



GEORGE RETHEMIOTAKIS

**MINOAN CLAY FIGURES
AND FIGURINES**

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*Female figurine from the peak sanctuary at Piskokephalo, Siteia.
Detail. 1700-1600 BC (see also front cover).*

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GEORGE RETHEMIOTAKIS

**MINOAN CLAY FIGURES
AND FIGURINES**

FROM THE NEOPALATIAL TO THE SUBMINOAN PERIOD

TRANSLATION ALEXANDRA DOUMAS



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Front cover: Male and female figurines from the peak sanctuary
at Piskokephalo, Siteia (1700-1600 BC).

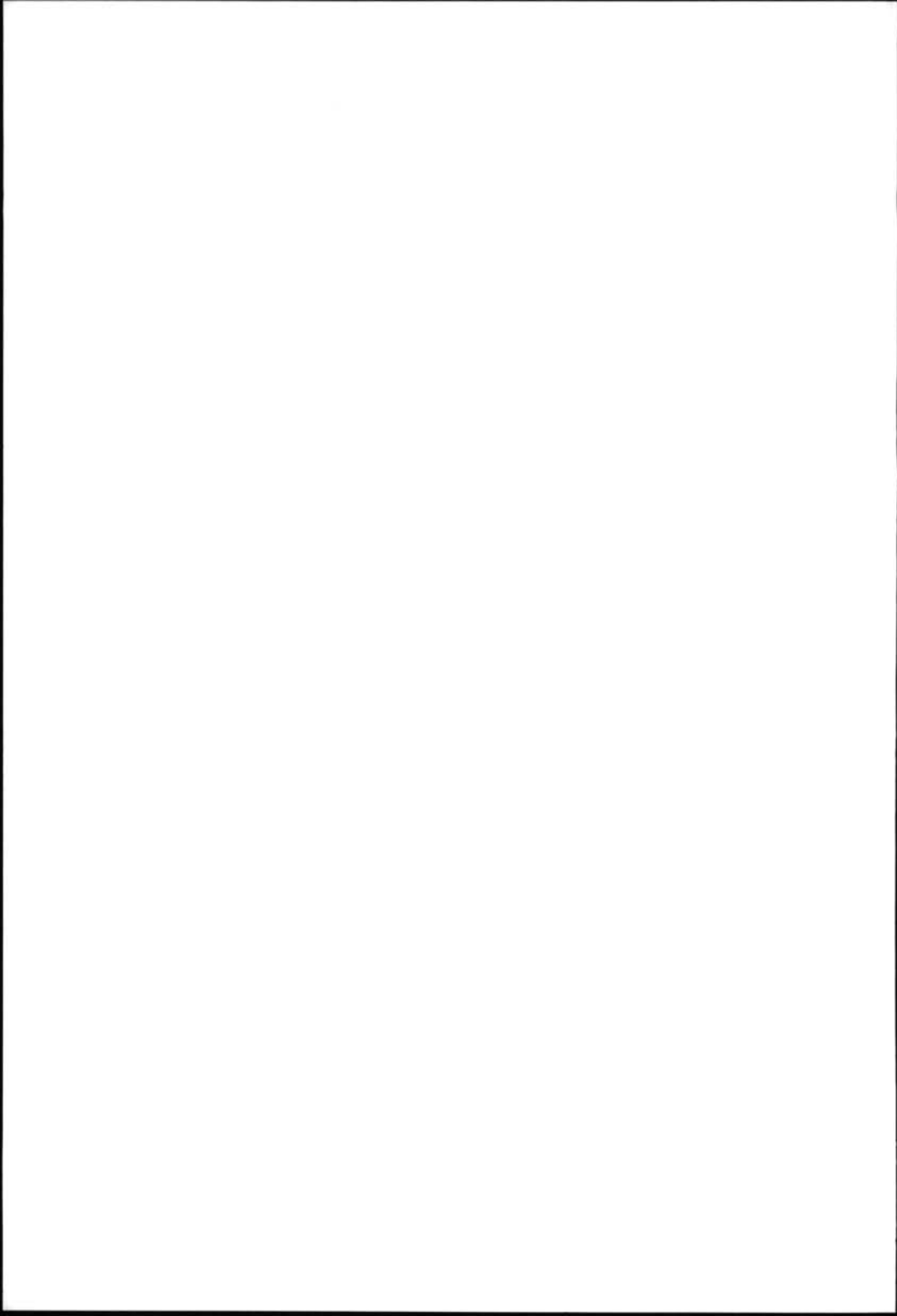
Back cover: Head of a female figurine from Psychro cave
(1350-1300 BC).



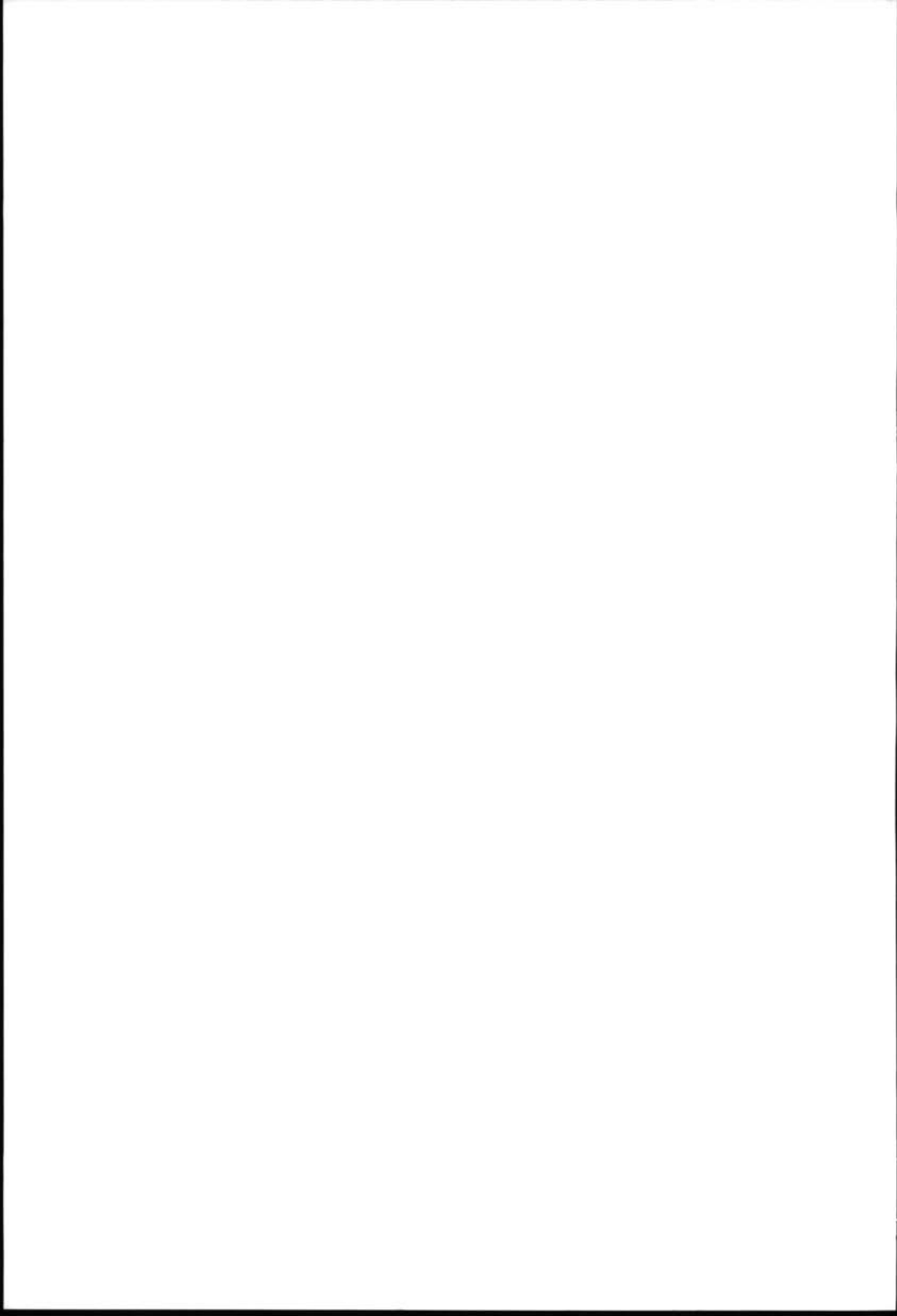
Editor: Eleftheria Kondylaki Kontou

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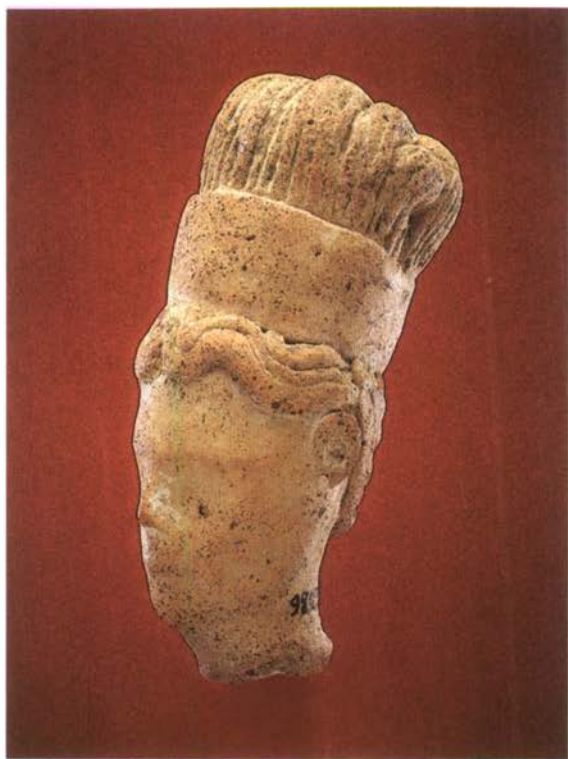


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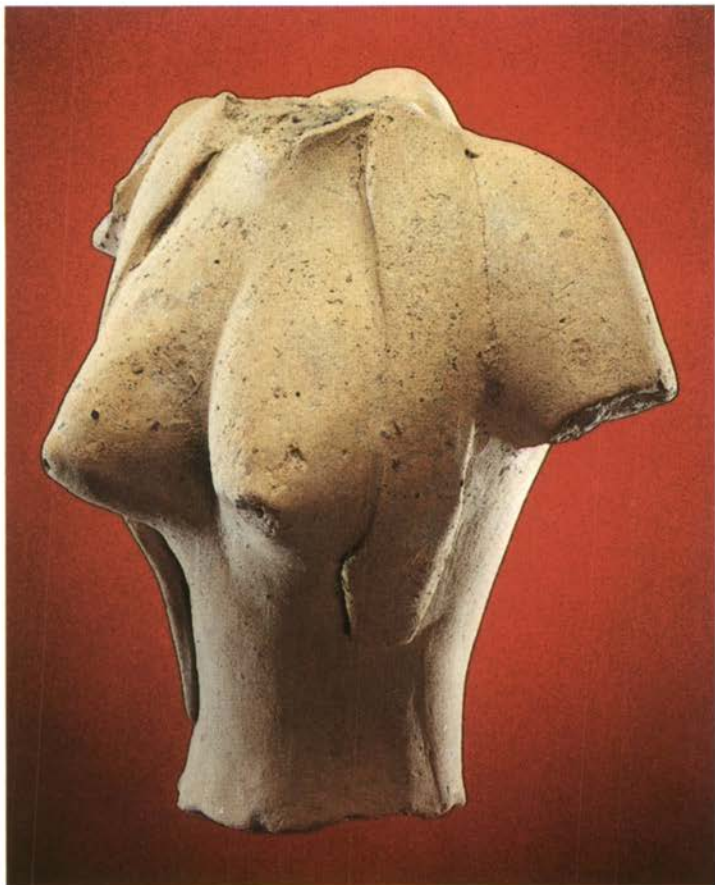




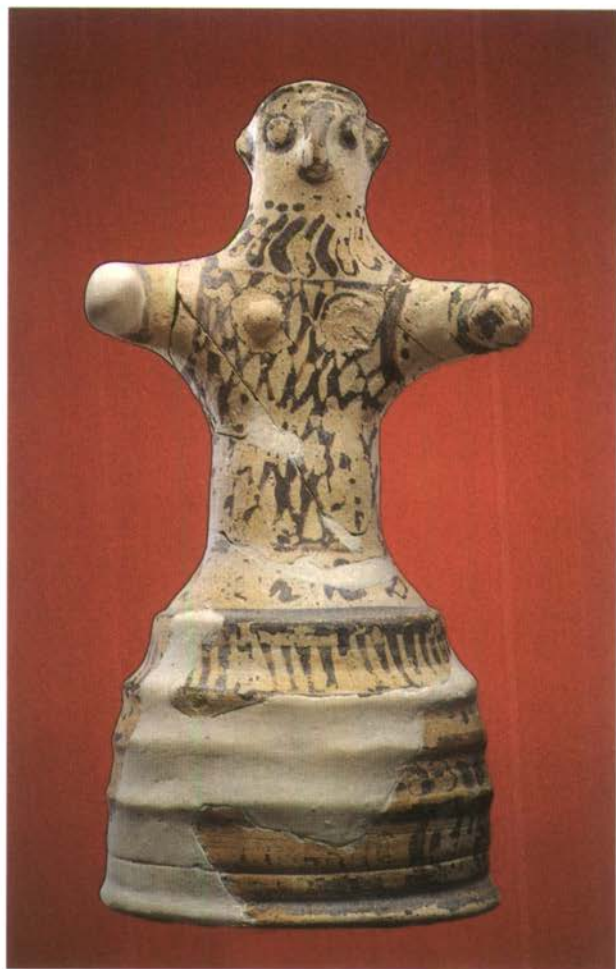
HM 31183 - Phaistos (H. 0.17 m). MM III (1700-1600 BC).



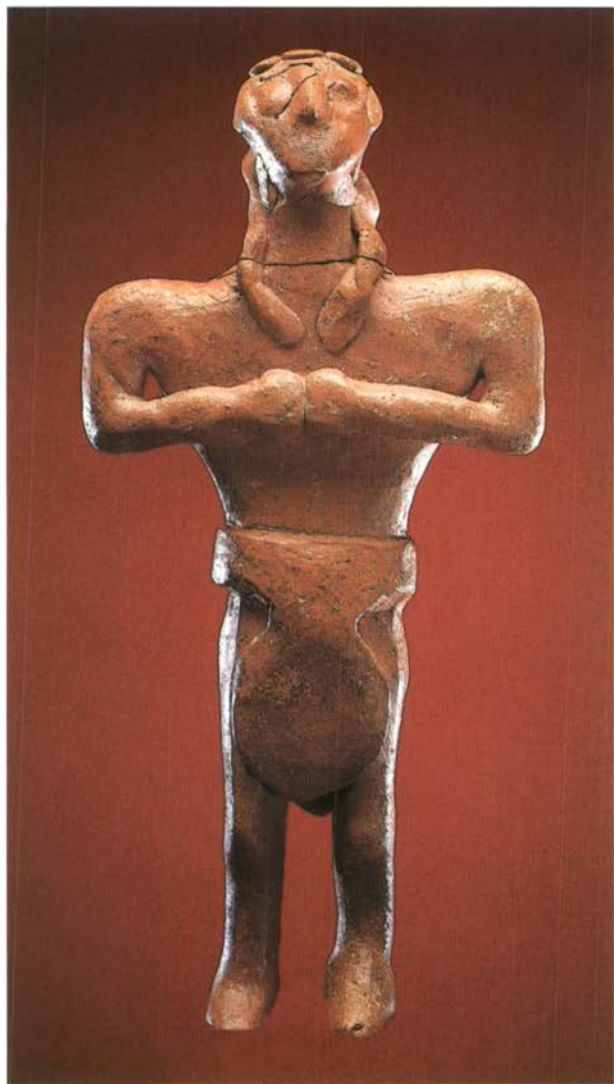
HM 9823 - Piskokephalo (H. 0.085 m), MM III (1700-1600 BC).



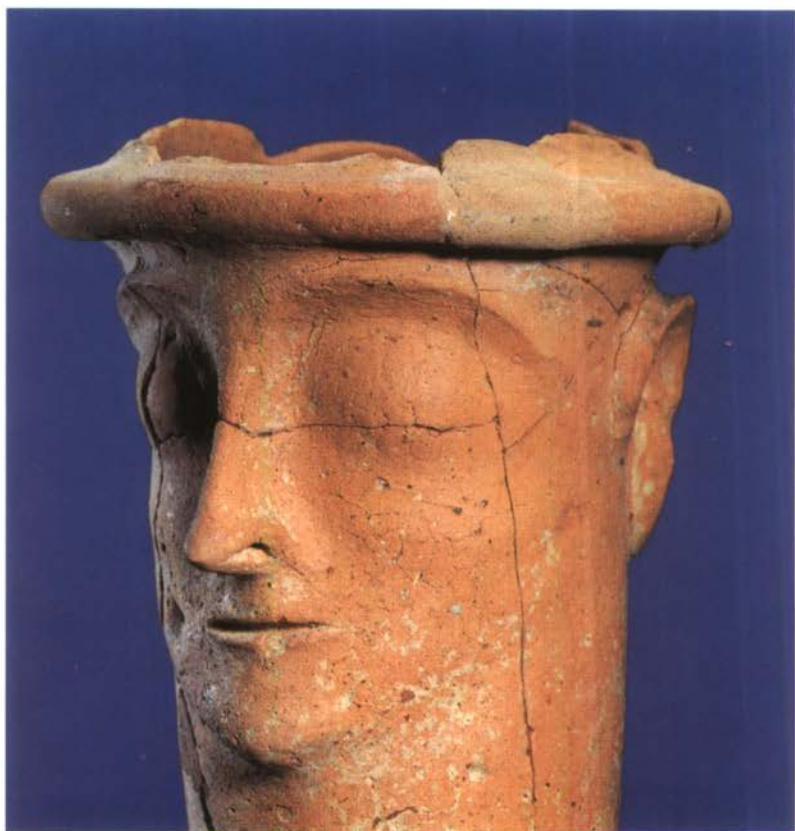
HM 18648 - Hagia Triada (H. 0.12 m). MM III - LM I (1600-1500 BC).



*HM 19807 - Knossos, Unexplored Mansion (H. 0.145 m). LM II - IIIA1
(1400-1350 BC).*



HM 3904 - Palaikastro (H. 0.185 m). LM IIIB (1300-1200 BC).



HM 22038 - Moires (H. 0.35 m). LM IIIC (1200-1100 BC).

I. Stylistic traits – Dating

From the schematic to the naturalistic

Clay figurines first appeared during the Neolithic Age and belong to the categories of standing, sitting and squatting human figures encountered all over Greece.

In the Early Minoan period stone figurines, schematic or of Cycladic type, predominate, while clay ones are in the minority and usually function as libation vessels (*fig. 1*). In the Protopalatial period there is a notable increase in the number of clay figurines, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic, which were mass produced mainly to be dedicated in the numerous peak sanctuaries that were the locus of community cult throughout the Protopalatial and the early Neopalatial period. The standardization of the categories of *ex-votos* defines a clear relationship between the dedicator and the place of worship as well as the

content of cult as a whole. A tendency towards individualism is ascertained, with characteristics distinctive of the dedicator's status or age, such as the dagger or the hairstyle. Consistent with this is the change in the treatment of the human figure in plastic art: the move from the generalized, schematic Prepalatial form, which renders the ideogram for man without other specifications, to clear and analytical representations in which the basic parts of the body and the characteristics of gender and status are distinguished. Nevertheless, the schematism and flatness inherited from Prepalatial plastic art and in particular from the class of Cycladic figurines, are still much in evidence. So the



1 HM 3499 - Mochlos.

2 HM 3487 - Chamaizi.



3 *HM 3036 - Hagia Triada.*



4 *HM 3035 - Hagia Triada.*



5 HM 15146 - Gortys.



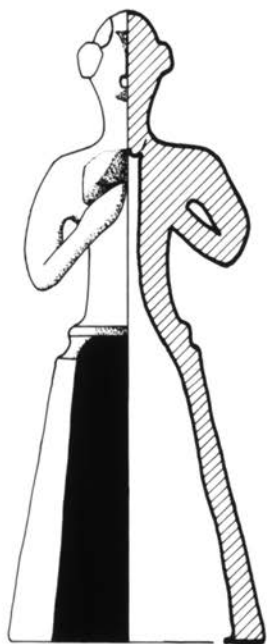
6 HM 3038 - Hagia Triada.



7 HM 22347 - Hagia Triada.

planes of the body are flat and distinguished, the outlines of the shapes still clear and the muscular volume non-existent (*fig. 2*).

These tendencies recede towards the end of the Protopalatial period when clear influences of the naturalistic style appear. This was developing mainly in other artistic genres and in materials more sophisticated than clay, such as bronze, ivory and faience. In clay figure making this influence is mainly perceived in the adoption of morphological features mainly of bronze figurines, such as hairstyles and gestures (*figs 4, 5, 6, 7, col. pl. 1*). The Protopalatial tradition remains strong, however, as attested by a figurine from the new palace at Phaistos, with solid rigid body and conical skirt, which can be broken down into three stereometric shapes – the sphere, the cylinder and the cone – stuck together inanimately (*fig. 8*).



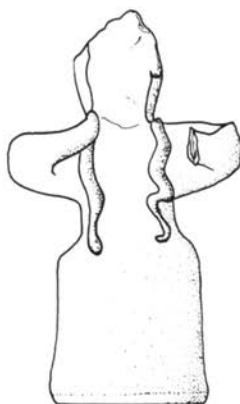
8 HM 1773 - Phaistos.

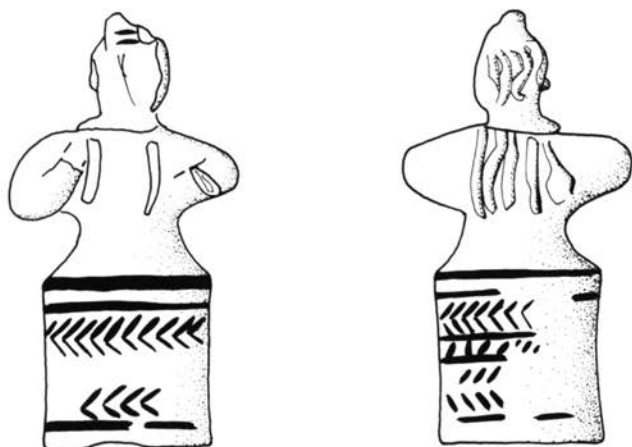


9 HM 15146 - Gortys.

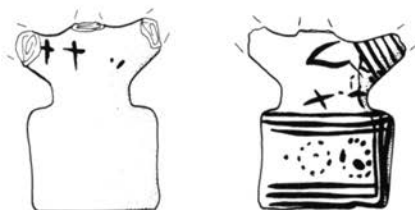


10 HM 3036 - Hagia Triada.





11 HM 3035 - Hagia Triada.



12 HM 3038 - Hagia Triada.

Most of the figurines of this period come from the region of the Mesara and specifically from Phaistos, Gortys and Hagia Triada. They are usually coated with white slip and decorated with motifs borrowed from the pottery repertoire in fugitive orange paint (figs 3-6, 9-12). Some display eclectic influences from naturalistic plastic art, such as two figurines from Hagia Triada (fig. 7, col. pl. 3) with modelled breasts as on bronze figurines, but the majority are quite schematic and only certain hairstyle types belie influence from naturalistic plastic art.



13 *HM 9831 - Piskocephalo.*



14a *HM 14202 - Kophinas.*

Of interest are figurines from the peak sanctuaries at Piskokephalo and Kophinas, which are dated on stylistic criteria and excavation data to the early Neopalatial period. In both ensembles there is an obvious predilection for rendering and emphasizing anatomical elements. On the male figurines from Piskokephalo the area below the waist is realistically modelled and stressed, while the upper part of the body is fleshless and loose (*fig. 13, front cover*). The torso of the figurines from Kophinas is slender with quite convincing indication of the musculature, achieved through modelled and linear elements, mainly on the chest and abdomen (*fig. 14*). Thus are enhanced the values of the male physique that are perhaps associated with ideological parameters or even with the aesthetic preferences of the societies from which the worshippers come (see p. 124 on: "Peak Sanctuaries").



14b HM 14236 - Kophinas.

The early phase of Postpalatial plastic art

During the period spanning LM II and LM IIIA, the tendencies for inorganic, plank-like forms and angular, jagged profiles are reinforced. Some traits of the naturalistic plastic art are still recognizable in the modelling of the torso and in the rendering of types of hairstyles and gestures.

Two figurines from Mavrospilio are characteristic. The dating of the larger one, the so-called *kourotrophos* (figs 15a, 16), in LM II-LM IIIA1, is confirmed by the iris and crocus blossoms on the bodice, which derive from vase painting. As in the plastic art of the Protopalatial tradition there is an obvious dominance of



15a MH 8345 - Knossos, Mavrospilio.



15b HM 8346 - Knossos, Mavrospilio.



16 HM 8345 - Knossos, Mavrospilio.



17a *Amari - 3/496 Giamalakis Coll. (HM).*

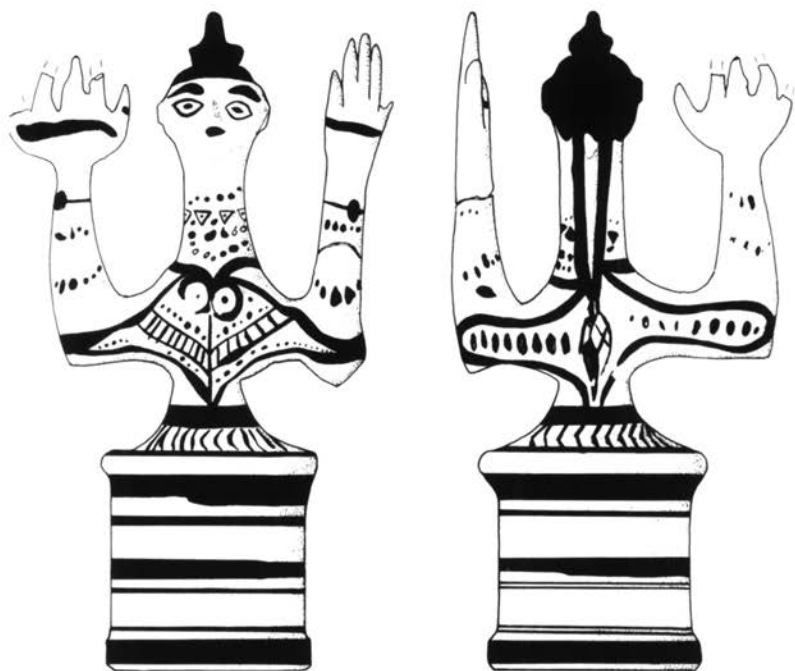


17b *Amari - 3/495 Giamalakis Coll. (HM).*



18 HM 21809 - Kalou.

geometric shapes and the figure can be broken down into a cylinder, a compressed cone and a sphere. The schematism is even more advanced in the smaller piece (*fig. 15b*). Variations of these types are also encountered in a series of figurines with characteristic “chignon” hairstyle consisting of a curved hook-like tress on the back of the head (*figs 17-18*).



19 HM 3861 - Knossos, Shrine of the Double Axes.

Of interest are the figurines from the Shrine of the Double Axes at Knossos, which are dated on stylistic criteria to the same phase (LM II-LM IIIA1) (*figs 19-20*). On the largest of these (*fig. 19*) the well-known standardized gesture of the Postpalatial figurines, the arms raised at right angle to the body, is encountered for the first time. The ideological content and the symbolism of the gesture affect the figure's form: the forearms and hands are enlarged in order to enhance the gesture's meaning and the neck is elongated to bring the face level with the hands. The facial fea-



20 HM 3862 - Knossos, Shrine of the Double Axes.

tures, particularly the eyes, are emphasized, while the lavish decoration with necklaces and bracelets stresses the figure's special status. In contrast, the body is diminished and the skirt functions as a cylinder-base for the torso. The nature of the cylinder as a non-organic member is underlined by its decoration, especially of the upper end, with a zone of foliate motifs in circular arrangement, which derives from the decoration of lids of LM IIIA pyxides.



21 HM 2181 - *Psychro*.

The faces of these figurines are influenced by contemporary wall-paintings, such as the well-known "Parisienne" from Knossos, which is dated to the final palace period there, in LM IIIA1-LM IIIA2. A similar influence is ascertained in the fragment of the head of a figurine or an anthropomorphic vase from Psychro (*fig. 21, back cover*), as well as in a figurine in the Munich State Museum, allegedly from Sparta but unmistakably Cretan and indeed a product of a Knossian workshop, as attested by the fabric of the clay and the quality of the paint (*fig. 22 cf. col. pl. 4*). The similarity in the face is obvious, especially with the figurines from Knossos, but the modelling of the chest recalls



22a-b *Munich State Museum - Sparta(?)*.

naturalistic figurines, as does the decoration of the skirt with checkerboard pattern, which is reminiscent of the skirts of the figurines from the Temple Repositories. The piece probably dates from LM II-LM IIIA1, a transitional period which is distinguished, as we have seen, by the easy mixing of stylistic and iconographic traits of different provenance.



22c *Munich State Museum - Sparta(?)*.

The middle phase of Postpalatial plastic art

In this period, which corresponds chronologically to LM IIIB, the main stylistic characteristics are symmetry along the figure's vertical axis and the selective emphasis of certain parts –of importance for the users– and diminution of others. As in the previous phase the body is a synthesis of geometric shapes, usually, triangles, rhombs and cylinders.

Memories of the period of naturalism continue to be strong in some cases. This is seen best in the ensemble of figurines from Kania, Gortys (*figs 23-25*), dated towards early LM IIIB, as ascertained by Alexiou and affirmed by examination of the pottery



23a HM 15111 - Gortys.



23b HM 15111 - Gortys.



24 HM 15117 - Gortys.

groups from the villa, which documented the existence of re-occupation in LM IIIA2-B. The naturalistic spirit is apparent mainly in the faces, which recall the face of the Psychro head (*fig. 21*). The plasticity and the symmetrical articulation of the parts, characteristics of the Postpalatial style, are enriched by a calligraphic disposition, evidently a vestige of the so-called 'decorative naturalism' of the naturalistic period.



25 HM 15115 - Gortys.

All the distortions imposed by the semantics of the figures are present here. The head is disproportionately voluminous, presumably because of its importance in relation to the other parts of the body. The message of the gesture is transmitted, as in the figurines from the Shrine of the Double Axes, by the enlargement of the forearms and the hands, while the upper arms are correspondingly abbreviated as insignificant members. Corresponding semantic exaggerations and contractions are also ascertained in the male figure from the Gortys sanctuary (*fig. 26*): the legs are spindly while the torso is voluminous. It is useful to



26 HM 15113 - Gortys.



27 HM 2841 - Gournia.

compare the corporeal modelling of this figure with that of the figurines from Piskokephalo and Kophinas (*figs 13-14*), the legs of which are rendered with a sense of the organic mass and anatomical details. Obviously the ideological factors regulating form, that is the style, change from period to period, with the result that elements of the figure which are considered important in one period are downgraded in the next or vice versa.

The same applies to the anthropomorphic vase in the form of a pregnant woman, from Gournia (*fig. 27*). Pregnancy is denoted by the swollen body and the imminent birth by the



28 *Uncatalogued (HM) - Gournia.*

dilated pubes. The limbs, which make no contribution to transmitting the message, are emaciated and stick-like. In some cases the semantic emphases prevail absolutely, at the expense of the object's quality.

This can be seen in the figure from the sanctuary at Gournia, whose coarse physiognomy is vaguely reminiscent of contemporary Mycenaean works (*figs 28-30*). Figurine makers invariably concentrated attention on the face. Here, however, stressing the features is not enough and the countenance is surrounded by a modelled and painted ring (*fig. 28*). Thus it gradually acquires



29 *Uncatalogued (HM) - Gournia.*



30 *HM 1934 - Gournia.*



31 *HM 3904 - Palaikastro.*

the substance of an independent member. This tendency to separate the face can also be seen in the figure from the Unexplored Mansion at Knossos, the figure from Pangalochori, Rethymnon and the male figurine from Palaikastro (*fig. 31, col. pl. 5*). It is also ascertained in the ability of the face to function autonomously as a non-organic member of the human figure, as an ideogram and sign of anthropomorphism, luted onto the inert surface of a vase.

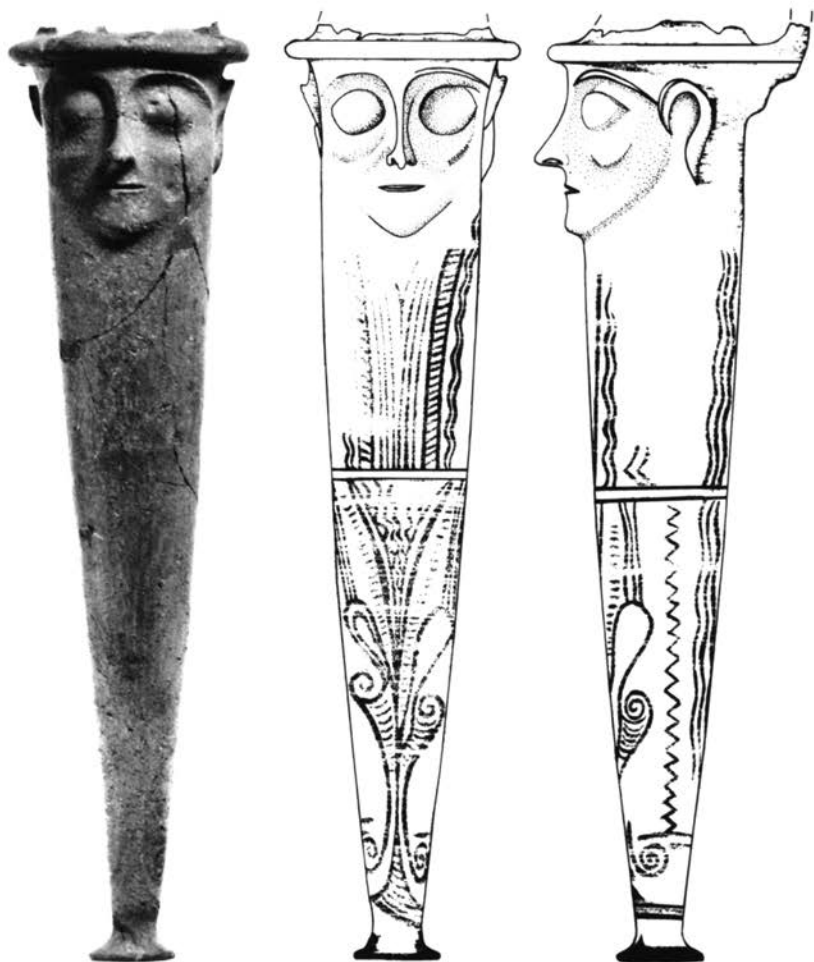
The late phase of Postpalatial plastic art

The rhyton from the site of Tacheri at Moires is a typical example of an anthropomorphic vase (*figs 32-33, col. pl. 6*). The face modelled directly on the surface of the rhyton, the conical cap that begins from its rim, as well as the painted decoration on the upper half, denoting a bodice of a figurine, indicate that



32 HM 22038 - Moires.

behind the vase's purely visual shape is the latent form of the goddess's image. The maturity of the Postpalatial style in the LM IIIC period is apparent in the relief face, the two halves of



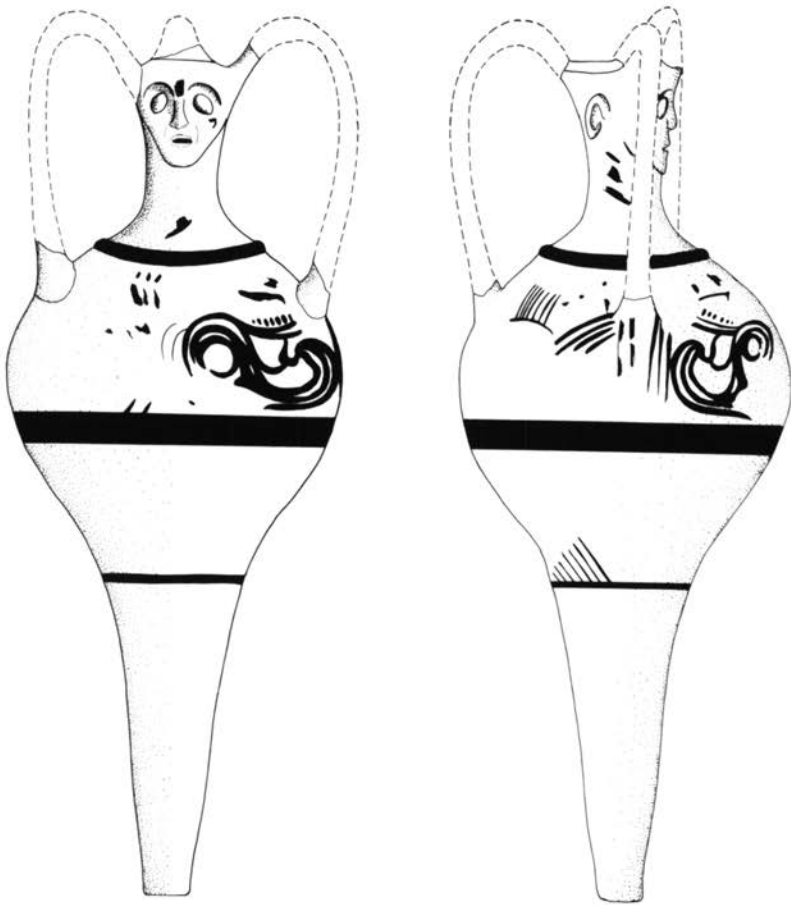
33 HM 22038 - *Moires*.

which are strictly symmetrical to the axis of the nose. The sense of geometry is heightened by emphasizing the outline of the face, which defines precisely the limits with the inert surface of the vase. Modelled and linear features are combined in a harmonious whole, in which the naturalistic spirit is present, enriched with a clear disposition for calligraphy, as in the figures from Gortys mentioned above. Despite the static symmetry there is a perceptible tension of the skin over the pronounced cheek bones and the rhythm of breath in the dilated nostrils and the half-open mouth. The dating of the rhyton in early LM IIIC is confirmed by the painted decoration on the lower half, with the two symmetrically placed vertical whorl shells incorporated in a dense composition of horizontal and oblique lines filled with hatching and wavy bands that are in the climate of the Close Style.



34 HM 15172 - Gortys.

In addition to the Moires rhyton a series of plastic anthropomorphic vases bears witness to the continuity of the type from LM IIIC into the early Greek period (*figs 34-35*). Anthropomor-



35a HM 11050 - Karphi.



36 HM 3085 - Hagia Triada.



37 HM 5831 - Phaistos.

phic vases of a different type are the head-vases (examples from Phaistos and Gortys, *figs 34, 37*) that date from LM IIIB and probably imitate head-vases from Cyprus and the Syro-Palestinian littoral, which are dated in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC.

The face of the largest of the figures from the sanctuary at Gazi (*fig. 38*) displays striking similarities to the Moires rhyton, from which it is concluded that the works are contemporary. In this group the distortions usual for the period dominate and the tectonic geometric synthesis prevails at the expense of the organic volumes and proportions (*figs 39-41*).



38a HM 3905 - Gazi.



38b HM 9305 - Gazi.



38c HM 9305 - Gazi.



39 HM 9306 - Gazi.



40a-b HM 9307 - Gazi.



40c HM 9307 - Gazi.



41a HM 9308 - Gazi.



41b-c *MH 9308 - Gazi.*

These tendencies are more overt in the figures from Karphi (figs 42-44), in which the discipline to the needs of geometry, characteristic of the Postpalatial style, begins to give way to a generalized relaxation that leads to the disruption of the figure as an organic whole. An analogous tendency is observed in cer-



42 HM 11044 - Karphi.

tain male figurines too. The torso is elongated and relaxed with no indication of the waist, the legs and arms are weak and inorganic, the head is wedge-shaped, the hairstyle rudimentary, the loincloth absent (*fig. 45*). On the contrary, the penis is sometimes shown (for the first time in LM IIIA2-B on a figure



43 HM 11045 - Karphi.

from Poros, *fig. 46*), a feature which, in conjunction with the overall tendency towards austerity of expressive means, leads to the conclusion that this part of the body is enhanced exception-



44 HM 10041 - Karphi.

ally, denoting status or circumstance, depending on the semantics of the Postpalatial figures and figurines.



45 HM 18647 - Hagia Triada.



46 Uncatalogued (HM) - Poros.

Subminoan plastic art

During the Subminoan period the fragmentation of the figure into many virtually independent parts is completed. The gradual reduction of organic cohesion causes extreme enlargements and diminutions, and in the end disproportion and asymmetry are general. The face remains the most important part of the human figure and is indeed enlarged, while the modelled fea-



47a HM 11042 - Karphi.

tures become even more voluminous. The strengthening of the modelled outline of the face results in its independence from the head. Sometimes this outline is lacking and the features are luted directly onto the inert curved surface of the face without being incorporated organically in it.

The two large figures from Karphi (*figs 47a-d*) exemplify this inorganic relationship of face and head. Here too all the disproportions and harshness already noted are intensified. The joints



47b HM 11042 - Karphi.



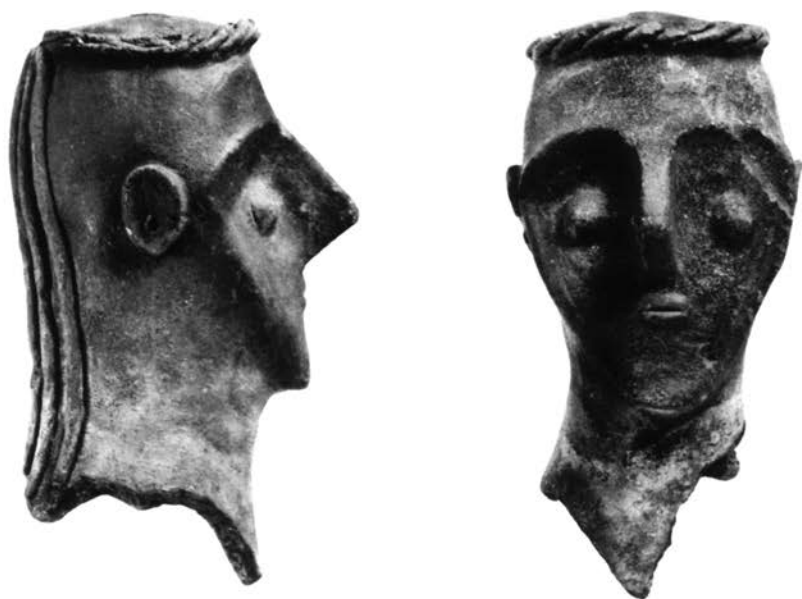
47c HM 11042 - Karphi.



47d HM 11042 - Karphi.

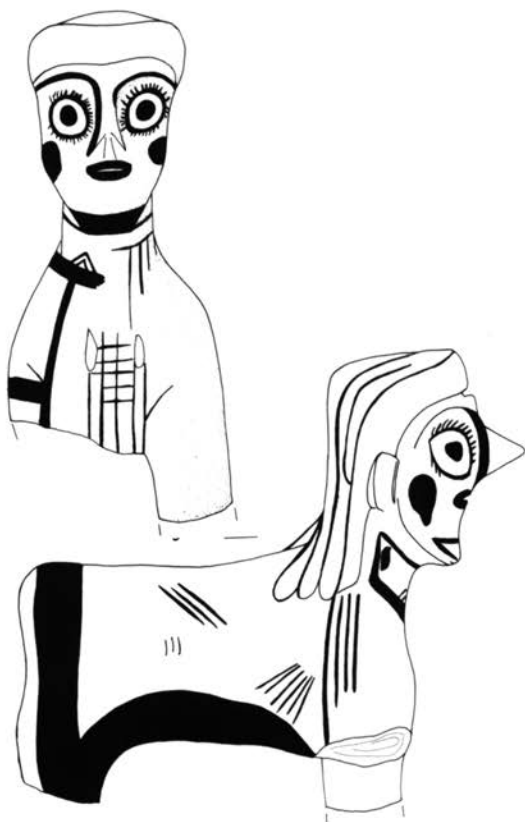
are unstable because the body is particularly massive. The krater-shaped head is likewise disproportionately massive and unstable in relation to the long neck. The breasts are small and atrophied and the arms short and lean.

The tendency to reinforce the outline of the face, which is a constant trait of the Postpalatial style, leads to the geometric treatment of the face as a surface separate from the rest of the head. Characteristic examples are the so-called sphinx from Hagia Triada with a bihedral face, like the head of a figure from Kalo Chorio (*figs 48-49*) or the head with disc-shaped face from the Hermes Kranaios cave (*fig. 50*). The painted eyes are en-



48 HM 803 - Kalo Chorio.

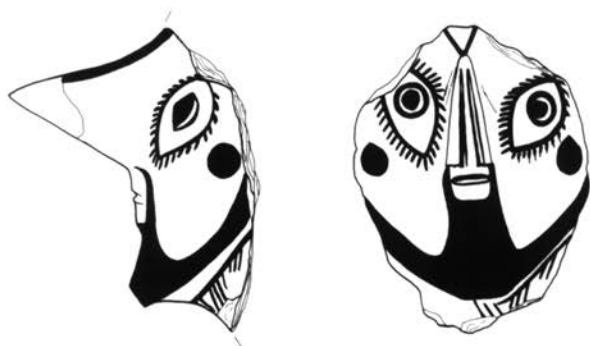
larged by hatching the outline, while they sometimes slip onto the cheeks, heightening the sense of general asymmetry (*fig. 51*). In the end the face may function as a mask, since the volume of the head is diminished totally (*fig. 52*). Subminoan features are identifiable in figurines down till the seventh century



49 HM 3145 - Hagia Triada.



50 HM 1102 - *Hermes Kranaios* cave.



51 HM 3084 - *Hagia Triada*.



52 HM 6651 - *Vrokastro*.



HM 26485



HM 26490



HM 26487



HM 26486



HM 26488



HM 26489

53 *Figurine type with cylindrical torso, Aimonas.*



HM 26493



HM 26491

54-55 *Seated figurine type and type with raised arms, Aimonas.*

BC, sometimes mixed with elements from the Geometric and Daidalic styles. Figurine types with a Minoan past also survive, such as the Creto-Mycenaean type with cylindrical torso (*fig. 53*), the seated type (*fig. 54*) and a figurine with globular torso and raised arms that "commemorates" the type of the goddess in its latest version, of the figures from Karphi (*fig. 55*).

Mycenaean figurine types

The established Mycenaean Psi, Phi and Tau types are of limited distribution in Crete, presumably because it was difficult for the schematic, standardized Mycenaean forms to penetrate an area with a rich naturalistic tradition.

Psi type. An LM II-IIA1 figurine from Hagia Triada (*fig. 57*) is an early "naturalistic" version of the type (according to Elisabeth French's terminology for Mycenaean figurines). The likewise "naturalistic" figurine from Phaistos (*fig. 56*) is slightly later. French also cites several figurines from Phaistos and Knossos which belong to the Late Psi B, C and D, types.

Of interest are the mixed types with Minoan and Mycenaean features, such as the figurine from Vasilika Anogeia (*fig. 58*), which is morphologically reminiscent of the Psi type but whose face is formed in the style of the Subminoan period while the arms are stick-shaped as in the Cretan figurines and not fin-shaped as in the Mycenaean. The two figurines from the Rotasi tholos tomb display analogous features.

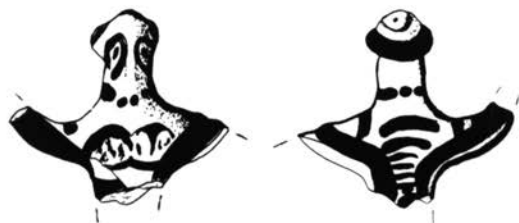
Phi type. Several Phi type figurines are mentioned in the literature, mainly from Chania but also from Knossos, Phaistos, Hagia Triada and Chondros Viannou.



56 HM 1791 - Phaistos.



58 HM 854 - Vasilika Anogeia.



57 HM 22374 - Hagia Triada.

Tau type. No pure Mycenaean type is recorded. However, the influence of the tectonic geometric treatment on the style of Postpalatial figurines shapes the familiar Minoan gesture of “hands on the chest” (see below, Gestures) so that the figurines of this category are reminiscent in form of the Mycenaean Tau type (e.g. a figurine from Tylissos, *fig. 59*).



59 HM 7082 - Tylissos.

Minoan figurines and Minoan influences in the Aegean and Mycenaean Greece

A characteristic case of reproduction on a mass scale of plastic works of Minoan type outside Crete are the figures from the sanctuary on Kea, which are dated in the Neopalatial period. All the morphological traits of the figures are Minoan *par excellence*. However, the harsh rigidity of the articulations and joins of the sections of the torso, and the excess of linear features, mainly on the face, are elements alien to the Minoan structural conception. This can be readily comprehended by comparing the illustrated face of the head of a large figurine from Kophinas (*fig. 60*), with its soft three-dimensional modelling and rather vague indication of the facial features, with the face of a contemporary figure from Kea (*fig. 61*) in which clarity and precision as well as a somewhat hard linearity and flatness dominate. These traits recall Mycenaean anthropomorphic figurines of the early, Minoanizing naturalism, in bronze and ivory, from Laconia, Mycenae and Prosymna. The influence of formal characters of Minoan naturalistic plastic in clay, that is the conical skirt and the gesture, is ascertained in a LH I-II figurine from tholos tomb 2 at Peristeria and in a figurine from the Menelaion at Sparta, while the influence of Minoan types of dress and gesture can be seen in torsos of figurines from Olympia. The so-called Aegean-Mycenaean naturalistic figurines (according to Elisabeth French's terminology) present Minoan-type gestures (see

below) and have a conical skirt like the Minoan female figurines.

Of outstanding interest is the LM II-III A1 female figurine in the Munich Museum (*figs 22a-c, 62*), because if its provenance



60 HM 14166 - Kophinas.



61 Kea Museum 3613 - Kea.

is indeed Sparta, as noted above, it constitutes direct proof of how Minoanizing naturalistic types on the one hand and gesture types on the other — such as of the illustrated figurine which is an archetype of the Phi type — were transferred to Mycenaean Greece and then adapted to the Helladic structural conception. After LH II the influence of types of Minoan provenance is limited and difficult to discern. Gesture types and technical similarities in the formation of the body with wedge-shaped lower finial can be seen in two figurine torsos from Olympia. Comparable similarities have been noted in figurines in the shrine at Phylakopi. Towards the end of the Mycenaean period plastic works such as the well-known head from Asine, although strongly resembling their counterparts in Crete, are no longer evidence of Cretan influence in the Mainland since the Mycenaean structural conception has prevailed everywhere and the Cretan and Helladic plastic works are now more homogeneous than ever.

The creation of a figurine type of a goddess with raised arms in Cyprus is due to the easy dissemination of types and forms throughout the Mycenaean world. Cretan contributions to the elaboration of the Cypriot type are the distinction of the lower from the upper arm and the thumb on the hands, which is not observed in Mycenaean figurines of Psi type but only in Cretan ones with raised arms, the arched diadem on the head, the addition of hatching around the eyes and paint on the cheeks and the chin, and last the type of dress.



62 *Munich State Museum - Sparta (?)*.

II. Morphological features

A. Dress

1. *Female dress*

The three basic elements of female dress, the skirt, the bodice and the belt, are denoted by painting and modelling on several figurines. A flimsy shawl worn on the shoulders and the back is also shown.

The bodice

It is usually indicated synoptically by wavy bands, while the edges between the breasts and the sleeves are shown in a linear manner. Motifs deriving from weaving, such as the scale and net pattern on the bodice of the Munich and Knossos figurine (*fig. 62, col. pl. 4*), are depicted rarely.

Of particular interest is the dress of the "*kourotrophos*", with painted iris and crocus blooms on the bodice (*fig. 63*). The special religious significance of flower-bedecked garments, a characteristic element for assessing the high status of this figure, is

known from iconographic and textual evidence (see Chapter V).

A diaphanous garment is perhaps denoted by the stippling on a triangular space on the chest, between the edges of the

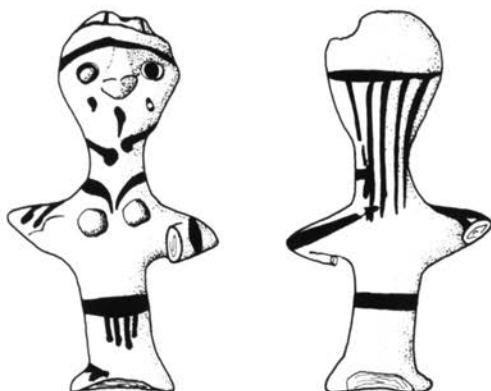


63 HM 8345 - Knossos, *Mavrospilio*.

bodice, as well as on the back of a figurine from Phaistos (see *fig. 56*).

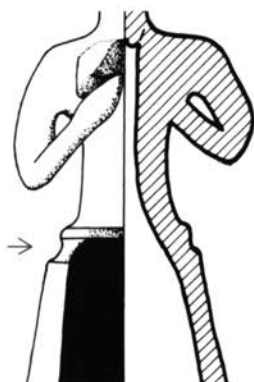
Belt

It is usually indicated by a painted band, rarely with tasselled decoration (*fig. 64*). On a figurine from Phaistos (*fig. 65*)



64 HM 7082 - *Tylissos*.

and a figure from Gazi (*fig. 66*) the belt is grooved, perhaps imitating a metal one.



65 HM 1773 - Phaistos.

66 HM 9305 - Gazi.

Skirt

It is normally conical or cylindrical and plain, except for the Munich and Knossos figurines which have a flounced skirt (*see figs 22a-b, col. pl. 4*). Two figurines in the Chania Museum perhaps wear an ankle-length chiton (*figs 67-68*).



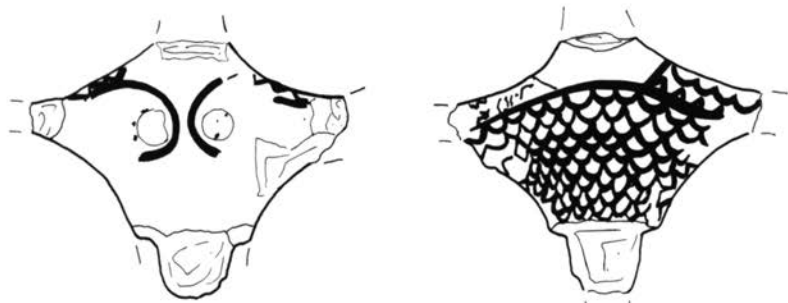
67 *Chania Museum 1312 - Chania.*



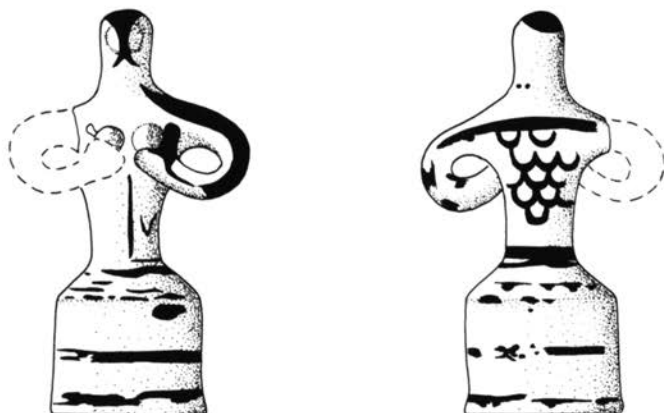
68 *Chania Museum 1311 - Chania.*

Shawl

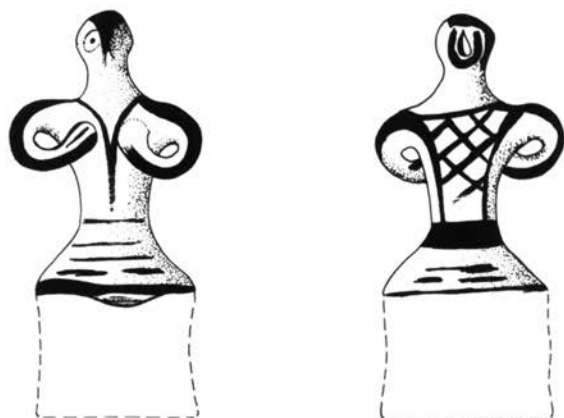
Rendered painted with hem band and straps to tie it in front, with scale or net pattern (figs 69-71). An unusual type of covering is the cloak of a figurine from Gortys, which covers the upper part of the body in front and back, its surface painted with solid circles that perhaps depict embroidered or appliqué ornaments (fig. 72).



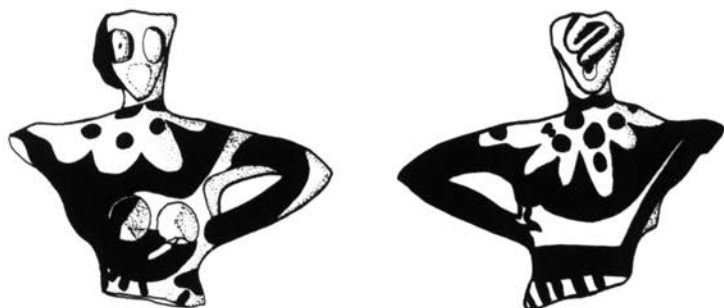
69 HM 1792 - Phaistos.



70 3/495 Giamalakis Coll. (HM) - Amari.



71 3/496 Giamalakis Coll. (HM) - Amari.

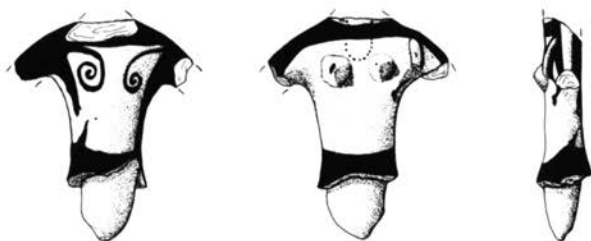


72 HM 15146 - Gortys.

Bands

These are an accessory of sacerdotal or official robes. Painted bands, curved or wavy, probably render ribbons.

There are symmetrical bands on the back of a figurine from Palaikastro (*fig. 73*). On the back of the figurine from Myrsine



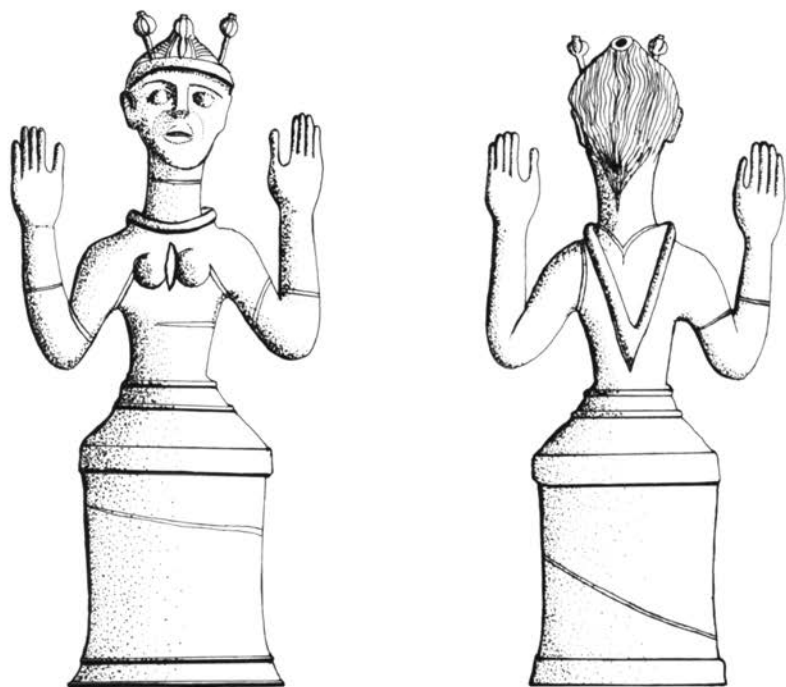
73 HM - Palaikastro.



74 Hagios Nicolaos Museum 1860 - Myrsine.

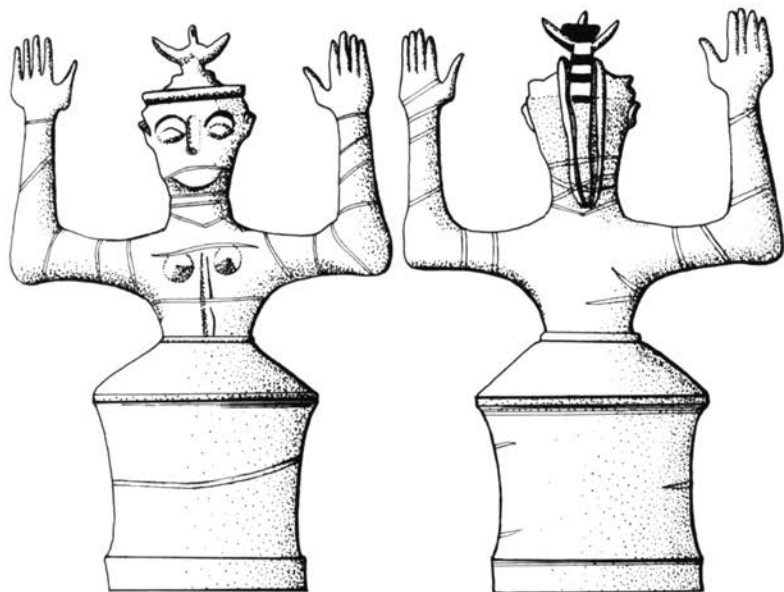
wavy bands end in lunate objects, perhaps weights (*fig. 74*), just as the wavy bands on the bodice of "La Parisienne", in the well-known Knossian wall-painting, end in rows of conical objects, probably beads.

White bands spiralling round the body, arms and head of figures from Gazi and Karphi (*figs 75-76*) probably render real



75 HM 9305 - Gazi.

ribbons which decorated the figures during rituals (Chapter V). Crossed bands on the chest of the figurine from Kalou (*fig. 18, barely discernible*) are perhaps a functional element of the garment (braces) or an insignium of office/rank.



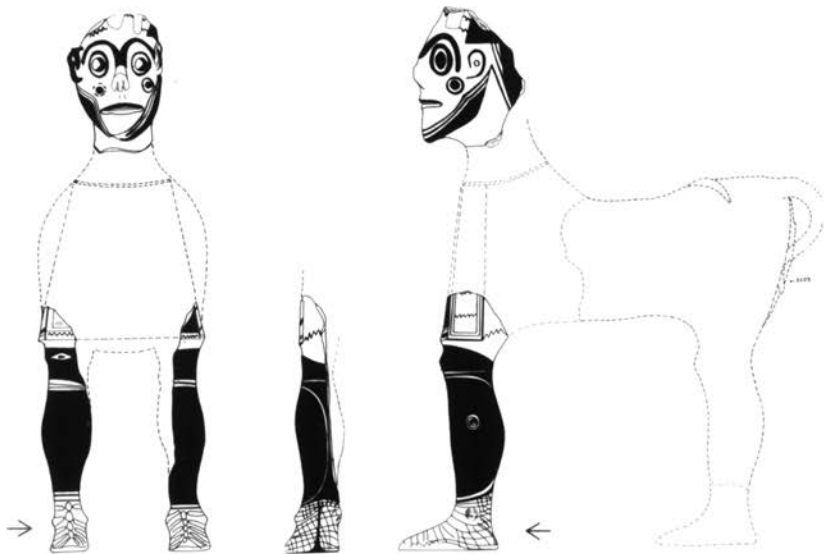
76 HM 9307 - Gazi.

2. Male dress

It consists of the penis sheath and the loincloth or kilt, or the penis sheath only. In later figurines it is omitted. Nudity with indication of the genitalia is recorded in LM IIIA2 - IIIB (figurine from Poros, *fig. 46*) and LM IIIC (Hagia Triada, *fig. 45*).

Footwear

A kind of boot is indicated rarely. Plaited sandals, obviously of leather thongs and probably metal rings, and greaves, probably bronze with incised decoration, are shown on the legs of figurines of anthropomorphic creatures from the sanctuary at Hagia Triada (*fig. 77*).



77 HM 1812, 3103a, HTR 437 - Hagia Triada.

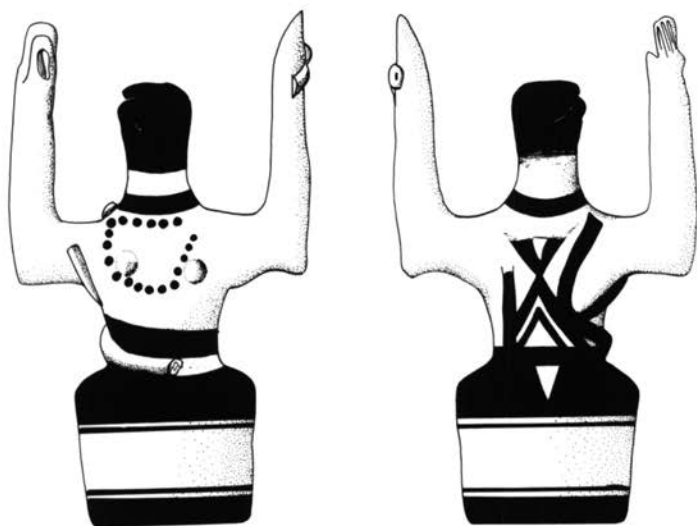
B. Jewellery

1. Necklaces

One necklace is normally indicated, by bands or dots, and rarely two or three (*figs 78-79*). Four necklaces of dot-like



78 HM 2841 - Gournia.



79 HM 1934 - Gournia.

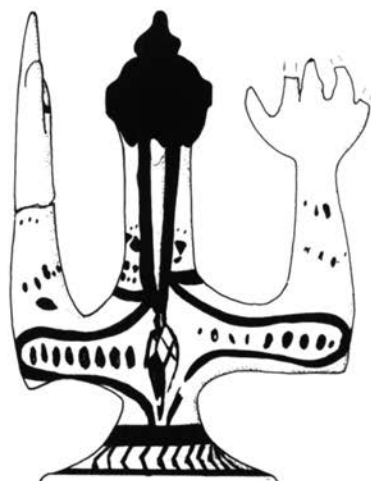
drop-shaped and papyrus-shaped beads are shown on the largest figurine from the Shrine of the Double Axes (*fig. 81*), testifying to its special significance in relation to the others in the ensemble. On some figurines the size of the beads is emphasized, such as the one from Gortys (*fig. 80*) with modelled disc-shaped beads, that from Phaistos with large papyrus-shaped bead and the figurine in Munich (*see fig. 22*), which has a large triangular bead similar to those on the figurine from the Shrine of the Double Axes (*fig. 81*). The exaggerated size of the bead as well as the number of necklaces are indicators of status and are therefore included among the promotion of semantic elements that governs the iconography and morphology of the figurines.



80 HM 15133, 15140 - Gortys.

2. Bracelets

These are rarely rendered on clay figurines. The figure from the Shrine of the Double Axes has dotted bracelets with an amygdaloid seal on each arm (*fig. 81*). Annular bracelets are shown on the figures from Karphi (*see fig. 47*).



81 HM 3861 - Knossos, Shrine of the Double Axes.

C. Hairstyles

Female hairstyles usually consist of freely falling tresses. On Neopalatial clay figurines, in contrast to the bronze ones, the tresses are usually solid and rigid (*fig. 82*), and very rarely densely spiralling hairlocks (*figs 83-84*). In two cases an arched raised plait (*figs 84-85*) is rendered. Conical coiffures



82 HM 15145 - Gortys.

83 HM 3036 - Hagia Triada.



84 HM 1794 - Hagia Triada.



85 HM 27241 - Knossos.

or conical tiaras consisting of successive modelled rings, in combination with modelled tresses or just tresses in symmetrical arrangement, are shown on the Postpalatial goddess figures (*figs 86a, 86b*). On the small figurines of the same period the hairstyle is more casual of incised or modelled tresses. Characteristic element of this coiffure is the diadem, most probably metal, which is semicircular (cylindrical, serrated or banded) or circular-annular (*figs 86a, 87*).



HM 9305 - Gazi



HM 15117 - Gortys



HM 9307 - Gazi



86a *Conical hairstyles or tiaras.*



HM 9308 - Gazi



HM 11045 - Gazi

86b *Long tresses.*

HM 15111 - Gortys



HM 11044 - Karphi

**87** *Serrated and banded diadems.*

In figurines of another category the hair is drawn onto the top or the back of the head, where it is held by bands in conical or cylindrical (figurines from Piskokephalo and Phaistos) (*col. pls 1, 2 frontispiece*) or hemispherical-lunate buns-chignons (figurines from Myrsine, Kalou, *fig. 88*), sometimes with the help of kerchiefs and hairpins (figurines from Gortys, *fig. 89*). Their dating ranges from the Neopalatial to LM IIIA period. Variations of these hairstyle types are those in which the tresses are in conical-spiral arrangement, perpendicular to the crown of the head (*fig. 90*), or in a type of plume-crest (*fig. 91*).



Hagios Nicolaos Museum 1860 - Myrsine



HM 21809 - Kalou

88 *Hemispherical-lunate buns-chignons.*



HM 15133 - Gortys



HM 15140 - Gortys



HM 15147 - Gortys

89 *Hairstyles with the kerchiefs and hairpins.*



HM 1786 - Hagia Triada

90 *Hairstyle in conical-spiral arrangement.*

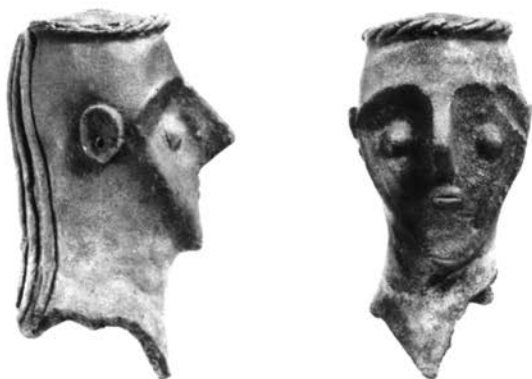


Chania Museum 1311 - Chania

91 *Hairstyle in a type of plume-crest.*

A hairstyle of wreath type, with a coil encircling the crown and tresses hanging behind, is encountered on one figure head from Kalo Chorio (*fig. 92*).

Male hairstyles are usually of tresses, like the female, but these are rigid. In the late Postpalatial period the coiffures are simplified or omitted completely (*fig. 93*).



92 HM 803 - Kalo Chorio.



HM 18647



HM 19075

93a-b *Figurines from Hagia Triada.*

Beard and moustache are indicated on some figures from the sanctuary at Hagia Triada (fig. 94).



HM 3084



HM 1812, 3103a, HTR 437

94 *Figures with beard and moustache from the sanctuary at Hagia Triada.*

D. Gestures

The two common gestures of bronze figurines, the raising of the right arm to the forehead and the raising of both hands in front of the chest are not popular on clay figurines (*col. pl. 1*). Both are abandoned after the Neopalatial period.

The figurines with the gesture of the hands on the abdomen (*fig. 95*), which is attested from LM I to LM IIIB, are a model for the Mycenaean Phi type. The commonest gesture of the Minoan clay figurines in all periods is that of hands on the chest (*fig. 96*). In a variation of it the hands describe a curve (*fig. 97*). Some Mycenaean "naturalistic" and "transitional" figurines present similar types of gestures. At the end of the Postpalatial period, the schematization the figurines of this type brings them morphologically close the Mycenaean Tau type (*fig. 98*).



95 HM 1779 - Phaistos.



96 HM 8345 - Knossos, Mavrospilio.



97 3/496, 3/495 Giamalakis Coll. (HM) - Amari. 98 HM 7082 - Tylissos.

The Psi type gesture with raised arms arched to the sides is documented from the Neopalatial period (*fig. 99a*) and continues into LM IIIA (*fig. 99b*). It occurs for the first time in the form of the arms raised at right angle in the LM IIIA2 figure from the Shrine of the Double Axes (*fig. 100*), while it is subsequently standardized as the “classical” gesture of the figures with raised arms.



99a HM 1807 - Hagia Triada.



99b HM 22374 - Hagia Triada.



100 HM 3861 - Knossos.

The gesture with one hand on the abdomen and the other on the shoulder exists from the Protopalatial period and continues in the Neopalatial (*fig. 101*), Postpalatial (*fig. 102*) and Subminoan. It is the model for the gesture of the Mycenaean proto-Phi figurines.

Hands brought from the sides to the waist (*fig. 103*) probably indicate that the figurine is of a dancer. The Minoan-type figures from Kea were interpreted as dancers in a continuous representation of dance inside the shrine, on account of the specific position of the hands on the waist.



101 HM 15132 - Gortys.



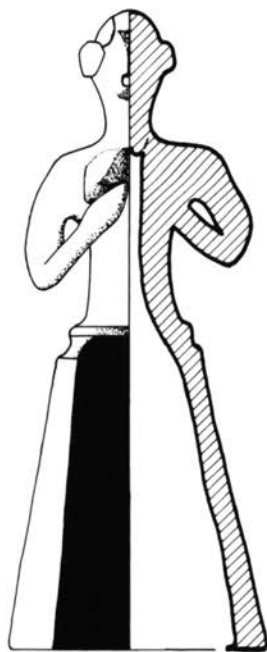
102 HM 21809 - Kalou.

103 Munich State Museum - Sparta (?).

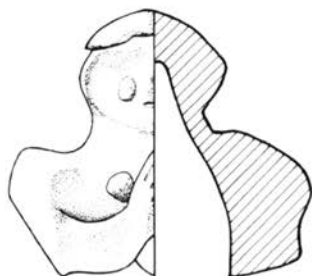
III. The technique of making figures and figurines

The Protopalatial male figurines are solid and handmade with the body usually formed from two pieces of clay. On the larger ones the head and the limbs are made separately. The female figurines are usually fashioned from three pieces of clay: one each for the skirt, the torso and the head. The upper body terminates in a downward pointing wedge which fits into a hole on top of the conical skirt (*fig. 105*). Breasts, hairstyles, eyes and arms are made separately and luted onto the body and the head.

The use of the potter's wheel in the late Protopalatial period facilitated the making of hollow figurines. The depth of the hollow varies, sometimes reaching the base of the neck and even the inside of the head (*figs 104a,b*).



104a HM 1773 - Phaistos.



104b HM 15132 - Gortys.



105 Uncatalogued - HM - Palaikastro.

Many figurines from sites in the Mesara (Phaistos, Gortys, Hagia Triada) belong to this category. They are modelled from pure clay, well fired, coated with white slip and painted with motifs, now flaking, in brown or tan, which mainly derive from vase-painting (*fig. 106*). They are probably the products of a single figurine workshop which was active in the Mesara region mainly during the Neopalatial period.

On some, mainly large, figurines from Kophinas the influence of the maquette technique applied for bronze figurines is obvious. These figurines are modelled by continually adding clay to a core of coarse clay, in just the same way as a maquette of wax is made. This indicates that such figurines were made occasionally by coppersmiths and perhaps explains the highly naturalistic rendering of certain of the Kophinas figurines.



HM 3036



HM 3035



HM 3038

106 *Figurines from Hagia Triada with motifs from vase-painting.*

In LM II-LM IIIA hollow female figurines as also with a hollow lower part and a solid torso (*fig. 107*) were made. The male ones are always solid. Many figurines and figurine fragments from Knossos are made like the contemporary vases from pure buff or brown clay, excellently fired and decorated with motifs



HM 3862



HM 8345

107 *Female figurines from Knossos.*

derived from weaving. These are products of the Knossian pottery workshops and bear witness to the increased use of figurines in this period, in contrast to the Neopalatial.

Wheelmade figures were produced in LM IIIA, while from LM IIIB there are full sets from community sanctuaries (Gortys, Gazi etc.). They are assembled from wheelmade sections (bust, head) stuck together on the inside, while the arms are handmade cylinders attached with clay or in rare cases clay plugs. Breasts, facial features, hairstyles etc. are modelled separately. No traces of an internal frame or reinforcements of organic materials are preserved. The figures' progressive increase in height from the earlier to the later examples testifies to the craftsmen's increasing familiarity with the mechanical properties of clay, which permits them to make ever larger figures. The almost standardized manner of manufacture bears witness to the affinity of workshops and the closed "guild" character of their operation. A similar mode of production is known from the itinerant bands of potters from Thrapsano, who undertook commissions for vats (pithoi) from all over Crete, frequently at long distances from their village, until a few years ago. Perhaps the figure makers worked in a similar way, as did the clay larnax and pithoi makers, according to published evidence, since their products demanded increased specialization and skill as well as mechanisms to promote the products on a supra-local scale.

IV. Issues of style

In terms of morphology the mass-produced clay figurines of the early Protopalatial period in no way resemble the schematic pointed-ended or pebble-shaped figurines (*Brettidolen*) of the Prepalatial period. The parts are rendered analytically and the somatic proportions are close to the natural ones. Nevertheless, geometric shapes still predominate, there is a lack of organic cohesion and a flatness that distinguishes front and back (*fig. 108a*). The extreme schematism, perhaps inherited from the Cycladic-Cycladicizing tradition of the Prepalatial period, recedes gradually towards the end of the Protopalatial period.

In the figurines from Piskokephalo (*fig. 108b*) the organic element dominates, while the shapes have been assimilated fully. Realistic features appear in the rendering of the legs of the male figurines and the elaborate hairstyles on the female ones are

modelled in detail (*col. pl. 1, frontispiece*). In contrast, the treatment of the torso and the face is rather summary and their volume diminished. These devices are obviously intended to project the semantics of the figure's most important parts or an aesthetic prototype of a specific group of dedicators.

Analogous concepts of form can be seen in figurines from the Kophinas sanctuary (*fig. 108c*). It is clear from the anatomical modelling of the legs and chest as well as the enhancement of the muscular volume by using plastic and linear elements that these figurines project an ideal type of young man with athletic physique.



108a HM 3487 -
Chamaizi.



108b MH 9831 -
Piskokephalo.



108c HM 14236 -
Kophinas.

Body language becomes a means of expressing aesthetic and ideological differences. The so-called Minoan naturalism is a choice of the upper class, which is why it is restricted to the milieu of the palatial centres or to “noble” materials, which set off the users from those who have no other option than to use “humble” clay. For these reasons naturalistic influences in clay figure making are limited in time and space and selective. Apart from the case of Kophinas, which will be examined in greater detail in chapter V, as well as some isolated instances which have been mentioned already, the influences of the naturalistic style on clay plastic art are confined to the adoption of hairstyles and gestures, that is to an “external” imitation and copying of types without a deeper understanding of their essence.



109 HM 8345 - Knossos, Mavrospilio.

In the late Neopalatial and primarily the early Postpalatial period ("Early phase") the naturalistic current runs its course. Concurrently, the tendencies to return to the schematic forms familiar from the Prepalatial period are reinforced. The bodies are once again composed of geometric shapes, such as prisms, triangles, rhombs and cylinders (*fig. 109, col. pl. 4*). The lower body of the female figurines is transformed into a cylinder and the conical skirt with curved sides is abandoned. The familiar gesture of Middle Minoan figurines, with the hands on the chest, and their "bird-shaped" face with vague, perfunctory features, manifest a return to Protopalatial tradition and aesthetics. Only in the manner of denoting the almond-shaped eyes on



HM 2181 - Psychro



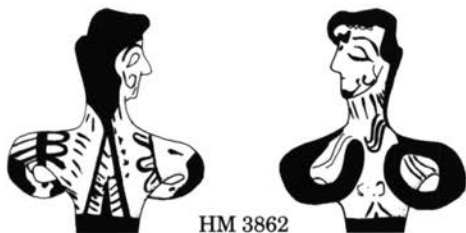
Munich State Museum - Sparta (?)

110 *Psychro head and Munich figurine.*

the figures from the Shrine of the Double Axes, the Psychro head and the Munich figurine (*figs 110-111, back cover*) is influence from the late Knossian wall-paintings ascertained. Elements of realism derived from the naturalistic tradition survive in the modelling of the torso and mainly of the chest of some female figurines (*fig. 112*). Thus the "Early phase" is essentially a transitional period with characters that originate from the earlier Minoan tradition. Elements of the Protopalatial schematic and the Neopalatial naturalistic tendency are mixed freely but fail to compose a new physiognomy, that is a new style. The turning point comes in the next period, the "Middle phase", which is in reality the first phase of the Postpalatial style.



HM 3861



HM 3862



111 *Figures from the Shrine of the Double Axes.* 112 *HM 21809 - Kalou.*

Its principal characteristics are first the tectonic geometry, which is achieved not by simply cobbling together stereometric shapes, as in Protopalatial figurines, but through the rational synthesis of forms upon the predetermined frame of tectonic axes. Second, the linear-graphic conception in rendering details, and third, the selective emphasis of the size and volume of certain parts of the figure. These new conceptions are formed outside Crete in an earlier phase, as demonstrated by several examples, from the LH I figures of Kea to the LH IIIB figures from Mycenae, and come to Crete together with Helladic folk in LM IIIB and mainly LM IIIC. During these two periods ("Middle" and "Late" phases) the structure of Helladic and Cretan plastic works presents common traits which evolve in the same manner



113 *HM 15111 - Gortys.*

in both regions. Impulses from the recent past heyday of naturalism oppose and withstand the infiltration of Mycenaean structural precepts. However the different degrees of intensity of this resistance accounts for the polymorphy apparent in the plastic art of the period.

A case in point is the manner of rendering the outline of the face, which is a typical Mycenaean trait known already from the chronological and stylistic phase that the Kea figures represent. So the figures from Gortys (*figs 113-114*), which are the most naturalistic of the period, where the outline is denoted simply by stressing the line of the eyebrows and of the lower jaw and the features are softly modelled and rather blurred, are in the clime of the naturalistic tradition. On the contrary, in the fig-



HM 15115



HM 15117

114 *Figures from Gortys.*

ures from Gournia (*fig. 115*) the outline is pronounced, formed by adding a ring of clay which is then painted. The result bears witness to the convergence with Helladic structural principles.

In the next period, the "Late phase", the style attains maturity with the fixing and crystallizing of its parameters. The linear-graphic conception is enriched with a decorative disposition, especially on the better examples such as the rhyton from Moires, the head of an anthropomorphic creature from Hagia



HM - Uncatalogued



HM 1934 - Uncatalogued



HM - Uncatalogued

115 *Figures from Gournia.*

Triada, and the largest figure from Gazi (*fig. 116*). Emphasis is placed on the horizontal and vertical axes of the faces, the torsos and the raised arms. This gesture holds away in the figures



HM 22038 - Moires

HM 1812 - Hagia Triada

HM 9305 - Gazi

116 "Late Phase", period of stylistic maturity.

and the corresponding one of the arms in the horizontal position, perpendicular to the vertical axis of the torso, on figurines, because both excellently express the spirit and the content of the tectonic geometry. The facial features are rendered with precision, clarity and austerity.

Although the influences of Helladic-Mycenaean plastic art are now more intense and visible, the artistic level continues to be higher in Crete, a fact which is due to the fertile and continuous contact with the Minoan past. In Helladic plastic art the dominance of shapes is taken for granted, whereas in Crete there is opposition to the strong tendencies towards schematization, which does not however alter the physiognomy of the style.

In the last phase, the "Subminoan", the cohesion of the shapes loosens, the symmetrical relationship of the parts is disturbed, the unity of the forms is fragmented and the shapes become independent. The joins are angular, the stereometric shapes are stuck together without being unified. The neck is lengthened and dessicated and the head enlarged in volume to the extreme. In contrast the breasts shrink to small button-shaped protuberances. The facial features are rendered analytically, stressed by adding clay and paint. Their position and their dimensional relationship to one another is not stable and presents serious deviations from the natural. The plane of the face is always flat and devoid of plasticity. The course towards fragmentation takes two different directions that are defined by the corresponding structural conceptions, the Mycenaean and the Minoan. The over-emphasis of the outline of the face, which is a

characteristic element of the Mycenaean structure, leads eventually to the detachment of the face from the head. In the two preceding phases only the outline is stressed, but in the "Subminoan" the entire surface of the face is set off from the curved plane of the head and is thus transformed into a flat disc or a bi-hedral triangle (*fig. 117*). The continuing and intensifying convergence of the morphological conceptions of the Mainland and of Crete in this last period leads to the production of similar works in both regions.



HM 803 - Kalo Chorio



HM 1102 - Hermes Kranaios cave

In the second category of figures the outline of the face is not indicated and the features are stuck on the inert, curved surface of the head (*fig. 118*). The absence of outline leads to a lack of co-ordination in the symmetrical arrangement of the features, resulting in a general looseness and asymmetry. The eyes and the cheeks slip into unnatural positions towards the bottom or the sides of the head. This manner harks back to primeval, structural principles of Minoan art, such as the aversion to stressed outlines and linear characters, and the free unrestricted development of forms in space.

Comparable morphological tendencies, consistent with the principles of the Postpalatial style, are also observed in figurines from the LM IIIB period. Specifically, secondary elements such as loincloths and hairstyles are gradually abandoned, the limbs are abbreviated and the facial features indicated in a perfunctory manner (*fig. 119*). These tendencies are reinforced towards the Subminoan period and so the torsos are transformed into elongated cylinders, the limbs into simple stumps, while the heads are enlarged and the nose and eyes emphasized by modelling. The same holds for the figures. These exaggerations, which as has been said are associated with religious symbolisms or current social concepts, are present in all periods but their multiplicity of types and heterogeneity imply that there is no single diachronic code of form for figurines.

Morphological characteristics of Minoan figures and figurines live on into Daidalic-Archaic times, such as types of hairstyles, gestures, the type of figurine-figure with cylindrical torso (*fig. 120*) as well as the ways of rendering facial features. Even the

relatively small size of the Geometric-Archaic plastic works, in the scale of Minoan figurines and figures, is considered to be due to impulses from the past, that is the constant aversion of Minoan art for the monumental.



118 HM 11042 - Karphi.



119 HM 18647, 19075 - Hagia Triada. 120 HM 26491 - Aïmonas(?).

Of particular interest is the survival or revival of structural traits of Minoan naturalism in the art of the Daidalic and Archaic periods. Interpretations of this artistic phenomenon vary but it is certainly not due to the simple copying of Minoan works of art or to a conscious return to the past, that is to a kind of archaism. In this case the influence would be limited and superficial, whereas on the contrary the assimilation of the structural principles of Minoan art presupposes a deeper and more permanent dialectical relationship with the past and a psychological predisposition.

The preceding examination of the morphological and stylistic characteristics of the clay figurines and figures documents the unbroken and fertile contact with the principles of naturalistic art and the conservation and transmission of a dynamic artistic current, mainly through the clay figurine workshops, down until early Greek times. Shapes and fossilized forms from the Minoan tradition are of course kept in the bronze figurines too, but the workshops producing them are much more conservative and "closed", persisting in the reproduction of anachronistic models till their exhaustion, with no attempted innovation and reception of new ideas. Clay figure making, on the contrary, is a creative and innovative art which adopts and assimilates new ideas as soon as they arrive from the metropolitan regions of the Mycenaean world. So figures are modelled with an artistic personality of their own, in which Minoan and Mycenaean elements are mixed. It is surely not fortuitous that in periods when the infiltration of Mycenaean structural conceptions is intensified, that is in the "Middle" and "Late" phases of Postpalatial

plastic art, a corresponding vitalization of the naturalistic spirit is observed, since the new strong stimuli provide a pretext for new creative inquiries. So it seems, in the light of new data, that the dynamic renaissance of the naturalistic style in the Daidalic period is not an isolated or accidental event but the final stage and culmination of a chain phenomenon of periodical renewal in art, which is observed mainly in the genre of clay artworks. The difference in quality in works of a specific period is due to the different degree of assimilation of the principles of naturalistic art, depending on the ability of the craftsmen and the tradition of the workshops.

V. Issues of interpretation

This chapter deals with issues concerning the function of the figurines and figures through the ensembles to which they belong. Information on what the presence of an effigy of a human figure means in a specific milieu can be drawn from the strong semantics of body language, the direct iconographic connotations, that is what is represented on or around the human figure, and last the excavation context. Through co-examination of these elements the figure can be articulated firstly with its temporal-spatial context and secondarily with its cognitive context, that is with a cycle of cult and the corresponding iconographic unity. So what is sought is the recognition and description of the functional relationship of figurines and figures with the cult practices celebrated in the palatial and domestic shrines, in the peak sanctuaries, in the Postpalatial community and

open-air sanctuaries and caves. In the absence of adequate documentation of the excavation and functional contexts it is impossible to articulate the figurine with a specific “milieu” of cult and its importance as a bearer of messages about the social and cultural environment is thus reduced. The issue of interpretation in general is part and parcel of the wider problem of seeking, identifying and describing thematic units with a specific ideological content and recognizable elements of cult practices.

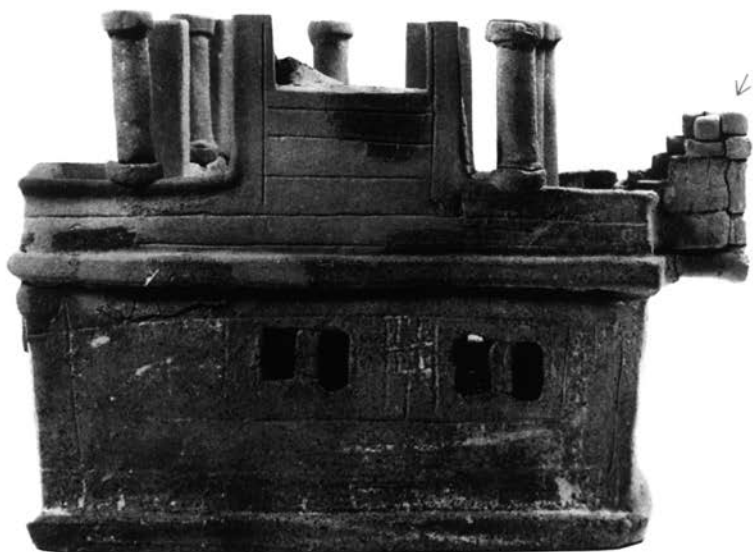
Cult cycles – thematic units

1. Palatial–domestic cult

In contrast to Protopalatial iconography, Neopalatial includes a large number of representations of rituals and narrative scenes of a religious nature, frequently with lively action. Most information comes from the representations in wall-paintings, seal-stones and signet rings, but many of the figurines and models also allude directly or indirectly to subjects of Neopalatial iconography with special emphasis on the synthesis of human figure and building. This thematic unit refers to religious activities of varied form inside or in front of buildings-shrines.

The MM III house model from Archanes (*fig. 121*) seems to be an unicum. Its interpretation eludes us since many elements that would permit a clear correlation with a cult milieu are evidently missing. We know from the parallel Neopalatial iconography that some buildings, which are usually rendered summarily by one wall or by columns, were the backdrop for rituals

performed in front of them. Here however the building is rendered analytically, not only in its visible part –as we might logically expect–, but also in its interior, which is not seen by the viewer. It is consequently a full replica of an autonomous architectural module with all the basic features of a Minoan house. An idea of how it might have functioned is given by the human –female– figure of which the lower part is preserved (her place is indicated by the dart) on the veranda, a known theme in Aegean iconography. Because this figure turns outwards it links the building with an undefined external space and presumably



121 MH 19410. *The MM III house model from Archanes.*

with an unknown recipient of whatever message its presence on the veranda conveys. This recipient might have been a group of figurines which has not survived, in “dialogue” with the figure on the veranda, or, more plausibly, the initiated beholder who was aware of exactly what building the model represents.

The description of a ritual act in a series of incompletely preserved house models from Hagia Triada is clearer. In these a male figure is represented inside a shrine which is synoptically rendered by the two side walls and the back (*fig. 122*), with oc-



HM 19410

122 *Male figure inside a shrine from Hagia Triada.*

casional horns of consecration on top of the walls (in the present case the horns are broken). The function of the building here is different from the Archanes model. The walls are a symbolic - conventional indication of the space in which the act takes place, that is a chamber or an enclosure, and certainly not the limitless countryside. Also of interest is the fact that the figurines rendered in this way are exclusively male. This is noteworthy since female figurines are generally in the majority in the sanctuaries at Hagia Triada, although not in association with a "sacred" building.

A different representation of worship is given by a partly preserved model of a circular shrine, inside which is a fixed throne with back arranged in the shape of sacral horns. The type of the female figure, priestess or goddess, seated on a throne is known in Neopalatial iconography.

The type of the seated figure inside a shrine is repeated in stereotype arrangement in a model from the tomb at Kamilari, which is dated in the early Neopalatial period (*fig. 123*). The whole model, which is a type of building with internal columns, is preserved here. The seated figures receive from the smaller standing figures offerings in vases upon altars set in front of them. The offering of vessels and their contents on an altar is attested in funerary iconography in the famous scene of worship of the dead on one of the long sides of the Hagia Triada sarcophagus. There, however, the figure receiving the honours is standing, while the rite itself appears to be celebrated in the open air and not in a roofed space as in the model.

It seems here that the iconographic setting and not the act itself reveals the context of space, that is the domestic milieu of cult. Consequently, conventional manners of illustration, known from the Neopalatial iconography, are employed. As has been said, a wall and columns render the image-ideogram of the sacred building within or around which the rites are celebrated. Perhaps even the stereotype repetition four times of the act of offering is inspired by the fixed syntax of similar mechanically repeated subjects in the wall-paintings (e.g. the stereotype rep-



HM 15074

123 *A shrine model from the tomb at Kamilari.*

etition of the same moment of offering-proposing by pairs of figures in the Campstool Fresco) and is not a realistic rendering of a group act of worship of an equal number of deities or deified dead, as has been argued.

The male figure luted to the wall of a large pithos perhaps belongs to a scene of offering which has not survived complete. Because the figure does not seem to act in the framework of a specific ritual it should perhaps be interpreted as an onlooker at a sacred act which is focused on a pithos, as in the scene of libations on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus. Maybe it is a fragment of a wider composition on the subject of offering libations in



HM 15072

124 *A shrine model from the tomb at Kamilari.*

honour of the dead, in which other figures surely participated, as the trace of a broken off object or another figurine on the opposite side of the pithos indicates.

Another model renders a scene of worship inside a circular shrine with horns of consecration and birds stuck to the periphery (*fig. 124*). Inside the shrine are two figures seated in front of a table, while a third figure watches from the doorway. The act is sanctified by sticking horns of consecration and birds, symbols of epiphany, on the periphery of the model. The placing of a table inside the room led to comparisons with rooms in the palaces of Knossos and Phaistos with a table or an eschar at the centre between benches, at which banqueters presumably sat. However, banquets were perhaps held in honour of the dead or were offered to the dead and consequently the representation is once again ambivalent.

Two models from the Kamilari tomb are associated with rituals in the cycle of ecstatic cult, pillar worship and dance. In the first model a kneeling figure embraces a small column (*fig. 125*). The closest iconographic parallel is in a scene on the gold ring from Archanes, where a male figure embraces a cylindrical object which resembles the small column in the model. A similar object is also represented under the tree on the gold ring from Vapheio. Some scholars have interpreted these objects as pithoi, but judging from the iconographic similarity of the three-dimensional model to the two-dimensional representation on the Archanes ring, it is more likely that in both cases the object is a cippus-baetyl.



HM 15071

125 *A kneeling figure embraces a small column.*



HM 15073

126 *Model of a circular dance from Kamilari.*

In the second model four male figures dance on a circular dance floor which is sanctified by the horns of consecration round its edge (*fig. 126*). The architectural type of the circular dance floor was verified in excavations in the Minoan town of Knossos, confirming the palatial-urban context of this rite. The LM IIIA model of a circular dance from Palaikastro, which was found in a domestic context, confirms what has already been noted, namely that similar types of cult represented synoptically by models can appear in both a sepulchral and a domestic environment.

Although no comparable models were found in the Neopalatial shrine of the villa at Gortys, there is no dearth of references to religious rituals. The presence of figurines of female dancers (*fig. 127*) as well as of a female figure holding a kalathos (*fig. 128*) allude to ritual acts analogous with those described, whose content includes ecstatic cult and offerings to deities. A clay tablet bearing a relief of a priestess-dancing girl with raised arms also refers to the cycle of orgiastic worship.

Both the aforementioned ensembles document the representation of dance as an act most probably associated with the rite of epiphany. The same category of sanctuaries in which dance is represented as a unique cult practice includes the sanctuary of Kea, the content of which confirms, indeed emphatically, the Minoanization of the religion.



127 HM 15145 - Gortys.



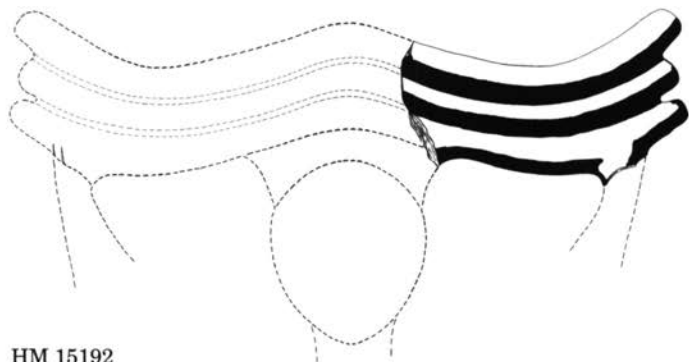
128 HM 15133, 15140 - Gortys.

A fragment of a clay “snake frame”, which consists of three reliefs and integral arches 0.25 m long on two sides (*fig. 129a*), predisposes us for the object and the recipient of cult practices of this category. Preserved near the end of the curved lower edge is the tip of a detached hand with incised fingers. This is probably a fragment of a figure in relief or modelled in the round that held the “snake frame” above its head.

This motif is a popular one in the repertoire of sealcarving, for which reason it has been suggested that it represents the climax of a formal ceremony held in the palaces. The Great East hall in the palace at Knossos, one of the most important Knossian shrines whose mural decoration includes *inter alia* a large relief snake frame, has been cited as the venue of this ceremony. The deity of this type is accompanied by wild beasts and dae-

monic figures, as representations on seals attest. On a seal in Cambridge the female figure with the "snake frame" swings, in a type of deity in epiphany, above a biconcave altar from which sprouts a tree flanked by two heraldic griffins. In the sanctuary of Gortys the connotations of this divine epiphany are concentrated in a clay tablet showing a biconcave altar and tree with symmetrical sphinxes instead of the griffins of the seal.

All the iconographic data attest that in the Gortys shrine a scene of epiphany was rendered pictorially. The prototype was a palatial ritual, the highspot of which was the appearance of the goddess-priestess beneath her attribute. This moment inspired a series of sphragistic devices in which the climactic event of epiphany is represented (*fig. 129b*). However, in the Gortys shrine, where this act is represented symbolically, relieved of the dramatic elements of the ritual, the inert clay effigy of the goddess makes an epiphany in her stead. In this way a complex three-dimensional model of an actual and significant act of worship, equivalent in cognitive power to the representations on the rings and wall-paintings, is reconstructed, that is a continuous "show" which alludes by association to the central ideological nucleus of the official religion, like the other models mentioned. Perhaps here we ascertain for the first time the inception of the process of transference from an established type of Neopalatial narrative iconography to the type of the Postpalatial figure of the goddess which, as we shall see below, we have other reasons to believe comes through the iconography of the epiphany. The clay figurines flanking the effigy-image of the goddess in epiphany annotated other rituals accompanying the



HM 15192

129a *Fragment of a clay "snake frame" from Gortys.*



CMS I, 144

129b *NM 6442e - Seal from Mycenae.*

main one, such as the dance and the offerings by an exclusively female priesthood.

Given the lack of excavation data and the fragmentary publication of the material from Hagia Triada, it is difficult to attempt an analogous interpretative reconstruction. Nevertheless, there is no lack of references to specific ritual acts in this assemblage. We have already described a type of shrine model with male figure in the interior as well as a circular shrine with throne inside it which is surely associated with some seated figure. A seated figurine with animated gestures (*fig. 130*) was per-



130 HM 1804 - Hagia Triada.

haps associated with such a model since its resting surface is flat and it therefore “sat” on some seat just as in the two models from Kamilari.

Of particular interest is the famous model of the female figure swinging between two pillars atop which perch birds (*fig. 131*). Both A. Evans and M. Nilsson associated this representation with an Athenian custom of the Classical period. However, the specific rendering underlines its thematic and iconographic affinity with the concepts and the manners of giving form to the visionary epiphany, and testifies that the model is of a deity



HM 3039, 3133, 3134

131 *Female figurine swinging between two pillars from Hagia Triada.*

hovering between two pillars. This interpretation is facilitated by the presence of the birds which accompany the goddess or symbolize the epiphany. So perhaps this model was part of a wider complex that also included acts of invocation and reverence towards the deity, as in the known representations. Consequently it is possible that the model was completed by the female figurines found together with the swinging one and representing adorants.

The hermeneutic correlation with the cycle of the epiphany is documented by yet another model from Hagia Triada, which although incomplete can be easily reconstructed in accordance with the iconographic data of the previous piece (*fig. 132*). It



HM 19097, 19098

132 *Model from Hagia Triada.*

consists of two pillars with birds crowning the shaft and in the space between them an oblique phallus-shaped colonnette which recalls the colonnette in the model from Kamilari (see *fig. 125*). In both models from Hagia Triada the birds signify the presence or the imminent appearance of the goddess. The common iconographic types used (pillars, birds) indicate a kindred cognitive context. The presence of the baetyl in the second model, in place of the arriving goddess in the first, infers that the baetyl here embodies the divine force or is the aniconic version of the anthropomorphic deity, as Evans had conjectured in his classic work on tree and pillar cult.

An epiphany of deities, but in a sepulchral milieu, is most probably represented by the group of a male and a female figure known as the *kourotrophos*, from Mavrospilio (*fig. 133*). The high dating of this figural group, in LM II-LM IIIA1, is at variance with Evans's correlation of it with the Mycenaean *kourotrophos* since this type is later. In reality the group consists of two figurines with an identical gesture of worship, which were modelled separately and then fixed together with an intervening piece of clay so as to convey the image of a couple. This is probably the well-known divine couple which appears frequently in scenes of "*sacra conversazione*". The vegetal decoration of the female figure's garment rather signifies that it is the goddess of nature herself, who appears in epiphany together with her consort, inside the tomb, possibly as protectress of the dead as well as of chthonic powers. An analogous interpretation can be given for the female figurine from Kalou (*fig. 134*), which was also found in a chamber tomb.



133 *The "kourotrophos" from Mavrospilio.*



134 *Female figure from Kalou.*

Most of the figurines we have discussed were part of larger compositions and groups that render rituals of the official cult known from numerous representations on sealstones, signet rings and wall-paintings. Emphasis is mainly placed on concepts of the epiphany, that is the revelation of the deity to the devotees, and on rituals associated with offerings, libations or supplications inside shrines.

The figurines and models were placed inside small domestic shrines and in one case in the antechamber of a monumental tholos tomb, that is in places readily accessible to worshippers. The narrative concept, which is common denominator in all these compositions, implies that they were not ordinary *ex-votos* but functioned as a kind of "tableau" of the cult, for the instruction and initiation of the believers into the current religious convictions. Concurrently the direct semantic affinity with the content of palatial cult underlines the use of figurines and models as means and channels of propaganda aimed at invigorating religious sentiment and cementing religious and presumably political relations between the centres of authority and the periphery, in Crete as well as, in certain cases, the Aegean and Mycenaean Greece. This is why figurines do not appear in narrative compositions after the end of the Neopalatial period, since the religious ideology that inspired them collapsed together with the Minoan palaces. Cult was decentralized, its character changed and it was practised in small community shrines.

2. *Peak sanctuaries*

Models of circular or rectangular type with figures inside have also been found in certain open-air sanctuaries. The recent excavation (1990) at Kophinas, where several models of both types were unearthed, showed that they are dated in the MM III period, that is they are contemporary with the corresponding models from Kamilari and Archanes. This idea harks back to the combination of building with human figures which, as we have seen, developed mainly in the Neopalatial period. Consequently the presence of the models in these sanctuaries corresponds to a more advanced phase of cult, outside the framework of the Protopalatial peak sanctuary. This phase is contemporary with the construction of buildings of enclosure type, sometimes with roofed ancillary spaces, which immediately suggest the idea of linking the worshipper and the act of worship with a building or a delimited and fenced space, pictorial expression of which are the models with human figures inside buildings of simple or complex type. Furthermore, it is logical to assume that these models, linked with the series of analogous models discussed in the preceding section, indicate that worship in the peak sanctuary was close to domestic-palatial cult in its practices, as these are represented not only in the models but also in the iconography of the period generally.

As noted in the chapter on style, the clay figurines from the peak sanctuaries at Piskokephalo and Kophinas are special cases, because their style and morphology, even the technique of making, belie direct influences from naturalistic plastic art. Striking on the female figurines from Piskokephalo (*col. pl. 2*,

frontispiece) are the unusually elaborate hairstyles, and on the male ones are the careful modelling and accentuation of the muscular volume of lower torso and the legs (*fig. 135, front cover*). The stereotype repetition of these formal types in all the figurines from the sanctuary records the presence of a specific "closed" group of dedicators with a specific ideological and aesthetic view on corporeal values. Corporeal values are projected even more emphatically in the clay figurines from Kophinas. These are true statuettes that reach or exceed 50 cm in height, thus verging on the scale of the Postpalatial figure which is not a simple *ex-voto* but an object of worship. The



HM 9831

135 *Male figurine from Piskokephalo.*

assiduous modelling and the increase in size define the importance of these figures and aim at projecting as an ideal value the exercised, athletic body of coteries of male worshippers.

Other formal elements that will be described distinguish these figures decisively from the anonymity of the figurines from the peak sanctuaries. The first element in this distinction is the hat, conical or truncated conical (*fig. 136*), insignium of official, sacerdotal or even divine status. Arms with hemispherical finial with perimetric rim and incised bands (*fig. 137*) belong to figurines of boxers wearing boxing gloves held in place by thongs, as deduced from comparison with the hands of boxers on the Boxers rhyton from Hagia Triada and the boxing boys in the wall-painting from Building Complex Beta at Akro-



136 Uncatalogued (HM) - Kophinas.



137 *Uncatalogued (HM) - Kophinas.*



138 *British Museum 1970. 11-7. 1-Kophinas.*

tiri, Thera. This can be seen better in a figurine from Kophinas, in the British Museum (*fig. 138*), with a hat and a surviving hand with boxing glove (of the type with perimetric rim like the gloves of the boxers on the Hagia Triada rhyton), brought on the chest in a gesture of worship.

The aforementioned fragmentary arms with boxing gloves, from small figurines (*fig. 137*), along with legs with bent knees from similar figurines completely matching the posture of the arms and legs of the boxing boys of Akrotiri, probably belong to figurine groups of boxers in action.

On the Boxers rhyton from Hagia Triada the boxing matches take place in front of a colonnade, undoubtedly a synoptic rendering of the palatial architectural environment, since such colonnades only exist in the large palace buildings. Consequently the relationship between this "group" – perhaps guild – of athletes, who were specialized in their sport from childhood, as the boxing boys from Complex Beta indicate, and the society of the palaces, whose sports-loving spirit is expressed in spectatorship at or participation in boxing contests and bull-leaping, is confirmed. On the other hand, the presence of 'projected' figurines of boxers and perhaps of other athletes whose sport cannot be identified because of the highly fragmentary nature of the material, in as important a sanctuary as Kophinas with its host of precious *ex-votos* – evidence of the religious activity of a ruling class –, records the high social status of the specific group of dedicators. Certainly these figurines were intended to be put on display with the other votive offerings inside the sanctuary, for

which reason they were carefully made with stable bases, presumably in order to be placed on some stand. It is therefore clear here, as at Piskokephalo and perhaps isolated cases in other open-air sanctuaries, that the figurine now as a statuette charged with ideological meaning, surpasses the use context determined by its "humble" material and becomes an eponymous object depicting a representative of a distinguished group.

3. Community sanctuaries

The recession of narrative elements in the postpalatial iconography is consistent with the development and accentuation of the important features that enhance or determine the qualities of the figures. Even the increase in size from the scale of the figurine to that of the figure bears witness to the comparative magnification of the depicted figure's value from the level of the anonymity of the adorant to that of the effigy of the goddess. As we have seen, similar codes of identification of figures operated occasionally in the previous period too (case of Piskokephalo, Kophinas), but in the present phase a tendency to use a single code of form is observed.

So the formal idioms that specify the content of cult, mainly the gesture of the figure, which is a distinguishing sign ("goddess with raised arms"), and the attributes referring to the qualities or hypostases of the goddess, acquire special significance. The transition from the earlier level of worship did not take place suddenly but through transmutations, only certain aspects of which are identifiable in the religious iconography.

The foregoing iconographic analysis confirms that the type of gesture with raised arms comes before the appearance of figures, since it occurs in Neopalatial figurines which do not differ in size, modelling and decoration from the common figurines of worshippers-adorants (*fig. 139*). This reinforces F. Matz's view that the raising of hands does not express from the outset supplication or blessing, a meaning mainly attributed to the gesture of the Postpalatial figures, but the invocation of the goddess and thus derives from the Neopalatial iconography of the epiphany. The prevailing of the familiar angular shape in the Postpalatial



139 HM 1807 - *Hagia Triada*.

figures is due to stylistic demands and specifically to the marked predilection for tectonic geometric figures which developed in the Postpalatial period.

It seems that this gesture was not from the first a fixed and distinctive characteristic of the goddess, which was transplanted from oriental iconography, as Stylianos Alexiou observed in his classic work on the Minoan goddess. In the East there are secure testimonies of its presence after the mid-third millennium BC and of its dissemination mainly during the First Babylonian Dynasty. Moreover, the two known Babylonian cylinder seals from Platanos and Yofyrakia, with supplicating figures among others, date from this period. However, apart from the fact that the meaning of the intricate iconography of the rare, imported, oriental cylinder seals would have been incomprehensible in Crete, the deity with raised arms certainly did not have a pre-eminent position in the Mesopotamian pantheon that would have affected Minoan iconography from afar. Furthermore, there are no securely interpreted representations of a supplicating goddess in the Protopalatial period, while the gesture of raised arms, which appears sporadically, probably has an apotropaic meaning.

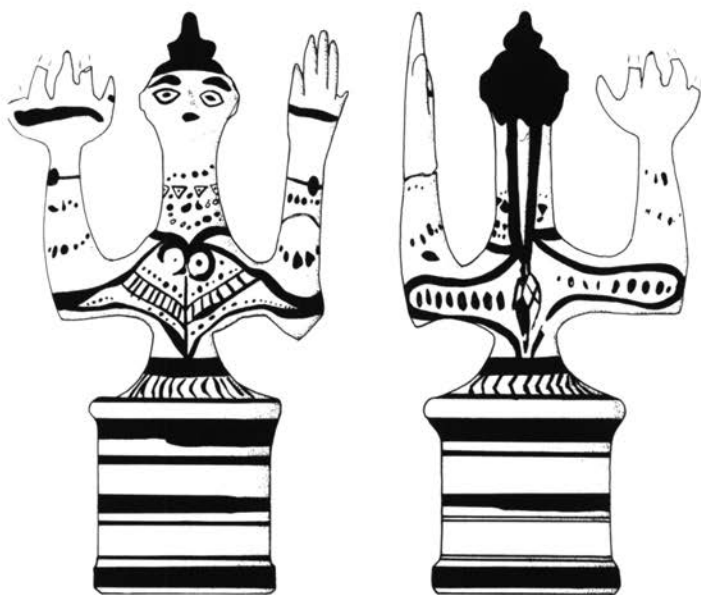
The evidence cited confirms that the appearance and diffusion of the gesture on the figurines coincides chronologically with the development of narrative iconography with religious content. As the narrative elements withdraw the symbolisms come to the fore. So the gesture of raised arms becomes the symbol of the Minoan goddess, acquiring a specific meaning which it did not have previously.

The transitional nature of worship in the watershed years between the Neopalatial-Knossian palatial and the Postpalatial period is expressed succinctly in the iconographic content of the Shrine of the Double Axes. The narrative elements are still latent, as indicated by the four smaller figurines that represent worshippers or dedicators, according to the canons of Neopalatial iconography (*fig. 140*). There is no doubt, however, that central figure depicts the deity (*fig. 141*). This is proven by the symbol of the epiphany, the bird, which sits on her head.



140 HM 3862 - Knossos, Shrine of the Double Axes.

Clearly the cognitive content of the scene represented is the revelatory appearance of the goddess within her "oikos", which is sanctified as a shrine by the divine presence. For this reason the presence of the bird as attribute of the goddess is conspicuous in all the Postpalatial sanctuaries (figs 141, 142a-b), because the bird was established long before as the ideogram *par excellence* of the epiphany.



141 HM 3861 - Knossos, Shrine of the Double Axes.



HM 9306 - Gazi



HM 9307 - Gazi



HM 11042 - Karphi



142a *The presence of the bird as attribute of the goddess.*



HM 11042 - Karphi

142b *The presence of the bird as attribute of the goddess.*

The cognitive framework of the community cult cycle is revealed in the austere, dense and abstract manner of Postpalatial iconography by the only known type of house-shrine model, the so-called hut-urn, with examples spanning the interval between LM IIIB and Protogeometric B, that is roughly contemporary with the community sanctuaries (*fig. 143*). The type probably derives from the circular shrine models of the Neopalatial period which are symbolic and conventional renderings of the scheme of a sacred building that probably does not correspond to actual constructions. Unique tectonic element of the shrines, as in the earlier model from Kamilari (*fig. 124*), is the door which closes in the same way in most cases, that is with a moveable stick passed through the loops on the side of the opening. The door opens to reveal the figurine of the goddess, which is fixed or moveable as is assumed in those cases where it is absent. This figurine sanctifies the hut as a shrine-dwelling of the goddess. The revelation of the figure by opening the door

also harks back to both the cognitive content and the type of a religious act of a dramatized epiphany, a ritual in the genre of a theatrical drama. Some scholars claim that this took place inside the palace or in nearby “villas” with special architectural arrangements, large internal halls with pier - and - door partitions (*polythyra*) which could accommodate a large congregation.

On the contrary, the models validate what was already known from the size and the excavation content of the community sanctuaries, namely that there was not enough space for the practising of rites in which worshippers participated, but only for indi-



HM 1773

143 *Hut-urn from Phaistos.*

vidual offerings since the rooms are small and usually contain many vases and vessels. No shrine models with re-enactments of worship inside them, corresponding to those of the Neopalatial period, which would permit us to conclude that there were actual shrines which housed analogous cult practices, have been found.

The absence of figurines that could be identified securely as worshippers in narrative scenes is due to the fact that direct contact of the worshipper as a person with the object of worship, without need of intermediary narration or the intervention of explicatory iconography, has been achieved. It seems that cult practices are carried out by the devotee him/herself and not through the agency of some official authorized priesthood, whether inside the "*oikos*" or in the open-air space when mass rites involving the participation of many members of the community are concerned.

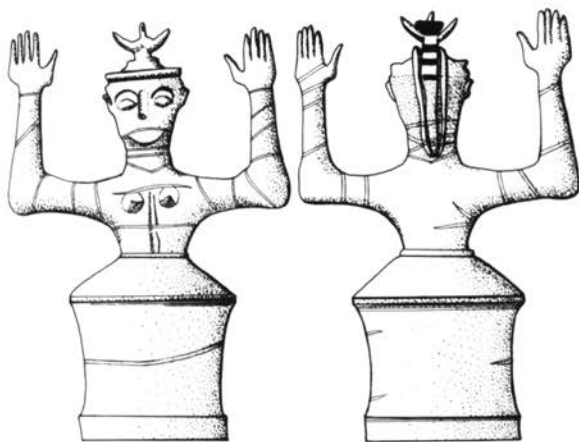
There is only indirect evidence of this category of cult practices which focus on the figures, since, as we have said, the explanatory iconography does not exist. Nevertheless, the trend to incorporate information on the content of worship in the figure itself, as apparent from the various specialized symbols each figure bears, leads to the conclusion that certain individual iconographic-morphological features of some figures might hint at cult practices.

We have already mentioned the unusual decoration of figures from Gazi and Karphi, with white bands spiralling round the body, the arms and the head (*fig. 144*), which in our view replace or represent on a permanent basis the adornment of the

figures with white ribbons. Corresponding practices are in any case known from the etiquette of cult in Greek, Oriental and Egyptian sanctuaries, while there is a possible case of trans-



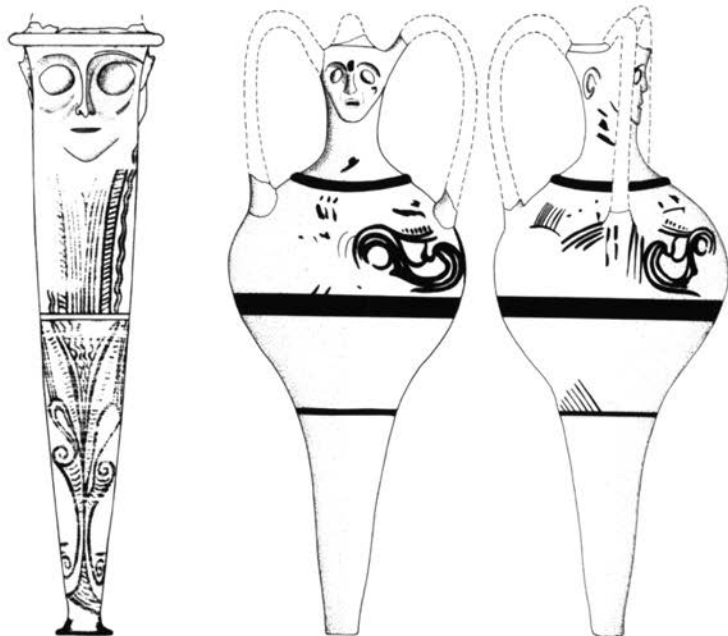
HM 9305



HM 9307

porting a figure bedecked with ribbons in a wall-painting from Tiryns.

We have also noted the morphological affinity between the anthropomorphic vessels and the figures, as this emerges from the syntax of modelled and painted additions and decorations on the vases (case of rhytons from Moires and Karphi, *figs 145a-b*), which recalls the tripartite articulation of the figure – skirt, tor-



145a HM 22038 - Moires.

145b HM 11050 - Karphi.

so and head –, as well as the rendering of painted bodice on the rhyton from Moires as if it were a figure. These associations probably also denote the functional affinity of the anthropomorphic vases as libation vases with the figures. Conversely, the formation of the head of some figures as a krater-shaped vase (*fig. 146*) also bears witness to the figure's affinity with libation vases, as a recipient of libations. The insistence on acts of libation in connection with the figures is borne out too by the tubular vases found together with them, whose shape is suitable for channelling liquids.



HM 9308 - Gazi



HM 11045 - Karphi

146 *Figures as libation vases.*

4. *Open-air worship*

In the late Postpalatial and the Subminoan period a resurgence of open-air worship is observed. The relationship with the previous cycle of open-air worship has not been clarified. On the contrary, many differences are noted, mainly in the choice of venue as well as in the kind, composition and context of the *ex-votos*.

The most important sanctuary of this category is without doubt the "Court of Shrines" at Hagia Triada, the rich repositories (*apothetes*) of which yielded many figurines, mainly male, anthropomorphic vases, wheelmade and handmade figurines of animals, mainly of bulls, and fantastic creatures, models of horns and chariots. Similar finds, but in different context, have been recovered from Phaistos, Tyliisos, the Caravanserai at Knossos, Moires, Keratokampos Viannou, the sanctuary at Symi Viannou and the caves of Patso, Psychro and Ida.

The intensity of open-air worship has been correlated with movements of Mycenaeans to Crete in the late Postpalatial period. Certainly these migrations triggered a turn towards the traditional open-air cult which, although it passed through a stage of recession in late Neopalatial and early Postpalatial times, never ceased. This turn in religion is combined with comparable impulses in art in the same period. Acceptance of the structural principles of Mycenaean art provokes an opposite tendency of return to the roots of Minoan naturalism. So mixed Creto-Mycenaean forms of religion and art are created. Specifically, the return to open-air cult is accompanied by the appearance of new forms and concepts that do not have a Minoan past

while old, known types gradually disappear. The Minoan goddess, whose aspects and qualities are sketched by the figurines of the peak sanctuaries and given form in the Postpalatial figures, is entirely absent or downgraded to anonymous figurines indistinguishable from the ordinary worshippers. Several such figurines are mentioned from sanctuary repositories down till Archaic times. They usually have a cylindrical body (*fig. 147*).



HM 26485



HM 26490



HM 26487

147 *Figurines from Aïmonas.*



HM 26491

148 *Figurine with raised arms from Aïmonas.*

The type of the seated figurine is also encountered, while the type of figure with raised arms is reproduced in miniature (*fig. 148*), which fact documents that at least some of these render deities of the Minoan pantheon. Probably they are *ex-votos* of members of prehellenic population, conservative in their religious beliefs.

Other categories bear witness to innovative concepts. The modelling of the male genitalia on figurines occurs for the first time on the LM IIIA2/IIIB figurine from Poros, and on LM IIIC figurines from Hagia Triada (*fig. 149a-b*), and has no earlier Minoan parallels. On the contrary, more or less contemporary examples exist in the Aegean and Mycenaean Greece, indicating that this concept came together with the new folk. The Cretan figurines are small and anonymous, without characteristics of divine nature, and therefore represent male worshippers. The genitals denote gender, as does the beard, while the role of warrior or hunter is denoted by the painted baldric.



149a HM 18647 - Hagia Triada. **149b** Uncatalogued (HM) - Poros.

Perhaps this pictorial, realistic rendering of nudity alludes to initiation customs associated with the transition from adolescence to adulthood (*rites de passage*), like the “Ekdysia” and “Periblemaia” (“Undressing” and “Dressing” rites) known from later tradition. This possibility is further reinforced by the presence of sporadic nude female figurines with Subminoan features, also with genitalia, in the same repository of the sanctuary at Hagia Triada. These *ex-votos* possibly point to a custom of celebrating group marriages after coming of age. This custom is perhaps hinted at in a figural group of a male and female embracing, from the Patso Cave, which is dated in the Subminoan period.

An early example of a “whip-carrier” from Prinias is dated on stylistic criteria to LM IIIC (*fig. 150*). The type appears in a developed form in a few Subminoan-Protogeometric clay figurines from Hagia Triada and a Late Geometric bronze figurine from Symi Viannou. In these cases the figure holds the whip in the hand raised to the height of the shoulder, while in the early example from Prinias the figure is rendered as an adorant with the traditional Minoan gesture of the hands on the chest. However, the celebration of “whipping” rites in Crete is not verified



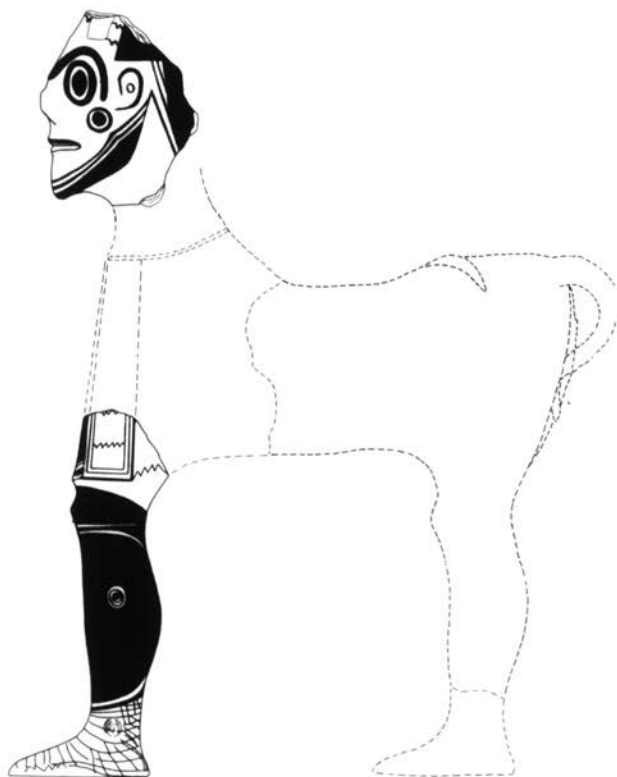
150 HM 21459 - Prinias.

in the sources, in contrast to Doric Sparta where they were part of the initiation and training of young men. Perhaps they were quickly neglected and abandoned in Crete, after the Late Geometric period.

Particularly fascinating is the dedication of fantastic anthropomorphic creatures, mainly in the sanctuary at Hagia Triada and sporadically in another two sanctuaries.

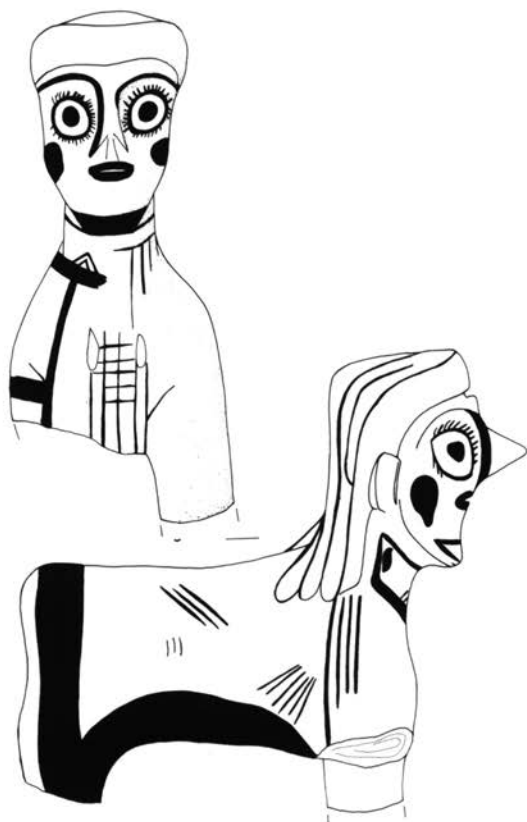
Iconographic and morphological analysis of the type has shown that the earliest examples have human legs clad in a Mycenaean type sandal and greaves, an animal's body, probably a bull's, and a man's head. On the fragmentarily preserved creature of which the front legs and the head have survived (*fig. 151*) a system of bands covers the chest and the thighs. The system of bands covering the chest and the thighs as an apron recalls a corresponding feature on the Egyptian sphinx in the New Kingdom, which was widely disseminated in the East. Direct influence is debatable, however, since there are no contemporary iconographic parallels in Crete. A decisive element for rendering these legs on a fantastic creature with an animal body, rather than on an anthropomorphic figure, is the fact that the thighs widen abruptly towards the join with the cylindrical animal body, as observed also on contemporary zoomorphic figures. In our figure the hind section was restored in correspondence with and on a slightly smaller scale than a larger like creature which was most probably modelled by the same artificer with identical morphological features and painted decoration. As has been said, there are also several legs, larger and smaller, of analogous anthropomorphic creatures which are dated on stylistic criteria

to the same period. After LM IIIC these creatures degenerate, the necks are elongated, the heads enlarged, in accordance with current conceptions, while the decoration is simplified. Their legs are no longer human but are just the same as those of zoomorphic figurines. The so-called sphinx (*fig. 152*) belongs to this stylistic and temporal horizon. After the Subminoan-Proto-geometric period no example is known.



151 HM 1812, 3103a, HTR 437 - Hagia Triada.

No exact parallels exist in the earlier Minoan iconography. Usually the provenance of hybrid figures such as the sphinxes and griffins is sought in the East, where the repertoire of fantastic creatures is particularly rich from the third millennium BC. Among these are a creature with human and bovine char-



152 HM 3145 - Hagia Triada.

acteristics, the "bull-man", but this bears little resemblance to the bull-men from Hagia Triada. The closest morphological parallel for the fantastic creatures from Hagia Triada is encountered in Cyprus, in a contemporary sanctuary at Enkomi: these are the two clay "centaurs" which were interpreted as companions of a male deity associated with bulls and bull sacrifices. An additional element bolstering affinity in the content of cult is the dedication of bull figurines in both sanctuaries at Enkomi and in the contemporary sanctuary at Hagia Triada. It seems more likely however that the idea of forming these came from Crete to Cyprus rather than vice versa.

Consequently the fantastic creatures from Hagia Triada constitute a characteristic example of the syncretism of Mycenaean and Minoan iconography which was effected in Crete. The addition of bands on the chest may be due to an association with the motif of the Egyptian sphinx, on account of the external similarity. The sandals, the greaves and the type of beard are Mycenaean, while the arched diadem is Cretan, as is the plastic conception which derives from the local artistic tradition.

Nevertheless, even though some iconographic traits are not Cretan their cognitive content is certainly not unrelated to the special significance of the bull in the rite of sacrifice. Also important is the presence of a large number of bull figurines in the sanctuary at Hagia Triada and in other contemporary sanctuaries. It is not fortuitous either that in both sanctuaries in which anthropomorphic creatures were found, that at Hagia Triada and the cave of Hermes Kranaios, clay horns of con-

secration with a baetyl-shaped member between them and appliqué or painted features of the human face on the central and lateral parts, were also dedicated. This symbol of the schematic horns with cylindrical baetyl-shaped member alludes directly to the bull, most probably as a symbol of its consecration since a similar symbol (horns with central baetyl) is depicted between the horns of the bull painted on the sarcophagus from Gournia and in a simplified form on the sarcophagus from Episkopi. So the humanization of the bull, which is documented iconographically by the bull-men from Hagia Triada and the other kindred sanctuaries, seems to have drawn along in the same direction its symbolic model-substitute, that is the vessel of the horns of consecration.

The meaning of these symbolisms most probably emanates from primeval totemic concepts on the anthropomorphism of animals and the theriomorphism of gods which are encapsulated in many ancient religious myths among them those of Greek mythology. It is also related to the etiquette of sacrifice and specifically to acts of ritual equating of the sacrificer with the victim, which is illustrated by clothing the body of the sacrificer with the hide of the victim. So perhaps the enigmatic anthropomorphic creatures from Hagia Triada and the other sanctuaries are in reality symbolic representations of an important ritual act directly relating to the cognitive content of bull sacrifice. Moreover, the clay bull figurines which are models of actual bulls allude by association to the rite of dedicating effigies of the

sacred animal to the deity, very possibly equivalent in meaning to an actual sacrifice.

Through the stylistic, iconographic and interpretative analysis given above we have endeavoured to present an overall examination of the clay anthropomorphic figurines and figures as bearers of diverse information relating to social, aesthetic and religious conceptions current in the period to which they belong.

However the definition of their functional context is dependent on determining the relationship with their social-religious milieu, either as cult objects or, more broadly, as emitters of messages on the values and ideology of the social group that used them for a specific reason at a specific moment in time. This is why evaluation of the material is predicated on accurate recording of the conditions of discovery and associated finds, as well as on full publication of the assemblages in which the creations of anthropomorphic clay plastic art were found.

As we have already noted, the excavation data accompanying the greater part of the material are insufficient. So, as we await the completion of systematic excavations and full final publications, major issues, for which we do not yet have satisfactory answers, remain pending. These include the overall interpretation of the phenomenon of "anthropomorphism" as an expression of social ideology in Protopalatial, Neopalatial and Postpalatial shrines and sanctuaries; the definition of those elements that determine the "sanctity" of the figure modelled in clay; the reasons that imposed their dedication; the significance and the social implications for the dedicators themselves

as well as the relationship with other kindred activities carried out in the locus of dedication.

However, the exhaustive study of issues such as the above, apart from encountering the inherent difficulties referred to, that is the lack of adequate data, is a specially orientated field of research beyond the stated scope and goals of the present work.

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry, no matter how small, should be recorded to ensure the integrity of the financial statements. This includes not only sales and purchases but also expenses and income. The document provides a detailed list of items that should be tracked, such as inventory levels, accounts receivable, and accounts payable. It also outlines the proper procedures for recording these transactions, including the use of double-entry bookkeeping and the importance of regular reconciliations.

The second part of the document focuses on the analysis of the financial data. It explains how to interpret the various components of the financial statements, such as the balance sheet, income statement, and cash flow statement. It provides a step-by-step guide to calculating key financial ratios and metrics, such as the current ratio, debt-to-equity ratio, and return on investment. The document also discusses the significance of these ratios and how they can be used to assess the financial health and performance of the organization.

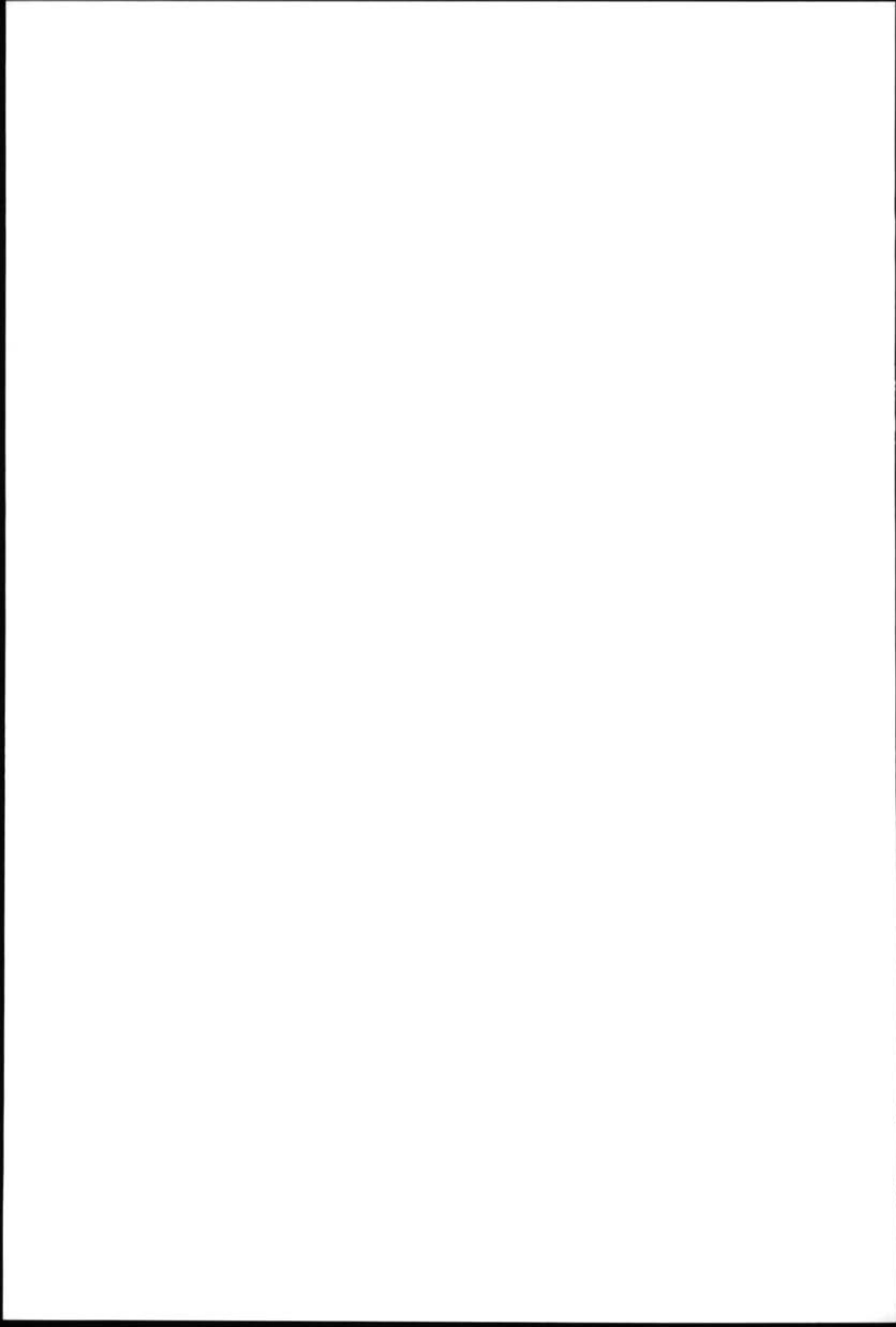
The final part of the document addresses the reporting requirements and the preparation of financial statements. It provides a comprehensive overview of the different types of financial statements that are required, including the annual financial statements and the quarterly reports. It also discusses the importance of transparency and accuracy in the reporting process, and provides a checklist of items to be included in each report. The document concludes with a summary of the key points and a final reminder to always maintain the highest standards of financial integrity.

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CATALOGUE OF FIGURES AND FIGURINES

Fig.	Provenance	Museum No.	Dimensions (m)
Front cover	Piskokephalo	HM 9831-9832	0.30 , 0.275
Back cover	Psychro	HM 2181	0.095
Frontispiece	Piskokephalo	HM 9832	0.275
Col. Pl. 1	Phaistos	HM 31183	0.17
Col. Pl. 2	Piskokephalo	HM 9823	0.085
Col. Pl. 3	Hagia Triada	HM 18648	0.12
Col. Pl. 4	Knossos	HM 19807	0.145
Col. Pl. 5	Palaikastro	HM 3904	0.185
Col. Pl. 6	Moires	HM 22038	0.35
1	Mochlos	Herakleion Museum (HM) 3499	0.18
2	Chamaizi	HM 3487	0.27
3	Hagia Triada	HM 3036	0.10
4	Hagia Triada	HM 3035	0.14
5	Gortys	HM 15146	0.069
6	Hagia Triada	HM 3038	0.067
7	Hagia Triada	HM 22347	0.042
8	Phaistos	HM 1773	0.165
9	See fig. 5		
10	See fig. 3		
11	See fig. 4		
12	See fig. 6		
13	Piskokephalo	HM 9831	0.29
14a	Kophinas	HM 14202	0.105
14b	Kophinas	HM 14236	0.10
15a	Knossos	HM 8345	0.10
15b	Knossos	HM 8346	0.083
16	See fig. 15a		
17a	Amari	3/496 Giamalakis Coll. (HM)	0.12
17b	Amari	3/495 Giamalakis Coll. (HM)	0.123

Fig.	Provenance	Museum No.	Dimensions (m)
18	Kalou	HM 21809	0.092
19	Knossos	HM 3861	0.22
20	Knossos	HM 3862	0.175
21	Psychro	HM 2181	0.10
22a-c	Sparta (?)*	Munich State Museum	0.12
23	Gortys	HM 15111	0.53
24	Gortys	HM 15117	0.32
25	Gortys	HM 15115	0.22
26	Gortys	HM 15113	0.39
27	Gournia	HM 2841	0.155
28	Gournia	Uncatalogued	0.15
29	Gournia	Uncatalogued	0.135
30	Gournia	HM 1934	0.36
31	Palaikastro	HM 3904	0.19
32	Moires	HM 22038	0.35
33	Moires	HM 22038	0.35
34	Gortys	HM 15172	0.101
35	Karphi	HM 11050	0.28
36	Hagia Triada	HM 3085	0.094
37	Phaistos	HM 5831	0.145
38a-c	Gazi	HM 9305	0.79
39a-c	Gazi	HM 9306	0.53
40a-c	Gazi	HM 9307	0.63
41a-c	Gazi	HM 9308	0.58
42	Karphi	HM 11044	0.66
43	Karphi	HM 11045	0.53
44	Karphi	HM 11041	0.61
45	Hagia Triada	HM 18647	0.117
46	Poros	Non registered	0.05
47	Karphi	HM 11042	0.87
48	Kalo Chorio	HM 803	0.27

* Purchased by the Lutz family, on the recommendation of E. Buschor.

Fig.	Provenance	Museum No.	Dimensions (m)
49	Hagia Triada	HM 3145	0.27
50	Patsos	HM 1102	0.08
51	Hagia Triada	HM 3084	0.131
52	Vrokastro	HM 6651	0.13
53a	Aimonas (?)*	HM 26485	0.073
53b	»	HM 26490	0.074
53c	»	HM 26487	0.072
53d	Aimonas	HM 26486	0.065
53e	Aimonas	HM 26488	0.052
53f	»	HM 26489	0.074
54	»	HM 26493	0.097
55	»	HM 26491	0.099
56	Phaistos	HM 1791	0.075
57	Hagia Triada	HM 22374	0.036
58	Vasilika Anogeia	HM 854	0.143
59	Tylissos	HM 7082	0.093
60	Kophinas	14166	0.067
61	Kea	Kea Museum K3613	0.55 (total 1.20)
62	See 22		
63	See 15a		
64	See 59		
65	See 8		
66	See 38b		
67	Chania	Chania Museum 1312	0.126
68	Chania	Chania Museum 1311	0.115
69	Phaistos	HM 1792	0.064
70	See 17b		
71	See 17a		
72	See 9		

* Probable provenance reported by the deliverer.

Fig.	Provenance	Museum No.	Dimensions (m)
73	Palaikastro	Uncatalogued	0.086
74	Myrsine	Hagios Nicolaos Mus. 1860	0.205
75	See 38		
76	See 40		
77	Hagia Triada	HM 1812, 3103a, HTR 437	h. of head 0.13 h. of leg 0.15
78	See fig. 27		
79	See fig. 30		
80	Gortys	HM 15133, 15140	0.089
81	See fig. 19		
82	Gortys	HM 15145	0.118
83	See fig. 3		
84	Hagia Triada	HM 1794	0.041
85	Knossos	HM 27241	0.045
86a	See fig. 38, 24,40		
86b	See fig. 41, 43		
87	See fig. 23, 42		
88	See fig. 74,18		
89	See fig. 80	HM 15147	0.07
90	Hagia Triada	HM 1786	0.062
91	See fig. 68		
92	See fig. 48		
93a	See fig. 45		
93b	Hagia Triada	HM 19075	0.145
94a-b	See fig. 51, 77		
95	Phaistos	HM 1779	0.061
96	See fig. 15a		
97	See fig. 17a,b		
98	See fig. 59		
99a	Hagia Triada	HM 1807	0.078
99b	See fig. 57		

Fig.	Provenance	Museum No.	Dimensions (m)
100	See fig. 19		
101	Gortys	HM 15132	0.069
102	See fig. 18		
103	See fig. 22		
104a	See fig. 8		
104b	See fig. 101		
105	See fig. 73		
106	See fig. 10, 11, 12		
107	See fig. 20, 16		
108a	See fig. 2		
108b	See fig. 13		
108c	See fig. 14b		
109	See fig. 15a		
110	See fig. 21, 22		
111	See fig. 19, 20		
112	See fig. 18		
113	See fig. 23		
114	See fig. 25, 24		
115	See fig. 29, 30, 28		
116	See fig. 32-33, 77, 38		
117a	See fig. 48		
117b	See fig. 50		
118	See fig. 47		
119	See fig. 45, 93b		
120	See fig. 55		
121	Archanes	HM 19410	0.24
122	Hagia Triada	HM 19084	0.12
123	Kamilari	HM 15074	0.10
124	Kamilari	HM 15072	0.13
125	Kamilari	HM 15071	0.033
126	Kamilari	HM 15073	0.18
127	See fig. 82		
128	See fig. 80		

Fig.	Provenance	Museum No.	Dimensions (m)
129a	Gortys	HM 15192	0.25
129b	Mycenae	NM 6442e	0.022-4
130	Hagia Triada	HM 1804	0.108
131	Hagia Triada	HM 3039, 3133, 3134	0.155
132a-b	Hagia Triada	HM 19097, 19098	0.165
133	See fig. 15a-b		
134	See fig. 18		
135	See fig. 13		
136	Kophinas	Uncatalogued	
137	Kophinas	Uncatalogued	
138	Kophinas (*)	Brit. Mus. 1970.11-71	
139	See fig. 99a		
140	See fig. 20		
141	See fig. 19		
142a	See fig. 39		
142b	See fig. 40		
142c	See fig. 47		
143	Phaistos	HM 1773	0.07
144	See fig. 75, 76		
145a	See fig. 32, 33		
145b	See fig. 35		
146a	See fig. 41		
146b	See fig. 43		
147	See fig. 53		
148	See fig. 55		
149a	See fig. 45		
149b	See fig. 46		
150	Prinias	HM 21459	0.061
151	See fig. 77		
152	See fig. 49		

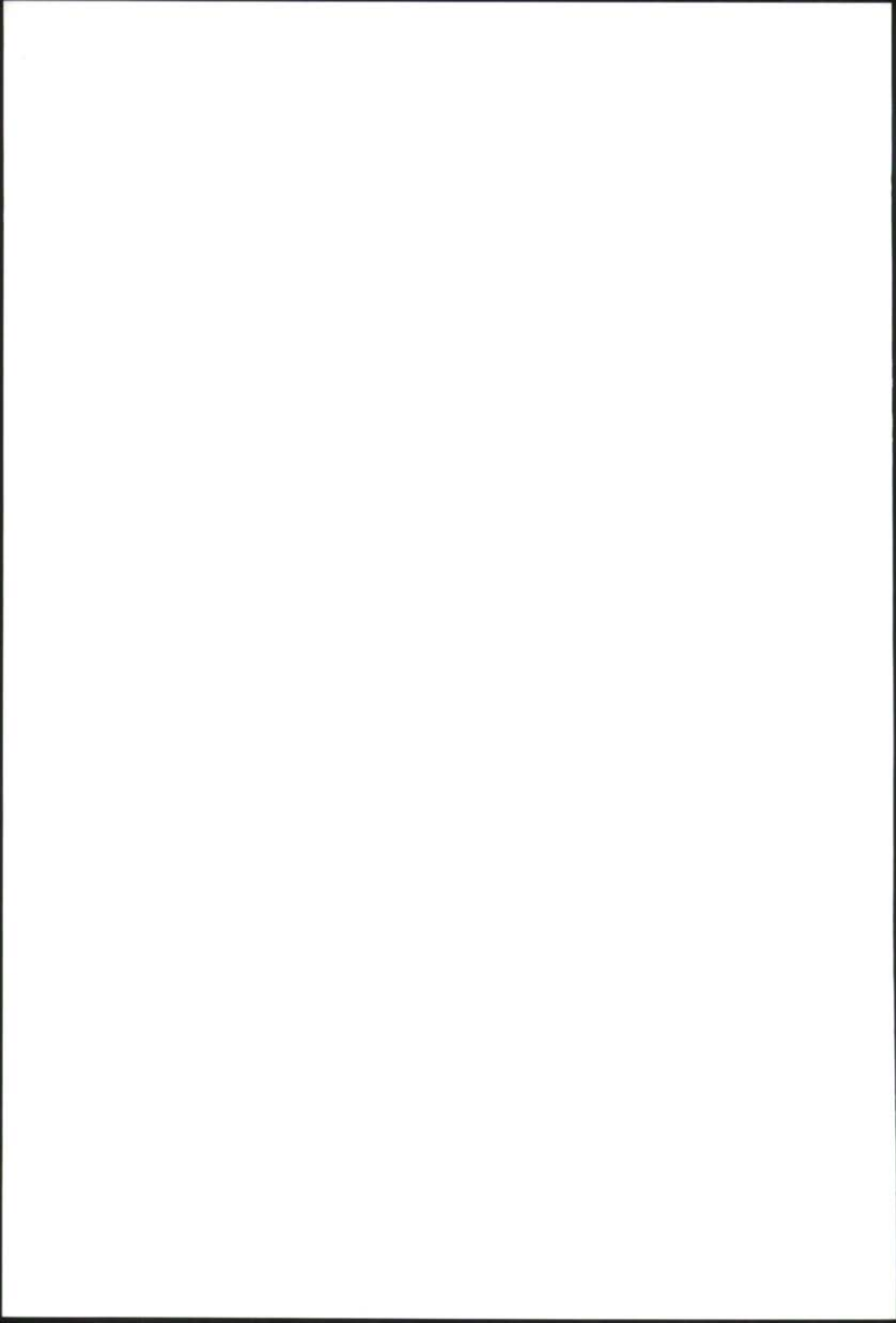
* The provenance from Kophinas is confirmed by stylistic, morphological and technical features in comparison with corresponding figurines from the same shrine, which were found in the excavations.

PROVENANCE OF THE FIGURES

- J. Papadakis-Ploumidis: Front cover, frontispiece, back cover, col. pls 1-6, 122, 132.
- Chr. Stephanakis: figs 2, 13, 46, 53-55, 108a, 108b, 120, 125, 126, 135, 147, 148, 149b.
- G. Xylouris: figs 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 14a, 14b, 15a-b, 17a-b, 18, 21, 23a-b, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38a-c, 39, 40a-c, 41a-c, 42, 43, 44, 47a-d, 48, 50, 52, 59, 66, 78, 80, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86a-b, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 96, 97, 98, 101, 102, 108c, 109, 110, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 121, 123, 124, 127, 128, 130, 131, 133, 134, 142a-b, 143, 146.
- G. Rethemiotakis: figs 45, 58, 60, 77, 93a-b, 95, 99a, 119, 136, 137, 139, 149a, 150.
- St. Alexandrou: figs 67, 68, 91.
- Munich State Museum: figs 22a-c, 62, 103, 110.
- M. Caskey, *Keos II. The Temple at Ayia Irini. The Statues* (Princeton N. J. 1986) pl. 8a: fig. 61.
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- CMS I, 144: fig. 129b.
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- K. Astrinaki: figs 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 19, 20, 33, 35, 49, 51, 56, 57, 63, 64, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 76, 77, 79, 81, 94, 96, 100, 105, 111, 129a, 140, 141, 144, 145a, 145 β , 151, 152.
- P. Stephanaki: figs 8, 65, 104a, 104b.
- Ev. Olympios: Map of Crete.







The Archaeological Society at Athens

When the state of Greece was founded in 1830, after the War of Independence, the first governments were immediately faced with the great problems of the economy, public administration and education. The last of these also included the question of the country's ancient treasures, which had been looted and destroyed over the centuries by traffickers in antiquities. However, the official Antiquities Service was undermanned and incapable of taking proper care of the ancient remains, and so on 6th January 1837, on the initiative of a wealthy merchant named Konstantinos Belios, a group of scholars and politicians founded *The Archaeological Society at Athens* with the objects of locating, re-erecting and restoring the antiquities of Greece.

The Presidents and Secretaries of the Society in its early days were politicians and diplomats, whose enthusiasm was such that in spite of the shortage of funds—for it was financed entirely by members' subscriptions and voluntary donations and received no assistance whatever from the State—they were able to carry out a number of ambitious projects such as the excavation of the Acropolis, the restoration of the Parthenon and excavations of the Theatre of Dionysos, the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and the Tower of the Winds, all in Athens.

Until 1859 the Society was in such a precarious financial position that it was constantly on the verge of collapse. In that year the distinguished scholar and epigraphist Stephanos Kumanudes became its Secretary, and he held the position until 1894. With his expertise, his methodical mind and his energy he breathed new life into the Society, and on his initiative large-scale excavations were carried out in Athens (the Kerameikos, the Acropolis, Hadrian's Library,

the Stoa of Attalos, the Theatre of Dionysos, the Roman Agora), elsewhere in Attica (Rhamnous, Thorikos, Marathon, Eleusis, the Amphiaræion, Piræus), and in Boeotia (Chaironeia, Tanagra, Thespiæ), the Peloponnese (Mycenæ, Epidauros, Lakonia) and the Cyclades. Meanwhile the Society founded several large museums in Athens, which were later amalgamated to form the National Archaeological Museum.

Kumanudes was succeeded by Panayiotis Kavvadias, the General Inspector of Antiquities (1895-1909, 1912-1920), who carried on his predecessor's work with undiminished energy and presided over excavations in other parts of Greece —Thessaly, Epiros, Macedonia and the islands (Euboea, Corfu, Kefallinia, Lesbos, Samos and the Cyclades)— as well as the opening of numerous museums in provincial towns. Kavvadias was succeeded by three university professors, Georgios Oikonomos (1924-1951), Anastasios Orlandos (1951-1979) and Georgios Mylonas (1979-1988). Under them the Society managed to keep up its archaeological activities in spite of the difficulties caused by the Second World War and its aftermath, which hampered its work for a considerable length of time.

As an independent learned society, the Archaeological Society is in a position to assist the State in its work of protecting, improving and studying Greek antiquities. Whenever necessary, it undertakes the management and execution of large projects: this has happened with the excavations in Macedonia and Thrace in recent years and with the large-scale restoration projects in the past.

An important part of the Society's work is its publishing. It brings out three annual titles: *Praktika tes Archaïologikes Hetairias* (*Proceedings of the Archaeological Society*) (since 1837) containing detailed reports on the excavations and researches carried out in all parts of Greece; the *Archaïologike Ephemeris* (since 1837) containing papers on subjects to do with Greek antiquities, including excavation reports; and *Ergon tes Archaïologikes Hetairias* (*The Work of the Archaeological Society*) (since 1955), published every

May, with brief reports on its excavations. *Mentor* is a quarterly whose contents consist mainly of short articles on ancient Greece and the history of Greek archaeology, as well as news of the Society's activities. All these are edited by the Secretary General.

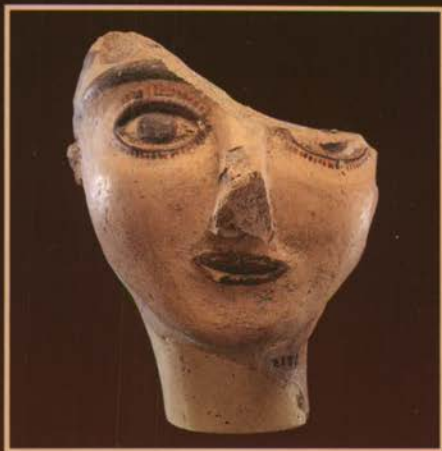
Besides the periodicals, there is the series of books with the general title *The Archaeological Society at Athens Library*: these are monographs on archaeological subjects and reports on excavations, mostly those carried out by the Society.

The Society is administered by an eleven-member Board, elected every three years by the members in General Meeting. Every year, in May or thereabouts, the Secretary General of the Board reports on the Society's activities over the past twelve months at a Public Meeting.



THE BOOK *MINOAN CLAY FIGURES
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Minoan clay figurines are mass-produced works with considerable variety of form and a diachronic presence in various assemblages. They are an important source for interpreting Minoan iconography and religion. The manner of rendering the iconographic features of the figurines from 1700 to 1000 BC was determined by the prevailing ideas and aesthetics of their time. The figurines, as synoptic images of their dedicators, express social models and values of the individuals or groups that offered them. The rich iconography and the naturalistic conception of the period of zenith, the expressive austerity, the presence of the Minoan goddess with raised arms in the community sanctuaries, the figural compositions and the shrine models with human figures are examined in detail, in conjunction with the iconography of the historical periods of Minoan Civilization.

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