yielded no

other finds. The lower Mycenaean layers of the room (intermediate floor / second building phase) remain unexcavated.

³¹ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 57 pl. 2; 58 fig. 3.

³² Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 147 pl. 2; 152.

two vertically placed flat stones in room I'³³. The partly excavated room Z is the only room of Building Complex I in which stone bases, probably supporting wooden columns, were discovered³⁴. Rooms H and I' opened on to a court with a rectangular pit (*fig. 3. 4*). In situ finds from the court, especially fragments of the wheel-shaped figure of a bull³⁵, suggest that some kind of ritual including consumption of food and drinking was performed here³⁶. The vessels from the court were placed in front of, or very close to the entrance of room I', and were found beneath a layer of fallen stones and slabs used as a fill for the levelling of the court in the final phase of Building Complex I. The best preserved vessels include two basins with spouts FS 302, one conical bowl FS 301, one shallow drinking cup FS 220, a locally made transport stirrup jar FS 167 and a large collar necked jar with legs and an octopus design on the shoulder³⁷. Other finds that appeared in the aforementioned contexts are anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines³⁸, miniature vessels, a loom weight of Minoan type, spindle whorls and beads³⁹. In one case, there was evidence for the placing of figurines next to doorways⁴⁰, a phenomenon that Kilian has observed elsewhere, and brought in connection with house and popular cults⁴¹. In room I' a miniature monochrome figurine of Psi-type was found lying on a slab of the foundation wall, and is considered to have represented a votive foundation offering⁴² (*fig. 5*). Other slabs observed in niches of the foundation walls of room A' and Λ of the Building Complex I possibly indicate a similar arrangement, but no finds were made here⁴³.

The workshop installation (Building Complex III) is situated 300 m to the south of the settlement and covers an area of at least 3000 m² (*fig. 2*). It comprises a system of parallel channels that are 2.6 m wide, and were carved into the natural bedrock, four of which have been excavated, while a fifth has been identified in a trial trench outside the limits of the excavation trench⁴⁴. The carved rock channels have a north-south orientation, and consist of a

³³ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 105 *fig. 30*. The room also included a built enclosure that was used for cooking. A small cooking pot was found in its interior. The back room of the building formed a niche-like structure due to its semi-circular wall. For a general discussion concerning benches and other built installations in shrine interiors see Albers 1994, 127–130.

³⁴ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 152 *fig. 6*; 153.

³⁵ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 57 *pl. 2*; 80 *fig. 15, 27*.

³⁶ Bull shaped statuettes constitute typical finds in shrines and cult places (Nicholls 1970, 8; Renfrew 1985, 373; Kilian 1992, 21 *f. pl. 3, 2*; Albers 1994, 136; Guggisberg 1996, 339–345; Damm 1997, 220–231).

³⁷ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 79–81 *fig. 14–16*. The collar necked jar is almost complete, while the rest of the vessels are more than one third preserved. The north part of the court was destroyed by the construction of a modern building.

³⁸ For a discussion of the use of figurines in cult centres and other contexts see Hägg 1981, 39; Kilian 1981, 54 *f.*; Kilian 1990, 185–190. 193–196; Albers 1994, 137 *f.* and for a more recent discussion, see Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 160–163. 308–310; Vettters 2011b, 277–296; Vettters 2012, 28–37.

³⁹ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 187 *fig. 23, 70*; 190 *fig. 25. 26*; 191 *fig. 27*. The loom weight and the figurines were found in the corridor running along the east and north sides of room A'. The finds

were further associated with two miniature vessels, a large cooking crater and drinking vessels (Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 186 *fig. 22*; 187 *fig. 23, 67–69*). For the cultic use of miniature vessels, see Damm 1997, 167 *f.* (Tiryms); Tournavitou 2009, 213. 227–230 (Minoan peak sanctuaries). See Moore – Taylour 1999, 38 *fig. 12* for the miniatures in the Temple and Dabney et al. 2004, 211 *fig. 6* for a miniature kylix from a feasting pit in Tsoungiza. For a discussion of the most frequent finds in so-called public communal sanctuaries, including loom weights and miniatures, see Renfrew 1985, 371 *table 9.3*; 383–387; Albers 1994, 147.

⁴⁰ In room Δ, a monochrome miniature figurine of Psi-type and two fragments of zoomorphic figurines were recovered close to a built bench that was set against the secondary entrance to the settlement (Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 190 *fig. 25*).

⁴¹ According to Kilian 1981, 56; Kilian 1992, 14 *f.* the figurines were placed next to hearths and doors as protection deities of the houses.

⁴² Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 106 *pl. 4*; 119 *fig. 37 a*; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη forthcoming. For foundation deposits see Kilian 1979, 393; Podzuweit 1979, 421 *fig. 41, 1–3*; Kilian 1981, 53; Boulotis 1982, 153–166; Weikart 2002, 32.

⁴³ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 147 *pl. 2*; 183–185; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη forthcoming.

⁴⁴ For a detailed description of the installation see Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου et al. 2011, 201–204.

central groove that is 50–60 cm deep. Only the southern ends of the channels were found, approximately in line with one another. The best preserved channel is 60 m in length. Between the channels, rectangular rock cut pits were constructed. The function of this installation must have implied the circulation of water. Evidence for this is provided by the presence of natural fissures and grooves connecting the channels to the pits, while three streams coming from Hymettos pass south of the installation. The excavation has yielded little evidence of the exact use of this installation, since very few finds were discovered in situ, and the majority of the potsherds from within the channels are heavily worn and were probably washed down from elsewhere. However, the hypothesis favoured by K. Kaza-Papageorgiou would account for multiple functions including the primary treatment of flax⁴⁵.

Within the boundaries of the installation, or in its direct vicinity, several wells and pits were opened and all found to be filled with material. In most cases, the fill seems to derive from a single action, since some pottery joins connecting the lowest to the upper parts were observed. The fills also produced evidence of specialised production activities such as kiln wasters, fragments of lime and a large number of coarse tubs of various sizes⁴⁶. Petrographic and chemical analyses conducted on the wasters and on the pottery from the settlement (Building Complex I), the workshop and the wells (Building Complex III) and from other contemporary sites in Attica (Plaka Athens⁴⁷, Acropolis, Thorikos) and Salamis (Kanakia), indicate the existence of a pottery workshop in the area of Kontopigado, possibly in the vicinity of the installation. This suggests that the settlement was providing the above mentioned sites, especially the Acropolis of Athens, with fine table ware, and, to a lesser extent, with coarse vessels such as bath tubs⁴⁸. In the light of the present evidence we may assume the existence of an important centre in the area of Kontopigado comprising various workshops and residential units, and closely interacting with many other sites, especially the Acropolis of Athens.

THE HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

Before we present the figures and figurines discovered in the workshop installation, their chronological context should be clarified. The pottery evidence from the wells in which most of the objects here examined were found clearly indicates that some were filled during the latest LH III B and others in the earliest LH III C horizon, a pottery phase defined as LH III C Phase 1 or Transitional LH III B2 / LH III C Early in Athens according to Rutter

⁴⁵ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου et al. 2011, 204.

⁴⁶ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου et al. 2011, 205 f. fig. 3, 5; 261 f. fig. 25, 26.

⁴⁷ For a short comment on the results of the rescue excavations in Plaka / Athens see Μαραμπέα 2012, 168 n. 29. The building with three subsequent floors that has been excavated there will be subject of a doctoral theses by A. Papadimitriou.

⁴⁸ The petrographic analyses were conducted by W. Gilstrap and P. Day at the University of Sheffield, the chemical analyses by Gilstrap and V. Kilikoglou at the National Centre for Scientific Research ›Demokritos‹; cf. Gilstrap 2015. During the study of the pottery from Kanakia, Salamis, Μαραμπέα 2010,

216–224 had already assumed that a large portion of the fine vessels found in Kanakia could actually originate from workshops in Attica. Potsherd material from Kontopigado was first examined with NAA by Maran and Mommsen. Mommsen 2003, 16 demonstrated that the largest part of the material from Kontopigado was chemically compatible with the one from the Acropolis, but assumed that the workshop must have been close to the Acropolis and not in Kontopigado. A rare chemical group attested in some potsherds from Kontopigado was, according to Mommsen, representative of a small-scale local workshop.

and Mountjoy respectively⁴⁹, and as LH III C Early 1 in the Argolid⁵⁰. Part of the material can also be dated to the LH III A2 and LH III B periods⁵¹. In Athens, Attica and the nearby island of Salamis, LH III C Phase 1 is a period that is distinguished by a series of events⁵². In Agios Kosmas, 3 km to the south of Building Complex I in Kontopigado, the megaroid Building S was abandoned with its pottery assemblage lying in situ⁵³. Elsewhere, there is evidence of destruction and / or abandonment without any clear traces of possible causes (such as earthquake or fire), as in the case of the settlement of Kontopigado (Building Complex I / higher level)⁵⁴ and the fortified Acropolis of Athens⁵⁵. In the settlement of Kanakia in Salamis, excavator Y. Lolos observed attempts made by the inhabitants to seal the entrances of some rooms before abandoning them⁵⁶. In fact, major events occurred during this period in other parts of the Greek mainland as well, most notably in the palace of Pylos⁵⁷, possibly in Laconia (Agios Stephanos)⁵⁸ and in Dimini in central Greece⁵⁹. However, unlike in Attica, most of these destructions bear traces of severe fires.

Although there is still much work to be done in order to establish the extent to which events at the various sites of the mainland and those at the Argive sites occurred contemporaneously within the period of the final LH III B and the earliest part of LH III C, all the above-mentioned events around the mainland seem to postdate the destructions by fire that occurred in Midea, in the palaces of Mycenae and Tiryns in the Argolid, and possibly also in Thebes⁶⁰. This raises the question of whether the palatial administration system survived the destruction of major Argive centres for a short period outside the Argolid. This might be the case as far as the palace of Pylos is concerned, if the dating of its destruction is correct⁶¹.

⁴⁹ Mountjoy 1995a, 195–212; Rutter 2003, 193–214. See Gauß 2003, 93–102 for a recent examination of pottery finds from LH III B2 and LH III C Phase 1 contexts in the Acropolis, and Vitale 2006, 177–202, for a discussion of pottery phases LH III B2 Late and LH III C Early (LH III C Phase 1).

⁵⁰ Stockhammer 2008, 54–57; French 2011, 35–49; Kardamaki 2009, 392–402.

⁵¹ Καρδαμάκη 2011, 229 f.

⁵² Sgouritsa 2007, 267.

⁵³ Mylonas 1959, 53–55 draw. 14 fig. 137.

⁵⁴ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 194.

⁵⁵ Mountjoy 1995b, 71; Mountjoy 1999, 486 points out that the LH III B destructions of the Peloponnese are not apparent in Athens, but that the houses on the NE ascent of the Acropolis seem rather to have been abandoned. See Gauß 2003, 99 who raises the question whether the staircase was actually ever built over or rather became a dump after it went out of use or was abandoned due to the accumulation of debris dumped there. Rutter 2003, 255 however attributes the debris on the lowest part of the stairs in the Fountain House and the debris that covered the stairway to the northeast of the Erechtheion to a violent end of the Acropolis comparable to destructions of the Argolis.

⁵⁶ Λώλος 2003, 54; Μαραμπέα 2010, 44–47 fig. 7. In some rooms of the acropolis in Kanakia there is also evidence of destruction by fire.

⁵⁷ The exact dating of the final destruction of the palace in Ano Englianos has been much debated, and

its exact chronology ranged from LH III B Early to LH III B Middle (Popham 1991, 315–324; Podzuweit 2007, 241–249). The suggestion made by Mountjoy 1997, 109. 124–131 who dated this event to the LH III B2 – LH III C Early Transitional Phase (already suggested by Blegen – Rawson 1966, 421), is mostly accepted now. See Vitale 2006, 190 f.

⁵⁸ Mountjoy 1997, 123; Mountjoy 2008, 299. 377 f. The final abandonment of Agios Stephanos is placed at the end of LH III C Early (Janko 2008, 559 chart 14, 1; 598).

⁵⁹ Although Αδρύμη-Σισμάνη 1999–2001, 77–80. 87–89. 94. 97 originally dated the destruction of the two megara in Dimini to the earliest LH III C Horizon, she recently re-dated it to the final LH III B2 period. According to the pottery from Dimini published so far (especially Αδρύμη-Σισμάνη 2012, 173 fig. 6; 175 fig. 8; 176 fig. 10), a synchronisation of the destruction in Dimini with the earliest LH III C Horizon in Mycenae and Tiryns or with the final phase in Kontopigado would be more plausible. For similar pots to those from the destruction horizon in Dimini see Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου et al. 2011, 236 fig. 7; Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 80 fig. 15, 26; Kardamaki 2009, pl. 27, 573–579; pl. 40, 584.

⁶⁰ Mountjoy 1999, 34–37; Andrikou 2006, 55 f.

⁶¹ Rutter 2003, 255 agrees with the fact that »the fiery catastrophes that marked the end of most Mycenaean palatial centres were not strictly contemporary, but rather extended over at least two ceramically recognisable subphases«.

Regarding Athens, the main question is whether a political centre similar to Pylos or Tiryns ever existed here⁶². The lack of finds typical of palatial administration, such as Linear B tablets or frescoes, from the Acropolis of Athens renders the evaluation of this site a difficult task. On the other hand, it should be considered that the buildings on the terraces of the Acropolis were subject to continuous overbuilding like no other Mycenaean centre⁶³. Moreover, previously unfired clay tablets would not have been preserved if the site was not destroyed by fire, as is assumed for the Acropolis. Even if the exact character of the Athenian Acropolis as an administrative centre – whether or not there was a palace with a Megaron as in Mycenae, Tiryns and Pylos – remains uncertain, there is enough evidence to suggest that at least during the late 13th century Athens gained control over a large part of Attica. In any case, even if the Athenian centre suffered destruction later than the Argive centres or Thebes, it is hard to imagine that it was not affected by the general unrest after the collapse of the palatial system in the afore-mentioned sites.

THE CONTEXTS AND THE FINDS

Well 7

Well 7 is located 30 m away from channel IV (*fig. 1*). It is 4.10 m deep and has a diameter of 1.20–1.30 m. During excavation of the well, water was still emerging from the ground. The soil of the fill was yellowish brown and included many small stones. It was found extending outside the mouth of the well, where it was contaminated by later material. A thin layer of ash was observed 2 m from the mouth of the well. The quantity of pottery found in the 4 m deep fill was astonishing. Around 60,000 potsherds were counted. Some vessels have been fully restored and many others are more than one third preserved. The vast majority of potsherds and pots belong to the categories of plain fine pottery, followed by decorated fine pottery, while cooking pots and coarse tubs are also very well represented⁶⁴. The fill also contained 30 zoomorphic and anthropomorphic figurines, most of the latter being of the Psi-type. Among the figurines worth noting there are three miniatures of the Psi-type and one completely preserved stag figurine⁶⁵. Further small finds included six loom-weights of rare types, two of which belong to the so-called Minoan type, millstones and other hand stones, kiln wasters and remains of lime plaster⁶⁶. Five of the seven statuette fragments

⁶² According to Παντελίδου 1975, 237 and Sgouritsa 2007, 266–268 the LH III B could represent the period during which the legendary synoecism of Athens took place. Lohmann 2010, 42–46 suggests that the synoecism, i.e. the political unification of Attic centres, could have taken place during LH III A. But see also Galaty – Parkinson 2007, 2 fig. 1.1 who leave Attica outside the sphere of the palatial centres, and Privitera 2013, 174, who argues that there is no evidence of a political unity during LH III B2 in Athens. However Ruppenstein 2010, 32 has convincingly argued that Athens was the palatial centre that gained control over Attica during LH III B2. See Morris 1992, 338 f. for the dating of the synoecism in historical times and Ruppenstein 2007, 270 for the dating of the synoecism in the Submycenaean period.

⁶³ For a recent survey of all published Mycenaean settlements in Attica see Privitera 2013. Privitera 2013, 174 challenges the view that the five terraces on the

Acropolis were constructed in LH III B (Iakovides 2006, 113 f.) and proposes dating them LH III C Early and possibly later. One of the depicted potsherds from the foundation of terraces IV and V dates indeed better in LH III C Early than in LH III B2 as proposed by Iakovides 2006, 280 f. fig. 53 d (deep bowl with painted interior and central panel with antithetical spirals). However, until the problem of the exact appearance of LH III B2 pottery assemblages and pottery types in Athens is solved, this very interesting suggestion should be treated with caution. Deep bowls with this kind of decoration could appear rarely already during LH III B2 Late (Kardamaki 2009, 295 f.).

⁶⁴ Kardamaki, in preparation.

⁶⁵ The small handmade figurines from the wells will be subject of a separate article: Kardamaki – Kaza-Papageorgiou in preparation.

⁶⁶ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου et al. 2011, 205 fig. 3; 206 fig. 5.

examined in this article were found within well 7: one hollow figure of type A and two fragments of hollow bovine statuettes; a figurine dubbed the *δίαυλος* player; and a figurine with outstretched arms. One hollow bovine figure was found 2 m below the mouth of the well. The hollow figure of type A and the *δίαυλος* player were lying in a loose sandy layer with stones, approximately 3.4 to 3.7 m below the mouth of the well. The large bull figure was discovered 0.50 m. deeper than these, while the figurine with the outstretched arms was found in a high layer that was contaminated by later material.

The bull figures

Only part of the rear of one of the bull figures is preserved, including the areas where a leg and the tail, both broken off, were once attached (*fig. 6*). The body of the bull is wheel-made and shaped as a cylinder. Its diameter measures 7.2 cm and its preserved length 5.5 cm. The clay is pale red and micaceous, with small and medium size dark and calcareous inclusions that are visible on the surface⁶⁷. The red paint is almost totally worn off. Decoration on the rear part cannot be distinguished, but on the body of the figure it consists of at least four parallel diagonal lines.

The diameter and preserved length of the fragment suggest a large bovine statuette, the total length of which would have exceeded 20 cm. In terms of size the hollow bull from well 7 resembles large statuettes from Phylakopi with a length ranging from 15 to 36 cm. A firing hole in the rear part of most examples of this figure type would have been small and hidden by the tail, and, rather than missing, was probably not preserved on the fragment from well 7⁶⁸. Bovine figures with several small firing holes are considered to be characteristic of earlier examples of LH III A – LH III B date. These are classified by Guggisberg as bovine figures of type B-1⁶⁹. A second cylindrical fragment from well 7 belongs to the rear part of another hollow bovine figure with a large firing hole, leaving no doubt about its identification as a type B-2 figure (*fig. 7*). Bovine figures of type B-2 had appeared already in LH III A2

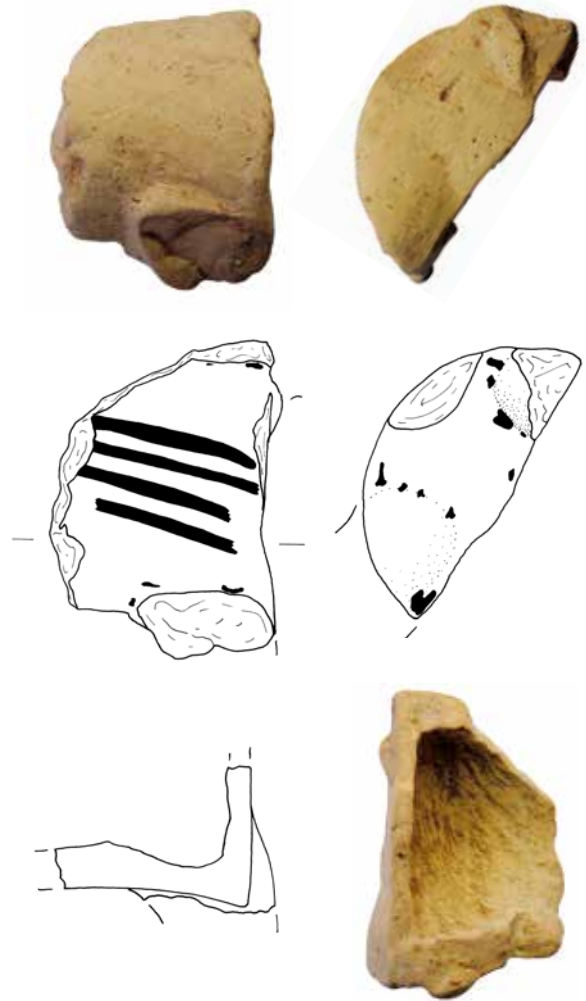


Fig. 6 Well 7. Hollow bovine figure (scale 1 : 2)

⁶⁷ Clay: 5YR 7/5–7.5YR 7/4–5YR 7/5. Surface: 5YR 7/5.

⁶⁸ Cf. French 1985, 237 fig. 6.16; 241 fig. 6.19.

⁶⁹ Guggisberg 1996, 218. Occasionally smaller statuettes such as birds and more rarely bulls lack the feature of firing holes (Guggisberg 1996, 20. 217 pl. 45, 8; pl. 51,

3). One bovine figure from the Acropolis belongs to type B-1 (Gauß 2000, fig. 2, 3; Guggisberg 1996, 215 pl. 14, 4) and is similar to the earlier statuettes of this style from Phylakopi (Renfrew 1985, pl. 40 c).

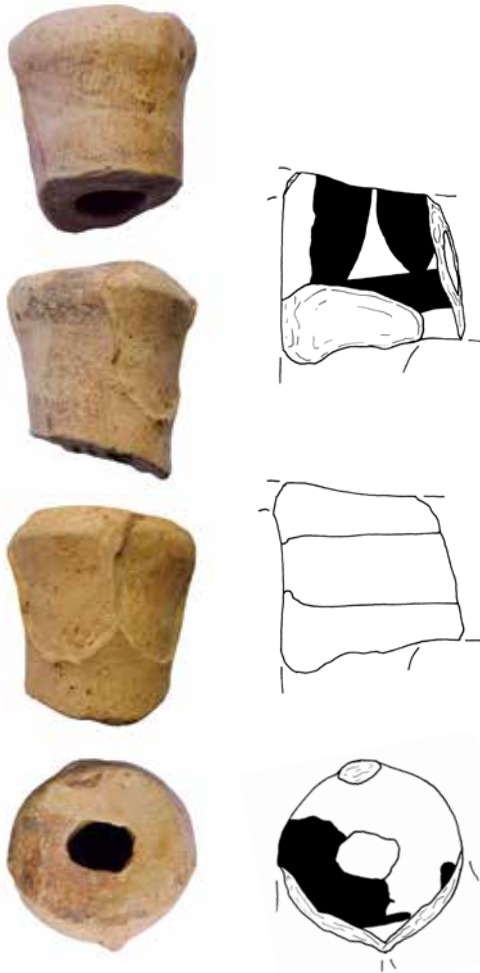


Fig. 7 Well 7. Hollow bovine figure (scale 1 : 2)

but became more popular during LH III B2 and LH III C⁷⁰. This bovine figure belongs to a smaller statuette with a diameter of 3.7 cm and a preserved length of 5 cm⁷¹. Its tail is broken off and its body is decorated with a ladder pattern typical of small handmade bovine figurines⁷². In terms of size the second bovine figure from well 7 resembles a type B-2 handmade bovine statuette from Berbati considered to be halfway between figurines and figures⁷³. But unlike the Berbati figurine, the one from well 7 is wheel-made.

Among the material studied so far from Building Complex I, two other large hollow bovine figures of type B-2 suggest that such statuettes were relatively frequent in Kontopigado. One of these was found in the court of the complex, among several pots and a few figurines which suggest that consumption of food in a ritual context may have taken place in this area (*fig. 4. 8*)⁷⁴. Some bull-shaped figures are known from the Acropolis, but their original contexts remain unclear⁷⁵. Although other uses cannot be ruled out a priori, animal figures and especially bovines appear to be common in ritual contexts. They occur in »public communal sanctuaries in settlement contexts«⁷⁶, and are not restricted to hypaethral cult places as was originally believed⁷⁷.

The figure with folded arms

This figure, a small statuette (*fig. 9*), consists of a hollow, wheel-thrown cylinder. The neck and head are missing, while the arms and the right hand are partially broken off. Its preserved height measures 7.8 cm, the diameter of the base is 5.3 cm, and the diameter of the hole is 2 cm⁷⁸. The surface of the figure is burnished, and the clay is fine pale red⁷⁹ with

⁷⁰ Guggisberg 1996, 54. 215. 217 f. pl. 8, 1–4; pl. 10, 1. 2. 5. 6; pl. 11, 2; pl. 14, 5. 6; pl. 20, 3. 4; pl. 26, 4. 5; French 1985, 247 fig. 6.24 (Phylakopi); Kilian 1990, 186 fig. 1, 1 (Agia Triada); 195 fig. 9, 1 (Tiryns, upper citadel); Kilian 1992, pl. 3 (Tiryns, lower citadel); Müller 1992, 479 fig. 17 (Delphi); Gauß 2000, 184 fig. 2, 1 (Athens, Acropolis); Demakopoulou 2009, 101 fig. 10 (Amyklaion. LH III C Middle).

⁷¹ The diameter of the hole measures 1.7 cm.

⁷² French 1971, 157 f.

⁷³ Petrović 2009, 81 f. fig. 4–6.

⁷⁴ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καθαμάκη 2014, 57 pl. 2; 80 fig. 15.

⁷⁵ Guggisberg 1996, 67 f. pl. 14, 3–7.

⁷⁶ Albers 1994, 136; Albers 2009, 93 f. fig. 1. 2.

⁷⁷ Guggisberg 1996, 322–324 contra Nicholls 1970, 8.

⁷⁸ The preserved height from the base to the upper part of the arm is 8.4 cm.

⁷⁹ Clay: 7.5YR 7/4. Surface: 10YR 8/3.

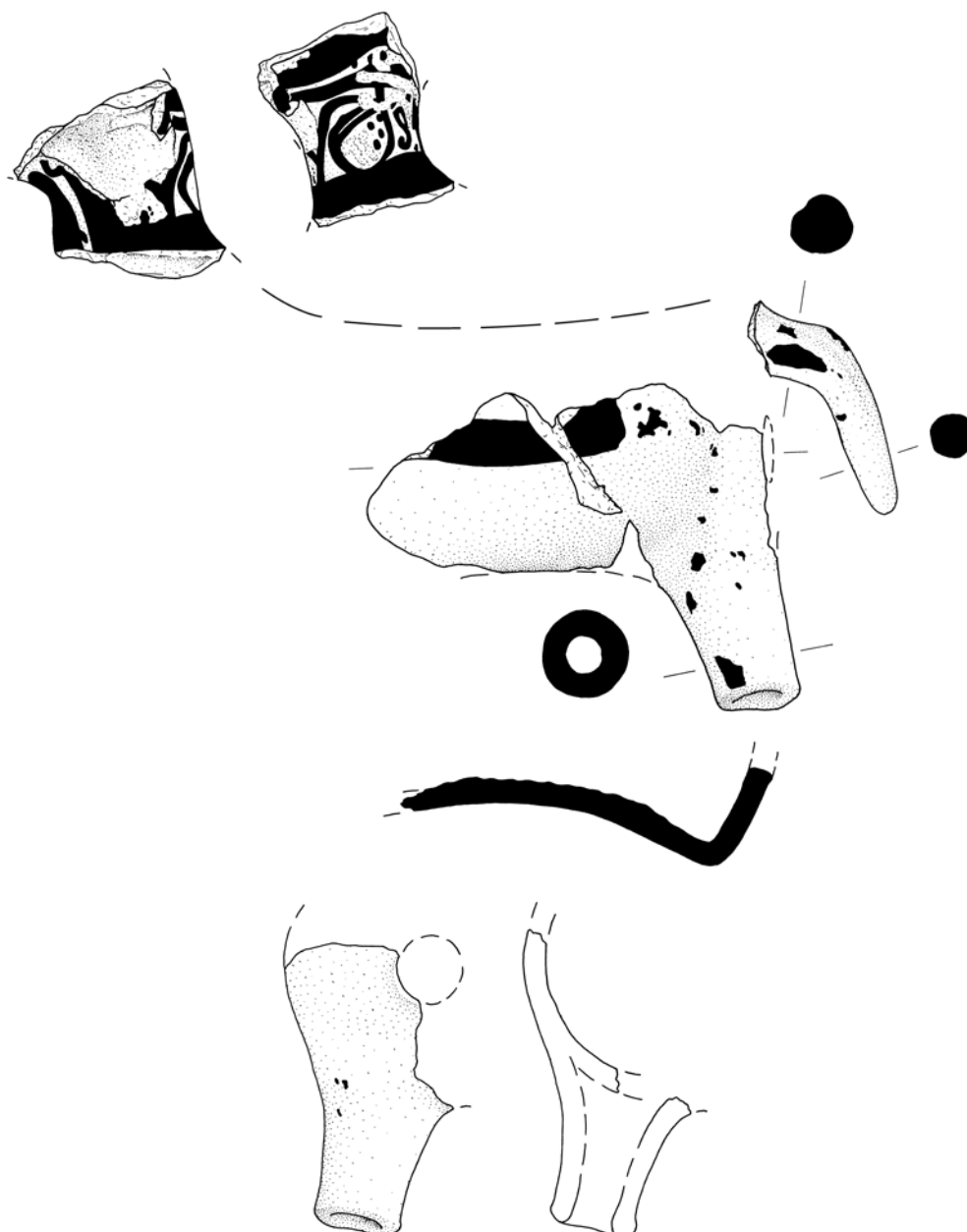


Fig. 8 Building Complex I. The bull figure from the court (scale 1 : 2)

very few and very small shiny inclusions, and dark as well as calcareous inclusions that are scarcely visible on the surface. A small amount of organic temper can be detected, but only on the surface of the figure. This clay paste is very characteristic of local fine pottery.

The solid arms were made separately, and were attached to the shoulders and folded over the chest. The hands are crossed, the right hand being placed over the left in the area of the breasts, although the latter are not indicated. The figure wears a long robe with a waist belt that is folded, and from which a short vertical band is hanging. A second line decorates the lowest part of the garment. The front part of the torso is left unpainted, but the arms are decorated with three transverse lines, interrupted by vertical stripes where the hands begin. The frontal part between the belt and the lowest painted zone of the figure is decorated



Fig. 9 Well 7. Hollow figure of Type A (scale 1 : 2)

with vertical stripes. On the back, the vertical stripes of the cloth cover the whole cylinder from base to shoulder. The missing neck and the head would have been applied to the body separately. A slight deformation on the upper back was probably caused by the pressure exerted when the neck was attached to the shoulder. The upper surface of the shoulder is smoothed and pierced at the top, and the remains of the clay joint of the neck and of an additional clay strip that was attached to the neck joint are still visible on the inner side of the perforation. Considering the latter, it seems as if at least the neck, and perhaps also the head, was solid and hand-modelled, in the manner of Cretan bell-skirt figures and a figure from Menelaion⁸⁰. However, in terms of manufacture, a hollow head from Aphaia with a small perforation in the centre could also provide a good parallel for the missing head of the figure from well 7⁸¹.

⁸⁰ Catling 1995, 186 fig. 2 (Menelaion); Πεθεμιωτάκης 2001, 6 fig. 8 (Late Minoan I Phaistos). On the mainland, most pot figures have solid heads (Moore – Taylour 1999, 306–308, pot figure from the Temple, but in this case the neck is hollow). For figures with hollow heads attached to the shoulders compare for example Moore – Taylour 1999, 327 (68-1572) (Myce-

nae), French 1985, 216 fig. 6.4 (Phylakopi) and Demakopoulou 1999, pl. 40 b (Midea).

⁸¹ Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 80 pl. 4, 545 (Aphaia). A similar manufacture technique was adopted in the case of the ›Lord‹ of Asine (D’Agata 1996, 43 fig. 2). For Aphaia see also Σαλαβούρα 2014, 106–110.

No exact parallel for the pose of the figure has been found among statuettes of type A, but a similar gesture is represented in a female figure that was found in House M in Mycenae⁸². The so-called Lady M has her arms crossed over the breasts, her right hand placed over her left as in the case of the figure from well 7⁸³.

The type and gesture of the figure from well 7 recall the small figurines of the Tau-type⁸⁴, although the arms of the latter are often placed one over the other. Another common feature of the Tau figurines and the figure from well 7 is the fact that no breasts are visible on either. The close link between figurines and figures has already been suggested⁸⁵. Figurines of the Tau-type belong to a later development⁸⁶, and their distribution is restricted. The fact that small handmade statuettes may have provided a prototype for the figure from Kontopigado is further suggested by the decoration of the garment. The latter belongs to the second type of clothing, as defined by Pliatsika, consisting of a long robe with a belt, and representing a version of the so-called *eanos*, a garment mentioned in the Linear B tablets that was offered to deities⁸⁷. On this figure, the garment is stylised and rendered schematically, as is often the case with figurines, the lines to be expected above the belt having been omitted⁸⁸. The figure from Kontopigado could represent a LH III C Early development, comprising elements from small figurines as well. Another feature that points to a LH III C style for the statuette from well 7 is the fact that it has a squat cylindrical body. Concerning the size and partly the decoration of the garment, the figure from well 7 resembles a statuette from Tiryns that has been classed as a large wheel-made Psi figure⁸⁹. The latter comes from a deposit located outside the west wall, which emerged after the ritual paraphernalia of the LH III C Early shrine (room 117) of the lower citadel was cleaned and dumped there⁹⁰.

Figurines

The figurine that has been dubbed the *δίαυλος* player (double flute player) was found in approximately the same level as the hollow figure described above (*fig. 10*). Its surface shows traces of smoothing and the clay is pale red, fine with few inclusions⁹¹. The figurine is fragmented, its lower part and one arm missing almost totally. Its preserved height is 4.1 cm. The arms are attached to the body separately. The figurine wears a polos, and its preserved left arm is stretched forward, attached to the lower part of an elongated object. The breakage of the missing right arm would suggest an analogous arrangement, thus render-

⁸² Pliatsika 2012, pl. 150.

⁸³ Some type A figures, and all the Pot figures have their arms placed over or under the breast. Moore – Taylour 1999, 307 (68-1584); 310 (68-1577). Demakopoulou 1999, pl. 40 b.

⁸⁴ French 1971, 124.

⁸⁵ Tamvaki 1973, 258 suggests that the small figurines could have been cheap substitutes for the larger figures. Wright 1994, 76 f.

⁸⁶ According to French 1971, 125 Tau figurines appear in LH III B Middle, while Weber-Hiden 1990, 40 places the earliest examples in LH III A2 Late. Tau figurines continue until LH III C Early (French 1971, 125).

⁸⁷ Pliatsika 2012, 613. Hiller 1984, 144 n. 20 has shown, on the basis of the tablet PY Fr 1125, that this type of garment was connected with both male and female deities. On the *eanos*, see also Rehak 1996, 43 fig. 3; Nosch – Perna 2001, 476 f. According to the evidence

from the Linear B tablets, this type of cloth was produced in two types, in various sizes and in at least two qualities (wool and linen). Rehak 1996, 50 notes that the *eanos* was also used as ordinary clothing. For a description of the tunic connected to *eanos*, see also Jones 2001, 261 f. pl. 85; Jones 2003, 443–445 pl. 84. 86.

⁸⁸ Compare Kilian 1981, 54 fig. 6.

⁸⁹ Kilian 1988, 144 fig. 45; Kilian 1992, pl. 2, 11. A figure with a solid head from Menelaion also has a squat form (Catling 1995, 187 f.). The length from the head to the lower edge of the breast accounts for 55 % of the total length of the figure. The figure from Menelaion dates from LH III A1 to LH III B2 / LH III C Early.

⁹⁰ Kilian 1988, 144 originally dated the assemblage to LH III B2, however, according to Vettters 2009, 372 a later re-dating is more plausible.

⁹¹ Clay: 2.5YR 7/4, surface: 5YR 7/4.

ing the impression that the figurine is holding an object placed between the hands and the forehead of the figurine. This object is formed separately and consists of two clay strips that are joined together. The fracture at the lower end of the object indicates that it must have been longer originally. The figurine shows very scant traces of red paint on its surface, but given its poor state of preservation it is not possible to say whether it was originally solidly painted or had some other kind of decoration.

Solidly painted figurines of Psi-type are well attested in the contemporary contexts of Building Complex I in the nearby settlement⁹², but are otherwise rare outside Attica⁹³. Given the fact that the polos has been considered to represent a female attribute of cultic status⁹⁴, it is plausible that the figurine shows a female figure, although no facial or other features such as breasts are indicated. Due to its position and the arrangement of the arms of the figurine, it is possible that the elongated object represents a musical instrument, possibly a double flute, played by a female figure of high status⁹⁵. The interpretation for the elongated object suggested above would be important for two reasons. Firstly, it would be the first example of a Mycenaean clay statuette of a musician. Although such clay statuettes are well represented in the Levant and in Egypt, they are totally absent in Crete and the Greek Mainland. Secondly, the fact that the player is female provides evidence that music was not, as iconographic parallels seemed to suggest, primarily a male occupation⁹⁶.

The second figurine from well 7 is fragmented as well, with the lower part and most of both arms missing⁹⁷ (fig. 11). But due to its features this figurine seems to belong to another very uncommon type. Its preserved height measures 5.4 cm. The torso is triangular, emerging from a round stem, and showing no breasts. The arms extend forwards, but the left arm seems to be directed slightly downwards. Two perforations were made from the back of each arm to the frontal upper part of the body. The upper part of the head is flat, slightly flaring at the back, and its general appearance recalls the head of the Phi-type figurines⁹⁸. Painted decoration is scarcely applied to this figurine, and only to its frontal part. One line starts from the left side under the arms and is directed diagonally towards the waist. Traces of paint are also preserved on the lower part of the right arm and on the head of the figurine.

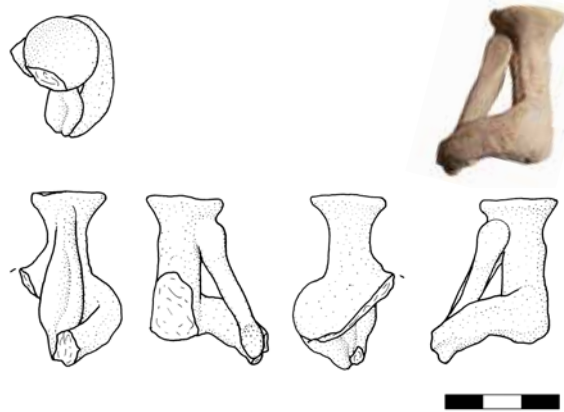


Fig. 10 Well 7.
The figurine of the 'double flute player' (scale 1 : 2)

⁹² Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2012, 190 fig. 25 (left); Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 119 fig. 37 a.

⁹³ One Phi figurine from the Acropolis is monochrome and has been recorded as unusual (French 1971, 121). See Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 239 for a discussion of figurines bearing unusual features. Few monochrome animal figurines are reported from Mycenae, Tiryns and Athens (French 1971, 158; Weber-Hiden 1990, 68 f. pl. 46, 126. 127).

⁹⁴ The idea that the polos characterises women of high-

er status was first expressed by Τσοῦντας 1889, 169. See also Nicholls 1970, 3.

⁹⁵ For the double flute and other music instruments in the Aegean see Younger 1998, 9–41. A fragment of an ivory aulos comes from Mycenae but its context is unknown (West 1992, fig. 4, 1).

⁹⁶ Younger 1998, 55–59. In classical periods the aulos was classified according to the age and gender of the player and those played by girls were called παρθένιοι (Younger 1998, 28 f.).

⁹⁷ Clay: 2.5YR 7/6.

⁹⁸ French 1971, pl. 16 b.



Fig. 11 Well 7.
The figurine with the outstretched arms (scale 1 : 2)

On the front of the figurine, a band of a different colour stretches from one arm to the other in a U-shaped curve. It remains unclear whether this area was previously painted and the paint is now completely worn off, or the light surface slip did not reach the U-shaped area. In the second case, a feature – perhaps crossed arms or arms carrying something – may have prevented the slip from penetrating there, and thus revealing the more reddish clay of which the object actually consists. Nearly the entire back of the figurine, which is not carefully smoothed and left without slip, may be interpreted much the same way as the U-shaped area at the front. If the careless execution of the back was intentional, the figurine was probably not meant to be seen from behind, its back being loosely attached to some other surface.

As the lower part of the statuette is missing, it is difficult to identify the exact figurine type. However, some observations would suggest that this figurine in some aspects resembles the male figures found in the West Shrine in Phylakopi. Firstly, the fragmented figurine from well 7 seems to be male due to the fact that no breasts are displayed – neither plastically nor painted. Apart from the afore-mentioned statuettes, male figurines generally constitute a very rare group among Mycenaean figurines and are thought to appear mainly during LH III C⁹⁹. As in Phylakopi, the figurine from well 7 has perforations, a feature otherwise very unusual among handmade Mycenaean figurines. However, unlike the perforations on the figurine from well 7, those from the Phylakopi statuettes very often extend from the head to the lower body or to the legs, and are thus interpreted as firing holes¹⁰⁰. The only other figurines that display this feature in their upper body come from the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia in Delphi, and it has been suggested that the perforations served to hang the figurines from threads¹⁰¹. On the other hand, the shape of the figurine appears to be different from the shapes of the male statuettes from Phylakopi. Although there is no indication as to how the lower part of the figurine was modelled, its triangular torso is reminiscent of Cretan handmade and bell-skirt figurines¹⁰². Regarding its decoration, the painted diagonal line on the figurine from the well 7 is reminiscent of a male figure from Phylakopi that wears

⁹⁹ Horse riders are male (Konsolaki-Yannopoulou 1999, 431 f. pl. 94. 95). They wear conical helmets, but no weapons (cf. Hood 1953, 84 f. fig. 47. 48 for a rider with conical helmet and dagger or sword from the Persia trench). A figurine from Midea is also male with the preserved right arm bent over the chest (Demakopou-

lou – Valakou 2009, 47 f.; 51 fig. 28. 29). Unfortunately, the paint is not well preserved on that piece.

¹⁰⁰ French 1985, 226 fig. 6.12; 228 fig. 6.13; 229 fig. 6.14.

¹⁰¹ Hägg 1981, 38 fig. 2.

¹⁰² Ρεθεμωτάκης 2001, 10 f. fig. 15. 16; 12 fig. 17; 14 f. fig. 19. 20; 144 fig. 150.

a conical helmet¹⁰³. The latter figure is characterized by a similar line painted across a horizontal one, both representing belt and dagger.

The pose of the figurine is elusive. Judging from the arrangement of the arms, we may assume that the figurine was holding an object, one possible explanation being that the figurine was holding reins. This seems unlikely though, since according to most of the known examples of chariot models and riding figures reins are most often rendered as a single clay strip attached to the chariot or to the upper part of the figurine¹⁰⁴. But the upper body of the figurine from well 7 shows no breakage that could indicate either reins or a chariot box, so that this statuette must have carried another object. Moreover, it cannot be ruled out that this unknown object was attached to the holes of the upper part of the figurine. Small statuettes in the pose of carrying are rare on the mainland, and are mainly represented by the so-called *kourotrophoi*, whereas on Crete a greater variability can be observed¹⁰⁵ and some figures from Phylakopi probably carried weapons¹⁰⁶. But the exterior areas around the perforation holes have the same colour as the rest of the body. Thus the holes could not have been covered during the firing process by another clay element, but it is yet possible that some object of another material was applied. However, the interpretation of the figurine as a statuette that carries something remains uncertain. Its arms may just as likely have been extended forward, without holding anything. In this case, the pose of two of the male statuettes from Phylakopi would come to mind immediately, one of which has been interpreted by Renfrew as a cult statuette. These exhibit extended arms with in-turned hands, a gesture that follows Near Eastern bronze prototypes¹⁰⁷.

But the exact identification of the figurine from well 7 is complicated further by the fact that its back part would seem to have been attached to some other surface. A parasol or throne is rather unlikely. In the former case the rough area on the back of the figurine would not have been so extended. In the second case, its pose and shape would be unusual, since most of seated Mycenaean figurines are very flat. The male figure could have been leaning against a built structure of some kind.

The perforation over the arms could also have had a practical function in that they were used to fasten the figurine to another object. Evidence of such complex clay models and presentations are not attested for mainland Greece, but are known from neopalatial contexts in Crete. Most famous in this respect are the models from a vaulted tomb in Kamiları that display figurines inside building structures. Other models of figures within structures are known from Aghia Triada¹⁰⁸. In addition, the figurines from the latter are almost always male. But this hypothesis presents serious difficulties mainly due to the fact that there are no finds recorded from the mainland that would fill the chronological gap of almost 500 years between the Early Neopalatial finds from Kamiları and the figurine from well 7¹⁰⁹. Finally, the perforations could have been used to attach an additional cover of some kind. This cover must have been of some material other than clay, either organic or metal, and could have

¹⁰³ French 1985, 226 fig. 6.12, 2340.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. French 1985, 253 (Phylakopi); Karantzali 1999, pl. 89 c. d (Pylona, Rhodes. LH III A2 – LH III B1).

¹⁰⁵ On the group of *kourotrophoi* from Aphaia see Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 30–35 pl. 2; Pilafidis-Williams 2009, 113–124. For the *kourotrophos* from Mavrospilio in Knossos, see Ρεθεμιωτάκης 2001, 122 fig. 133. For the famous figure from Amyklaion holding a kylix, see Demakopoulou 2009, 96 fig. 10. See also Ρεθεμιωτάκης 2001, 109 fig. 123, for a neo-

palatial clay model from Kamiları that shows figurines offering vessels to seated deities. A male figure from the shrine of the double axes in Knossos carries a dove (Evans 1928, 339 fig. 192).

¹⁰⁶ Renfrew 1985, 422 f.

¹⁰⁷ See Seeden 1980, pl. O.

¹⁰⁸ Ρεθεμιωτάκης 2001, 107.

¹⁰⁹ During Late Minoan III C, house models appear that continue into the geometric period; Ρεθεμιωτάκης 2001, 135.

represented cloth or an attribute of some other kind, e.g. a corselet. The additional embellishment of clay statuettes has been proposed for the type B figures from the Cult Centre¹¹⁰. In Phylakopi the decoration of statuettes made of perishable material such as wood with a covering of precious metal as known from Near Eastern cult statuettes has been postulated¹¹¹. Given the similarities of the figurine of Kontopigado with some male statuettes from Phylakopi, the embellishment of the clay statuette from Kontopigado with an additional cover of some other material could reflect the introduction of Southern Aegean or even Near Eastern ritual practices to Attica. Consequently, the figurine from well 7 seems to comprise elements from the mainland (head), but also from Crete (triangular torso) and Phylakopi (painted dagger), while its exact pose and the purpose of the perforations, either for additional embellishment or the fastening to another object, remain open to debate until more parallels are found.

Well 6

Well 6 lies 30 m south of the south end of channels I and IV, and was 4.90 m deep. The fill of the well included pottery and small finds¹¹². The head of a type A figure was found very close to the bottom of the shaft.

Figure head

The solid head and part of the neck of the figure have been preserved (*fig. 12*). Its total preserved height measures 3.9 cm¹¹³. The clay of the figure is similar to that of the hollow body figure from well 7; it is fine, pale red and has small calcareous and dark inclusions¹¹⁴. On the surface of the head, especially the back and the neck, there are distinct traces of burnishing. The red paint used for the facial details and decoration is partially worn. The head is drum-shaped with separately applied face, chin, nose and ears, whereas the mouth is indicated by an incision¹¹⁵. The surface on the lower part of the nose is worn, and the lower part of the once protruding chin is broken. Edged eyebrows, plastic nose and protruding forehead all contrast with the deep concavities of the eyes. Slab faces with concavities around the mouth and eyes are stylistically typical of many plastic heads¹¹⁶. Many other facial features such as eyes, eyebrows, mouth and chin are painted. The eyes are carelessly painted circles with dots in the centre, while the edged eyebrows are painted with a single stroke that ends at the upper part of the nose. The area behind the ears is solidly painted, and another stripe that starts from the chin seems to stop on both sides before the ears. A thick line in the upper part of the mouth incision reaches the underside of the nose. The paint under the mouth incision seems to extend down to the chin.

The painted and accentuated chin, once thought to represent male gender, is now considered to represent a facial marking¹¹⁷ that is found on female figures, such as the Lady of

¹¹⁰ French 1981, 173; Whittaker 2009, 104; Renfrew 1985, 408, 432.

¹¹¹ Renfrew – Cherry 1985, 302 f.; Negbi 1988, 356.

¹¹² Kardamaki, in preparation.

¹¹³ The head is 3.3 cm wide without ears, 4.1 cm with the ears, and 3.8 cm thick.

¹¹⁴ Clay: 7.5YR 6/4, surface: 10YR 8/4–7/4.

¹¹⁵ Cf. French 1985, 214 fig. 6.4; Moore – Tylour 1999,

309 (68-1577) for applied chin, nose and incised mouth on figure heads.

¹¹⁶ See D'Agata 1996, 42–44 fig. 1–3; Rehak 2005, 274 f. for the Lord of Asine and the Sphinx of Mycenae.

¹¹⁷ Rehak 2005, 273 includes the feature of the painted chin among the group of facial markings such as rosettes and lozenges that adorn figures and statuettes.

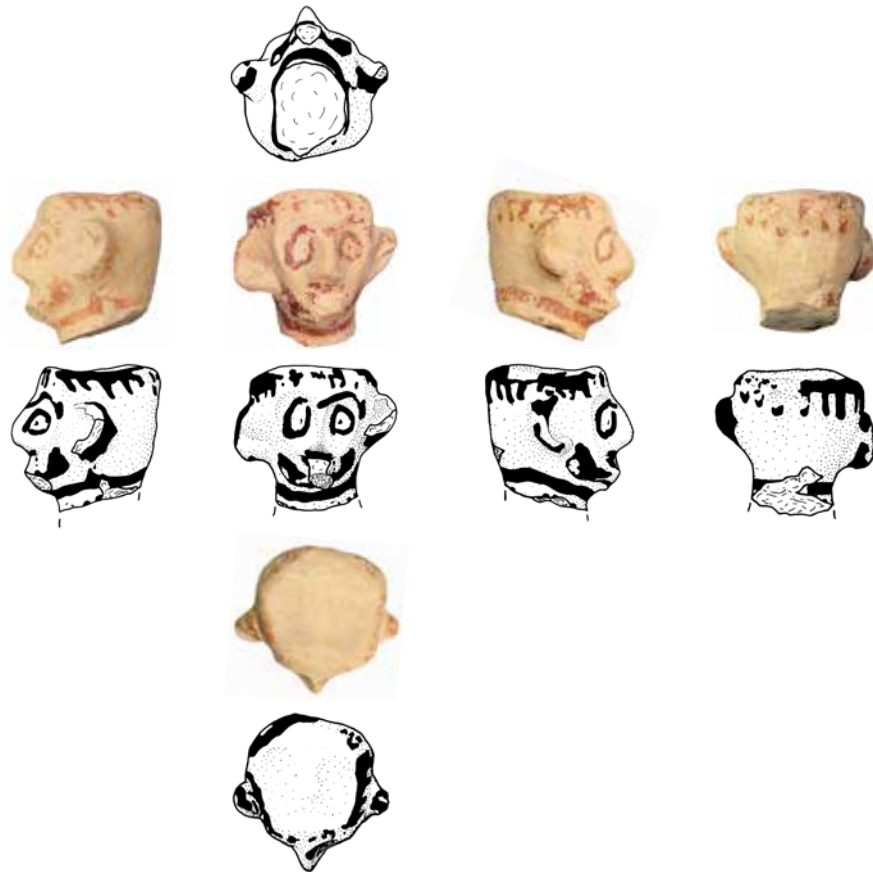


Fig. 12 Well 6. Type A figure head (scale 1 : 2)

Phylakopi¹¹⁸. So far, six female figures with painted chins have been identified, and Pliatsika has argued that this feature could symbolize the act of supplication, an act known from the *Iliad* and later iconography¹¹⁹. However, the broadly applied paint on the chin of the figure from well 6 that extends to the lower parts of the head up to the ears is a rare feature. Only in the case of the so-called bearded Aphrodite from Cyprus does the paint reach the neck and the sides of the head¹²⁰. On another figure, the head from Illinois, a different arrangement displays a single thin line connecting eyebrows and chin¹²¹.

Furthermore, the figure wears a headband while the hair locks are depicted as a fringe of vertical stripes that are longer at the back of the head, in a manner known from many figures and statuettes, such as the sphinx head from the Cult Centre in Mycenae¹²². The central part on the top of the head is slightly concave and left unburnished, giving the impression that another feature had been attached there. This could have been some kind of cap or headgear that did not exceed the rim of the head, which shows traces of paint¹²³. Finally, the painted line and the preserved dots across the neck of the figure indicate necklaces. Jewellery and painted adornments belong to the most typical features of the figures of type A, and may be related to special attributes of deities¹²⁴.

¹¹⁸ French 1971, 147 f.; French 1985, 214 fig. 6.4. See Εξανάκη-Σακελλαρίου 1985, pl. 28, 2494, for the figure that has both breast and painted chin.

¹¹⁹ Pliatsika 2012, 615.

¹²⁰ Nicolaou 1964, pl. 4.

¹²¹ Mylonas 1937, fig. 1–4.

¹²² Rehak 2005, 272 fig. 1.

¹²³ Most known figure heads of type A wear low headgear (Pilafidis-Williams 1998, pl. 4, 545; Nicholls 1970, pl. 1 b. c). But see also French 1985, pl. 34 d-3; Demakopoulou 1999, pl. 40 b for figures from Midea and Phylakopi that wear a high polos.

¹²⁴ Kilian 1981, 54 f.

The general appearance and details of the head from well 6 fit in well with the traditions of the figures of type A; they share typical features such as the large plastic ears and nose, concave areas around the eyes, protruding chin and facial markings¹²⁵. Concerning the plastic ears that are proportionally large, and the large eyes, it has been suggested that they are related to the divine nature of the clay statuettes – that have to *hear* the prayers and *see* the worshippers¹²⁶. However, concerning its manufacture technique, the figure head from well 6 is differentiated from most known figures in that the technique is mixed. Namely, the head is hand-modelled rather than wheel-shaped, but has an applied face, a feature that is often attested on large wheel-made figures. Although it is not to be excluded that the body was hollow¹²⁷, the head seems to belong to a small group of solidly made type A figures that are mostly attested in Phylakopi. However, this group represents mainly male statuettes¹²⁸.

Workshop installation

Another figure head was lying on a ridge of the bedrock between channels I and II, just a few centimetres below the modern surface (*fig. 2*). The pottery associated with the figure was well preserved, and thus strongly contrasts with the rest of potsherds coming from the fill of the channels and from the surface of the bedrock, which are very fragmented and worn and are thought to represent a fill that was washed down into the channels. Several fragments of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, some of which are in a good state of preservation, have appeared in other areas of the installation.

Figure

In terms of size and manufacture, the figure head with part of the neck preserved from the installation is a little larger than but otherwise very similar to the head from well 6 described above (*fig. 13*). The head is solid and measures 5.4 cm¹²⁹. Its clay is pale red with few inclusions¹³⁰. The uneven surface on both sides could indicate that the face was applied separately to the head¹³¹. No plastic ears are rendered, and the mouth is not indicated, as it is usually, by incision or a painted line. The areas of the eyes are concave, but, differing from the head from well 6, the eyes of this figure are applied. The nose, which may also have been attached separately to the face, is partially worn and the lowest part of the chin damaged. The head from Kontopigado wears a conical hat with a clay roll attached to the back. The upper part and left side of the clay roll is broken off and worn, but judging from the breakage preserved, it would seem to have started directly from the top of the cone. An intriguing feature can be noted on the back of the neck of the figure: This consists of two clay sheets attached on both sides of the clay roll. The breakage under the chin and on the

¹²⁵ Cf. Kilian 1981, 54 fig. 6; D'Agata 1996, 42–44 fig. 1–3; Moore – Taylour 1999, 52 pl. 12.

¹²⁶ Many figures also have pierced ears (Nicholls 1970, 4). Pliatsika 2012, 612 f. considers the large ears to be a very important element for cult activity.

¹²⁷ See Catling 1995, 186 fig. 2 for a figure from Menelaion that has a solid head and a hollow body.

¹²⁸ French 1985, 226–229 fig. 6.12–6.14. A monochrome female figurine from Phylakopi is related to this group of statuettes (French 1985, 220 fig. 6.9). A very

small number of handmade figures has also been found at Tiryns (Kilian 1981, 54 fig. 6, 1).

¹²⁹ From the top of the head to the chin the head is 4.5 cm high. Maximal breadth: 2.9 cm maximal breadth of shoulders: 4 cm maximal thickness: 3.4 cm.

¹³⁰ Clay: 7.5YR 7/4, surface: 10YR 8/4

¹³¹ Cf. Moore – Taylour 1999, 310 for the head of the figure that consists of a hollow cylinder, on which the face is separately applied.



Fig. 13 Installation. The head of the armed figure (scale 1 : 2)

shoulders indicates that both clay sheets extended over the shoulders to the front part of the neck as well.

Although the surface is heavily worn on some areas of the head, the remaining traces of dark paint allow an approximate reconstruction of its original decoration. On the hat, a zone filled with small vertical and parallel lines is followed by another horizontal line. Of the lines of the lower zone, only four frontal lines are preserved, but traces of more painted lines reveal that these continued to the back of the head. The applied eyes are represented by painted circles, enclosed by outer bands that also cover the edges of the eyebrows. The chin was painted, but it remains unclear whether its decoration also extended to the sides of the face. The remaining traces of paint that appear on almost all parts of the clay roll on the back of the head and on the applied cover of the neck indicate that these features were solidly painted, too. The most difficult to identify is the kind of decoration on the sides and the back of the head, namely the part between the conical hat and the cover. However, due to the scant traces of paint visible, the possibility cannot be ruled out that the lower part of the head was also monochrome. The final impression is that of a solidly painted head except for few areas of the face and the hat.

Analysis of the type represented by the figure from the installation led to interesting results, since the applied features seem to suggest an armed figure. The clay roll at the back of the head could be part of a plait, but a different interpretation is also possible: that the hat represents a conical helmet and the ›plait‹ is actually the plume. Furthermore, if the interpretation of the hat as a helmet is correct, it is tempting to assume that it represents a zonal helmet with boar tusks¹³², the latter being represented by the zone with the vertical stripes. Conical boar's tusk helmets with plumes are iconographically very well attested, and they have a long tradition that goes back to the early Mycenaean period¹³³. These helmets usually show three or four rows of tusks, but there are exceptions which have only two, or even

¹³² Rehak 1999, 230. See Caskey 1966, 375 pl. 90 b, for a marble stele from Agia Eirini with a zonal helmet with plume engraved on its surface. The preserved height of the stele is 17 cm.

¹³³ A kylix from Nichoria is decorated with helmets with plumes (Vermeule – Karageorghis 1982, pl. 8,

34). There are numerous depictions of boar's tusk helmets with plumes depicted in battle scenes from the early Mycenaean period. See for example Hiller 1999, pl. 69, 1 b; 2 a; 5 a. Warriors with such helmets are depicted on the frieze from Pylos and in Thera (Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1999, pl. 74 e; 75 a–c).

one row (as seen on one steatite seal in the British Museum and on the soldiers depicted on the papyrus from el-Amarna¹³⁴). Moreover, evidence from iconography and from preserved helmets demonstrates that boar's tusk helmets could have separate side guards for the protection of the ears¹³⁵, which is probably the reason why no ears appear on the figure from Kontopigado, and why the lower part of the head was monochrome. Furthermore, the clay sheets attached to the neck are reminiscent of a neck guard. The cover from Kontopigado is longer on the back and shorter on the sides in order to leave the shoulders free, so that it might imitate the shape of a neck guard similar to the one from the famous bronze cuirass found in tomb 12 at Dendra¹³⁶. It is also likely that a further feature was attached to the figure, perhaps shoulder guards of a cuirass. This is suggested by the projection seen on the right shoulder of the figure, which is better preserved.

Besides the cuirass from tomb 12 in Dendra, parts of other bronze cuirasses have been recovered in tomb 8 in Dendra¹³⁷, in two locations in Thebes¹³⁸, in two tombs from Mycenae¹³⁹ and in Phaistos¹⁴⁰. The earliest examples are those from Dendra, dating to LH II B and LH III A1, while the latest pieces come from LH III B1 contexts¹⁴¹. The figure from Kontopigado carrying what seems to be part of a cuirass is intriguing in many ways: First of all, its dating is later (LH III C Phase 1) in comparison to the cuirasses discovered so far. Secondly, new analyses have shown that during LH III B bronze cuirasses developed into simpler forms than the one from Dendra, while in LH III C, after the collapse of the palaces, there is evidence only for smaller and lighter corselets that were probably often made of other materials¹⁴². Theban shoulder guards are smaller, for example, and the bronze belts not so wide in comparison to the cuirass from Dendra¹⁴³, and so far no pieces have been recovered from LH III B contexts that could belong to a neck guard. Thirdly, although representations of boar's tusk helmets are well attested in Athens and Attica, there is no similar evidence for bronze cuirasses. Such armour is believed to be closely linked to the palaces, and its use restricted to few members of their elites¹⁴⁴. It has also been suggested that bronze cuirasses would have been worn by persons carried on chariots, since they were very heavy and would hardly have been suitable for field battles¹⁴⁵.

Could it be that the figure from Kontopigado, probably dressed with a cuirass and a boar's tusk helmet in the manner of the occupant of tomb 12 at Dendra, represents an anachronism? On the other hand, as stated above, figures carrying cuirasses are depicted very rarely, so the source of inspiration for the manufacture of the figure would be difficult to find. Another possibility is that the figure, depicting either a deity or a human, reflects an Athenian tradition of warrior figures. But this alternative also presents problems. Apart from the fact that warrior deities, either in iconography or in clay statuettes, are expected

¹³⁴ Schofield – Parkinson 1994, 164 fig. 3; 165; Rehak 1999, 230 n. 29 doubts that the figures on the papyrus from el-Amarna represent Mycenaean warriors because they wear kilts. Furthermore, he argues that Aegean helmets could have reached Egyptian soldiers through exchange.

¹³⁵ Verdelis 1967, insert 21.

¹³⁶ Verdelis 1967, 16 inserts 8. 9; 14, 1; Andrikou 2007, 402. 410 pl. 100 a. b. For pottery from the grave, see Åström 1967, 60 fig. 5; 61 fig. 6; 63 fig. 7; 64 fig. 8; 66. Most of the pots date to LH II B and LH III A1.

¹³⁷ Verdelis 1967, 21 insert 32, 2.

¹³⁸ In the Arsenal (Verdelis 1967, 21 f.; Andrikou 2007, 402) and in the excavation in the Municipal Conference Centre, in the NW part of Kadmeia (Andrikou 2007, 402).

¹³⁹ Chamber tomb 15: Verdelis 1967, 22; Ξενάκη-Σακελλαρίου 1985, pl. 13, 2780. 2781. Chamber tomb 69: Ξενάκη-Σακελλαρίου 1985, 200 pl. 89, 3034.

¹⁴⁰ Verdelis 1967, 21.

¹⁴¹ Parts from a corselet from the Municipal Conference Centre at Thebes (Andrikou 2007, 402).

¹⁴² As examples of the lighter version of corselets Andrikou 2007, 407 cites those worn by the soldiers on the warrior vase in Mycenae and the finds from the warrior tomb at Kallithea.

¹⁴³ Andrikou 2007, 402 f.

¹⁴⁴ Deger-Jalkotzy 1999, 126.

¹⁴⁵ Andrikou 2007, 407.

in exclusive contexts, the evidence we have regarding their representation – at least during LH III A–B – reveals a different pattern. The finds from the Cult Centre in Mycenae indicate the existence of a female deity that is not heavily armed at all. She only carries the most basic insignia of her status: helmet, shield and a sword¹⁴⁶. Moreover, she is dressed with a long robe, and there is no indication of a thorax¹⁴⁷.

On the other hand, the existence of a warrior deity in Athens, whose cult can be traced back as early as the 15th century, is very likely. The basic information comes from a written document, tablet V 52, found in the chariot room in Knossos. The tablets that gave the room its name refer to assignments of chariots, as well as horses and individual armours¹⁴⁸. It should also be pointed out that the archive, which seems to be one of the oldest Linear B archives in Knossos (LH II – LH III A1), contained the highest number of Greek names. On tablet V 52 the names of four gods are documented, *atana potinija*, *enuwarijo*, *pajawone* and *posedaone*¹⁴⁹. The exact identification of *atana potinija* has been highly debated, but recent studies suggest that *atana* does not reflect the name of the deity known from the historical period, but rather the geographic origin of *potinija*, which was very probably Athens in Attica¹⁵⁰. *enuwarijo* is found later as an epithet of Ares and *pajawone* (Παιήων) is mentioned in the Iliad as a deity who is called to heal the wounded Ares. In this respect, it is very interesting that at least three of the gods listed on the tablet are attested in later times, and that all are connected with war affairs¹⁵¹. Most interesting is the connection between the four gods and the tablets of the archive that list horses and chariots proposed by Gulizio, Pluta and Palaima. Thus, it has been suggested that the location of tablet V 52 is not accidental, and that it should be related to the attributes of these gods as they are known from historical times. *atana potinija* could reflect the cult of Athena, the patroness goddess of Athens that was also worshipped as Athina Hippeia, and who is supposed to have invented the chariot. According to mythology Poseidon invented the horses¹⁵² and Ares, whose epithet *enuwarijo* appears here, was also related to horses and armour as the god of war.

Combining iconographic evidence and the evidence of tablet V 52, it appears likely that female (e.g. Palladion from Mycenae¹⁵³) and male (*enuwarijo*, *pajawone*) warrior deities related to chariots and horses already existed during the Mycenaean period. Moreover, if *atana potinija* was a warrior deity like the other deities on the tablet, then a female warrior deity could have existed specifically in Athens. It is, however, possible that male warrior deities such as *enuwarijo* and *pajawone* were also worshipped in Athens. Hence, the cuirass carried by the monochrome figure in Kontopigado, an armour that is considered to have been worn by charioteers, could relate to the cult of such a male warrior deity. The figure could have represented either a cult statuette or a celebrant follower of such a deity¹⁵⁴. Other solid figures with armour are known from Phylakopi, but these are not monochrome. One carries a painted dagger and wears a conical helmet, whereas the ears have been likewise omitted¹⁵⁵.

¹⁴⁶ Rehak 1999, 229. 236.

¹⁴⁷ Rehak 1999, 234. 236.

¹⁴⁸ These tablets represent 33 % of the archive of the room (Gulizio et al. 2001, 454).

¹⁴⁹ Gulizio et al. 2001, 454.

¹⁵⁰ Gulizio et al. 2001, 453–460; Already suggested by Palmer 1963, 239.

¹⁵¹ Gulizio et al. 2001, 453–460.

¹⁵² Gulizio et al. 2001, 459.

¹⁵³ Rehak 1999, pl. 46 a. b.

¹⁵⁴ Regarding the connection of the cuirasses with warrior deities, one find is especially relevant. On the

engraved axe from Vorou, the warrior deity at the centre of the scene appears behind a shield on one side, while on the other she wears a robe and carries a sword. The figures represented on the second side of the axe on either side of the deity are thought to be offering her textiles. Rehak 1999, 233 leaves open the question of whether the rectangular objects depicted are quivers. However, it is also possible that these objects represent cuirasses with shoulder guards, in section, on the top. The four rectangular components could refer to the belts of which a cuirass consists.

¹⁵⁵ French 1985, 226 fig. 6.12.

Another interesting aspect is the fact that other monochrome statuettes are also connected with the cult of warrior deities. One such group of monochrome figures consists of the type B statuettes so far identified only in the Cult Centre of Mycenae and in Tiryns¹⁵⁶. Although a significant difference between the head from Kontopigado and the aforementioned figures lies in the fact that the former is handmade and smaller, while those from Mycenae are hollow and larger, there is a feature that could connect these figures, namely, the attributes carried by some of these statuettes. A very interesting suggestion concerning figures of type B was made by Whittaker, who challenged the view that they represent celebrants in the act of sacrifice¹⁵⁷, and connected figures holding hammers with armed deities¹⁵⁸ instead. Although the type B figures from Mycenae are thought to represent unfinished statuettes that wore additional clothes or carried other attributes¹⁵⁹, and whose gender is not readily recognisable¹⁶⁰, Whittaker suggested that some of them wore conical helmets and carried a shield and spear¹⁶¹. If the figure from Kontopigado was truly monochrome, this could be an indication that a tradition of monochrome statuettes existed (including some of the type B figures), and that it represented warriors or warrior deities, although the question of their gender has to remain open. Concerning the issue of gender, Whittaker did not exclude the possibility that some type B figures also represent male warrior deities¹⁶². Despite the differences between figures of type B and the head of Kontopigado, and above all due to the fact that the former does not wear a cuirass, it cannot be ruled out that some monochrome statuettes were related to male and female warrior deities.

DISCUSSION

Excepting the figure head that was lying on a ridge of bedrock between channels I and II, the material examined here was found in secondary depositions, within deliberate fills of wells and pits. Although the custom of discarding is not at all unusual for small figurines, which appear very often in settlement refuse¹⁶³, the distribution pattern of the figures is very different¹⁶⁴. Figures occur primarily in contexts that are mostly interpreted as cult areas and shrines due to finds and other installations¹⁶⁵, while so far only one figure has been discovered in a chamber tomb¹⁶⁶. The almost total absence of figures from tombs represents another major difference between the depositional patterns of figurines and figures, since

¹⁵⁶ Cf. Moore – Tylour 1999, 53–62 pl. 13–22 a; French 1981, 173; French 2001, 276.

¹⁵⁷ Moore – Tylour, 96. 100 f.

¹⁵⁸ Furthermore, the hammer is a weapon in many other cultures (see the weather god of the Hittites. Whittaker 2009, 102 f.). Pliatsika 2012, 609.

¹⁵⁹ There are some areas on the statuettes that appear to have been left unpainted (Moore – Tylour 1999, 337). Moore – Tylour 1999, 97 exclude any function for the perforations other than that of firing holes for ventilation.

¹⁶⁰ French 1981, 173 describes figures of type B as »sexless / unisex / homo« figures.

¹⁶¹ Whittaker 2009, 102 identifies a fractured round clay object as a possible shield.

¹⁶² Whittaker 2009, 102 f. argues that the long hair represented on some type B figures and one male figure from Phylakopi could be an attribute of a warrior

male deity. Long hair is an attribute of prominent male figures and deities in the Levant and in Anatolia. Other figures of type B have their breasts accentuated (Moore – Tylour 1999, 53 pl. 13), which, in my opinion, is further support of their female gender, as previously suggested by Weber-Hiden 1990, 77.

¹⁶³ French 1971, 107 f.; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 51–55. 299. 309 f. Tzonou-Herbst 2009, 170. Figurines occur in houses and shrines, in cult contexts and in house refuse.

¹⁶⁴ Tzonou-Herbst 2009, 171; Albers 2009, 87.

¹⁶⁵ Renfrew 1985, 25 f. 414 f; Kilian 1981, 53–58; Kilian 1992, 15. 21–24; Albers 1994, 136–139; Moore-Tylour 1999, 92 f.

¹⁶⁶ Ξενάκη-Σακελλαρίου 1985, pl. 28, 2494. Another fragmentary head has been reported from a chamber tomb in Rhodes (Pliatsika 2012, 610 n. 9).

the former are very often attested in burial contexts and have, therefore, been interpreted as deities protecting the dead¹⁶⁷. Thus, due to their size, general appearance, context and restricted occurrence, the figures have been interpreted as cult statuettes of deities¹⁶⁸, whereas the small figurines were thought to represent either votives or deities, and to be, in general, paraphernalia of more popular beliefs¹⁶⁹. Regarding this theory, some doubt has been expressed as to whether such a strict division between an official and a popular cult, and the exclusive attribution of figures to the former context is possible. Wright points out that figures appear in non-palatial centres as well (Amyklaio, Aigina, Tsoungiza) as in palaces¹⁷⁰, and Kilian highlights the fact that small figurines also appear in cult areas that have a more official status¹⁷¹. Consequently, it seems appropriate to approach this question identifying the respective cultic context as official (public communal sanctuaries) or popular according to contextual analysis and the presence of more or less elaborate paraphernalia¹⁷².

Concerning the presence of figures in dumps or other contexts, an interesting deposition pattern that seems to be broadly attested can be detected. While figurines were carelessly discarded, the heads of the figures, once broken, seem to have been collected and kept within the shrines. In most cases where figures appear in dumps, body fragments, or arms and legs have been discarded¹⁷³, while heads tend to turn up in shrines¹⁷⁴. Most characteristic in this respect is the case of a figure from the shrine in room 110 at Tiryns, whose arms were found in a bothros and in the court, while its head was recovered in the shrine assemblage of the next building phase¹⁷⁵. And the arm of a male figure from the West shrine in Phylakopi was found in an earlier context than the figure itself¹⁷⁶. This allows the assumption that heads were possibly reused and treated with special respect¹⁷⁷, giving the impression that

¹⁶⁷ Kilian 1981, 55; Kilian 1992, 13. 21 n. 132. French 2009, 15. 19 argues, on the other hand, that figurines take on their symbolic meaning according to their context, a view that is followed by Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 95. 308–310.

¹⁶⁸ Kilian 1992, 15; Renfrew 1985, 415; Whittaker 2009, 100.

¹⁶⁹ Hägg 1981, 35–39. Among the cult places of official status Hägg names the sanctuary of A. Irini, the peak sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, the Megaron in Eleusis, and room 93 in the palace of Pylos. As typical cult places of popular beliefs he names open air sanctuaries in Agios Vasileios (Corinth) and the one in the Marmaria area at Delphi. According to Hägg, the subtle distinction between the two levels of cult is marked by the degree of influence from Minoan Crete, which is more pronounced among the higher social classes. The so-called house shrines, such as House G in Asine, are also connected with popular cult. Concerning the Cult Centre in Mycenae, Hägg 1981, 36 leaves the question of its exact characterisation unsettled. Kilian 1990, 196.

¹⁷⁰ Wright 1994, 66 table 3.1; 69 fig. 3.10.

¹⁷¹ Kilian 1981, 53 f. fig. 6; 56–58; Kilian 1990, 193–196. Kilian 1981, 56 proposes an even wider use for the figures. Albers 1994, 138; Albers 2009, 87 f. concludes that group figurines were used like the figures in more restricted contexts.

¹⁷² Kilian 1981, 58; Tzonou-Herbst 2002, 95; Vetter 2009, 469 f.

¹⁷³ See for example Voigtländer 2003, pl. 94, T 41, for the fragment of a phallus from Tiryns that was

found in the huge destruction dump, known as the Epichosis of Verdelis, deposited outside the west wall of the palace. For a recent discussion of the Epichosis of Verdelis, see Voigtländer 2003; Kardamaki 2009, 307–321. See Dabney et al. 2004, 211 f. fig. 7. 8 a for the fragment of a figure from a LH III A2-pit in Tsoungiza. In Tiryns, the dump of 239 figurines that included four anthropomorphic figure fragments (Kilian 1988, 142–145; Kilian 1992, pl. 2, 9–11) is thought to represent the cleaning dump of wall chamber 7. French 2009, 15 notes that the figures are stored in a way that shows respect, but no necessity to include all broken fragments.

¹⁷⁴ For example, the lord of Asine from house G (D'Agata 1996, 42 fig. 1), a head from Phylakopi, the heads from Agia Irini (Caskey). French 1985, 217 fig. 6.5; Moore – Tylour 1999, 337 (68-1588) (type B figure head from the Temple). See Albers 2009, 97 for evidence of ›sacred burial‹ in public communal sanctuaries. Cunningham – Sackett 2009, 94 f. fig. 8.14 (the head of a figure known as The ›Lady of Building 1‹, Palaikastro, Late Minoan III B).

¹⁷⁵ Kilian 1981, 54 fig. 7; Kilian 1992, pl. 4, 11; Vetter 2009, 364 n. 2610.

¹⁷⁶ French 1985, 223. 227. 229 fig. 6.14; 279; French 2009, 18.

¹⁷⁷ Renfrew 1985, 415. According to Rehak 2005, 274 this was intentional in the case of the heads of Agia Eirini, Asine. See Vermeule 1988, 299 f. pl. 39 for the famous ›Mycenaean dead head‹, unfortunately of unknown provenance, that has a secondary repair at the back of the head.

they preserved their cultic function. Figure heads found in dumps are recorded at Tiryns, where the head of a sphinx from a figure pot was found in the dump outside the west wall of the lower citadel¹⁷⁸. The head from well 6 in Kontopigado represents a further example of this rare phenomenon, whereas the hollow body with the folded arms from well 7 is consistent with most attested cases of discarded figures, being confined mostly to body fragments, arms and legs. In addition, the deposits that include figure fragments are often interpreted as containing material from ritual activities¹⁷⁹.

Regarding the overall distribution of the figures, the new finds from Kontopigado not only provide further evidence that such objects do not appear exclusively in palatial centres¹⁸⁰, but also highlight the close connection between workshops and cult¹⁸¹. Judging from the existence of pottery workshops and the large installation, Kontopigado must have played a significant role as a production centre in the wider area of Athens. The results of the new petrographic and chemical analyses of the pottery from the Athenian Acropolis, Thorikos to the east of Attica and Salamis will shed more light on the exact role of the Kontopigado workshop as a supplier of pottery, and will allow comparison with other regions of the mainland¹⁸². The discussion has recently been revived by information from both archaeological and written data concerning the autonomy of pottery workshops. There is evidence that some pottery workshops were, on the one hand, closely connected with the palatial centres, as in the case of Pylos¹⁸³ and in Berbati, but at the same time they could have acted more independently in a manner that even resembles later markets¹⁸⁴. In addition, there is evidence that there were other workshops in Kontopigado as well. The large size of the installation would suggest that the product treated in the channels, the exact nature of which is still unknown, was of quite some value for Athens. Thus it is possible that the figures and figurines discovered in the dumps of the installation come from a cult area or a shrine that existed in the vicinity of the workshop, the deity or deities worshipped therein safeguarding the prosperity of the workshops and their products.

The picture emerging from Kontopigado is that of an area with multifunctioning workshops of central significance (Building Complex III), habitation units (Building Complexes I and II) and a possible cult area or shrine from which the figures examined here may have come. The evidence from Building Complex I, lying 300 m south of the installation with the channels, shows that possible rituals performed there involved objects of more popular character, such as figurines, while only two wheel-made figures of a bull have been identified so

¹⁷⁸ Kilian 1988, 145 fig. 47. Heads which are unstratified or represent stray finds are excluded from this discussion since little can be said about their original context: Mylonas 1937, fig. 1–4 for a head in Illinois; Δημακοπούλου 1970, 174. 182 (from Pythion in the Acropolis). The head from Pythio was dated by Δημακοπούλου to LH III B2. One fragmented head from the Lower West Town in Tiryns was put forward as an argument for the presence of the figures in normal dumps (Vetters 2011a, 39 f. fig. 2, 2 top). But the latter also comes from an unstratified context.

¹⁷⁹ Dabney et al. 2004, 212–214 (ritual feasting in Tsoungiza); Tzonou-Herbst 2009, 170.

¹⁸⁰ Wright 1994, 63. 66 table 3.1.

¹⁸¹ See Vetters 2011a, 39–43 for the ritual protection of workshops which produced elite objects that were controlled and consumed by the palaces.

¹⁸² cf. Gilstrap 2015.

¹⁸³ See Galaty 2010, 232–243; Hruby 2013, 423–4267; Shelmerdine 2013, 449 f. Since at least half of the fine pottery found in the palace of Pylos seems to originate from a single workshop (Hruby 2013, 424 f.), the suggestion was raised whether in Pylos one workshop was mainly occupied with providing the palace with feasting pots.

¹⁸⁴ Although Berbati lies ca. 4 km from Mycenae, it was under direct control of the palace, and the pictorial craters produced there were included in a wide exchange network spanning the Argolid, Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean (Shelmerdine 2013, 449). On the other hand, pottery typical for palatial centres also turns up in smaller centres like Tsoungiza, which means that even pottery workshops that were under palatial control could act independently (Shelmerdine 2013, 449). Parkinson et al. 2013, 417 argue for a closer connection between pottery workshops and palaces in the Argolid than in Messenia.

far¹⁸⁵ (fig. 4. 8). However, the involvement of the inhabitants of the Building Complex I in pottery production activities is supported by several finds such as the part of a potter's wheel. Another find that was lying very close to the bull figure and the pots of the court, an assemblage interpreted as ritual, could also point in the same direction. A painted disc with a convex lower side and a concave upper side is very reminiscent of similar objects discovered at Myrtos on Crete that were used for the manufacture of handmade pots¹⁸⁶ (fig. 14). As intriguing as the resemblance of the Kontopigado disc with the Pyrgos ›mats‹ may be, one problem for this parallelisation concerns the fact that there are no hand-made vessels in Kontopigado (or very few), and a second that the Myrtos discs are much earlier, dating in EM II. On the other hand, its presence in the court could have been symbolic, part of a ritual performance invoking success for the production activities that took place at Kontopigado. In this case it cannot be excluded that the disc was not actually used for real pottery manufacture.

It is possible that in the wider area of Kontopigado, and around or next to the workshops, building complexes of different status existed. According to the available data only the ones built directly next to the installation, from which the fills of wells 6 and 7 come, seem to have used both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures and unusual figurines.

The exact appearance and function of the presumed cult place, and whether it was a hypaethral cult area or a shrine¹⁸⁷ remains uncertain, but it is very possible that the figures were placed within a closed structure somewhere near the channels. Nevertheless, there is no reason to assume that this location had any dramatic or characteristic natural features to it that could support the idea of an open air sanctuary, even if the streams coming from the



Fig. 14 Building Complex I.
The ›mats‹ from the court (scale 1 : 2)

¹⁸⁵ Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 80 fig. 15, 27.

¹⁸⁶ Evely 1988, 95 fig. 2; 96 f. In Kolonna a Minoan type wheel was found (Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 156).

¹⁸⁷ For the so-called public communal sanctuaries, see Albers 1994. On the basis of the information obtained by the Linear B tablets, Hiller 1981, 110, differentiates between a cult area and a sanctuary. For the exact meaning and use of terms such as

cult place, sanctuary and shrine, see Hägg 1981, 39; Lupack 2008, 17. Lupack understands a sanctuary to be a cult area that includes more than one shrine. According to Hägg 1981, 39 not only the figurines of Psi- and Phi-type, but also kourotrophoi, bovines and thrones are very typical for the open sanctuaries. See also Kilian 1990, 185–190 for the open air cult place at Agia Triada.

Hymettos mountain must have carried plenty of water¹⁸⁸. It is even likely, according to the spatial distribution of the figures from wells 6 and 7 (*fig. 1*), that more than one cult place existed in the immediate vicinity of the channels. In this respect, the context of the armed figure from the bedrock ridge is more difficult to interpret. The pottery associated with it strongly contrasts with the rest of the material from the channels that was heavily worn and fragmented, leaving the question unanswered of whether the finds were discovered lying in situ or just washed down, as was assumed during excavation. Thus, an alternative hypothesis which cannot be confirmed at this point could include a symbolic placement of the figure head as a protection deity for the production activities that were taking place in the installation.

The close connection suggested here between the presumed cult place and the workshop(s) of Kontopigado – a phenomenon that is very well attested for several Late Bronze Age sites of the Greek Mainland¹⁸⁹, on Crete¹⁹⁰ and in Cyprus¹⁹¹, where shrines and cult places were built in the direct vicinity of workshops – raises questions that have been highly debated. These refer to the exact nature of the relationship between central sites, cult sectors and other communities. Was the presumed cult place in Kontopigado functioning as a mere shrine for the needs of the community working there, or was it actually involved in production activities, or in charge of these?¹⁹² And if the latter is the case, what was its relationship with the nearby Acropolis of Athens, the dominant centre of the region? The information obtained from both archaeological and written documents has led to theories that range from the existence of the so-called temple economy and the total independence of religious establishments connected with industrial activities¹⁹³ to more or less absolute control of the religious sector by the palaces¹⁹⁴.

One model, suggested by Hiller, is based on the existence of the so-called *oikoi* mentioned in Linear B tablets. The *oikoi* are interpreted as areas that belong to, or are closely connected with cult places of one or more deities, and in which there were also workshops¹⁹⁵. In Thebes, the *oikos* of Potnia received flocks and probably maintained a textile

¹⁸⁸ For the so-called natural sanctuaries see Leuven 1981, 13 f. But see Kilian 1990, 185–190 for the finds from Agia Triada near Klenies that seem to point to an open air cult although no particular natural feature has been reported in that area.

¹⁸⁹ Lupack 2008, 160 f. See the figure from room 210 in Tiryns that is connected with metallurgical activities (Kilian 1988, 126–130. 140 fig. 37, 10; Kilian 1992, 14 f.; Vettors 2011a, 39–41). South to the shrine from Agios Konstantinos a metallurgical workshop was operating (Lupack 2008, 150 f.).

¹⁹⁰ Koehl 2006, 333 f. For a summary of the evidence relating to industrial activities such as stone and bronze manufacture, textile production, and pottery workshops from Late Minoan I B–II Cretan sites (Mochlos, Pseira, Zakros, Knossos) and from Akrotiri, see Lupack 2008, 24.

¹⁹¹ For sanctuaries and metal workshops in Kition and Enkomi, see Lupack 2008, 34–41. See also Knapp 2008, 223–228; Lupack 2008, 29–34.

¹⁹² Examples of a close connection between cultic and industrial contexts, like at Mochlos and in unexplored Mansion at Knossos, raise the question of the direct participation of cult personnel in the actual production, but cannot support it further (Lupack

2008, 33). However, in Myrtos, in the House of Lilies in Akrotiri and in Zakros there is secure evidence that the cultic sector was directly involved in production (respectively wine, textiles and manufacture of costly materials such as bronze, ivory and stone) (Lupack 2008, 33).

¹⁹³ Palmer 1963, 95–102; Tegye 1984, 77–79. Knapp 1996, 9. 19–23 considers the role of the cult sector there to be limited to a rather ideological support for the production processes. But see Lupack 2008, 42 f. For a discussion on the meaning of temple or state economy or ›redistribution‹ see Bendall 2007, 4–9.

¹⁹⁴ Killen 1985, 255. 288 f. For a general discussion see Lupack 2008, 1–10, with lit.

¹⁹⁵ On the differentiation between *oikos* as ›the house of a deity‹ and *do* as ›the house of a human being‹, see Chadwick 1975, 88 f.; Palmer 1963, 237; Hiller 1981, 104–106. This differentiation is generally accepted (Lupack 2008, 106. 108–110). However, Hiller 1981, 105 raises the question whether the »semantische Unterschied von *Oikos* und *Do*« consists »nicht so sehr in der Polarität von Sakralem und Profanem als vielmehr auf der Ebene von wirtschaftlicher Struktur und architektonischer Gestalt?«. See also Palaima 2004, 219 f.

workshop¹⁹⁶, and the *oikos* of *mezana* (a female deity) included metal workshops for the production of armour¹⁹⁷. Ten men were dispatched to another *oikos* in Knossos, the *oikos* of *marineu*¹⁹⁸. In view of this, Hiller suggests that the *oikoi* were under palatial control, and played an intermediate role between the palatial administration and the workshops¹⁹⁹.

Several other workshops are connected with deities: Textile workshops in Thebes are described as belonging to Hermes and Hera²⁰⁰, in Pylos some bronzesmiths are designated as Potnian²⁰¹ and in the Knossos tablets the flocks in *sijaduwe*, a possible textile workshop centre, are listed as Potnian as well²⁰². Although the close connection between the palaces and the official cult has been emphasised on the grounds of various evidence²⁰³, other patterns of organisation could have existed as well. Considering the growing evidence for a more flexible relationship between palaces and various production activities, Lupack prefers to see religious establishments as being more economically independent from the palaces, and in a position to maintain their personnel and even gain influence over communities working in the workshops²⁰⁴.

Nevertheless, the role of the religious sector and the sanctuaries within the whole framework of economical life was smaller in comparison with the palatial one²⁰⁵, and was probably restricted to maintaining the goods necessary for the everyday life of the sanctuaries²⁰⁶. Only a few sanctuaries with big land ownership would have been in a position of higher economic influence. This, however, should not preclude that some sanctuaries with workshops which engaged in various transactions or in trade may have achieved considerable wealth and influence²⁰⁷.

In the case of Kontopigado, the evidence available at present cannot provide any further material for this discussion, but there is one aspect which, in my opinion, indicates the very close connection of Kontopigado with Athens: The fact that both the settlement and the installation of Kontopigado seem to have been completely abandoned or gone out of use after the period that witnessed serious destruction in the Acropolis of Athens. Among the huge amount of pottery examined so far there is an almost total lack of potsherds that are later than LH III C Early 1. Even if we are not ready to accept the idea that production in Kontopigado was totally controlled by Athens, the community must have depended on Athens

¹⁹⁶ Hiller 1981, 99 f.; TH Of 36. However, Hiller leaves the exact identification of Potnia as a deity or a sacral figure open.

¹⁹⁷ Palmer 1963, 237; Hägg 1981, 102 f. On Mezzana, see Palmer 1963, 175 f.; Killen (as forthcoming in Lupack 2008, 109).

¹⁹⁸ Tablet KN As(2) 1519. Hiller 1981, 99. Since the God *marineu* appears in both Knossos and Thebes in connection with flocks, Palmer 1979, 1338 f. suggested that *marineu* represents the »God of Woollens«. Contra Killen 1979, 178, who argues that *marineu* was not a deity but an individual concerned with the perfume industry, see Lupack 2008, 108. Bendall 2007, 91 follows Killen and rejects the identification of *marineu* as a deity, as well as the meaning of *oikos* as a shrine. But she agrees that the house of Potnia in Knossos could refer to a workshop belonging to the deity and not the shrine itself (Bendall 2007, 84).

¹⁹⁹ Hiller 1981, 95 argues that sanctuaries that were controlled by palaces had a more official character.

²⁰⁰ Hiller 1981, 100; Lupack 2008, 105.

²⁰¹ Hiller 1981; Lupack 2008, 114–118. 164.

²⁰² Lupack 2008, 100–103.

²⁰³ The more elaborate cult statuettes and ivory statu-

ettes that represented keimelia are restricted to Mycenae, thus showing the close connection between palaces and religion (Wright 1994, 38. 61–63. 66 f. table 3.1; 75 f.; Vettters 2011a, 36).

²⁰⁴ Lupack 2008, 2. 5. 9. 162–167. Lupack 2008, 164 suggests that sanctuaries and religious personnel could have acted in a similar manner to the collectors. For the involvement of individuals and collectors in religious feasting see Palaima 2004, 222–226. 236.

²⁰⁵ Bendall 2007, 290; Bendall 2007, 265–270 has calculated that disbursement of finished products for religious purposes was very limited in comparison with the overall resources of the palaces. On the other hand, the fact that the majority of finished products were destined for the religious sector could relate to the Mycenaean recording system in general. Bendall 2007, 268 states that »when final disbursements are recorded, they tend overwhelmingly to be for religious purposes«.

²⁰⁶ As non-palatial sanctuaries with control over production activities and workshops Lupack 2008, 150–161 cites Agios Konstantinos in Methana and Phylakopi.

²⁰⁷ Lupack 2008, 166 f.

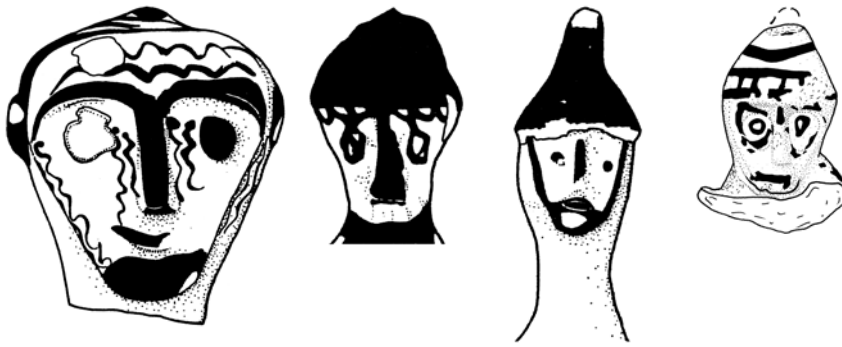


Fig. 15 Three hand-modelled figure heads from Phylakopi (left) and one from Kontopigado (right) (scale 1 : 2)

in various ways, and after its destruction the workshop of Kontopigado could not function any more. This could explain why occupation in Kontopigado, which can be securely traced back to LH II B and LH III A periods, was interrupted so abruptly. On the other hand, workshops that continued their production after the destructions of LH III B2 and LH III C Early were often integrated into citadels (Tiryns, Phylakopi). Although Kontopigado is situated 5 km away from the Acropolis, inclusion within its administrative system is possible²⁰⁸. The presence of an important sanctuary protecting production activities and the involvement of the palace in the management of workshops may explain the presence of paraphernalia of official status, such as hollow figures that could have been carried in processions (hollow female figure from well 7) and the rare figurines found in the deposits of the wells close to the installation.

CULT ACTIVITY AT KONTOPIGADO IN A WIDER CONTEXT

The finds from Kontopigado suggest that the cult place presumed there possibly resembled the shrines in Phylakopi in some aspects. Two of the figure heads examined here are hand-modelled, a fact that places them within the rare group of figures found in the west Shrine (*fig. 15*). Some of the latter are female, but most characteristic are five male figures, which are unique among clay figures of that period²⁰⁹. Apart from figures, handmade male figurines are just as rare in the mainland, and considered to begin or become more prominent during LH III C²¹⁰. Due to their gesture with outstretched arms and fists and their attributes, the solid male figures from Phylakopi most likely reflect eastern Mediterranean bronze prototypes of the so-called Anatolian Pose²¹¹. In Kontopigado, the head from well 6 most probably belongs to a female figure, whereas the gender of the head from the armed figure can only be postulated as male due to the fact that it wears a helmet and a neck guard. The question remains unanswered as to whether the two heads from Kontopigado had solid bodies, as the male figures from Phylakopi, or hollow bodies like those of the early figure

²⁰⁸ Contra Privitera 2013, 174 who suggests that there is neither evidence of a palatial centre in Athens during LH III A – LH III B, nor evidence of political unity during LH III B2.

²⁰⁹ French 1971, 148 discusses a male figure from the Acropolis with clear indication of gender. The figure is decorated with chevrons and rosettes and is ex-

hibited in the new Acropolis Museum; French 2009, 16. Male figures occur in primary contexts and in the interiors of sanctuaries only in Phylakopi (Albers 2009, 88 table 2; 93 fig. 1; 95).

²¹⁰ French 1985, 223.

²¹¹ Renfrew 1985, 422. For bronze figures with the Anatolian pose see Seeden 1988.

pots from Mycenae²¹² or the ›Minoan‹ figure from Menelaion²¹³, but the latter seems rather unlikely. Moreover, the attributes of the armed figure such as neck and shoulder guards remain unique, but its state of preservation hinders any discussion regarding its original pose and gesture. In view of this, it is tempting to assume that the figurine with the outstretched arms and the painted dagger on the waist found in well 7 represents a male statuette resembling the solid figures from Phylakopi in gesture, although it has to remain open whether the former was attached to or placed within another structure, whether it held an object²¹⁴ or whether it had an additional cover made of other material attached to the perforations²¹⁵.

In considering the origins of the male figures from Phylakopi Renfrew did not exclude the possibility that these are to be found in Minoan clay statuettes of the Late Minoan III B period²¹⁶. Although very rare, the latter seem to continue a tradition that goes back to the first palaces on Crete. In addition, Minoan influenced figures are also well attested in Phylakopi²¹⁷. It might not be a mere coincidence that the figurine with the outstretched arms and the painted dagger from well 7 has a triangular torso, a feature that is often seen on Cretan bell-skirt and male figures. At this point it has to be noted that Attica has yielded very important finds that show close links to Crete²¹⁸ and, moreover, that its inhabitants were familiar with male statuettes of the Minoan type. In a tomb in Glyka Nera a male lead figure was discovered next to conical cups placed upside down. Based on the latter, a well known Minoan pattern, Sgouritsa has even postulated the physical presence of a person from Crete there²¹⁹. The present evidence does not permit to establish with certainty whether the solid figures from Kontopigado that appear in LH III C early fills predate the figures found in Phylakopi phase 2a/b. However, this is possible²²⁰. Although figures from Kontopigado could have represented old pieces or heirlooms dating to LH III B2 or earlier, their exact dating, as is the case with the figures from Phylakopi, presents difficulties mainly due to the lack of secure parallels in LH III B contexts.

²¹² Moore – Taylour 1999, 46. 51 pl. 51 a. According to French 1985, 215, a head from Phylakopi (French 1985, pl. 32 c) should also be part of an anthropomorphic vessel, but it is not clear from the photo whether it is hollow or solid.

²¹³ Cf. Catling 1995, 186 fig. 2 and also Πεθεμιωτάκης 2001, 87 fig. 107, for Late Minoan II–III A female, bell-skirt statuettes from Knossos that have a hollow lower body and a solid upper body or a solid head.

²¹⁴ French 1985, 223–225. 226 fig. 6.12, 1553; fig. 6.12, 2340; 228 fig. 6.13, 1544; pl. 36 c. The last two have a clay join at their body and French 1985, 225. 226 fig. 6.12, 2340; pl. 36 a suggests that these figures carried something that was also attached to their left arm. The first seemed to have carried something small with the left hand only.

²¹⁵ For a recent discussion on Near Eastern religious practices in Phylakopi, such as the ritual removal of the head of sheet gold from a now lost bronze statuette see Maran 2011, 68–70.

²¹⁶ Renfrew 1985, 421–424 draws attention to the existence of male clay statuettes from LH III B contexts on Crete such as the clay statuette dubbed the warrior from Kannia in Gortyna (Πεθεμιωτάκης 23 fig. 26) and the figure that holds a dove from the shrine of the double axes (Evans 1928, 339 fig. 192).

²¹⁷ French 1985, 211. 213. 219 fig. 6.7; 220 fig. 6.8; pl. 38 d, 520.

²¹⁸ Immerwahr 1971, 156; Benzi 1975, 381. See Sgou-

ritsa 2007, 268–272 for a summary of the evidence of Cretan imports or influences around Attica. Rutter 2003, 200 has argued that the pottery of LH III C Phase 1 from Athens shows elements of Cretan influence (frequent wavy bands, the burnishing of pot surfaces).

²¹⁹ Sgouritsa 2007, 270. The figure is unpublished. According to its type it dates to LH II or early LH III A.

²²⁰ French 1985, 239 stresses that there is no real evidence for the date of the manufacture of the figures and their dating is often based on stylistic grounds: The bovine figures are dated from LH III A to LH III B (French 1985, 238 f. 279), the male figures are treated as LH III C (French 1985, 223) and are compared to a small male figurine carrying a dove from the Shrine of the double axes in Knossos (French 1985, 225). Male figures appear both in phase 2b and 3b/c (French 1985, 280 table 6.2). Style and quality suggest that the Lady of Phylakopi represents a LH III A2 product (French 1985, 215), whereas according to French 1985, 216 most anthropomorphic figures must date from the period of the construction of the shrine and should antedate the collapse. However the pottery evidence for the use and collapse (phases 2a and 2b) of the west and east shrine show that the bulk of pottery dates to LH III C Early with the latest pieces being LH III C Developed (Mountjoy 1985, 161. 168. 170–189). See also Renfrew 1985, 86 table 3, 3.

Furthermore, the coexistence of hollow anthropomorphic and bovine figures²²¹ with solid figures and small figurines at Kontopigado is also very characteristic for the shrines in Phylakopi. In the west shrine the veneration of a female and of a male deity that are accompanied by bulls is suggested, while in the east shrine a cult with only animal figures and figurines cannot be ruled out²²². An interesting suggestion concerning large bull figures was made by Pilafidis-Williams who challenged the view that such figures occur mostly in open air sanctuaries, and connected them with the cult of male deities. This hypothesis seems to find support not only in the shrines of Phylakopi but also in Kontopigado where male figures, figurines and bull figures are well represented. Both in Athens and Phylakopi some of the earliest bovine figures date in LH III A2 or LH III B and represent very similar types in terms of form and decoration²²³. Another similarity between both aforementioned areas is provided by the industrial activities assumed for both sites. In other cult areas where possible working activities took place find assemblages are different. In the Cult Centre in Mycenae, in the lower citadel of Tiryns and in Berbati, handmade solid figures and especially male figures are absent or rare²²⁴. In the Cult Centre bull figures are also absent from the interior of the cult rooms²²⁵. Finally, it has to be stressed that hollow figures and bovines as well as male figures similar to the ones from Phylakopi have been found on the Acropolis, too.

The finds from Kontopigado provide us with some important new evidence. First, they suggest some kind of interaction or connection between Athens and Phylakopi, areas where industrial activities have been anticipated. In both areas, the presence of male figures that can be characterised as warriors is evident. Besides, well 7 contained figurines that can be classified as uncommon (double flute player, male figurine with painted dagger) and such finds are now considered to have been deposited either as offerings or as cult statuettes in public communal sanctuaries or Citadel Cult Centres²²⁶. Although the figurines can be considered to represent votives, the same need not be the case for the male figures or for all male figures²²⁷, some of which due to their size and prominent placement on benches, as in Phylakopi, are very convincingly interpreted as cult images. The rich finds from the sanctuaries in Phylakopi are of course lacking at Kontopigado, and this could constitute the main difference between a public communal sanctuary within a citadel and a popular sanctuary located far away from the main centre. However, it has to be kept in mind that our present evidence from Kontopigado comes mainly from secondary fills, and the exact character of the presumed cult places cannot be fully understood until they have been excavated. Secondly, an influx of ideas from Crete or even the Near East, most probably indirectly through the Aegean islands and Phylakopi, can be observed at Kontopigado.

²²¹ According to Nicholls 1970, 10 f. the inspiration for the large bovine figures is to be found in Crete.

²²² Renfrew 1985, 373; Nicholls 1970, 8 f. sees the large wheel-made figures as votives that substitute real animals.

²²³ Guggisberg 1996, 67 f. 112. 217 pl. 14, 4; pl. 27, 3.

²²⁴ Kilian 1981, 54 fig. 6 (left).

²²⁵ French 1985, 277. However, large animal figures are found elsewhere on the Citadel House Area (Tamvaki 1973, 230 fig. 14); Guggisberg 1996, 319 n. 1552; For a bovine figure of type B-2 from Berbati see Gug-

gisberg 1996, 26 pl. 2, 1. Due to its small size (8.2 cm in length) and the fact that it is handmade Petrović 2009, 81 f. fig. 4–6 considers it to be an intermediate type between small handmade and large wheel-made figures. This figure is 8 cm long and much smaller than the figure from well 7.

²²⁶ Albers 2009, 88 table 2; 97; Wright 1994, 61–63.

²²⁷ According to Albers 1994, 96 the male figures from Phylakopi represent uncommon figures that due to the fact that they do not occur in the rear rooms of the shrine should be postulated as votives as well.

CONCLUSIONS

Concerning the attributes of the figures and figurines examined here, and the question of whether these could point to the cult of different deities in Kontopigado, no more than hypotheses can be offered for the time being. The solid head from well 6 and the hollow body from well 7 seem to belong to a statuette class that is frequent and fairly easily recognisable. Although figures of type A demonstrate considerable diversity regarding their clothing, decoration, ornaments and headwear, most of them represent female deities with big eyes and ears that wear long garments and, almost always, necklaces. Regarding gesture, however, the hollow body from well 7 belongs to a rare class of statuettes with arms folded over the breast rather than upraised. It has been suggested that this figure resembles small handmade figurines of the Tau-type. It is very probable that the differences between some statuettes, whether they wear a polos or a hair band, whether they have upraised or crossed arms, or whether they have painted facial features or not, represent various attributes of different female deities, or various attributes of the same female deity²²⁸. It has also been suggested that the more specific attributes of a deity might have been emphasised by the use of other accessories that are no longer preserved, such as real amulets, necklaces or weapons²²⁹. The size of the figures could have played an additional role in the differentiation between celebrants, priestesses and deities, as Renfrew has suggested²³⁰, or even between different deities. In this respect, it will be interesting to see whether future excavations in Kontopigado will reveal large hollow statuettes as well.

Features that are more easily distinguishable, such as the plumed helmet and the possible cuirass, appear on the head of the monochrome figure that, due to its monochromy, has been linked typologically to the figures of type B found in Mycenae. According to recent views expressed by Whittaker, some of the type B figures would have represented armed deities with additionally attached helmets, shields and weapons, rather than cult celebrants shown in the act of sacrifice²³¹. If the connection between these statuettes is correct, the monochrome statuettes could reflect the cult of a warrior deity that was immediately recognisable. However, the rendering of a bronze corselet and neck guard that belong to a very early tradition remains unparalleled, and is connected with a kind of conservatism prevailing throughout LH III B in Athens, as attested also in other aspects of material culture such as pottery²³², rather than a case of indigenous reaction seeking legitimization in a glorious past during LH III C Early²³³. The presence of the cuirass has suggested that the statuette from the installation represents a male figure reflecting the cult of a male warrior deity. The connection between bull figures and male deities that has been suggested on the basis of finds from Phylakopi, and for which there are parallels in Anatolia²³⁴, could be of some

²²⁸ Kilian 1981, 54 fig. 6 has argued that the amulet worn by the largest statuette in room 110 of the lower citadel in Tiryns could have represented the attribute of a specific deity.

²²⁹ Whittaker 2009, 105 f.

²³⁰ Renfrew 1985, 372 suggests that the tallest male figure from the north-west platform in the West Shrine could have been a cult image. Among the biggest clay statuettes known are the lady of Phylakopi, the female deities of Agia Eirini, the fragment of a hand with kylix from Amyklaion, the Lord of Asine and the fragment of a phallus from Tiryns. According to Whittaker 2009, 100. 109 due to their size, elabo-

rate decoration and restricted occurrence all figures could have represented statuettes of deities.

²³¹ Whittaker 2009, 104–106.

²³² See, for example, the fidelity to decorations and shapes that are of LH III A2 traditions, such as the monochromy of many open and closed vessels, the wavy bands, and the continuous use of one-handed deep bowls up to the beginning of LH III C Early.

²³³ This phenomenon is otherwise very well attested during the postpalatial period. See Maran 2012, 122–130.

²³⁴ Pilafidis-Williams 1998, 140 f.

relevance for Kontopigado as well, where bull figures are very frequent²³⁵. The male figurine with the dagger is probably related to the cult of male deities as well, but its form, gesture and painted features reveal common religious elements with Phylakopi, and possibly Crete.

The so-called double flute player is so far unparalleled, belonging to a rare class with specific attributes. The figurine, which was probably solidly painted originally, wears a polos and therefore, a higher status can be assumed. If we consider the figurine to be a votive, it might represent the attribute of a worshipper or celebrant of higher status that participated in a religious event as a flute player²³⁶. The fact that many religious events and processions were accompanied by lyre or double flute players is attested iconographically²³⁷. The most famous examples include two scenes depicted on the Agia Triada sarcophagus. On one of the long sides of the sarcophagus, a procession with offerings for the dead is led by a female lyre player²³⁸. The other side depicts the sacrifice of a bull in which a double flute player participates²³⁹.

Whether the finds from well 7, namely the hollow figure of type A, the bull shaped figures, the double flute figurine and the figurine with outstretched arms, as well as the rest of the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines once belonged to the same context will remain hypothetical, but the possibility cannot be excluded. The coexistence of figures and figurines in the same room is best attested in the shrines of Phylakopi and, to a lesser extent, in the Temple Complex at Mycenae, a context that has been used as an argument for the exclusive use of figures in official cult²⁴⁰. The lower citadel of Tiryns provides another instance²⁴¹. That the material in question originates from a cultic context²⁴² is further supported by additional finds such as the loom weights of Minoan type and other weaving equipment that could have represented votives. The huge amount of pottery from well 7 (60,000 potsherds from a 4 m fill), most of which belong to drinking and cooking vessels, suggests that some were used for feasting activities, although they may have originated in part from storage deposits close to the installation.

Finally, it is very possible that an important centre with a cult area existed in Kontopigado, possibly, as the presence of the figures and rare figurines would seem to indicate, a shrine of official character, hosting female and maybe male deities under whose protection and control the pottery and other workshops were placed. Future research and excavations

²³⁵ See also Guggisberg 1996, 343 for a critical approach to this theory. The veneration of a male deity, possibly Poseidon, has been suggested for the shrine in Methana due to the predominance of votives such as male figurines in chariots, riders and bovines (Konsolaki 2002, 35).

²³⁶ On the role of music performances in rituals or the actual music instruments discovered in shrines see Renfrew 1985, 383 fig. 9.3; Albers 1994, table 8; Mikrakis 2011, 62 f. Based on the word *karuke* mentioned twice in the Linear B tablets (PY Fn 187, PY Un 219) Panagl 2007, 311. 314 f. argues that the first meaning of the Homeric word *keruks* was »Sänger, singender Priester«.

²³⁷ Younger 1998, 49. 55. Other than in the Levante in the Aegean musicians are primarily related to religious events.

²³⁸ Two ivory lyres were found in the Menidi Tholos. See Younger 1998, pl. 5. 10–18 for depictions of lyres in Agia Triada and the Megaron in Pylos, as well as for the reconstruction of the lyra from Menidi. The

word *rurate* (lyra player) is documented on the new tablet from Thebes (Aravantinos et al. 2000, 176).

²³⁹ Younger 1998, 30–32 pl. 18. 19. Other depictions of double flutes are supposedly represented in frescos in Knossos, in Agia Triada and in one ring impression from Knossos (Younger 1998, 30 f. pl. 20. 24, 7).

²⁴⁰ Moore – Taylour 1999, 62 pl. 22 b. c (one Phi and one Proto-Phi figurine). From the large quantity of material recovered in the Temple Complex, only one fragment of a zoomorphic figurine appeared.

²⁴¹ Kilian 1979, 392 fig. 12. 13; Kilian 1981, 53–55 (shrine 117); Kilian 1981, 170–174 (Zwinger and casemate 7).

²⁴² According to the classification made by Albers 2009, 87 table 1; 88 f. table 2. 3 concerning the number of figures and figurines occurring in communal sanctuaries the finds from well 7 would fit to: anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures: several (3–5), and many figurines. Plus 3 uncommon zoomorphic figurines (stag, horse), one uncommon (axle). Many figurines and several figures occur in Mycenae and Tiryns, while in Phylakopi they appear in great numbers.

in the area of the installation will certainly shed more light on these questions, as they may also help us understand the exact appearance, function and range of this presumed cult place that would have some similarities to public communal sanctuaries in Phylakopi, while being distanced 5 km away from the regional centre most likely located on the Acropolis²⁴³. Such a sanctuary in the proximity of important workshops would support the hypothesis for the existence of *oikoi* or second-order centres, and would allow the assumption that Athens did employ, at least during the final palatial period, an administration system similar to those of Pylos, Mycenae and Thebes.

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²⁴³ See Wright 1994, 39 fig. 3.1; 63–72 for cult places in settlements located outside palaces.

Sources of illustrations: *Fig. 1*: After Lohmann 2010, pl. 7; modified by author. – *Fig. 2*: Courtesy of K. Kaza-Papageorgiou; modified by author. – *Fig. 3*: Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου et al. 2011, 200 drawing 1. – *Fig. 4*: 5: Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 57 drawing 2; 106 drawing 4. – *Fig. 6*: 7. 9–12: Courtesy of K. Kaza-Pa-

georgiou. – *Fig. 8*: Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 80 fig. 15, 27; drawing V. Hachtmann. – *Fig. 13*: Courtesy of K. Kaza-Papageorgiou; drawing V. Hachtmann. – *Fig. 14*: Καζά-Παπαγεωργίου – Καρδαμάκη 2014, 88 fig. 19, 57; drawing V. Hachtmann; photo courtesy of K. Kaza-Papageorgiou. – *Fig. 15*: Phylakopi: after French 1985, 217 fig. 6.5; 228 fig. 6.13, 1544; 226 fig. 6.12; modified by author; Kontopigado: courtesy of K. Kaza-Papageorgiou.

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