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# 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' in Crete and Cyprus. A Comparative Study.

This Thesis is submitted in fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of doctor in Philosophy

2013

Katarzyna Zeman-Wiśniewska

Trinity College Dublin

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# Acknowledgments

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# Summary

## Methods and Findings

The primary purpose of this study is to establish whether Late Bronze and Early Iron Age Cretan and Cypriot 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figures and figurines form one group or two separate assemblages. Of special importance is the re-evaluation of the long-lived assumption of the direct origins of the Cypriot figurines and figures from the Cretan terracottas. This is done using a number of comparatives, including typological and contextual similarities and differences (production, find spots, associated attributes), and also their performative aspects, like the way they were handled, displayed and used. Modern methodologies used in coroplastic studies were applied, according to which identity and meaning are constructed by the process and context of usage rather than being possessed by the artefact. This study makes use of both primary material (data gathered in Cretan and Cypriot museums) and secondary sources, such as excavation reports. Primary data is collected in a database of 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figures and figurines, including: find spot (site, and type of context), dimensions, and decoration, accompanied by a description and a drawing or photograph. A catalogue of the key Cretan and Cypriot material, the latter not catalogued before, is a part of this thesis.

First, the theoretical and methodological approach applied in this research, including terminology is presented. Following that 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' from Crete and Cyprus are discussed separately, including several detailed case studies. Then previously discussed material is compared according to three main categories: dimensions and usage, methods of production, and gesture. The 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figurines are a significant element in scholarly discussions of the wider process in which new cultural identities were created in

Cyprus at the turn of first millennium B.C., involving local traditions and foreign influences affecting and changing each other. In this thesis I argue that in the case of anthropomorphic figurines the developing Cypriot Iron Age religion was influenced predominantly by the Mycenaean and Minoan culture. Nevertheless, many signs of continuity in Cypriot coroplastics are also noticeable, including facial characteristics and painted decoration, and the association of 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' with earlier, Late Bronze Age sanctuaries. This indicates that these terracottas were produced and used by the local population, present in Cyprus already in the Late Bronze Age, although under a visible Mycenaean influence.

Another important purpose of this research is an application of modern methodologies used in coroplastic studies to the 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figures and figurines from both Crete and Cyprus. This new approach to terracottas is still in its making, and includes the importance of contextualization, ethnographic analogies, and gender issues connected with studied objects. Also, an application of the active approach, which underlines the three-dimensionality and performative aspects of terracottas, is of special importance. This different analytical perspective should be seen as complementary rather than antagonistic to previous research. It opens new interpretation possibilities. This study add an example of how these new methodologies can help to *figure out figurines*, by asking new type of questions.

*This thesis is dedicated to my husband, Mariusz.*

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# Introduction

*"The question of the relations between two cultures and their mutual influences on each other is among the most difficult problems for archaeologist and art historian. I am convinced that technical skills quite easily can be taken over (...) but the more it becomes the question of art forms and stylistic means of expression (...) the more impossible it is to borrow these (...). Consequently I believe that people can borrow art elements from other people, but that they always reshape these elements according to their own distinctive character."*

*(Gjerstad 1980: 116)*

**Research Questions**

This project is a comparative study of the figure and figurine type conventionally termed 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' found on Cyprus and Crete, during the Late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age transition period, when they were common on both islands. In particular, the research focuses on why, and to what extent, 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' were reinterpreted and incorporated into older Cypriot cult practices, and to what extent they were a sign of new elements on Cyprus, brought by settlers from the Aegean region.

'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' are anthropomorphic figurines and figures, representing a standing person, most commonly female, wearing a long garment (a skirt, often wheel-made), with arms stretched upwards and often bent, sometimes wearing a tiara or a *polos* (plural *poloi*, a type of head-dress, a high cylindrical crown). This type of statuette emerged on Crete in the Late Minoan III period, and

remained popular on Crete until the advent of the Iron Age. They are considered to be a primary phenomenon of the cult activity of the Postpalatial period, where they are particularly common in shrines. Figurines classified as 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' are also well attested in Cyprus from Late Cypriot III down to the Classical Period, and they were especially common during Cypro-Geometric I-II.

Because of their find spots (sanctuaries, tombs) and associated attributes (birds, snakes, poppies) 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' are sweepingly interpreted both in Aegean and Cypriot archaeology as a depiction of a Goddess or Goddesses, or her priestesses. I propose that the meaning of these figurines can be better understood as having been constructed and reconstructed in the context of their specific social environment. 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figures, despite their conventional name, could have depicted deities, priestesses or votaries, and be *both* the object or the focus of ritual *and* a representation of the ritual itself. It is proposed that these more nuanced meanings and functions were constructed according to the spatial and social context of their usage. As has been argued by Elizabeth French (1971, 1981) in her studies on Mycenaean anthropomorphic terracottas, figurines take their meaning from their context. This methodological approach, according to which identity and meaning are constructed by the process and context of usage rather than being possessed by the artefact, has not previously been applied to 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms', especially not on Cyprus.

In this study, I also focus on performative and experiential aspects of the figurines. Taking into account their find spots, dimensions, and portability, I discuss how they might be handled and displayed. This approach helps to reconstruct the perspective of those who created and used them.

The 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figurines are a significant element in scholarly discussions of the wider process in which new cultural identities were created in Cyprus at the turn of first millennium B.C., involving local traditions and foreign influences affecting and changing each other. A comparative study examining 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' can contribute to the understanding of this period. The study of anthropomorphic figurines, which are often seen as an expression of self-identity, can provide a fascinating insight into the process of the

re-shaping of cultural identity in the context of migration, causing mixing of cultures, including religious traditions.

The following questions are central to my research:

- What are the typological and contextual similarities and differences between Cretan and Cypriot 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms'?
    - What are the differences in the way 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' were produced and decorated on Crete and Cyprus?
    - What are their find spots, associated attributes and ritual equipment?
- How might 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' have been used, handled and displayed?
- Why and how were 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figurines reinterpreted and incorporated into Cypriot cult practices?

**Comparative study**

A research methodology known as a comparative study aims to make comparisons across different geographical or chronological areas in order to discover something about one or all of the things being compared. When comparing different time frames, usually one of two approaches is used, comparing two stages in time, or comparing the same thing over time. However, cross-regional comparisons are by far the most common. This research methodology is of special importance in sociology, as Durkheim notes, "Comparative sociology is not a particular branch of sociology; it is sociology itself, in so far as it ceases to be purely descriptive and aspires to account for facts" (1938: 139). As part of a notion that archaeology is also a part of social sciences, this methodology grew in popularity. In archaeology, particularly fruitful domains for comparative research include settlement patterns, households and landscape studies. Comparative archaeology can lead to the re-evaluation of conventional interpretations of the material. In this study, the comparative method is applied in order to establish whether the Cypriot and Cretan assemblages of 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' terracottas form a visibly unified type or two distinct groups.

## Geography

The two main geographical areas considered in this study are the islands of Crete and Cyprus, but other regions of the Eastern Mediterranean, including the Aegean basin and the Levant, are also considered. Thus, this research makes use of material from areas usually studied separately in 'Aegean' and 'Near Eastern' archaeology. The first region consists of the land surrounding the Aegean Sea, including the Anatolian coast, and Mainland Greece. Further, the numerous Aegean islands (there are 1425, and 227 of them are inhabited today) are grouped into three clusters: the Ionian islands, the Cyclades, the Dodecanese and the North islands. The island of Crete is seen as the southern border of this region. 'Aegean archaeology' includes three main prehistoric cultures, which flourished in this area: Cycladic, Minoan and Helladic/Mycenaean. The term 'Aegean' is usually attributed to the study of the Bronze Age and from the advent of the Iron Age, the archaeology of this region is usually simply called the 'archaeology of Greece'.

The 'Near East' is a geographical term, which in archaeology covers the area from the Iranian Plateau, to the edge of the Arabian Peninsula in the south, and the Eastern Mediterranean coast in the west. The latter region is also known as the Levant and includes modern Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel and Palestine. The Near East borders Anatolia and Egypt, although these two areas are also sometimes included in the wider Near East. Many cultures and civilisations originated and flourished in this region, including Sumerian, Akkadian, Elamite, Babylonian and Mitanni. The inhabitants of the Levantine coast preferred a different path of development with separate city-states, like Ugarit, but often have close cultural similarities, visible in the example of Canaanite culture or the later Phoenicians. Bronze Age Cyprus is usually considered as part of the Near Eastern archaeological framework and is the only island-based culture in this region, although some western influences can be observed already in the Bronze Age. However, due to the hellenization of Cyprus, researchers whose work concentrates on Classical and later periods often link the archaeology of Cyprus and Greece.

## Chronology

The focal point of this study is the end of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, which is the time of the origins and apex of the use of 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' type figures and figurines. There are many problems connected with the absolute dating of the Bronze Age period in both the Aegean and the Near East. What is important in this study is the relative correlation of Crete and Cyprus, rather than absolute chronology. Such correlations are based mostly on the archaeological finds, Cypriot finds on Crete and *vice versa*, but also examples of objects from both islands found together in Egypt or the Near East. Table 1 shows the relative chronologies of the Aegean: Mycenaean and Minoan, based on Warren and Hankey 1989, with relative dates to provide a guideline. Table 2 illustrates the chronology of the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Cyprus, after Iacovou 2008, Karageorghis 1993 and Voskos and Knapp 2008. The correlation of Cretan and Cypriot chronology in the periods relevant to this study is presented in Table 3, following Manning 1999. Detailed discussion of the chronology of Crete and Cyprus is presented, together with the relevant terminology, in subsequent chapters.

## Material and sources

My research makes use of both primary material (data gathered in Cretan and Cypriot museums) and secondary sources, such as excavation reports. I have collected primary data in a database of 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figures and figurines, including: find spot (site, and type of context), dimensions, decoration, other associated finds, accompanied by a description and a drawing or photograph. I use this primary data to establish patterns of similarity and difference between material from different sites and regions and material previously or simultaneously used there (e.g. other figurine types). I analyse this data using modern theories on the construction of social and cultural identities, including gender. To illustrate specific subjects, I use case studies of particular archaeological sites and figurines or figures.

**Limitation of evidence**

As is usual in archaeological research there are some limitations concerning the material. First of all, many of the figures and figurines discussed here lack provenance. Anthropomorphic representations were often considered more valuable than any other archaeological material, by private collectors, black market antiquity dealers and earlier also by museums organizing expeditions solely to acquire new items for the exhibition (as it used to be the case in the 19th century). Sometimes the provenance of the object is uncertain, or does not give any information concerning the detailed context, but only the name of the site. The latter is also true for some, especially earlier excavations where the methods and variable levels of recording did not allow the drawing of any certain conclusions concerning the archaeological context (i.e. only the area is given, or complex of buildings). For the unprovenanced or badly recorded figures and figurines the only solution for dating is the analysis of their stylistic characteristics, which, of course, has limitations.

Another major limitation for this study is the preservation of figures and figurines, including the post-depositional damage. Since they are made of a fragile material, which is terracotta, the small figurines tend to crumble in one's hands, and many of bigger, hollow figures, especially examples from Crete are only fragmentary. When reconstructed in museums (rarely, only if it was possible), heavy usage of plaster was adopted as the method, which affected the weight, overall look and eventual original wear. It was not possible to observe the latter was from the beginning for the Cretan group of terracottas, not only because of the natural, post-depositional processes but also because of the method of cleaning employed by the archaeologists, which included steel brushes and acid (to remove lime). This made surfaces not only smooth and clean of dirt, but also, unfortunately, free of any ancient signs of usage. The Cypriot figurines in turn, are very abraded, due to fragile material and post-depositional processes, the surfaces even seem soft and easily get damaged or scratched.

Finally, my research has been affected by the economic crisis, which hit Greece in recent years. Most of the Cretan GWUA figures are held in the museum in Heraklion, which is still waiting for additional funds, which would permit its

redevelopment. For now all the objects are packed and stored in magazines and only a small, basic exhibition for tourists is in place, and there are no signs of this situation getting changed. The possibilities of doing any research in the museum are very limited, if not virtually impossible. I had an opportunity to study first hand only several figures from Knossos and Gazi and for a short period of time, for this I am grateful to the director of the museum – Dr Athanasia Kanta. However, fortunately the Cretan group of terracottas is far better published than the Cypriot, which made this study still possible, although more dependent on earlier publications. I would like to express hope that in the near future the situation of the Heraklion museum will change for the better.

**History of research**

In Cretan archaeology, 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figurines are recognized as the primary phenomenon of this period's cult activity. The conventional term for this type of figurines was first used by Stylianos Alexiou in the first publication on the Cretan examples – 'Η μινωική θεά μεθ' υψωμένων χειρών' ('Minoan Goddess with Upraised Arms, 1953). Much valuable work has been done in this field recently by Alan Peatfield (1994), Nanno Marinatos (1993) and especially Geraldine Gesell (1985, 1995, 2000, 2004). They have discussed the symbolic meaning of attributes associated with the figures and figurines, and the problem of what kind of deity or deities they represent. Gesell has catalogued the Minoan material, and, in the context of her fieldwork in Eastern Crete, she has also researched the technology of the figurines through experimental reconstructions. However, none of the above studies focus on the way the figurines might have been used, for example, whether they were designed primarily for display in the small shrines where they were found, or perhaps carried out in processions, which could be indicated by wear patterns on the figurines.

In contrast to recent work undertaken on the role of 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' on Crete, relatively little work has focused on such figurines from Cyprus. The only detailed study gathering material known at the time was published by Vassos Karageorghis in 1977-1978 – 'The Goddess with Uplifted Arms in

Cyprus'. The 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figurines are also discussed in studies on the beginning of the cult of Aphrodite carried out by Jacqueline Karageorghis (1977) and Stephanie Budin (2003). According to a long-standing tradition of interpreting all Cypriot figurines depicting females as the goddess Aphrodite, the Goddesses with Upraised Arms are also usually included into the corpus of her representations, but, as noted by Budin, the only Aphroditic attribute connected with some of them are birds. Generalization should not replace careful study of the material and its depositional context. A different approach is presented in the recently published *Art and Society in Cyprus from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age* by Joanna S. Smith (2009), where GWUAs from Kition are discussed within their context and their dimensions are taken into account. A similar evaluation of examples from Enkomi has been done by Jennifer Webb in her book *Ritual architecture, iconography and practice in the late Cypriot Bronze Age* (1999). She especially underlines the importance of the size of terracottas.

'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' are also part of the very important ongoing debate on the changes that occurred in Cyprus at the beginning of the Iron Age, including problems of defining the process – as migration, colonization, hybridization or hellenization. A good example of this discussion are two contra-articles published in the *American Journal of Archaeology 112:4* (2008) by Bernard Knapp with Ioannis Voskos, and by Maria Iacovou respectively. These works indicate the clear need for a thorough re-assessment of the Cypriot archaeological data.

There is a serious lack of a comparative study of Cretan and Cypriot terracottas moving beyond the appearance of simple stylistic similarity. My research constitutes a major re-evaluation of 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms', and contributes to the many ongoing academic debates outlined above.

**Outline**

The first chapter of my thesis consists of presenting the theoretical and methodological approach applied in my research, including terminology. In this

thesis I frequently use the terms *use*, *meaning* and *function*, and *figures* and *figurines*, and clarification of those terms is therefore of special importance. It is followed by the discussion of the over-arching term 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms', a very complex and problematic term, which suggests a specific interpretation of the object, which makes a discussion of the name itself necessary to separate its meaning from the meaning of the studied artefacts. I underline the importance of the context and usefulness of the ethnographic analogies in coroplastic studies (concerning terracotta figures and figurines), together with the main possibilities of interpretation proposed for figures and figurines.

In the second chapter, I discuss 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' type terracottas found on Crete. To establish frameworks for further discussion, I begin by briefly introducing issues connected with the geography and chronology of the island. Furthermore, I present earlier, rich Minoan traditions in the production and usage of figurines and figures, which form the background for the Postpalatial phenomenon of 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms'. Especially the production and usage of Late Bronze Age figurines and figures will be discussed. Then I discuss the origins of the GWUA type on Crete and the first examples and their characteristics. The core part of this chapter consists of case studies of four distinctive archaeological sites – Knossos, Kannia, Karphi and Halasmenos, including a discussion of figures found there, within their spatial context where possible. Finally, I propose possibilities of function and usage of the statuettes, such as in processions and their role within a broader social context.

In the third chapter I discuss 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' type figurines and figures found on the island of Cyprus. First, I introduce issues concerning the geography and chronology of the island in order to establish a framework for further discussion. This is followed by a presentation of the most important Bronze Age traditions of figurine production to facilitate an understanding of the later phenomenon of 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' and their possible role within the broader social context. The core part of this chapter consists of case studies of three important sites – Enkomi, Kition and Palaepaphos, and a discussion of 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' figurines found there. An additional thematic case study presents the subject of the notions of gender embedded in these terracottas.

In chapter four, I compare the previously discussed material. Cretan and Cypriot 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' are compared according to three main categories: dimensions and usage, methods of production, and gesture. In the first part, analogies offered by Mycenaean iconography are presented. A discussion of the size and dimensions of figures and figurines in Crete and Cyprus follows this. Further, I discuss figurines as products and an element of the material culture through their production techniques and possible social meaning of the production process itself. Then the find contexts of Cretan and Cypriot terracottas are discussed, with an attempt to reconstruct the last phases of their use-life, followed by some comparison with Mycenaean figurines. In the next part of chapter four, I review the questions surrounding the meaning of the emblematic gesture presented by the 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' and to what extent these questions may be answerable based only on the archaeological record. Finally, an attempt to establish the divine or human nature of the representation is presented, which also follows the pattern of regional diversity between and within the islands of Crete and Cyprus.

In chapter five, the possibility of transfer of the 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' type from Crete to Cyprus within the wider context of contacts between these two islands is discussed and evaluated, considering sea routes, written sources, archaeological finds and especially the role of trade in copper. Furthermore, features other than 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms', which have been proposed as arguments in favour of Cretan religion having a major impact on LBA/EIA Cyprus, are discussed. The possibility of Mycenaean influences on the origins and development of the Cypriot 'Goddesses of Upraised Arms' is also discussed, especially within the context of the production of figurines and figures and cult practice of the Greek Mainland and the Aegean islands at the end of the Bronze Age. Some problems connected with the presence of Levantine iconography on Cyprus are noted, along with similarities of this type to the local Late Cypriot coroplastic traditions. This is followed by a brief discussion of the identification of Cypriot 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' with Aphrodite, which is present in both popular and scholar publications.

The Appendix A is a database of the key material from Crete and Cyprus (provided also as Excel files on the CD attached). It contains information about the site, dating, context, dimensions, preservation, technology, painted decoration, gender identification and in case of the Cretan teracottas, also attributes of particular figures and figurines. All the teracottas discussed in the thesis are included in the database. The only exceptions are the figurines from the Ingot God sanctuary in Enkomi, which are numerous (ca. 150) and form a distinct, homogenous group, which would visibly changed overall statistics for Cyprus and make them invalid. Further, as the thesis itself, the database present the material dated to LC III and Cypro-Geometric, and LM III periods, and do not include later examples of GWUA type.

| Period | Date range |
|---|---|
| Early Minoan I | 3650/3500-3000/2900 BC |
| Early Minoan II | 2900-2300/2150 BC |
| Early Minoan III | 2300/2150-2160/2025 BC |
| Middle Minoan IA | 2160/1980-1900 |
| Middle Minoan IB | 1900-1800 |
| Middle Minoan II | 1800-1700/1650 |
| Middle Minoan IIIA | 1700/1650-1640/1630 |
| Middle Minoan IIIB | 1640/1630-1600/1580 |
| Late Minoan IA | 1600/1580-1480 |
| Late Minoan IB | 1480-1425 |
| Late Minoan II | 1425-1390 |
| Late Minoan IIIA1 | 1390-1370/1360 |
| Late Minoan IIIA2 | 1370/1360-1340/1330 |
| Late Minoan IIIB | 1340/1330-1190 |
| Late Minoan IIIC | 1190-1070 |
| Subminoan ? | 1070-1015 ? |
| Protogeometric | 1050/1000-900 |
| Early Geometric | 900-850 |
| Middle Geometric | 850-830 |
| Middle Geometric | 830-770 |
| Late Geometric | 770-730 |
| Late Geometric | 730-700 |

**Table 1.** Conventional chronology of Crete, after Warren and Hankey 1989

| Period | Date range |
|---|---|
| Neolithic and Chalcolithic | 8200-2500 BC |
| Philia culture (transition period) | 2500-2350 BC |
| Early Cypriot I-III | 2400-2000 BC |
| Middle Cypriot I-III | 2000-1700 BC |
| Late Cypriot I | 1700-1450 BC |
| Late Cypriot IIA-B | 1450-1300 BC |
| Late Cypriot IIC | 1300-1200 BC |
| Late Cypriot IIIA | 1200-1125/1100 BC |
| Late Cypriot IIIB | 1125/1100-1050 BC |
| Cypro-Geometric I | 1050-1000/950 BC |
| Cypro-Geometric II | 1000/950-850 BC |
| Cypro-Geometric III | 850-750 BC |
| Cypro-Archaic I-II | 750-480 BC |

**Table 2.** Conventional chronology of Cyprus, after Iacovou 2008 (CGI-III after Karageorghis 1993 and Voskos and Knapp 2008).

| CYPRUS | | CRETE |
|---|---|---|
| EAST | NORTH WEST | |
| | | Middle Minoan IIB |
| | | Middle Minoan III |
| Middle Cypriot III | Middle Cypriot III | |
| | | Middle Minoan IA |
| | Late Cypriot IA | |
| | | *Thera eruption* |
| Late Cypriot IA | | |
| | | Late Minoan IB |
| Late Cypriot IB | | Late Minoan II |
| Late Cypriot IIA-B | | |
| | | Late Minoan IIIA |
| Late Cypriot IIC | | Late Minoan IIIB |
| Late Cypriot IIIA | | |
| Late Cypriot IIIB | | Late Minoan IIIC |
| Cypro-Geometric I | | Protogeometric |
| Cypro-Geometric II | | Early Geometric |
| Cypro-Geometric III | | Middle Geometric I<br>Middle Geometric II<br>Middle Geometric III |
| Cypro-Archaic | | Late Geometric I<br>Late Geometric II |

**Table 3**. Correlation of the relative chronology of Crete and Cyprus in the Bronze Age, after Manning 1999 and Warren and Hankey 1989.

# Chapter I

# Theory and Methodology

## Introduction

The primary objective of this chapter is to discuss the basic terminology and the methodological and theoretical approaches employed in this study of Cypriot and Cretan 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figures and figurines. Coroplastic studies – the study of figures and figurines - is a distinct, very vibrant and dynamic field of archaeological research. Anthropomorphic statuettes, in particular, are fascinating in the way they bring us *face to face* with the past, draw our attention and have provoked numerous discussions concerning ancient religions, social structures and even prehistoric models of beauty. Traditional art historical approaches to figurines and figures have recently been augmented by methodologies based on contextuality, and have benefitted from ethnographic research and gender studies. The so-called 'Mother Goddess' theory popularized by Gimbutas, according to which the majority of figurines are interpreted as representations of a female deity or her male counterpart, is still widespread in more popular writings and even remains present in some archaeological interpretations. However, a self-conscious methodological approach to anthropomorphic figures and figurines is still in the making. Thus, it is especially important explicitly to outline the methods employed in this study.

Ucko did pioneering work in the field of modern methodology, which is now widely in use within coroplastic studies. It was first presented in his study of Neolithic figurines from Greece and Egypt (1968) and in numerous subsequent articles (1968; 1972; 1996). He proposed the employment of ethnographic data in research, and underlined the importance of the contextualization of any studied object. This latter approach was also present in French's publications on Mycenaean terracottas (1971; 1981; 2001). An important step towards establishing a methodological framework was the publication of an article with the meaningful title "Can We Interpret Figurines?" in the "Viewpoint" section of the *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* (1996: 281-307). Several scholars (Hamilton; Marcus; Bailey; Haaland and Haaland; Ucko) have argued that figurines cannot be interpreted in isolation, but only as products of particular societies; they also tried to meet the need for clear definitions in applied terminology. An alternative approach to coroplastic studies is presented in D. Bailey's research (2005). He proposes that we include psychological aspects of interaction with anthropomorphic images, such as the impact which miniaturisation can have on the viewer.

## Terminology

### Use, meaning and function

In this thesis I am going to frequently use the terms *use*, *meaning* and *function*. I follow Talalay's (1993) clarification of those terms. Thus, *use* and *function* both refer to the basic purpose for which a figure or a figurine was made, which might have been as a charm, a toy, a votary or a cult statue. *Meaning* refers to what is embodied, or expressed by anthropomorphic terracottas, especially in relation to such aspects as cosmology and mythology, or how gender relations were perceived. *Meanings* are culturally specific: they usually evolve within a certain social context of beliefs and opinions, and might be subject to manipulation, providing an important source of social control. However, it is acknowledged that *meaning* is something that "arises through an act of interpretation" (Barth 1993: 170), and is not simply stored in an object (Haaland and Haaland 1996: 296). Thus *use* and *function* are usually more accessible for archaeologists than *meaning*.

Notions of *function*, *use* and *meaning* are very complex. Figures and figurines might have multiple *functions* and *meanings* changing through the course of time and according to context. Further, contemporary terracottas from one site might have had different purposes, and be designed to be *used* in different ways and illustrate different *meanings*. Also, figures that are morphologically similar may nevertheless have different *functions* and/or *meanings*, depending on the context. While applying these terms one should be aware that these are artificial categories used by modern scholars, and that for those who made and used figures and figurines their *functions* and *meanings* were probably not separated.

**Figures and figurines**

A clear distinction between *figures* and *figurines* in coroplastic studies was originally proposed by French in her study on Mycenaean terracottas (French 1981). *Figurines* are relatively small, usually handmade and portable, unlike *figures*, which are of distinctly large size and often have coil or wheelmade stems or bodies. The issue of size is of great importance in the interpretation of terracottas. It might be crucial, as much as context, in identifying the representation of the deity, as Goodison and Morris (1998: 114) propose: "She might be big; (...) She might have been found in a location suitable for ritual". Bigger or smaller size imposes specific limitations and possibilities, i.e. a *figure* is more visible for a bigger group of people, and a *figurine* is more palpable, easier to handle and portable.

Moreover, the dimensions of the object play an important role in the process of perception and can have psychological effects on viewers and/or handlers. As proposed by Bailey (2005: 26-44), miniaturization is always connected with a certain degree of abstraction and compression, resulting in the intimacy that is demanded by small objects. In figurines, certain parts are often changed or exaggerated, with others missing or simplified; these focus the viewer's attention on preferred features (Smith 2009: 19). Miniaturization also empowers the spectator, by facilitating physical control over a thing, and encourages a notion of possession (Bailey 1996: 291). It can also give an image a different meaning, for example magical properties, as in the case of amulets (Smith 2009: 19).

Thus, the distinction between *figures* and *figurines* is a very important one. It affects especially the range of possibilities of usage for certain objects. In general, as I will illustrate in the following chapters, the majority of Cretan examples of 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' might be classified as *figures*, in contrast to Cyprus, where they are mostly *figurines*. In this case, there is a striking difference in size, between 70 centimetres of a figure from Gazi in Crete and 9 centimetres of a figurine from Enkomi in Cyprus. This is a difference, which has not yet been properly noticed by scholars (with the exception of Smith 2009), who have instead focused more on the stylistic similarities (Karageorghis 1977).

**What's in a name?**

The type of terracottas I discuss in this thesis is usually referred to with the over-arching term 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms'. It is a very complex and problematic term, which already suggests a specific interpretation of the object. Thus, it is worth discussing the name itself to separate its meaning from the meaning of studied artefacts.

One has to acknowledge that archaeologists have often been inclined to use descriptive, interesting, even romantic names for the places or artefacts they have discovered. It is of course connected with the history of the discipline, which was in its beginnings considered an interesting pastime for gentlemen (and less often for ladies). A classical education was a necessary part of the curriculum in those days, including knowledge of mythology, which was a common source of inspiration for particular names of discovered buildings or artefacts. Thus, Schliemann found 'Priam's treasure' and Evans discovered a 'Caravanserai' in Knossos. Personal ambition and a need for good publicity were also motivations for calling buildings *Palaces*, and female figurines *Goddesses*, a point to which I will return. Examples of this can be found even among the titles of publications like *The Palace of Minos* instead of Knossos (Crete), *Palace of Nestor* instead of Pylos (Greek mainland) or *Alasia* in place of Enkomi (Cyprus).

A different type of interesting term used by archaeologists is a descriptive kind, a well-known example of which is the 'Unexplored Mansion' in Knossos,

which is now, of course, explored. Discovered in 1908 by Evans, and named by him, it retained its name since it was in use for many years, and this is also the title of the final publication by M. Popham. Another example is a fresco from Knossos known as the 'Blue boy', because of what it was said to represent. However, we now know that it was actually a monkey, not a boy. The old name is still in use and causes some confusion. We have to be aware that the vocabulary we use frames shapes our thinking. These names have to be used cautiously, because they play with our imagination and underline certain aspects or favour one specific interpretation of a given object. For example, the term *palace*, besides suggesting the function of the building, also brings into our mind a set of associations, like *court*, *king*, *queen, dynasty,* suggesting the existence of a particular political system.

Figures and figurines, both individual examples and whole types, instead of being called 'Type 4B', often have names that consist of a description and, further, interpretation in the literature. Well-known examples include the Palaeolithic *Venus of Willendorf*, for Olmec culture *baby-face figurines* are characteristic, and from Malta come the *fat ladies*. Similar Palaeolithic figurines discovered later are also referred to as *Venus figurines*. This reference to the Latin goddess of love and beauty presents these statuettes as an illustration of 'primitive' taste, and imposes identification of them as representations of a goddess connected with sexuality. This kind of name draws our attention to one particular aspect of representations and already suggests a range of interpretations, and makes it more difficult to take a 'fresh look' at the material.

Thus, anthropomorphic figurines and figures, representing a standing female, with a base of a long skirt, and arms stretched upwards are usually in the literature termed 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms'. By applying this name we might assume that these terracottas depict a deity, and that their main characteristic is a specific gesture. However, some scholars choose to use a different term, usually to underline their (re)interpretation of the material. To illustrate this, I would like to present five publications as case studies, showing the relationship between the term used by the author and his approach to these particular figures and figurines.

Evans: Semi-anthropomorphic Dove Goddess

Sir Arthur Evans, in his second volume of the *Palace of Minos* (the publication of his excavations in Knossos), discusses the 'Discovery of Late Shrine of Double Axes' (Evans 1928: 335-344). After a concise description of the architecture, he focuses on *sacred objects* found inside. Among them was a figure, which we could describe as one of the 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms'. Evans also found it the most interesting, but not because of the gesture it depicts, although he also observes the upraised hands. Instead he called the figurine a *Mother Goddess* or a *Dove Goddess* because of her size of 22 centimetres (bigger than the rest of terracottas) and the presence of a miniature dove attached to her head. This bird, according to Evans, represents a "celestial side of the worship" (Evans 1928: 339).

Further, he observes that the female figure belongs to the *semi-anthropomorphic class* of composite images. Her human form rises at the waist from a cylindrical base, hollow inside, with small round openings in their bottom. However, Evans, looking for the similarities with earlier Minoan art, observes that they may be "regarded as the outgrowth of the bell-shaped skirts of the M.M. figures" (Evans 1928: 342). He finds this cylindrical base a characteristic element of this period's coroplastic representations. In his earlier report published in *BSA* (Evans 1902: 98), he further links cylindrical bases of figurines with columnar baetylic forms that, as he states, were a part of the Minoan cult.

Alexiou: Η μινωική θεά μεθ' υψωμένων χειρών

The term *Goddess with Upraised Arms* was first used by Stylianos Alexiou and popularized in his influential article 'Η μινωική θεά μεθ' υψωμένων χειρών' ('The Minoan goddess with uplifted arms') (Alexiou 1958). He used this name not only to characterize a particular type of figure but also to describe an actual deity, which he believed they depicted. Alexiou traces her origins from the East in the Middle Minoan period and suggests gradual assimilation into Cretan religion. Further, he presents a catalogue, along with broadly discussed, and detailed descriptions of Cretan figures of females with arms upraised. It was the first publication recognizing this particular type and presenting all known examples.

Alexiou has also assembled a list of representations of the goddess in other media, such as on seals and the decoration of pottery and sarcophagi. Thus, the term he coined for this type of terracottas was from the beginning as much an interpretation as a description.

Karageorghis: The Goddess with Uplifted Arms

Vassos Karageorghis's publication entitled *The Goddess With Uplifted Arms in Cyprus* (Karageorghis 1977-1978) discusses Cypriot figurines following Alexiou's approach. Thus, he uses the above name for the described type and as its main characteristic – the *gesture of the arms*. Karageorghis interprets them as an image of the goddess, specifically a fertility goddess, who "had, as is well known, a long life in Cyprus, from the Chalcolithic period onwards." (Karageorghis 1977-1978: 6). He also describes Cypriot figurines as being of the same type as those presented by Alexiou, and furthermore maintains that they derive from Crete. Further, he compares them with terracottas known from earlier periods and he presents a well-illustrated discussion of Cypriot 'Goddesses with Uplifted Arms'. Karageorghis supplements his catalogue with representations of a female with arms upraised on a neck of a Cypro-Geometric III vase and two wall-brackets of the same date, because he believes they represent the same deity.

Betancourt: Woman with Upraised Arms

In the recently published *Introduction to Aegean Art*, Betancourt discusses sculpture in the chapter on 'The Mycenaean Period in the Cyclades and Crete: LC II to III and LM II to III' (Betancourt 2008: 190-192). When describing figures found in the Cretan bench sanctuaries, he uses the expression 'Woman with Upraised Arms', thus clearly avoiding any discussion of a divine character of these representations. This is apparent when, due to the depiction of a similar gesture, he argues that those images might be "a late manifestation of whoever was represented by the faience figurines used at Knossos" (Betancourt 2008: 191), referring to earlier statuettes dated to MM III/LM IA. Further, he describes symbols (birds, snakes, poppies) associated with the *Woman with Upraised Arms* and observes the presence of the characteristic cylindrical skirts. However, in the same publication,

Figure 9.10 carries the caption "The Goddess with Upraised Arms from Gazi. LM IIIB. Ht. 77.5 cm (30.5 in)" (Betancourt 2008: 193; fig. 9.10).

Smith: Woman with Upraised Arms

Joanna Smith, in her publication *Art and Society in Cyprus from the Bronze Age into the Iron Age* (2009), reviewed the material from one of the most important Cypriot archaeological sites – Kition, including anthropomorphic terracottas found there. She consciously uses the term 'Woman with Upraised Arms'. When referring to the conventional name, Smith underlines that the divine nature of the represented person or persons is not clear. However, she finds the gesture of importance and interprets it as 'one of worship'. Further, Smith makes a distinction between figures and figurines found on the site (she also discusses the implications of miniaturization), but still treats them as belonging to the same type. She links these images with a cult in which female gender played a defined role, whether it was a female deity who was worshipped or the worshippers were female.

Knapp: Psi figurines

Bernard Knapp, in his publication *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus. Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity,* classifies Cypriot 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' as no more than a version of the Mycenaean-type *psi* figurines (Knapp 2009: 182-185). Thus, he discusses them together with these and other Early Iron Age anthropomorphic terracottas. He observes that it is a period when figurines in Cyprus not only change their morphological characteristics, but also their primary function, by being integrated into ritual practice and performance. Knapp underlines the importance of the latter and the possibility of multiple functions and meanings of the figurines, due to a variety of contexts in which they were produced, used and displayed. He also notes that a simple transfer of meaning of the same type of object from one culture to another should not be used, as in the case of Cretan and Cypriot 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms'. Knapp briefly suggests that Late Bronze Age figures from Crete should also be classified as a variation of Mycenaean *psi* terracottas (Knapp 2009: 185).

Evans's approach appears to be free from preconceptions provoked by a name coined later by Alexiou. His attention is attracted to many different elements like attributes, relation with other figurines and the bell-shaped skirt. However, it is possible to observe that since Alexiou's publication, there is no escape from the term 'Goddess with Upraised Arms', even in the debates as to whether or not these figures represent deity or deities. Further, the gesture described in the name became a defining element based on which a terracotta is or is not classified as belonging to this group, giving the impression that the cylindrical skirt and attached attributes, like poppies, snakes, or birds, are secondary elements.

However, although there have recently been attempts to change the term into a 'Woman' or 'Female with Upraised Arms', clearly to avoid use of the word Goddess, which carries heavy interpretative baggage, the standard name is still the most common. Moreover, it is the term known and recognized by archaeologists who do not specifically study coroplastics; the one applied in textbooks and museum catalogues. Furthermore, one should bear in mind that use of the word *Female* is not free of assumptions, since some of the Cypriot figurines belonging to the discussed type are not obviously gendered. Early Iron Age Cypriot figurines themselves do not draw our attention to the body as such, since their physical characteristics are schematic and in most cases not prominent. Figurines from this period depict people dressed in a similar long garment covering the body. The skirts are highly decorated, and jewellery, such as bracelets and necklaces with pendants, can be identified, mostly in the case of both genders. As to Knapp's proposition – that there is a visible relationship between Cypriot examples of these terracottas and the Mycenaean *psi* figurines, I do not agree that 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' should be seen as a part of this type, especially not because of the terminological problem. Very few Mycenaean figurines have been found on Cyprus; most of these were of the psi type. Schaeffer (1971: 343), discussing 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' from Enkomi, describes them as *post-mycénien*. However, they are visibly less schematic and conventional than in the Mycenaean coroplastic tradition. The relation to the Mycenaean *psi* figurines is a subject I will discuss thoroughly in later chapters.

Recently, in the field of Aegean archaeology, a problem has arisen concerning the use of the term *palace* to describe specific Minoan building complexes. Although archaeologists generally agree that we cannot be sure that these were actually palaces, the term is still applied as a conventional one and not as an interpretation. I propose the same approach to the 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms'. This name is widely recognized and used by scholars and I follow this convention in this thesis to avoid confusion concerning the subject of the research. However, I apply it as a name separated from the actual meaning and function of the studied objects. To facilitate this, I often use the abbreviation GWUA (GWUAs for plural), as technically the closest option to the earlier mentioned, more neutral or 'innocent' Type 4B. I want to underline that I am aware of, and I am going to discuss thoroughly in respective chapters, whether or not GWUAs represent one or more deities, whether they can all be gendered female and what their main characteristics are, besides the gesture. Retaining the conventional name makes it is easier for other scholars to identify which material, building, or site is under discussion. As in the case of the Unexplored Mansion, despite the drawbacks, it is more logical to use a well-known term, as it previously appeared in publications. However, it is very important to also be aware of problems that arise and to use such names consciously. In such situations there is always the need, as already stated earlier, for reflection to separate the meaning of the term from the meaning of the studied artefacts. This includes a review of the history of terminology used and the posing of an important question - would we approach the material differently if the name was more neutral?

One should bear in mind this set of problems connected with the usage of descriptive terminology, especially when giving names to newly discovered material. Adjectives, which spring to our mind, and seem 'obvious' may become problematic for generations of researchers to come and cause confusion.

## Methodology

In this study, I follow the methodological approach proposed by P. Ucko (1962; 1968, discussed further below). As discussed above, instead of art historical analysis, or interpreting all the figurines and figures as deities, he argued for a systematic contextualized methodology drawing on ethnographic research. Thus, I make use of four different types of data: a.) the features of the figures/figurines themselves, b.) their archaeological context, c.) their cultural and socioeconomic context, and d.) ethnographic analogies (Ucko 1968: 427; Talalay 1993: 38).

## Peter Ucko

Peter Ucko was an influential anthropologist and archaeologist. His major publication was his doctoral research titled '*Anthropomorphic Figurines of Predynastic Egypt and Neolithic Crete*' (1968), which critiqued the claims regarding Mother Goddess theory. He published also on the Neolithic Cretan figurines, using them as a somewhat case study to present his methodological approach to figurine studies (1962). For Ucko not only stylistical classifications are important but most of all how the figurines were used (1962). Therefore he developed four main areas important for figurine studies (1962: 38; 1968: 427; expanded further in this chapter):

1.) examination of figurines themselves
2.) archaeological context of figurines
3.) later historical analogies concerning this geographical area
4.) anthropological analogies

He also stated that "figurines must be viewed against their economic and social backgrounds" (1962: 39).

Ucko observed, after careful study, that not all of the Neolithic Egyptian and Cretan figurines were gendered female (as it was assumed earlier), many of them were actually sexless, or represented males. Importantly, concerning the context he argued that a building should not be classified as having a ritual or cult function based solely on figurines being found there (1962: 41). He also gave a wide variety of anthropological analogies, which suggest different functions of figurines, like dolls, amulets or objects used in initiation rituals. Ucko extensively discussed

problems concerning preconceptions existing in archaeology in the 19th century, when archaeologists interpreted female figurines mostly in connection with fertility cults and as goddesses. In his work he demonstrated how the uncritical acceptance of older findings affects and constrains recent research, and that archaeologists' understandings of the past are influenced by their social milieu.

**Features of the figures/figurines themselves**

First it is important to establish the visible features of the studied object. In other words, what are the dimensions and/or weight, is this a figure or a figurine, is it anthropomorphic or zoomorphic, what is it made from, what is the decoration, is it complete or fragmentary? Observable stylistic and technical variations among the group of statuettes should also be recorded. First-hand examination is preferable, because of the variety of data often not illustrated in existing publications, including patterns of breakages (line drawings tend to show only the 'reconstructed' version) and wear marks. The latter are usually observable by a hand-lens or a microscope. An example of such a study is Goring's comparison of stone and terracotta Chalcolithic Cypriot figurines (Goring 1991). The former show an overall polish, caused probably by them being clutched in the hand, and the latter are worn in isolated patches, as if repeatedly touched in selected spots. Thus, Goring argues that the stone figurines were held or gripped during childbirth and terracottas were used as teaching aids. However, one should note that research based only on data provided by figures or figurines themselves should be undertaken only when no other information is available, as in the case of objects of unknown provenance. In the study of wear patterns and damage, I follow the methodology established by Ucko (1968), and later developed by Voigt (2000; also see below). It attempts to determine if figurines were created and then immediately disposed of or initially created specifically as ritual objects, teaching vessels, or toys. I made an attempt to observe and record signs of usage visible by eye, also using a hand-lens. However due to the soft material used, which is terracotta, and to post-depositional damages this proved not to be possible. I have also experimented with the way figurines might be handled, guided by their shape and dimensions, which is going to be discussed further in next chapters.

**Archaeological context**

The meaning and function of the anthropomorphic representations can, in the majority of cases, only be understood through their archaeological context. Recently, the majority of scholars have tended to embrace a contextual approach to coroplastic studies. Archaeological context refers to the position of the object on the site; where was it found, what kind of location (grave, settlement or maybe a shrine?), and what kind of objects were in the nearest proximity. However, one should be cautious, because in older literature, a certain place was often labelled a shrine exactly because of figures or figurines found there. As Elisabeth French has stated, "figurines take their function from their context and not vice-versa" (French 1981: 173). Thus, identification of the context is crucial in coroplastic studies.

Terracottas might be found in the context of their production (for example unfinished products), used or discarded. The first type is extremely rare. For example, Broman (1958), in her study of figurines from the Neolithic levels at Jarmo, argues that their importance lay in the production itself. Based on the technical and stylistic variation among these, only lightly fired or sun-baked terracottas, she suggests that the act/process of modelling of the figurines by an individual might, in this case, be more important than the figurines themselves.

Occasionally, statuettes are found within their context of usage, for example due to sudden abandonment of a settlement or sanctuary. This often offers direct access to the function of the particular figures or figurines. This was the case for the figurine termed the 'Lady of Phylakopi' on the Greek island of Melos, the so-called Ingot God from Enkomi in Cyprus, and for the biggest of the figurines placed on the bench in the Shrine of the Double Axe in Knossos on Crete. By being placed in the focal point of the shrine, and because of their spatial relation to other objects, they could be recognized as cult statues.

Often figures and figurines are found within their discard context. Scholars used to consider such contexts incapable of providing us with information about their meaning and function, with the exception of mortuary contexts, within which figurines have often been interpreted as produced solely to serve the purpose of

being a grave offering. However, some of them might have a long use-life, as is for example illustrated by Cypriot Chalcolithic cruciform figurines found in mortuary contexts, but bearing clear wear marks (Goring 1991). Repaired breakages might also indicate that artefacts were in use before being placed in the grave. Tzonou-Herbst (2009) has discussed the importance of Mycenaean figurines found clearly in their discard context, within the construction fills or the household rubbish. Based on this, she argues for a multiplicity of meanings these objects might have embodied for different people and throughout their use-life, transgressing modern notions of borders between sacred and profane (Tzonou-Herbst 2009: 172). In the Corinthian sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, figurines were discarded in the intentionally dug pits (or *bothroi*) within the sanctuary limits, a sign of special treatment also after they had served their purpose (Bookidis and Stroud 1997: 159, 211, 380).

GWUAs are claimed to come from one context – within sanctuaries. However, as I am going to illustrate, some of them are known from mortuary contexts and even those from shrines and sanctuaries were often actually discarded, sometimes in specially dug pits within the limits of the temple, as in Kition (Smith 2009). Thus, there is a need for a more cautious approach to the contextualization of these figures and figurines and to the drawing of interpretations based on context.

**Cultural and socioeconomic context**

The use and meaning of any archaeological artefact, whether it is a pot, or a figurine, make sense only within the cultural and socioeconomic framework in which the particular object was produced and used. Thus, figures and figurines should be studied not as isolated works of art, but within their cultural context, with an awareness of other sources of data on the social relations, the level of state formation, organization of cult, economic basis, and many other aspects of the community structure and every day life. We have to be aware that figures and figurines are a part of archaeological assemblages of particular cultures, and are an aid to understanding them (Hamilton 1996b: 285). Objects such as figurines often played an important role within society by being subject to manipulation in order to create a common identity, or to gain and maintain power by a certain group (Smith

2009: 17). Furthermore, as shown by Ucko in his critique of the *Mother Goddess theory* (1968; 1993), there should be no single general interpretation of figures and figurines as a category, ignoring their cultural provenance; they can and should only be interpreted within their cultural context.

In previous scholarship, the meaning and function of Cypriot GWUAs often used to be simply transferred from the Cretan material (Karageorghis 1977-1978). This assumption was based on the morphological similarities between terracottas. I propose to analyze these two assemblages separately within their respective cultural contexts to establish a valid interpretation of their functions and meanings, and then move on to developing a comparative discussion of them. Irrespective of the possibility that the origins of Cypriot GWUAs might lie on Crete, they formed a part of the Cypriot material culture, and should be studied as such.

**Ethnographic analogies**

Practices that might be associated with anthropomorphic images, like figures and figurines, are very varied and complex. Without knowledge of ethnographic studies, many possible interpretations of the material would be unknown, or not obvious to scholars, although popular and often practised in communities of different cultural backgrounds. Thus, ethnographic data can broaden the scope of hypothesis that should then, ideally, be tested against the archaeological data (Talalay 1993). However, we should be very cautious when applying ethnographic analogies not to treat them as a ready-made answer to our research questions, but rather as making us "aware of modes of behaviour that would be difficult to deduce by logic alone" (Talalay 1993: 40). Some of the models derived from such studies have become an important part of the body of possible interpretations commonly used in the research concerning figures and figurines. Below, I discuss four such possibilities from ethnographic studies reading statuettes as dolls or toys, cult figures, vehicles of magic and initiation figures.

**Dolls and toys**

Toys are used in children's entertainment and play. Ucko (1968; Voigt 2000: 258) also suggests that figurines used as ornaments and decoration might be classified as such. Clay figurines (figurines rather than figures, because of their portability) might be used and/or made as dolls. This is a popular phenomenon, as attested by the ethnographic data collected by Ucko (1968) and Voigt (2000). Pomo girls, for example, make the dolls talk with each other and dance in the dancing hut. Similarly, Talensi girls and boys play with anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines enacting everyday situations and pretending they are owners of large herds (Fortes 1938). However, morphologically similar figurines can also be used in cult, as among the Pomo, when the 'doll' becomes sacred, when blessed by the head priest (Loeb 1926: 246). Talalay (1993: 48-49) proposes that three Neolithic figurines from the Franchthi cave in Mainland Greece might have been used as toys. They were found by the hearths together with ordinary objects like an awl, a drill, beads, and a whorl. She suggests they may have been given to children when adults carried out their everyday work. Ucko (1962: 45-46), based mainly on anthropological evidence, also suggests that some of the Egyptian figurines discussed by him might have been used as dolls.

Dolls play an important part in creating children's perception of the world and especially social relations and hierarchy (Bailey 2005: 67-76). As noted before, miniaturism empowers the spectator, allows them to feel superior; a child can control a doll like parents control him or her, thus learning his or her place within the group. Further, dolls also represent appropriate social conventions and gender representations. Bailey (2005: 73) argues that miniaturism makes complex issues simpler and understandable; dolls make the world of relations more approachable, for children as much as for adults. They help in the creation of self-identity by practising and experimenting on social scenes, within a safe environment. Bailey (2005: 73-75) provides a well-known example of a Barbie doll, a modern toy seen by many as a role model for girls, appreciated by some and highly criticized by others.

Recognizing a toy among figurines is a challenging task. As stated before, they usually look the same as terracottas used differently, for example as cult objects. Archaeological context is important in the identification of function. Thus, dolls might be found within the settlement and in the vicinity of everyday domestic objects, including randomly in the house debris, rather than in a sanctuary. However, through time, figurines could have different functions and a doll can become a votive offering in the shrine, or be placed in the grave. Thus, signs of usage are very important, including wear patterns and breakages. According to Voigt (1983: Table 29), chipped and abraded surfaces, worn and broken areas, and no systematic pattern of damage might be expected.

**Cult Figures**

Cult figures represent supernatural beings and are used as symbols and objects of worship in often formal, communal rituals (Ucko 1968; Voigt 2000: 258). Both figures and figurines may be used as cult objects, although bigger ones are more visible and thus preferred. They may be made of all sorts of materials, both precious and ordinary ones, and may be technologically superior to other types of figures. Generally, they are used over an extended period of time and are handled with care. They might be dressed, carried about and stored/used in ritual or domestic contexts (Voigt 2000: Table 2).

There are also other figures and figurines often found within ritual contexts, usually representing votaries and/or brought as offerings. Therefore, the distinction between them and the cult figure might not be straightforward. Renfrew (1985: 23-24) proposed five criteria based on which one can recognize cult figures. First is size: if a single, large image is found in the central part of the sanctuary, it is a good indication that we have encountered a representation of the supernatural being. A second criterion is "a highly asymmetrical role emphasised markedly by attention focussing devices" (Renfrew 1985: 23). Thus, such figures may occupy a focal point of the shrine, together with objects, which might be interpreted as offerings. Renfrew also suggests that power-displaying gestures can be attributed to a cult figure, although as he further notes, a certain ambiguity is possible. The fourth criterion can be symbols carried by the figure, especially if they are known

previously from already understood iconography or have natural references, like for example sunrays or a moon crescent. Another indication might be the presence of a mythical creature, which is dominated by or flanking the main anthropomorphic representation.

Cult figures or figurines are relatively carefully handled, so the surface is intact or there is only minor damage. There might be localized areas of polish or surface abrasion caused by ritual touching, and signs of burning or fresh breaks, as a result of intentional damage at the time of disposal (Voigt 2000). Cult figures can be found within sanctuaries or deposited in special, often inaccessible places, like caves or bodies of water. Voigt (1983: Table 29) also suggests that figures which are similar or which differ in morphological characteristics might be found together. This happens because of the repeated deposition caused by the sequential usage of figures, or because of the single deposition of a number of cult figures.

**Vehicles of magic**

Vehicles of magic are used in rituals whose purpose is to produce, prevent or reverse a certain situation or state, like the protection of property, health, or harm to one's enemy (Ucko 1962; Voigt 2000: 258). Vehicles of magic are small and portable, and figurines might therefore be classified as such. They are usually made of ordinary materials; often organic substances like clay or wax. Vehicles of magic may be used for a period of time, when for example worn as an amulet. These figurines are frequently damaged by burning or breaking and deposited within floors and walls in pits or bodies of water, but can also be found in habitation debris or in separated fragments in different areas (Voigt 2000: Table 2). They can have no wear patterns or a type of polish caused by a contact with a person wearing it as an amulet. Several of these kinds of objects might be found together because of a repetition of ritual or use of a number of figurines in a single event (Voigt 1983: Table 29).

Talalay (1993: 42-43) proposes three types of rites, or traditions, connected with magic, associated with the use of figurines: curing rites, witchcraft, and fertility rites. These figurines often represent individuals who need to be cured,

made ill, made to suffer or killed. Well-known examples are *voodoo dolls*, which are not actually pricked with needles, but used in rituals involving prayer and dancing, as observed by Talalay (1993: 42). Figurines used to increase fertility often represent infants, frequently with no indicated sex, and the hopeful woman or couple treat it like a real baby. After a successful birth, they might be either kept and cherished or simply thrown away (Ucko 1962; Talalay 1993). Those representing a pregnant female, according to ethnographic data, are more often used in initiation rites. For example, in the Senufo tribe, fertility figurines are given to girls at puberty and kept by them for the rest of their lives and buried with the owners (Ucko 1962: 46).

**Initiation figures**

Initiation figures are those used in an initiation rite where adolescent children are taught the proper kinds of social engagement (Ucko 1962; Voigt 2000: 258). Initiation figures come in various sizes; they might be large stationary figures or small portable figurines. Similarly, they might vary in technical qualities and style and be made of a range of materials, including wood, clay or expensive and rare materials. They can be either used and disposed, or stored for usage in several successive rituals. They are often found destroyed by burning, thrown into bodies of water or within habitation debris (Voigt 2000: Table 2). They are rarely associated with domestic structures and more often with inaccessible areas, like caves. Groups of morphologically distinguished figurines are usually deposited together, as a whole teaching group (Voigt 1983: Table 29).

Talalay (1993: 40-42) provides numerous ethnographic examples of the use of figurines in initiation rites, especially in Africa. In the majority of cases, they are associated with the teaching of the value systems of the society, including sexual and marital matters. They are accompanied by songs, poems and stories explaining what is represented. Initiation figurines are often produced by various people, like members of the family of those who go through the rite, as Bantu traditions illustrate. Thus, they might be of different technical levels, due to variation in the skill of the makers. Ethnographic examples also illustrate patterns of disposal with

prevailing ritual destruction, throwing away, or burying of the objects used in the ceremony (Richards 1956).

At this point, it is worth briefly mentioning two other interesting and important possibilities of interpretation that have been offered recently, also in relation to ethnographic studies. Both have already been applied in the field of Cypriot coroplastic studies, and the second of them also within Aegean archaeology. These are a.) reading figurines or figures as individuals, originally proposed by Bailey (1994), and b.) figurines or figures used as a means to ensure continuous repetition of a ritual.

**Figurines as individuals**

Reading figurines as representations of individuals was proposed by Bailey (1994) and partially by McDermott (1996). The latter work argues that prehistoric 'Venus figurines' were made by pregnant females, because of their proportions. Bailey proposes that Chalcolithic figurines from Bulgaria might have been intended as records of individual identities, by comparing them with social (and especially gender) relations represented by burials. Terracottas from the examined site, Golyamo Delchevo, vary very much in the size, decoration, and body postures they present; the same range of diversity is visible in the mortuary data, like grave goods (Bailey 1994: 324-325). Also, Marcus (1996: 288) in her study of Zapotec figurines, which are said to represent ancestors, underlining that they cannot be understood as *portraits*, suggests that different and elaborate hairdos were probably used to indicate progenitors' identity. A Campo interprets Cypriot Bronze Age *plank figurines* in a similar way. Based on variety in ornamentation and the depicted face marks, she argues that the terracottas represent individual, high status women (A Campo 1994: 150, 165-168). And, as yet another Cypriot example, Knapp (2009: 95) suggests that Chalcolithic terracotta figurines from Mosphilia bear "stylistic traits indicative of recognizable individuals" and thus might be ex-voto symbols of an individual person.

### Continuous repetition of a ritual

It has been suggested that the function of statuettes representing worshippers found in sanctuaries might have been to give a concrete, permanent form to a prayer and ensure its continuous repetition (Connelly 1989; Whittaker 2009). Whittaker (2009: 102-103) presents examples of such terracottas ranging from Tell Asmar in Mesopotamia to Cypriot Ayia Irini and the Temple at Ayia Irini on Kea. She argues that a dedication of a figurine or a figure might have symbolized a dedication of a prayer, or a ritual that was repeated continuously by being embodied within the offering. A similar proposition had already been made by Evans; he suggested that terracottas in the Double Axe shrine in Knossos were arranged in a specific way, illustrating a ritual for a Dove Goddess (Evans 1928: 335-344). However, since this concerns the realm of intentions, it cannot be accessed through the study of material culture without difficulty. Furthermore, it might be problematic to distinguish if an arrangement of figures or figurines was made only to illustrate a ritual or to ensure its continuous repetition. This is only possible to ascertain with certainty in case of data from written sources, including inscriptions.

### Performative aspects

An important part of this thesis is the study of a performative aspect of 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figures and figurines. Performance is a category of social and/or cultural practice and performance as an aspect of social being. The archaeology of performance includes many features, like the analysis of staging or choreography of people. This part of the research is closely connected with both the function and the meaning of these artefacts. All the studied examples are three-dimensional objects, with a certain degree of portability. Thus, they might be looked at from different angles, moved, touched, and presented to others in a variety of ways. In this thesis I consider how 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' might be handled and displayed and how that would affect the way people who interacted with them perceived them. Thus, it is important to estimate their dimensions, both generally and individually, because these directly affect their portability. Another aspect is the identification of the storage and usage space, and its possible

accessibility. Below I present two examples of performative aspects of figures and figurines within the context of objects studied in this thesis.

### Processions

An example of a performative aspect of Cretan figures, which I discuss thoroughly in this thesis, is their possible use in processions, an organized body of people advancing in a formal or ceremonial manner. Its existence is attested in Bronze Age Aegean art. It was, and still is in many societies, a popular form of public celebration, as forming an orderly and impressive ceremony, and also a kind of cult activity, which might involve a vast majority or even a whole community. The primary evidence of the existence of processions within the Late Bronze Age Aegean is their depiction on wall paintings. Unfortunately, the only explicit examples of the use of statuettes in such ceremonies come from Mainland Greece, from Tiryns and Mycenae (Immerwahr 1990; Jones 2009). However, the most important evidence is embodied within the figures themselves: their dimensions make them visible but also portable, and their storage place – small shrines, which were accessible directly from the street. This is discussed further in Chapters II and IV.

### Illustration of a performance

I have mentioned already that some groups of figures and figurines might be arranged in a way that would depict the performance of a ritual. However, an individual statuette can also illustrate a posture meaningful on its own, or as an element of a series of gestures applied during the ritual (Morris 2001: 247). What is important for this study is that the same gesture can be described as active (as an element of the performance) and passive (as an emblematic gesture, symbolic) within different contexts. This can be validated by, for example, the observation of particular arrangements of groups of figurines or illustrations in other media, like frescoes or seal stones. Also, the performance of a single gesture can be a profound experience, especially if employed within a ritual context (Morris 2001: 245).

More than one hundred fragmentary examples of GWUAs were found in the western area of the Ingot God sanctuary in Enkomi on Cyprus (Webb 1999: 213). They are often handmade and small (only six to eight centimetres). Webb (1999: 213) underlines that there were also similar sized male figurines found within this area. Both types could originally have been attached to circular plaques and arranged into groups of one male musician and three female dancers, judging from the presence of fragments of bases and music instruments and from complete examples of later date (Webb 1999: 213). Thus, the specific gesture defining these figurines could be an element of dance. This is discussed further in Chapters III and IV.

**The Archaeology of cult**

The publication of the Bronze Age sanctuary at Phylakopi on the Greek island of Melos, entitled *The Archaeology of Cult* by Renfrew *et al.* from 1985 remains a basic research work concerning the identification of cult practice in the archaeological record. Renfrew offers an explicit methodological approach to the study of ritualized behaviour in past societies, and how it can be traced using the data acquired in the excavation process. He especially underlines that the identification of cult should be made on the basis of context and not individual artefacts, e.g. a single figurine does not make a sanctuary. Of special importance is also his distinction between faith/religion and cult/practice, the latter being more accessible through the archaeological material (Renfrew *et al.* 1985: 12-15). According to Renfrew's definition, ritual behaviour of religious character is "readily recognized in life through its formality, through the elements of repetition involved and through its evidently purposive character – it has to be done, whether publicly by a gathering of people, or privately in the presence of the deity" (1985: 14). For the purpose of this thesis, his observations concerning attention focussing devices and participation and offering are particularly important. One of the most observable archaeologically attention focusing devices is the spatial organization of the cult place, with a visibly significant spot – an element of the architecture or something movable, like an altar, a cult statue, a bench or even a natural element like a rock outcrop; other elements are smell, sound and touch (sometimes also combined as set of gestures, or dance). Cult often requires participation of the

celebrants in the form of special words and gestures, movement between places (i.e. procession) and often an act of offering for the deity. This might be reflected in iconography, spatial arrangement or the presence of special equipment (Renfrew *et al.* 1985: 18-19).

**Gender**

Gender archaeology is one of the most vibrant and still growing field of research. It is very much inspired by modern feminist theorists, building on Queer theory, embodiment, and cultural phenomenology. It grew out of the 'cherchez la Femme' – acknowledging the presence of women in the past into a more nuanced studies of meaning of gender roles, identity, relationes and representationes. Thus, it is important to review the work of the most prominent theorists and researchers.

**Judith Butler**

Judith Butler is an influential feminist theorist, who has contributed widely to the fields of feminist philosophy and queer theory. Her most important publication is *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990), where she argues that gender, sex and sexuality are culturally constructed through the repetition of certain acts in time - they are performed as in a theatre (a metaphor she used in an earlier essay *Performative Acts and Gender Constitution* (1988). Butler also published many other works on this subject, including *Undoing Gender* (2004) for more a general public). This gender performativity, according to Butler, is socially regulated, through a framework of 'norms', which describe which possibilities (of gender or sexuality) are permitted or tolerated. Thus, she questions gender behaviours as natural.

What is important, Butler argues, is that not only gender, but also sex is culturally constructed and forms a basis on which the binary gender and normative heterosexuality are likewise constructed and socially presented as normal. According to Butler, gender or sex performativity is not conscious but automatic and it originates from social norms, and as Butler states "there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; (...) identity is performatively constituted by the

very "expressions" that are said to be its results" (1990: 25). She also challenged the idea of a continuum between sex, gender and desire (sexuality) being caused by one another, arguing that all of these categories should be understood as flexible. Further, according to Butler, social reality is in fact being continuously created by the performance of different identities through gesture, language and other symbolic social signs (1990).

Butler also criticized feminism for trying to assert that 'women' were a group with common characteristics and interests, which only reinforced a binary view of gender relations. Her work forms one of the foundations of queer theory through the idea of gender as a performance, and the challenge of binary vision of sex. Queer theory's main subject is exploring and contesting of the categorization of gender and sexuality and observation of the interval between what a subject *does* (performance) and what a subject *is* (self). Other researchers who heavily influenced the beginnings of the Queer theory are Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Adrienne Rich, Diane Fuss and Lauren Berlant (Wilchins 2004).

**Elizabeth Grosz**

Elizabeth Grosz is an Australian feminist academic and a precursor of the feminist reading of the bodily theory. Her publications include interpretations of French philosophers (1989; 1990) and, most importantly, her work on issues of corporeality (1994; 1995). As much as Butler, she argues that the sexually specific body is socially constructed and is a dialectically constructed entity, refuting any sort of essentialism or fixed nature.

In her most important book, *Volatile Bodies: Toward a Corporeal Feminism* (1994) Grosz explores problems connected with thinking about the relation between mind and body as binary or even oppositional terms, and investigates issues that do not surrender to the traditional, Cartesian division of psychology and biology, reason and passion. She also points out that this binary view included the alignment of the mind with maleness and the body with femaleness and, similarly, "body has been regarded as a source of interference in, and a danger to, the operations of reason" (Grosz 1994: 5). Further, Grosz concentrates on corporeal experiences unique to women, like pregnancy, childbirth or menopause, noticing that earlier

works of philosophers such as Freud, Lacan, Foucault or Derrida provided only an account of the male corporeality. Following that, she proposes the replacement of woman under psychoanalytic terms as no longer represented as lack, but instead as that which cannot be contained.

In her more recent publications, like *Becoming Undone. Darwinian Reflections on Life, Politics and Art* (2011), Grosz turns to postmodern Darwinism and proposes a new feminist reading of concepts of nature and biology, time, and becoming. Her interpretation of the theory of evolution shows the temporality of culture, which introduces future possibilities of creating new ways of knowing, new sexes, and new forms of living (Rogowska-Stangret 2012). Grosz also observes the importance of sexual selection in evolution, according to which evolution is about becoming.

**Thomas J. Csordas**

Thomas J. Csordas is an American anthropologist whose research concentrates especially on comparative religion and cultural phenomenology grounded in embodiment. In his books he argues "that a paradigm of embodiment can be elaborated for the study of culture and the self" (1990: 5), that the human body is a cultural phenomenon and not merely a biological entity, as he understands bodies as being-in-the-world. His work concentrates also on religious language, bodily experience, and child development. In his own ethnographic studies, Csordas observed such groups as Charismatic Catholics, North American Indians and published extensively on the relations between medicine and religion especially in the traditional practices of 'religious healing' (1994; 2002). Research questions included the experience of Navajo cancer patients, and language and narrative in interviews with those patients and traditional Navajo healers.

The impact of Csordas is visible in modern anthropology as a visible sign of a fruitful cooperation between philosophy and anthropology. Namely, through new research questiones inspired by the phenomenology it became possible to apply new directions of a so-called psychiatric anthropology. It is a subfield of anthropology devoted to the interaction mental processes and culture, especially between

culturally mediated experiences and the development or expression of mental illness.

**Marija Gimbutas and the 'Mother Goddess' theory**

Marija Gimbutas (Marija Gimbutienė; 23.01.1921-02.02.1994) was a Lithuanian-American archaeologist. She brought together linguistic and archaeological knowledge and introduced the so-called Kurgan hypothesis, combining the study of distinctive Kurgan burial mounds with the origins and migrations of the Proto-Indio-European (PIE) speaking peoples. She also published work on Lithuanian folk art and the prehistory of the Balts and the Slavs. However, in the field of coroplastic studies, she is especially known for her last three books: *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe* (1974); *The Language of the Goddess* (1989), which inspired an exhibition in Wiesbaden in 1993/94, and her final book, *The Civilization of the Goddess* (1991). In these publications, she interpreted the Paleolithic and Neolithic ('Old Europe' - a term she introduced) female representations as depicting a single universal Great Mother Goddess reflecting the centrality of women in religious and cultural life; she did so by tracing cross-cultural and cross-chronological symbolic parallels. She wrote, "The multiple categories, functions, and symbols used by prehistoric peoples to express the Great Mystery are all aspects of the unbroken unity of one deity, a Goddess who is ultimately Nature herself." (1991: 223). However, she did recognize her many faces and names, like the bird goddess, mistress of animals, Queen of the Mountains, snake goddess, life-giver, craft-giver, birth-giver, pregnant earth and the double goddess (mother-daughter). Gimbutas also linked this deity with a variety of symbols, including triangles, snake coils, spirals, concentric circles and the use of red ochre. She considered 'Old Europe' to be Goddess and woman-centered (gynocentric), and the Bronze Age Indo-European culture as patriarchal (androcratic), supplanting the previous view. Gimbutas defined the gynocentric societies as peaceful and egalitarian. However, Gimbutas rejects the term 'matriarchy' because it too often implies a hierarchical structure of domination in which women rule society by force (Gimbutas 1991: 294-296). Marija Gimbutas' impact reached beyond the academic community, her theories have been widely

acclaimed by some feminists and many spiritual movements, while, at the same time, they were widely criticized by scholars working with the archaeological material as having many methodological flaws (Talalay 1994; Meskell 1995; Conkey and Tringham 1995). Gimbutas' interpretation of the material goes far beyond the probability offered by the archaeological record; she also over-used cross-cultural comparisons and often based interpretations on data taken outside its context. Unfortunately, for the wider public, the 'Mother Goddess' theory is still an easy answer both to questions concerning the past and modern problems connected with, among other concerns, inequality and gender discrimination. However, in the last twenty years, these subjects have been very well tackled by gender archaeology (discussed further below), which will hopefully also be able to promote its outcomes outside the academic world and to the general public.

**Gender in archaeology**

The subject of gender relations, roles and ideology has become increasingly important in archaeology over the last decades, especially since the publication of the pioneering works of Gero (1983) and Conkey and Spector (1984). The term 'sex' refers to the biological difference between male and female, while 'gender' points to the social norms of the particular culture and to the meaning of being 'masculine' or 'feminine'. However, some recent studies argues that 'sex' might also to a certain extent be socially constructed, but for the purpose of archaeological research, the distinction between biological 'sex' and cultural 'gender' is still relevant (Nelson 2004: 3; Gosden 1999: 132-151). There are two common difficulties related with approaches to gender in archaeology. The first is the danger of applying one cultural context, usually modern gender roles, to past societies, and the second is reading the archaeological record within the pre-conception of the glorious 'gynocentric' past (Nelson 2004: 10). While observing gender aspects of the studied culture, it is also important to avoid regarding masculine characteristics as having higher value and female roles as inferior or vice versa; the meaning of varied roles in past societies might differ from modern conceptions. Moreover, according to feminist theory, gender should be treated as a process rather than as a defined and constant quality. Over the years, gender archaeology has evolved from criticizing androcentrism and the search for women in the archaeological record into

discussing issues of difference and studying other aspects of life intersecting with gender, like wealth, age or ethnicity (Meskell 1999; Wylie 1997). Gender archaeology also looks outside the study of artefacts and past cultures towards modern social problems, as defined by Brumfiel: "An archaeology of gender can (1.) promote self-confidence and pride for women and people of other genders, (2.) create a sympathetic understanding of difference within genders and sameness across genders that will facilitate broad-based political movements capable of achieving social equality, and (3.) enhance our understanding of how gender hierarchy is created and maintained so as to design effective policies for promoting equality in contemporary society." (Brumfiel 2006: 31-58).

One of the earliest studies, which concerned engendering of the material culture as a new and distinct approach was provided by Margaret Conkey (1991). In her reinterpretation of the Cuerto de la Mina site, an Upper-Palaeolithic rock-shelter in Spain, she not only looked for a presence of woman but for the value of woman's work, based on how objects produced by them were valued and with which levels of production they were involved. She studied in detail the bone and antler industry, observing how different actions had to be connected and depended on each other, and could give a way to the development of both social order and tensions (1991: 76-80). Conkey used also ethnographic examples to establish how different tasks connected with production might have been divided according to gender (or age), arguing that males would produce objects connected with big-game hunting (ie. weapons, flint), and women and children would make the associated products (ie. nets, tents). This study however relied very much on projecting of the roles visible in the ethnographic record, and thus needs to be considered speculative (Whitehouse 2006: 750).

Another important gender archaeologist is Lynn Meskell, who studied Egyptian tombs dated to the Eighteen and Nineteenth Dynasty in Deir el Medina, with a particular attention to gender differences visible in the funerary material connected with men and woman graves (1998, 1999). Both women and children were given fewer amulets and other magical items, and in texts were referred to in connection with father or husband. However, she argued also that age and social status were equally or even more important than gender in the Egyptian society,

introducing an important subject of intersectionism of different elements of group and individual identity. Households in turn seem to be female-oriented, with front rooms including space connected with rituals concerning procreation, childbirth and woman's daily activities (Meskell 1999). She defines archaeology as an anthropology of the past.

Rosemary Joyce's research is concerned with Prehispanic inhabitants of Central America and especially the ways in which they used material culture to negotiate their social roles and status. She published on the use of iconography in negotiation and reinforcement of gendered identities, on example of the monumental and small-scale imagery in the Classic Maya and Formative periods (Joyce 1997, 1999, 2001). Joyce argues that objects found within the archaeological material can be seen as utterances by people who produced them (Joyce 2002: 141), that "is to say that the object created was expressive, that it is a representation of, at the very least, a social engagement with the past world in which the people lived" (Joyce 2002: 142). In her recent book, '*Ancient Bodies. Ancient Lives*' (2009) she not only reviews the way gender was constructed in different periods of human history, but also why this direction of research is important for the modern societies.

Recently Meskell and Joyce (2003) also undertook a diachronic comparative research together, which aims to go beyond the Cartesian dualism and concentrates on the embodiment and sexual politics of representation. Within this study they examined the 'phallic culture', visible both in the Egyptian and Mayan societies. They argue that masculine sexuality is central in both the iconography and textual evidence of these cultures (Meskell and Joyce 2003: 10-13). As an example, they provide myths concerning male masturbation (Egyptian god Atum) and iconography in which males have exaggerated phalluses, however they underline that it is more clear within the Mayan culture (Meskell and Joyce 2003: 53). In conclusion, they state that the material culture provides "evocative fragments of past life to think through our own cultural contexts to understand the importance of our different legacies and refigure our (...) experiences with the recognition of cultural difference firmly in mind" (Meskell and Joyce 2003: 162).

Coroplastic studies in other cultures have already suggested that figures and figurines can be a significant indicator of social identity and changing gender relations. The nature of such representations makes them a useful tool to negotiate or enforce gender norms. Figurines and figures may have been representations of deities or actual people, but they were also a way to express ideas connected with important aspects of human nature in a particular culture (Mina 2008: 215). For figurine and figure studies, it is of basic importance to properly identify gendered images, including mix-gender concepts or gender ambiguity. Certain answers about the gender of the representation can give a clear depiction of male or female genitals, less so secondary gender characteristics like breasts or facial hair. It is important to be cautious with assumptions based on generalizations of characteristics visible only in some examples, i.e. when only a small amount of figurines is gendered, and not to extrapolate their gender onto the whole assemblage. If mix-gender elements are present, it is desirable to discuss patterns in this kind of representation, if observable. Figurines and figures are also sometimes left genderless or their gender is not specifically underlined, with other elements like clothing or jewellery rendered more elaborately. This might be a deliberate choice, which illustrates concepts of primary identity developed within a particular society. Modern scholarship also acknowledges that although some attributes might be ascribed to a particular gender within a particular society (i.e. types of garment, hairstyle or use of specific symbols), any cross-cultural generalization should be avoided (including assumptions based on modern concepts of 'masculine' and 'feminine'). Brumfiel's study of Xaltocan figurines, after incorporation of this region by the Atzec empire, offers an excellent example of a gendered approach in archaeology and coroplastic studies (Brumfiel 1996: 143-166).

An important Aegean archaeologist, who concentrated on gender questions within her research is Lauren E. Talalay, who mostly followed in the path set up earlier by Ucko. She published extensively on the Neolithic figurines from Southern Greece (1983; 1993). She argues that those objects could have multiple functions, some of them could have been toys, like three Neolithic figurines from the Franchthi cave (1993: 48-49) or vehicles of magic, representing i.e. individuals who need to be cured (1993: 42). She also provides numerous ethnographic examples, introducing them as useful analogies for the studied material. Talalay also published

an important article '*A Feminist Boomerang: The Great Goddess of Greek Prehistory*' (1994), in which she reviewed and discussed the role of Gimbutas's 'Mother Goddess' theory in the field of the Aegean archaeology.

In the field of Aegean (and also Cypriot) archaeology, another valuable contribution is presented by Mina and her work on Neolithic and Early Bronze Age terracottas (Mina 2008, 2007: 263-282, 2005: 111-114). In her research she is adopting an explicitly gender-oriented approach to studied figurines, which allows her, "to deconstruct the perceptions held by the figurine manufacturers and users concerning gender and social identity in general" (Mina 2009:171). While discussing Cretan and Cypriot earliest terracottas Mina turns to diachronic models of studies, which in turn provided valuable observations on the different paths of development taken on by this two island societies.

Additionally, research of L. Hitchock concerning interpretations of the Minoan iconography brings to the forefront the division between bronze figurines and other media, like frescoes. She argues that bronzes represent clear binary gender division, however paintings illustrate a certain ambiguity in representation of gender. Especially it is illustrated by her discussion of the so-called 'Priest-King' relief fresco, where she argues that the depicted person has the white skin used in Minoan art for females; however, the hair style and the clothing is the one conventionally applied for the males. Moreover, she argues it was a deliberate choice, which illustrates an officially functioning gender ambiguity within Minoan society (2000b). Other gender-orientated discussions concerning Aegean frescoes were published by Rehak, and included observations on the gender specific rites of passage and the intersection between age and gender (1984, 1998, 2002).

Another contributor to this field is Benjamin Alberti, who applied Butler's theoretical work in his studies of Minoan figurative art (2001, 2002). He observed that in the iconography presented in frescoes, the body starts as an unsexed and ungendered 'template', representing the same standard shape, and only subsequently is it given attributes and context, related to the performative production of gender. Alberti argues that the only clearly marked sex characteristics are breasts, while the phallus is almost entirely absent from the Late Bronze Age

Cretan iconography (1997, 2011). Moreover, in a chapter titled '*Archaeology, Men, and Masculinities*', which he published in the '*Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*' (Nelson 2006), Alberti reviews issues concerning studying man (and masculinity) in archaeology, who for a long time was concerned as virtually genderless and standing for the society as a whole. Alberti argues that there is a need for such studies, but as a part of gender archaeology and not as a separate subfield, and he also calls for a greater reflexivity on part of male researchers (2006: 401-433).

**Island Archaeology**

Crete and Cyprus are islands, and this geographical factor shaped the development of the populations, which inhabited them. Island archaeology has become a distinct sub-field in recent years, connected with the subjects of insularity, connectivity and identity (discussed below). Its origins are marked by the publication of an article called 'Islands as laboratories for the study of culture process' by J.D. Evans in 1973. Scholars usually present either a biogeographical approach, focused on climate and ecological factors, or a social approach, considering the development of a spatially conditioned identity and process of isolation or interaction with an outside world (Knapp 2009: 16). The sea surrounding the landscape might be seen as a barrier or a bridge between the familiar and the unknown. Islanders' perspective includes a dual experience of land and sea (Knapp 2009: 16-17; Broodbank 2000: 28-29). Islands become prominent and flourish for two reasons: the presence of rare resources or a unique location, serving as stepping stone to the mainland or other islands (Knapp 2009: 17), which is true for both Crete (location) and Cyprus (location and resources). However, interregional contacts may also lead to foreign domination and exploitation of local resources or geographical position. Knapp proposes insularity as a key concept in island archaeology (2009: 18). Insularity can be a result of personal, historical or social contingency; it is the quality of being isolated as a result of living on islands, or of being somewhat detached in experience and outlook. In place of isolation and connection, Broodbank proposes the concepts of independence and integration (2000: 28-29). Recently more often diachronic and comparative models of research are also adopted, using islands as case studies for comparing different approaches,

which societies undertook towards similar problems (see articles in Cadogan et al. 2012).

**Ethnicity**

The concept of ethnicity is strictly a cultural construct, which can be based on and expressed by a common language (or a dialect), physical appearance, cultural heritage, shared history, religion, rituals, or traditions. It is an important and visible part of group and individual identity. An example of what ethnicity consists of is Herodotus's description of what defines the Greeks: ancestry, language, cult and rituals, and shared customs (VIII.144.2). However, ethnic differences can be observed without an element of important cultural differences, there can also be cultural variations within one ethnic group (Eriksen 2011:42). There is a growing consensus in both archaeology and anthropology that ethnicity is constructed and contextual (Barth 1969), but still it is seen as a valuable research question/direction. An important discussion of the ethnicity concept was presented by Eriksen in his publication 'Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspective' (1993). He argues that ethnicity is not fixed, but is a very dynamic aspect of social relationships. A very important issue, also introduced by Eriksen is that "ethnicity is a property of a relationship between two or several groups, not a property of a group; it exists *between* and not *within* groups" (2011: 44). In other words it is an element of identity, which is constructed mostly in opposition to the 'other'.

The question of ethnicity is an important one when discussing contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, especially in the context of the so-called 'Mycenaean settlers' in Cyprus (Catling 1973; Cadogan 1993; Karageorghis 1990, 1994). Although the presence of Greek language in Cyprus in this period is attested, the archaeological material points out to different cultural backgrounds of the inhabitants, thus the question of ethnicity is still being widely discussed.

**Identity**

There are many definitions of 'identity', the most basic one being offered by Hogg and Abrams (1988: 2): "it is people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others", and by Jenkins (1996:4): "[identity] refers to the ways in which individuals and collectivities are distinguished in their social relations with other individuals and collectivities". Identity is based on a difference from the 'other' rather than on unity. In archaeology, it has often been associated with the concept of 'ethnicity', although social identity is a broader category that encapsulates also this one. 'Ethnicity', discussed above is in archaeology a controversial concept, because of its connection with modern nationalisms, and it is still widely discussed whether it is a universal idea or simply a culture-specific notion (Knapp 2009: 36). Archaeological cultures are increasingly regarded as an amalgamation of different patterns in material culture, which might have developed due to numerous factors, rather than a simple image of a particular ethnic group. The complex notions of social identity are very well illustrated by Astuti in her paper on the Vezo people in western Madagascar: "The Vezo maintain that they are not what they are because they were born to be so. Their alternative model of identity and difference stresses instead that Vezo become what they are through what they do; both identity and difference result from activities that people perform in the present rather than from a common or distinct origin they acquired at some point in the past." (Astuti 1995: 465).

Social and cultural identity is often 'imprinted' on the material culture, including everyday objects, but also in a shared assemblage of symbols or ornamentation, like the cross for Christians or crescent for Muslims (Knapp 2009: 8, 31-32). Modern scholarship acknowledges also that identities are constantly constructed and reconstructed and that no culture remains unchanging. Personal identity includes many elements of social identity, and negotiating it is especially illustrated in the changing character of representations, e.g. figurines (Handler 1994: 27-40). Change in the construction of social identity can come about due to the forces at work within a society, contact between societies, and/or changes in the natural environment. Of special interest here are possible choices of immigrants' cultural identity: assimilation, separation/isolation and hybridization. The latter is an

in-between position, which is a spectrum of choices, here of different kinds of combination of the two cultures and different degrees of participation/integration in the host-society. Acculturation is what happens to an entire culture when alien traits diffuse on a large scale and substantially replace traditional cultural patterns, and transculturation is what happens to an individual when he or she moves to another society and adopts its culture. Beside the cultural identity, there are many different group and individual identities, like those connected with gender, age, class, kinship or faith, usually intersecting each other.

**Conclusions**

Modern scholarship identifies clear theory and methodology as a vital part of any research. It allows the development of an approach to the studied subject which is reflective and aware of assumptions and creates a framework facilitating further work. Thus, clarification of terms like *use*, *meaning* and *function*, and *figures* and *figurines* is of special importance, followed by the discussion of the over-arching term 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' in order to separate its meaning from the meaning of the artefacts under study. This chapter has also presented the methodological and theoretical approaches that I will apply to the primary data in the following chapters, including categories like performance, gender and identity, which are necessary for a proper understanding of the archaeological material.

In particular, the theoretical approach of Butler and her concept of performative gender and general social reality in fact being continuously created by performance of different identities through gesture, language and other symbolic social signs is important for my study. As will be demonstrated, not only GWUA figures and figurines were actively used in construction and negotiation of gender roles and status (including the question of gender ambiguity), but also their emblematic gesture is a representation of an active performance. Further, as stated before, I employ Ucko's methodology concerning the importance of both studying the figurines themselves and examining them within their archaeological and social context. It is important to keep in mind that context should not be classified as being ritual or having cult function based *only* on figurines being found there. Moreover,

not only stylistic characteristics of figures and figurines are under discussion, but as Ucko underlined, their actual function and the way they were used, are equally or even more important in this study. Thus, also concerning the issues of gender, careful observation of possible non-gendered, or not-female gendered figures and figurines is explored. Models and possibilities of interpretation discussed here will be called upon in the context of 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figures and figurines from Crete and Cyprus.

# Chapter II

# Cretan

# 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms'

**Introduction**

In this chapter I discuss 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' (GWUA) type terracottas found in Crete - mostly figures (rarely figurines) representing a standing female, with a long skirt (often wheel-made), and arms stretched upwards, sometimes wearing a tiara. Cretan sites where GWUA figures have been reported include: Ayia Triada, Gazi, Gournia, Halasmenons, Kannia, Karphi, Kavousi Vronda, Kephala Vasilikis and Knossos (Peatfield 1994: 28-30; Gesell 1985: 47-50, 69-92; Alexiou 1958). Especially common in Postpalatial shrines, they are considered to be a primary phenomenon of this period's cult activity (Peatfield 1994). In the Postpalatial Cretan towns and settlements, we find small so-called bench-sanctuaries, often approachable directly from the street, with the 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' figures and associated ritual equipment: snake tubes with kalathoi and plaques, along with a domestic pottery (Gesell 2004: 138; Gesell 1983: 93). There are almost no luxury objects associated with these shrines, and the figures themselves were of coarse clay, probably made by local potters (Gesell 1997). Figures or their fragments found at these sites can be dated to Late Minoan IIIB or Late Minoan IIIC.

To establish frames for further discussion, I begin by briefly introducing issues connected with the geography and chronology of the island. Furthermore, I present the most important earlier, rich Minoan traditions in the production and usage of figurines and figures, which form a background of the Postpalatial phenomenon of GWUAs. Especially the Late Bronze Age figurines and figures production and usage will be discussed. Then I discuss the origins of the GWUA type in Crete and the first examples and their characteristics. The core part of this chapter consists of case studies of four important archaeological sites – Knossos, Kannia, Karphi and Halasmenos, including a discussion of figures found there, within their spatial context where possible. They were chosen because of the varied examples of GWUAs they provided and because of the mostly well-studied architectural context. Finally, I propose possibilities of function and usage of the statuettes, such as in processions and their role within a broader social context.

The Cretan assemblage of GWUAs has been studied in detail by several scholars, especially Geraldine Gesell, who works on the Kavousi material. The input of her numerous publications, starting with the *Town, Palace and House Cult in Minoan Crete* (1985), through the account of her experimental work on recreating the production process of the figures (Gesell and Saupe 1997: 123-126) are hard to overestimate. Geraldine Gesell catalogued all Cretan GWUAs and her research forms a foundation for any further study in this field. In this chapter I would like to present a more performative and active approach to the material under study; a different analytical perspective, which should be seen as complementary rather than antagonistic to previous research. I hope to show that figures and figurines interpreted using different approaches can reveal different kinds of information about the culture of which they formed a part.

**Geography**

The island of Crete forms the South border of the Aegean Sea, with the Libyan Sea to the South and the Myrtoan Sea to the West. It is c. 8200 square km, 57 to 12 km wide and stretches 250 km long (Wilson 2008: 77). Although it is an island with fixed boundaries, it is also divided into many distinct regions, with mountain ranges, small valleys and isolated fertile upland plateaus, like Lasithi and

Omalos. The most noticeable element of the landscape are high mountain ranges from West to East, formed by five different massifs: White Mountains, Idi Range, Dikti Mountains, Kedros and Thripti. Some of the Cretan rivers include the still running Ieropotamos River, the Koiliaris, and the Anapodiaris. Another characteristic element of the landscape are gorges and caves, including the famous Samaria gorge, Imbros, Kourtaliotiko and the dramatic Ha gorge, as well as the Diktaion and Idaion caves (the birth place of Zeus according to myths). Another Cretan region is the fertile and arable Mesara plain in the South-Central part of island, a 50 km long area open to the sea in the south, which flourished in almost every period (Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 4-7). It also benefitted from a favourable North African type of climate (rather than the Mediterranean one), with more sunny days and high temperatures. Another fertile area is the region north from Ierapetra, still used for year-round agricultural production. Crete has more than 1000 km of coastline, with numerous bays suitable for harbours, the main ones being at Chanion, Almirou, Irakliou, Malion and Mirabello Bay in the north, and the only one in the south at Mesara Bay. However, the coastline might have looked different in details in the Bronze Age than today, due to local silting and alluviation, and a rise in the sea levels on the other side. Numerous small islands surrounding Crete facilitated finding an anchorage, the most well known including Pseira and Mochlos. In different periods, Cretan populations preferred either the safety of the mountains or the possibilities offered by the coastal areas. It is also important to remember that due to numerous factors, eastern Crete is generally better studied than its western part, and this also includes topographical characteristics (namely the White mountains), which limit settlement to the northern coastal area (Wilson 2008: 77).

The island is positioned favourably within the Mediterranean. Since the beginning of human habitation, it developed contacts with surrounding lands, including Mainland Greece, Aegean islands (especially the Cyclades) and Anatolia (Wilson 2008: 79). The Cretan population also maintained contacts with areas further away in the Eastern Mediterranean like (most relevant here) Cyprus, Egypt, the Levant and to the West – Italy and Sicily. The first permanent settlers came to Crete from Anatolia in the Neolithic period, and the Early Minoan (EM) I-II periods were characterized by close relations with the Cyclades, as illustrated by the site of

Ayia Photia. The northern islands were the first source of copper for Cretan bronze production, a resource that was very scarce in Crete. The first Minoan colony outside Crete was established on Kythera in EM II, among others, reasons of trade, fishing and population growth have been suggested (Watrous 2001: 161, 164-165, 173-174). In the Middle Minoan period, trade contacts with Mainland Greece and Egypt (as attested e.g. in Chrysolakkos) and the Near East began and Minoan pottery started to appear outside the island (Watrous 2001: 191-192, 197-198). These relations are also illustrated by Minoan style frescoes known from Tell el-Dab'a in Egypt and Alalakh in Syria, or Tel Kabri in Israel, dated generally to the Neopalatial period (Rehak 1997). More Cretan settlements appear on the island of Rhodes - Trianda, and on the Anatolian coast – Miletos, probably as early as Middle Minoan II (MM II) (Marketou 1988: 28-29; Papaiannopoulou 1988: 86-87). Due to geographical factors (among others), Minoan civilization is said to have became a *Thalassocracy,* the empire of the sea. Cretans, known as 'Keftiu' appear in Egyptian tomb paintings (Rehak 1996: 35-51; for a contrary opinion see Vandersleyen 2003: 209-212). The sea routes between Crete and Cyprus are discussed further in chapter four.

The Aegean Sea region is characterized by seismic activity, and earthquakes are not unknown to the inhabitants and visitors of Crete. However, the most well known seismic event is the volcanic eruption on the island of Thera at the end of the Late Minoan IA (LM IA) period, which caused the destruction of the settlement of Akrotiri, (so-called 'Bronze Age Pompeii', recently reopened for the public), a very important archaeological site, though only about 1/20 of it has been uncovered so far (Palyvou 1986: 179-194). The ash layers and presence of pumice have been attested in Crete, the islands of Dodecanese, Cyprus, Anatolia, Syria, Israel, Egypt and even the Black Sea coast (Davis 2001: 52-59; Rehak and Younger 2001: 390; Gulchard *et al.* 1993: 610-612). The eruption and the destruction of an important staging post forced the Minoans to change or abandon their trade routes and probably gave way to the establishment of the Mycenaeans as the new power in the Aegean islands (Schofield 1982: 9-14).

**Chronology**

Cretan Bronze Age chronology is divided into three main parts known as Early Minoan, Middle Minoan and Late Minoan. Also in use are the terms Prepalatial (Early Minoan – Middle Minoan IA), Old Palatial (Middle Minoan IB - Middle Minoan II), Neopalatial (Middle Minoan III - Late Minoan IB), Final Palatial (Late Minoan II - Late Minoan IIIB early), and Postpalatial (Late Minoan IIIB late to Late Minoan IIIC or Subminoan); yet other systems are also in use in some publications (Dickinson 1994). The term 'palace' (and 'palatial') remains controversial. It is applied to a large building with a court in the centre, well-built of stone, with vast storage space, surrounded by workshops. Palaces are interpreted as administrative and religious centres, but there is no evidence that they were built for kings or queens, and a term like 'regional centre' might also be used (Driessen, Schoep & Laffineur 2002; Rehak 1995; Hägg and Marinatos 1987).

It is important to discuss briefly issues connected with the chronology of the end of the Late Bronze Age and the transition to the Iron Age in Crete, the periods when GWUA figures were produced and used in the island. This is a time of visible change and disruption. At the end of Late Minoan IB (LM IB), many sites in Crete and Minoanized settlements outside the island were damaged and/or abandoned; often mostly administration centres were destroyed, although other areas, like the artisan's quarter in Mochlos, were inhabited until Late Minoan II (LM II) (Soles 1997: 425-431). After the destructions of the LM IB period, only the palace of Knossos and Chania retained their importance, and tablets in Linear B were still written there; some scholars call this period 'Monopalatial', although this does not take the role of Chania into account (Popham 1994: 89-102; Bennet 1985: 247; Niemeier 1983: 217-236). In LM IB Cretan religion also saw a significant change; e.g. in Palaikastro, horns of consecration – an important Minoan symbol, were reused as building material (Younger and Rehak 2008: 170). The LM IIB - Late Minoan IIIA2-B period (LM IIIA2-B), also called the Final Palatial period, is characterized by the continuation of depopulation after and abandonment of sites in LM II and by some signs of reoccupation in LM IIIA (however with changes in types of burials and pottery production); it ends with destructions in Knossos and Chania. After the early LM IIIB, there is no centralized administration, and no

evidence of writing on Crete (Rehak and Younger 2001: 440-458; Hallager and McGeorge 1992; Hood 1956: 81-103). These disruptions are interpreted as either Knossos taking over control of the whole island or as an invasion of the Mycenaeans from the Mainland Greece (D'Agata and Hermary 2012: 278; Hood 1985: 170-178; Popham 1976: 119-121), Rehak and Younger (2001: 440) suggest there might have been cooperation between Knossians and Mycenaeans, the latter being invited as military support. Clearly there was a Mycenaean presence on the island in this period and some features might be connected with the Mainland population, like the so-called Warrior Graves in Knossos, Archanes, Phaistos and Chania (Popham and Catling 1974: 195-237; Hood 1956: 81-103, 1958-59: 281-282; Evans 1914: 240), elements of Mycenaean architecture in Chania (Hallager 1987), and of course the Linear B script written in the Greek language (Preston 2008: 310-311). Two Myceneaen *psi* type figurines dated to LM IIIB2 were found in a house in Chania, and other examples are known from LM IIIC from Phaistos, Gortys and Chamalevri (D'Agata 2001: 347). In this scenario, the Mycenaeans would arrive in LM IB and have a role in the first destructions, or during the LM IIIA1-2 transition, with the end of the role of the palace in Knossos (Rehak and Younger 2001: 442).

The postpalatial period in Crete starts with the LM IIIB period and is characterised by the disappearance of the palatial administration. However, Chania is still an important settlement, with new constructions and reoccupation even after the fire at the end of LM IIIB (the same time as the destructions in the Mainland Mycenaean centres, see for examples Demakopoulou 2003: 91; French 1999; Taylour 1981: 10); it was only abandoned at the end of Late Minoan IIIC (LM IIIC) (Hallager 1988: 115-124, 1996: 47). Pottery from Chania was exported to the Aegean islands, Mainland Greece and Cyprus (Preston 2008: 318; Popham 1979: 178-191). In eastern Crete there is a clear shift in the settlement pattern in LM IIIC: new sites were established on higher elevations, but still overlooking the coast – e.g. Kephala Vasiliki, Kavousi, Karphi and Vrokastro (Haggis and Nowicki 1993: 303-337; Desborough 1973: 62-69). An interesting example is Palaikastro, which was damaged by fire in LM IIIB, after which inhabitants probably moved to nearby Kastri in LM IIIC, a settlement on the hill with a good view of the seashore. The same pattern was followed by the population of Ayia Pelagia, which moved to the

fortified site of Kastrokephala at the end of LM IIIB (Rehak and Younger 2001: 459). There was a certain degree of cooperation between neighbouring sites in overseeing safety and guarding the passages (Nowicki 1993: 95-101, 1988: 189-198). However, there was a general tendency towards regionalism, visible also in pottery production (Peatfield 1994: 32). The transition to the Protogeometric period in Crete is sometimes termed 'Subminoan', and is not connected with destructions but rather with gradual abandonment of sites, the appearance of iron weapons and tools, and a growing number of cremation burials (Coldstream 2006: 581-596; Gondicas 1987; Maddin, Muhly and Wheeler 1977: 122-131).

**Bronze Age Cretan Anthropomorphic Figurines**

Clay female figurines are known already from the Neolithic period (up to ca. 0.14 m high) (Vagnetti 1972-1973: 7-138), along more schematic examples in stone, perhaps worn as amulets, as suggested by some (Watrous 2001: 162-163). Early Minoan I sites provide the first examples of figurines made of metal, like the lead examples from Ayia Photia (Watrous 2001: 164). However, this period is characterized especially by close contacts between Crete and the Cyclades, also illustrated by the presence of stone Cycladic and Cycladicizing figurines on Crete (Fig. II.1). These kinds of representations are usually made of marble, and traces of paint suggest they were decorated with painted jewellery, facial features (sometimes multiplied, i.e. with several pairs of eyes), and tattoos. They are very schematic, but mostly represent females (Broodbank 2008: 48-50). Cycladic figurines are known from burial contexts, but unfortunately, because of their market value (mostly due to their appreciation by artists like, among others, Picasso and Moore), many come from illegal excavations and do not have an archaeological context (Broodbank 2008: 50). At least five Cycladic and Cycladicizing Cretan figurines are known from EM I burials on Crete (Branigan 1971: 57-58). In the following EM II period, these figurines are also found in burials, like Tholos Tomb E at Archanes Phourni (Sakellarakis 1975: 292-307) and a tomb at Tekes (Wilson 2008: 90). However, there is also an example from the Vasiliki settlement, where a Koumasa type stone statuette with folded arms was uncovered within the packing of the East wall of the so-called Red House, which might indicate that these figurines in Crete were used also by the living and not only as burial gifts (Watrous 2001: 171; Zois 1976: 34-

35). They continue to appear in the MM I material, like the fragmentary one of a Spedhos type from Tholos tomb Γ at Archanes Phourni (Sakellarakis 1972: 349-351). There is evidence for the actual presence of Cycladic population in the Early Minoan period on Crete (Wilson 2008: 82-83), who probably brought their customs, beliefs and figurines, along with bronze making techniques. However, it seems that stone statues did not inspire Early Bronze Age Cretans as much as the new technology.

Contrary to previously mentioned times and places, MM I-II terracotta figurines from the Iuktas peak sanctuary are said to be predominantly gendered male, although female examples were also present, including one possibly crouching in childbirth; parts of the body were also represented in clay – like heads, hands, torsos and male genitals (Karetsou 1974, 1979). Similar assemblages are known from different peak sanctuaries popular on Crete in MM III-LM IA, or even EM II, like Atsipadhes Korakias, Traostalos or Petsophas (Nowicki 2001: 31; Peatfield 1994: 21-23) (Fig. II.2). It is noteworthy that during the Neopalatial period, ritual activity declined in numerous mountain top sanctuaries, although at the same time it intensified in several of them, including Iuktas (D'Agata and Hermary 2012: 277; Driessen 2001: 366). As Younger and Rehak (2008: 167) observe, these places might be decorated with temporary architectural elements (like masts and pavilions) only for ritual purposes and then dismantled. Usage of peak sanctuaries probably involved periodic pilgrimage, food and drink consumption and making an offering in the form of a clay figurine (Younger and Rehak 2008: 166), and as recently suggested, shamanic and ecstatic rituals (Morris and Peatfield 2004). The figurines themselves were usually of small to medium size c. 0.1-0.15 m, no bigger than 0.2 m; however, there are known examples which might be as much as 0.5 m in height (e.g. from Kophinas) with simply rendered details, painted in brown, black and white (Chryssoulaki 2001: 61; Younger and Rehak 2001: 420; Preziosi and Hitchcock 1999: 86-87). Female figures often had bell-shaped skirts and tall coiffures. Chryssoulaki (2001) even argues that they may represent 'portraits' of individual pilgrims. Figurines from peak sanctuaries depict a varied array of gestures, usually labelled 'gesture of adoration' or 'gesture of supplication' (Pilz 2006; Rutkowski 1991: 52-56, 1986: 87-88). However, when

studied in detail by Morris and Peatfield (2004: 48-55, 2001: 245-251), they revealed much more subtle meanings and functions that might have been evoked or illustrated, also as a part of a ritual performance (also Peatfield 2001: 51-55).

Another interesting group of artefacts is formed by figures and figurines made of precious materials like ivory, gold and faience. In this case, examples without secure context and provenance, like the few ivory female statuettes presented in some museums, are almost certainly modern fakes (Lapatin 2002). The most well known figurine with a known context is a faience, so-called Snake Goddess from the Temple Repository in Knossos (Fig. II.3). This statuette represents a standing female with a long, tiered skirt and bare breasts, her hands are raised and bent, holding snakes (hence the name, although it should be noted here that only one of the arms was preserved; the other one is a reconstruction), a similar one found with it had hands extended in front and downwards also with snakes, from the third one only the skirt is preserved (Younger and Rehak 2008: 160; Jones 2001; Gesell 1983: 95; Evans 1902-1903: 77-80). There are also other fragments known that could be fragments of similar figurines, like the breast from the Royal Road South in Knossos, and a hand and skirt from Zakros (Younger and Rehak 2001: 419). An example from Palaikastro depicting a standing young, c. 60 cm height, made of ivory, with stone (steatite hair and eyes made of rock crystal) and wooden (nipples) elements, probably with gold clothing, might had served as a cult statue until it was probably destroyed on purpose in the LM IB period (Driessen 2001: 366-367; MacGillivray, Driessen and Sackett 2000: 94, 166, 169; see also Whitley 2009: 279-288 for a different perspective). Its carving is amazingly detailed, with veins and finger nails visible, his arms are bent and hands clenched below the pectorals (Younger and Rehak 2001: 410).

Although there is not much evidence for wooden figures in Late Bronze Age Crete, a very interesting possibility is offered by feet made of clay, dated to the LM IB period (the only probable earlier example known is from Anemospilia sanctuary, Laffineur 2001: 387; Driessen 2001: 365), found at a few sites, like Phaistos, Zakros, Chania, Mallia, Sklavokampos, Mochlos-Limanari and Gournia, which might be the remains of Minoan *xoana* (Driessen 2001: 367; Marinatos and Hägg 1983: 190-191) (Fig. II.4). This would also be an important example of an attempt

to create larger, probably cult statues in this period - maybe even predecessors of the GWUA type figures, though unfortunately lost now due to the perishable material. However, this remains highly speculative, because the aforementioned clay feet did not have any sign of attachment to a wooden statue (Marinatos and Hägg 1983: 191-192). As Marinatos and Hägg suggest, it is very probable that in these periods there were no cult images as such in use in Minoan cult ritual, and the only larger statues are known from the peak sanctuaries, where they rather had votive functions (1983: 185-201).

**The origins of the Cretan GWUAs**

In the Neopalatial period, religion was very much connected with the administration and elites, ceremonies and festivals were probably overseen, organized and sponsored by the state, which was giving the population a sense of group and cultural identity and of a divine protection (Younger and Rehak 2008: 178). However, as was previously discussed, the destructions of LM IB most probably targeted the elites and everything that was connected with them, including religious symbols. These events surely put a mark on the beliefs and cult practices on Crete; some suggest that those changes might have been inspired by the Theran eruption, which would be a visible sign that old prayers did not work. Mycenaean presence on the island might also have had the potential to inspire change in religious symbolism (Peatfield 1994: 35), although it seems that *psi* type figurines were used only by the visitors from the Mainland, in a household context (D'Agata 2001: 347). This is further discussed in the case study concerning the figure and figurines from Chania. It is noteworthy that most of these examples are probably terracottas with upraised arms, and other gestures were not highly represented in this assemblage, but there is not enough evidence to argue this for certain. However, it might be observed that the first 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' type figures appear on Crete in areas with Mycenaean presence and under influence of the Mainland culture, as at Knossos or Chania (see below).

All these sudden changes happening after LM IB in the religious life of the inhabitants of Crete were suitably labelled 'crisis cults' by Driessen, describing

them as: "(...) ritual reactions by social groups that try to cope with a problem which routine secular or sacred practices cannot master." (2001: 362). To describe the extent of these changes, Peatfield uses the metaphor of a 'Big Bang', which is as much the end as it is the beginning of something new (1994: 19, 36). However, Cretans did not fully discard old symbols, but rather substantialy redefined them and reused them in a creative, new way (D'Agata and Hermary 2012: 278; Preston 2008: 316; D'Agata 2006: 401), as it is illustrated by 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' themselves, and their attributes (Peatfield 1994: 20, 33-34). D'Agata (2012: 279; 2006: 399-403) suggests that LM IIIC shrines are a sign of an emerging elite, connected with new local political entities and its relation with the divine through dedication of terracotta figures and cultic paraphernalia.

**Case Studies**

Further material is presented below using case studies of six important sites: Knossos, Chania, Karphi, Kannia, Gournia and Halasmenos, which illustrates a varied and representative assemblage of 'GWUA' type figures and figurines. What is important here is that the relevant material and architecture has been well researched (with the exception of Kannia) and this provides a good spatial context for the terracottas, necessary for further interpretation. The case studies are presented, insofar as possible, in chronological order, starting with LM IIIB examples to LM IIIC.

**KNOSSOS – The Unexplored Mansion**

The 'Unexplored Mansion', was discovered by Evans in 1908 but not excavated by him, which is why this descriptive name was used, which, because of its wide recognition, was kept by the actual excavators. Minoan levels were investigated in 1968-1973 under the directorship of M.R. Popham from the British School of Archaeology in Athens. It was a large Late Minoan Mansion (24 x 14.5 m), located near the 'Little Palace' in Knossos. The 'Unexplored Mansion' can be divided into three sectors: north, south (both series of rooms opening to the corridor), and central (probably a pillar hall). There was also an upper storey,

accessed by three staircases (one in each sector): it is possible to partially reconstruct its plan based on preserved fallen stone masonry, but not in the north section due to later activity and robbing of the building material. The building was constructed in LM IA, and at the end of LM II, it was badly damaged by fire (most of the upper floor collapsed); the northern sector was cleared and reoccupied until LM IIIB (Popham 1984: 1-3). In the last phase of occupation, only three lower rooms were used, with floors of earth, walls covered with mud-plaster, and part of the upper storey functioned (Popham 1984: 263).

There are two known GWUAs from the so-called Unexplored Mansion in Knossos, according to Higgins (1984: 197-202). The first is dated to LM II, but she lacks the canonical gesture and her arms are only stretched forwards, and therefore it cannot be considered a GWUA (Popham 1984: Plate 191a). It was found in the Pillar Room H, considered to fall from the upper floor. In the publication fragments of 'similar figures' are also noted (and illustrated) (Higgins 1984: 198) found in the Royal Road in Knossos. They are of small size, solid and crudely made. Their arms appear to be stretched forwards or upwards. Especially example number five is reminiscent of some later Cypriot examples due to its cylindrical body (Popham 1984: Plate 193: 1-5). Higgins dates it to LM or SM and describes as probably a 'Minoan prototype of the typical Mycenaean figurine' (Higgins 1984: 198).

The second figurine from the Unexplored Mansion referred to as a 'goddess' is dated to LM IIIB (Popham 1984: 263) (Fig. II.5B). She is 0.33 m high, her arms are bent and stretched upwards (left arm almost completely missing), and she has a bell shaped skirt, decorated with painted, horizontal bands and black hair indicated with incisions visible at the back of the head up to the shoulders (Higgins 1984: 198; Popham 1984: Plate 191b). Her solid body is pegged into a hollow skirt; the clay is pale brown and the paint reddish-brown (Popham 1984: 9). This figurine was found in the northern sector in Room C, together with an *askos* (a horse carrying a jar): they are said to have fallen from the above storey. There were no attributes connected with this figurine (Gesell 1985: 42). Due to a lack of architectural remains, it is not possible to say whether the figurine was used in a public or domestic shrine (Gesell 1985: 42). Like the Gournia GWUAs, Gesell dates the GWUA from Knossos to LM IIIB, due to the lack of LM IIIC pottery (1985: 43).

There are also six fragments of imported Mycenaean anthropomorphic figurines, including three of *phi* type; two could belong to any type, and one is possibly of a group of persons seated in a circle with arms around each other's waists (Higgins 1984: 200; Popham 1984: Plate 194.11-15).

**CHANIA**

A Mycenaean presence in Chania in western Crete is more visible than at any other location on Crete. The site, located below the modern town, was excavated by a Greek-Swedish Excavation team from 1969, in 2010 it was joined by the Danish Institute (Winbladh 2009: 177; Hallager 1988: 116). It was inhabited from the Neolithic down to the Geometric period, with a c. 400 years hiatus after LM IIIC. Chania is known from the Linear B tablets as *Ku-do-ni-ja*, an important centre with a high degree of autonomy from the Knossian administration in the LM II period (Preston 2008: 314). It is also a site second only to Knossos where evidence for Linear B writing on Crete has been found (Betancourt 2008: 220). In LM IIIB, Chania was probably the most thriving centre of the island, with still functioning administration with Linear B tablets in use and an extensive trade network illustrated by many examples of exported pottery (the so-called Kydonian workshop), especially inscribed stirrup jars found on Crete, Mainland Greece, Cyprus and in the Near East (Preston 2008: 318; Popham 1979: 178-191). After the fire at the end of LM IIIB, it was reoccupied and abandoned only at the end of LM IIIC (Hallager 1988: 115-124, 1996: 47).

There were no less than five to seven anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines imported from the Mainland (probably from the Argolid) found on the site and thirteen were interpreted as made locally, but in a Mycenaean tradition. They are dated to LM II or LM IIIC; there are no imported examples from the LM IIIA2 – LM IIIB period. Most of the fragments were found in pits, but four locally made figurines from LM IIIA2-IIIB were discovered in situ in the settlement (Winbladh 2009: 177-178). Anthropomorphic figurines included proto-*phi*, *phi*, probably *tau* and *psi* type (which was preferred in locally made ones), so it was a varied

assemblage, especially compared to examples from the rest of the island (Winbladh 2009: 180-187). They were probably used in a household context, some were placed near a large hearth and door entrance, similar to the way in which they were used in the Mainland Greece (Hägg 1997: 167; Hallager 1988: 117; Kilian 1981: 56).

Within the Rubbish Area North, which as name suggests was a dumping place, an upper fragment of a locally made, large head was found (Fig. II.6-7). The preserved part is 0.107 m high and 0.084 m wide – the estimated size of the whole figure would be 0.75 m. Its context is dated to LM IIIB. The figure's facial characteristics include large, bulging eyes and well-defined eyebrows in relief, and a sharp, protruding nose, all painted in reddish-brown. There is also a fragment of a painted band, which probably circled the upper part of the forehead. The lower part of the preserved piece was wheelmade and the rest handmade, probably by coiling (Winbladh 2009: 187). It was, as the excavators observed, made in the Minoan style, but used by a population under a strong Mycenaean influence (Winbladh 2009: 189). The figure might have been damaged during the fire and destructions by the end of the LM IIIB period, and discarded in the dumping area. This would follow the discard patterns observed for Mycenaean figurines, which were often thrown away like ordinary objects at the end of their use-life, as noted by Tzonou-Herbst (2009: 161-175).

It is not possible to securely attribute the Chania figure to the GWUAs group, since only part of the head is preserved. However, the estimated size, facial features and dating suggest it might have been a statue of this type. Its overall picture would probably be an interesting mixture of Minoan and Mycenaean influences and different from the 'canonical' LM IIIC examples from the east of the island (Fig. II.8). Furthermore, recently a snake tube has been found, dated to LM IIIB:2 (according to the Danish Institute report from 2010).

## KANNIA

Kannia is the most complete shrine building known from the LM III period (besides Kephala Vasilikis). Unfortunately, the surrounding area has not yet been uncovered (Gesell 2004: 138), and it might therefore be an isolated Minoan villa or be connected with an unknown town complex (Younger and Rehak 2008: 145; Peatfield 1994: 32). Kannia was excavated in 1958 by the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens under the directorship of Doro Levi (Levi 1959: 237-265). It is now accessible for the public, with numerous pithoi still visible in situ (Fiandra 1959: 265-268).

Remains of the Minoan villa in Kannia, 2 km from Gortyn in the Mesara Plain, includes storerooms with Neopalatial pithoi, stairs probably leading to an upper storey and a sanctuary complex in its eastern part, whose date is problematic (Gesell 1985: 43; Levi 1959: 239-241). Unfortunately, parts of it, including the eastern facade, were damaged by cultivation. Due to a lack of internal connections between the sanctuary and the rest of the building, an access through the mentioned façade is postulated, through Room I or VI (Gesell 1983: 97). Following that, it is interpreted as a public sanctuary, serving either a rural community, or an unknown yet nearby town (Gesell 1985: 43; Gesell 1983: 97). Room I (4.3 x 3.3 m) is identified as a sanctuary. Four figures of GWUA type figures were found here on the bench along with snake tubes on the floor. Room VI (3.0 x 3.0 m) is considered an anteroom or repository for offerings; bowls and miniature objects were found there. The narrow Rooms III (irregular) and XV (4.0 x 1.0 m) were probably used as storerooms. Room V (3.0 x 3.0 m) had two benches, a built hearth, and a large number of cult objects were found there. However, Gesell (1985: 43) argues that this room might rather have been a preparation area than a second sanctuary, because two benches are unknown in Postpalatial sanctuaries, also a first built hearth is known only from the Temple in Dreros, 750 B.C.)

The chronology of the Kannia sanctuary is unclear. According to the excavator, Doro Levi, all the material should be LM I, based on pithoi fragments and decorated pots (Levi 1959: 243-244). However, Alexiou (1968: 109) dates the stirrup jar found here to LM IIIB, with parallels from Amnissos and Knossos. As Gesell (1985: 44) points out, these and the fact that no GWUAs are attested as early as LM I, suggest that the building was reoccupied in a later period. However, it is intriguing why there was no more LM III pottery found in the sanctuary area. Prior to reoccupation, the rooms probably had to be cleaned (as mentioned, Levi did not observe any stratigraphical differences) and LM I sherds were either omitted in the cleaning process or reused.

There were at least eight almost complete GWUA type figures found at this site (Fig. II.9). Their fragments were found in Rooms I (four examples, two almost complete statues), III (fragments, including a head and an arm), V (one complete and fragments of others) and XV (one figure) (Gesell 1985: 77-78; Levi 1959: 245). Alongside them, snake tubes, plaques, fruit stands, jewellery, small anthropomorphic figurines, jugs, bowls, cups, miniature vases, libation tables and an incense burner were found (Gesell 1983: 97; Levi 1959: 245-246). The figures were probably not removed from the shrine, unless to take part in rituals. In Kannia some (probably old and out of use) were also stored in a preparation room (Hallager 2009: 108).

Figure found in Room 1, was 0.34 m high, her arms were extended up and forward, and on each arm she had two plastic snakes, and a row of snakes, with a larger central one is visible on the tiara. The tiara itself is dentate in shape with black, blue and red teeth (other traces of paint were on the face, hair and skirt); it also had seven holes, possibly for the attachment of additional attributes. The figure had holes in the ears (probably for earrings now lost), and a bird attached to the neck below the ear. Her skirt was cylindrical and slightly concave, with two bands: one at the top and the other at the bottom, and a thin ring indicating the waistline. Gesell observed that the body was disproportionally elongated compared to the skirt (Gesell 1985: 77-78). The arms and head of the second figure, also found in Room 1, are not preserved. She had a cylindrical slightly concave skirt, with bands at the top and bottom, and a ring around the waist. The third GWUA figure also had a

dentate tiara, with snakes, and a broken cylindrical projection, her arms were bent slightly forward and raised, but the hands and one arm are not preserved (Levi 1959: 247). She had a cylindrical slightly concave skirt, with bands at the top and bottom, and a ring indicating the waistline. The mouth was painted red and traces of paint indicate bands and triangles on her skirt. This example has visibly larger breasts than the others. Another figure was found lying face down in the centre of room XV. She has a pyramidal dentate tiara with snakes, and was of 0.34 m height, had arms upraised, and parallel to each other, with palms facing forwards and a cylindrical, concave skirt with bands at the top and bottom, and a ring around the waist (Gesell 1985: 77-78; Levi 1959: 245-247).

The most distinct example from Kannia is the smallest one - just 0.22 m high, compared with other examples, it might be even called a figurine, found near the north wall of Room V. She had arms upraised and parallel to each other, with palms facing out, a cylindrical, concave skirt, with bands at the top and bottom, and a ring around the waist. There were no snakes or other attributes on her dentate tiara (Levi 1959: 245). The top of the head was open and she had a handle on the back, which might suggest that the figurine was used as a vessel. However, it would also (without ruling out the first interpretation) facilitate the transportation and/or presentation of the statuette to the public.

**GOURNIA**

The Minoan town of Gournia is located on a hill overlooking the Mirabello Bay, on the north-eastern coast of Crete, where the island is narrow and it is easy to transport goods between the two shores (Harrison 2012: 23). The shrine in Gournia offers the first east Cretan example of the 'Goddess with Upraised Arms'. It is of special importance because of the further development of this type in later settlements within this area. It was discovered by Boyd Hawes (*et al.* 1908: 47) and originally dated to LM I, but as observed by later scholars, it rather belongs to the LM III reoccupation period and can be dated to LM IIIB (Rousioti and Stournas 2011: 493; Eliopoulos 2004: 81-82; Gesell 1985: 43; Alexiou 1958: 185-187; Marinatos 1937: 289). At this time, the LM IB Gournia 'palace' was deserted, but a

new megaron-like structure was built at the South end of the plateia, which might suggest a Mycenaean influence or presence; furthermore, new constructions do not follow the earlier Neopalatial town orientation (Younger and Rehak 2001: 443). A paved road run to the shrine on the top of a hill, itself consisting of a single room. It was probably part of a larger building or a complex, rather than an isolated public cult place, although at the beginning it might have been accessible from the outside (Eliopoulos 2004: 82; Gesell 1983: 95; Marinatos and Hägg 1983: 188). Rousioti and Stournas suggest that the location of the shrine within the older settlement, and at a distance from contemporary houses, might be an attempt to reconnect with the past in a symbolic manner (2011: 494). It was abandoned with the rest of the settlement in LM IIIB, after which new sites appeared in the mountainous part of the region, including Kavousi and Kephala Vasilikis, probably inhabited by the Gournia population (Eliopoulos 2004: 83). The existence of the bench for the cultic paraphernalia in the Gournia shrine is controversial; the only evidence is a raised row of irregular stones, which might have been plastered (Eliopoulos 2004: 82; Russell 1979: 27).

The figure from Gournia was just 0.365 m high (Eliopoulos 2004: 86) (Fig. II.10). As observed by Eliopoulos (2004: 86), the difference between the Gournia figurine and the later figures from Kephala Vasiliki or Vronda, is more one of size than of style. It is the most complete of probably several fragmentary figurines or figures. It had snakes on her arms and around the body, and other symbols, like horns of consecration, a double axe, birds and a disk are connected either with her or the cult equipment (Gesell 1983: 96). There were also three snake tubes found stored in the corner, together with a pithos (Gesell 1985: 43).

**KARPHI**

The site of Karphi was first discovered by Sir Arthur Evans in 1896, and was properly excavated by the students of the BSA in 1937-1939 under the direction of J.D.S. Pendlebury, and published in a preliminary report in 1940 (Pendlebury *et al.* 1940), with pottery published in 1960 (Seiradaki 1960). Probably only one fifth of the actual site was uncovered (Nowicki 1987: 241). Karphi is a site located in the saddle between Karphi and Mikre Koprana mountains in the Lasithi

Plain, at an altitude approximately 1100 metres above sea level (Nowicki 1987: 235). It was identified as a refuge settlement dated to the LM IIIC and Sub-Minoan periods (Nowicki 1987: 237). Paths resembling *kalderimi* outside and within the settlement were observed, some were stepped (Pendlebury *et al.* 1940: 66). Nowicki (1987: 239) also observed the existence of two main squares within the town (the areas around them were built on eventually). The excavators identified two town sanctuaries, three shrines (or smaller sanctuaries) and three houses with some domestic cult areas. Figures of GWUA type or their fragments were attested in three of these places (Gesell 1985: 79; Gesell 1983: 96) (Fig. II.8).

The biggest cult building, called by the excavators the 'Temple', was a free-standing structure of a rectangular plan, with the north wall missing due to erosion (5.0 m x at least 8.0 m), and four smaller rooms attached. There was a stone bench, a stone shelf (0.8 m above the floor), and a low square stone altar in the main room. No roofing material was found, and the main room might have been hypaethral (Pendlebury *et al.* 1940: 75; Gesell 1985: 79), but its small dimensions suggest the opposite (Alexiou 1958: 129; Rutkowski 1987: 261). Rutkowski observes that the main room was build first, and in this phase there was no bench or altar, and the entrance was in the southern wall (1987: 259-261). Later, additional rooms, the bench and altar were erected, and the entrance was in the southeastern façade. These observations further support the proposition that the main room of the temple was indeed roofed (Rutkowski 1987: 264). There was a square in front of the Temple, covering an area of 15-17 x 20 m and sloping towards the south (Rutkowski 1987: 259). It can be divided into two parts – a higher, uneven and rocky space, and lower, open space of 8 x 12 m (Rutkowski 1987: 259). Finds from the Temple include four limestone pounders, one seal, spindle whorls, a bead, two cowrie shells (*cyprae moneta*), one triton shell, an obsidian fragment and pottery. There was also a plaque with a face, resembling the facial characteristics of GWUA figures.

Five figures of GWUA type come from this building, together with fragments of others. Unfortunately only one has a recorded find spot: a figure found in the North annex. Another example is 0.63 m high, her arms are brought forwards and palms are facing each other. She has a cylindrical, concave skirt, decorated with a band on the top, and a ring around the waist, her hair is wavy across the forehead,

and she does not have a tiara, or eyebrows. Another two figures are generally similar: they both have arms held slightly forwards with palms at an oblique angle and straight, tall and narrow cylindrical skirts, with rings around the waists and base. Interestingly, they have two cut-out holes from which the feet project. Their torsos are of a triangular shape, which, as Gesell (1985: 79) observes, gives a broad masculine appearance to the shoulders. Their neck is long and the facial characteristics are sharply delineated. In contrast to the first example, they both have low conical tiaras with disks and birds. The third figure has a knob on each wrist - Gesell (1985: 79) suggests these might be interpreted as seal stones. It also has holes in the ears (probably for earrings now lost) and bracelets. The arms of the fourth figure are brought forward with palms facing each other, and with bent wrists. This example had a cylindrical concave skirt with, again, a single opening in front and back for the feet, and a ring around the waist. The face, established on a long neck, had a visibly open mouth, and it was adorned with a conical tiara with a single pair of horns of consecration. The last example had arms brought forwards with palms facing each other and a cylindrical skirt with one band on the bottom. Her facial characteristics are less sharp but with prominent eyebrows; the figure does not have a preserved tiara, but an opening in the head suggests she might have had one (Pendlebury *et al.* 1940: 75-76; Gesell 1985: 79).

The second sanctuary is an open court next to the Great House (Rooms 16-17), but without any communication with it. There was a bench, with fragments of GWUA figures, a small female figurine, a triton shell and 'cult objects' (which were unfortunately not further explained by the excavators) (Pendlebury *et al.* 1940: 77-78). A snake tube came from the nearby area 17 (Gesell 1985: 81). Rutkowski (1987: 262, 264) suggests that the Great House could be part of the same complex as the Temple, creating a single sacred area; this could only be confirmed by further excavations.

Fragments of at least two GWUA figures came from Rooms 116, 89 and 79 of a so-called Commercial Quarter, interpreted by the excavators as a general store. In Room 116, there was a rocky floor, which rises nearly to a bench level. In the same area, fragments of a plaque were found, along with spindle whorls, a stone grinder, a whetstone and pottery (Gesell 1985: 45).

Other cult-related areas in Karphi usually had snake tubes, and/or small figurines. However, Room 57 contained only an elaborate terracotta stand with numerous horns of consecration cut-out and painted and four plastic animals (probably cattle), one in each corner (Gesell 1985: 45). Pendlebury (1940: 138-139) describes cult in Karphi as of Minoan character and the main deity as 'the Minoan mother-goddess' (Pendlebury *et al.* 1940: 138). He also suggests a certain degree of mixture of Minoan and Mycenaean elements, the latter visible in house plans (Pendlebury *et al.* 1940: 138). D'Agata (2012: 279) suggests that the number of sanctuaries itself might be a sign of an existence of several groups with claims to political power, and a lack of central authority.

**HALASMENOS**

Halasmenos is a LM IIIC settlement in the northern part of the Ierapetra Isthmus in southeast Crete, founded probably in the middle of the period (Tsipopoulou 2005: 318). It is located on a gentle slope at the southern edge of the Ha gorge, near the modern village of Monastiraki (Tsipopoulou 2001: 99). According to the excavator, Metaxia Tsipopoulou (the excavations were also co-directed by the late William Coulson), it is almost a closed date deposit. It is not clear why the site was abandoned after a short period of use. Other sites from this period in the area are: Kavousi, Kephala Vasiliki, and Kataleimata, the latter probably had some relation to Halasmenos (Tsipopoulou 2001: 99). Tsipopoulou observes that other settlements in the area with shrines containing GWUAs – Kephala Vasiliki and Kavousi Vronda - were also short-lived (Tsipopoulou 2009: 131). Halasmenos was probably reoccupied in the Protogeometric period, without building any walls, with the exception of a tholos tomb above the ruins in sector B. In the Late Geometric period, an *oikos* was built on top of the bigger megaron in sector A (Tsipopoulou 2005: 320).

The excavated area is 4000 square metres, and is divided into three sectors named A, B, and C (the latter sometimes also published as Γ). Communication between them was facilitated by a series of paved roads and/or stepped ramps

(Tsipopoulou 2009: 121; 2005: 318). The settlement displays a certain degree of urban planning (Tsipopoulou 2005: 304). There was an open triangularly shaped space in the centre of the village (Tsipopoulou 2005: 318). Three megara were excavated on the site, in sector A, one bigger and two smaller (of equal dimensions). A paved *kalderimi*-like path lead through sector A to a shrine, located in sector C, on a slightly lower plateau, connecting it with megara from this sector (Tsipopoulou 2009: 121, 131).

The shrine is a free-standing building on the north-eastern edge of the settlement; only its southwest corner touches other structures. As noted by the excavator, to the east and north there are open spaces, which "would have accommodated the gathering of a significant number of people and would have been suitable for ritual processions" (Tsipopoulou 2009: 121). It would have been easily accessible from all three sectors of the settlement, and it stands out because of a slightly different orientation (north-south) compared to other buildings (Tsipopoulou 2009: 123). Interestingly, the shrine has a megaron plan, similar to such buildings from sector A (Tsipopoulou 2001: 99). That means that it has a rectangular shape, two rooms of different size (the first bigger, the second smaller) and an axial main entrance (Rupp 2007: 62). Its external dimensions are 5.5 x 13.0 m, and it is divided into two parts (the first room 7 m long, the second 4 m), with an entrance 1.3 m wide in the middle of the north wall, facing the sea (Tsipopoulou 2009: 123-124). There are two benches in the bigger room (along the west and south walls) and three in the smaller (west, south and east walls), and a flat slab was found in the middle of the first room (Tsipopoulou 2009: 123). There were six pithoi (height over 1 m) in the first room, which, as noted by Tsipopoulou (2009: 128, 132), would have significantly restricted the space in the shrine; however, she postulates they might have been placed there in a time of distress before the abandonment of the site (there were no other storage areas found within the settlement). Whittaker (2009: 339) argues differently, that they may have been a part of a communal storage linked to religious aspects. She hypothesized that agricultural production was connected with beliefs.

There were six almost complete GWUA type figures (height 0.35-0.60 m) and fragments of approximately ten more found at the site (Tsipopoulou 2009: 124)

(Fig. II.11-12). Three were found in situ, in what we might expect to be their use or storage context, on the south bench of the first room, facing the entrance (Tsipopoulou 2009: 124). Tsipopoulou divides them into three different groups based on the clay used in their production, and the size and hairstyles differ between each group. The first fabric is fine yellowish buff clay, the second is a fine and reddish brown, and the third is reddish-brown, known from cooking wares (Tsipopoulou 2009: 124). The latter type is also characterized by an unusual skirt, elliptical in section, also wheel-made, but pressed before firing (Tsipopoulou 2009: 124-125). The surface of the figures is covered with a thick slip and there are some traces of paint on hair (black), and dresses (Tsipopoulou 2009: 124). They wear tiaras (one with an attached bird) and have a ring around the waist (Tsipopoulou 2009: Fig. 11.4-5, 11-12). Tsipopoulou (2001: 100) observes some similarities between GWUA figures from Halasmenos and Kavousi Vronda, and the existence of similar sets of figure-snake tube as in the latter site.

Other finds from the shrine include eleven snake tubes (on the benches or fallen in front of them), kalathoi (one on the bench), a tripod (in the northwest corner of the building), an oval-mouthed basin, some globular cups and a rectangular stand with incised decoration (Tsipopoulou 2009: 129). Ordinary vases found in the shrine have parallels in pottery from the settlement and associated tholos tombs (Tsipopoulou 2009: 131). The discovery of eleven plaques or pinakes is very interesting. They were mostly found lying along, or in front of, the east bench in the first room, and some fragments were scattered in the second room. The pinakes were very well executed with a ledge at the upper edge and double horns above the top corners, and they had a pair of suspension holes in the centre, below the ledge (Tsipopoulou 2009: 128, fig. 11.16-18). Tsipopoulou (2009: 128-129) argues that they were originally covered with an organic substance, like wax, allowing carving signs on them, and would hang on the wall above the bench.

Other finds from the settlement, found in the domestic context, but suggesting ritual activity are: a clay bull figurine, a male lead figurine, a burnt kalathos with pomegranate decoration in sector A, a female figurine with a miniature jug, a clay bull figurine found with some schematic anthropomorphic figurines in sector B (Tsipopoulou 2001: 99). According to Rupp, the alleged

megara in sector A in Halasmenos were not built as such, but evolved into this shape by the gradual addition of back rooms and/or dividing walls (2007: 61-65). However, he observes that the shrine was entirely constructed at once on a megaron plan, as the last building in sector C.

**Other sites**

Among other sites where GWUA figures were found Pankalohori (Fig.II.17) and Prinias provided only individual examples, and Kephala Vasiliki (4 figures), Gazi (5 figures), and Kavousi Vronda. The latter will be a highly important site for the study of this type of terracottas, however it remains unpublished and only in articles information about 'dozens' of fragments of GWUAs can be found (Gesell 2012, 2010, 2006). I had a possibility to observe how several fragmentary figures were being assembled in INSTAP in 2010, and they do bear a resemblance to other LM IIIC figures from Halasmenos or Karphi. The site of Gazi was discovered and published by Marinatos (1937) and was the first LM IIIC shrine with GWUA figures found; it provided five well-preserved figures, standing either on a bench or lying on the floor next to it. It is the only known LM IIIC shrine with GWUAs in Central Crete. It might have been connected with earlier Knossian terracottas (Fig.II.5 A and B), and/or the Kannia shrine. The site of Kephala Vasiliki remains partially published (Elliopoulos 2004, 2003), but it provided an interesting example of a seated GWUA, which is reconstructed by excavators from fragments scattered in different rooms (Gesell 2004: 145-147).

**Objects associated with GWUAs**

As was observed by Gesell for the Kavousi material, GWUA figures (to a lesser extent figurines) were usually accompanied by a certain set of objects. They can be described, thus, according to Whitehouse's definition as "objects used in rites: items of equipment used in religious ritual" (1996: 13). This included plaques decorated, often with a depiction of a GWUA, like the example from Kannia. and so-called snake tubes with a vase (kalathoi) (Gesell 2001: 253-257) (Fig. II. 13-14). Pottery was also found among these objects, of the same type as that found within the settlement (Gesell 1985: 44, 50). It was probably not made especially for ritual

use, but gained this new function during its use-life (Whitehouse 1996: 22). Stone vessels, probably heirlooms, were recorded in Kannia (Gesell 1985: 44). Although the figures themselves started to appear at the beginning of LM III, it was probably just in LM IIIC that the set of these specific accompanying objects became standard (D'Agata 2005: 2). Gesell further argues for a relation between specific figures and vases that would be produced and used together (Peatfield 1994: 31; Gesell *et al.* 1988: 162; Gesell 1985: 50). There are several bench shrines with these sets of objects, but without GWUA figures, for example at Katsamba, Kephala Chondrou, Kommos, Amnissos, Koumasa, Kato Syme (Peatfield 1994: 31), and recently uncovered at Sisi near Malia (Driessen, personal communication 2011).

**Gender**

If only the state of preservation permits it, all Cretan GWUAs can be gendered female, based on visible breasts. However, it is important to underline that this is a secondary gender characteristic, and none of the figures (and figurines) have a pubic triangle accentuated in any way. This gender homogeneity permits us to state that female gender was probably a part of main characteristics of GWUA type terracottas in Crete. It is interesting to notice that there was a visible lack of male iconography at these sites, as far as anthropomorphic terracottas are concerned. Previous periods provided a far more nuanced and complicated iconography concerning gender relations, including possible gender ambiguity presented in frescoes (Hitchcock 2000). Thus, whenever Cretan GWUAs represent deities or worshippers it was of special importance for manufacturers to provide them with secondary female characteristics, as a part of the 'costume'.

**Usage of GWUA type figures in processions**

GWUA were made to be able to stand without any support, on the stable base of their bell-shaped, or cylindrical skirts (Fig. II.15). The figures were designed to be the focal point of ritual, probably even the main cult statuettes, a proposition reinforced by their position on the benches opposite the doorway in the shrine. The issue of both size and context is crucial in identifying the representation of the Goddess or Goddesses, as Goodison and Morris (1998: 114) propose: "She might be

big; … She might have been found in a location suitable for ritual. Better still would be evidence from a picture showing her being worshiped." By being accessible directly from the street, bench sanctuaries most probably served all members of the community (Peatfield 1994: 31). Thus, we might suggest that cult itself was public and everyone could participate in it. However, the size of these sanctuaries, which usually consist of up to three small rooms, did not allow for the performance of a public ritual (Gesell 1985: 47).

The existence of processions as part of rituals is attested in Bronze Age Aegean art, as an organized body of people advancing in a formal or ceremonial manner (Blakomer 2008: 257-268; Whittaker 2009: 106-109, discusses the role of processions with figures in the Mycenaean cult and its depiction in frescos). Processions were and still are in many societies a popular form of public celebration, as forming an orderly and impressive ceremony, and also a kind of cult activity, which might involve a vast majority or even a whole community. This kind of activity is important for communities as they "are established through shared practices" (Crewe and Knappett 2012: 182). It is tempting to postulate this type of ritual existing also in Postpalatial Cretan settlements, during which figures of 'GWUAs' were paraded around the village. Although big enough to be seen from a distance, the figures were hollow inside which made them lighter and easier to transport. They could be held by the bell-shaped skirt or by the waist, in a way that would make the emblematic gesture of upraised arms visible to the observers.

However, ethnographic observations suggest the usage of a platform carried by two or four people, usually specially chosen. Such observations might help us to move towards a model of how such rituals work at a practical level. A useful analogy is offered by an example of a procession with two figures of the Virgin Mary around Brok, a small town in eastern Poland (Fig. II.16). I observed and participated in this event, which I further supplemented with interviews with elderly inhabitants of the town. The figures used to be carried by young unmarried women from 'good' and usually wealthy families - involvement in this ritual was meant to give them a 'special blessing'. By underlining their social position it also gave them better chances of a good marriage. Nowadays, girls are usually no longer interested in taking active part in the procession, and elderly, married women from one of the

religious organizations replaced them. The figures themselves stand in the church, but their importance is considered to derive from their usage in processions during which they bless the village and the whole community. Of course, we should be very cautious when applying ethnographic analogies: not to treat them as a ready-made answer to our research questions, but rather as making us "aware of modes of behaviour that would be difficult to deduce by logic alone" (Talalay 1993: 40).

Another analogy is offered by texts concerning processions from Emar in Syria, a Late Bronze Age site at the fringe of the Hittite empire (Fleming 2000, 1992). They underline especially three elements: leaving the sacred site, carrying the sacred object (the most important sacred objects were the gods themselves in form of statues) and returning to the sacred site, sometimes it included also passing by a special place or e.g. between stones (Fleming 2000: 91-93, 1992: 106-107). We can see that processions involved special clothing – e.g. priestess dressed as a bride, and music. There is always a set order in which participants move, like during the *zukru* festival, when first come animals, singers are before the offering, after the offering is the god Halma and behind him the divine axe (Fleming 1992: 108). Also the precise timing is very important, when the procession takes place and when the particular elements (like veiling and unveiling of the statue) happen. Not only the priests and priestess or musicians take part in it, the whole population of the city is watching and following them (Fleming 2000: 91-92).

GWUAs figures might not only be displayed in publicly accessible, communal sanctuaries, but also taken outside and used in rituals bringing the community together. Often, like in Karphi or Halasmenos, open spaces located next to shrines were observed, suggesting the presence and importance of rites performed outside (Rutkowski 1987: 259; Tsipopoulou 2009: 121). Thus, the religious aspects of life in Postpalatial Crete of which these figures formed a part were at a public rather than a personal level. Procession is usually performed by the whole community, but as Blakomer (2008: 257-268) observes and as mentioned above, there are participants whose roles are more visible and prestigious. Thus, processions while bringing the community together could also play a role in establishing and maintaining the importance of the local elites.

**Later examples of the GWUA image?**

Cretan bench sanctuaries ceased to exist after the LM IIIC period (D'Agata 2006: 403-404). However, there are a few examples of later images similar to the GWUA figures and figurines, as observed by Alexiou (1958) and Gesell (1985). However, none of them is an actual terracotta figure. Although such large statues were known in the Protogeometric Crete, they are of a smaller scale: in bronze and clay, and mostly representations in other media, like vases and metalworks (Prent 2009: 232-233).

Probably the best known example is a cylindrical model said to be from a looted Protogeometric tomb at Archanes, with two figurines and an animal (probably a cat) sitting on the roof and an upraised arms figurine standing inside the house (Prent 2009: 235-236; Coldstream 2006: 584) (Fig. II.17). A terracotta model of a hut of 0.09 m is similar, also with a small figurine with upraised arms visible inside, from the Knossos Spring Chamber (near a later Demeter sanctuary), dated to the Subminoan period (Prent 2009: 234; D'Agata 2006: 406; Evans 1927: 128). They are similar to a Minoan shrine model, dated to the Neopalatial period (MM IIIA), from the peak sanctuary of Gournos Krousonas, with a chair inside, which was probably occupied by a figurine, fragments of which were found nearby (Rethemiotakis 2009: 195-199).

Small clay figurines with arms upraised, but not bent were found among the offerings in Gortyn, Ayia Triada, Phaneromeni Cave and a cave of Eilithyia in Tsoutsoros, and a bronze female figurine was found in Kato Syme, all dated between the Protogeometric and the Orientalizing period (Prent 2009: 234; Pilz 2006). In my opinion, they are rather similar to the Mycenaean *psi* type terracottas, and recall some of the Cypriot examples presented in the next chapter. Larger upraised arms figures are known from Chios (Late Helladic IIIC), where at least two fragmentary examples were identified. Another two examples dated to Geometric

period are known from the Athena sanctuary at Lindos (a highly stylized torso and a hand). The most well preserved ones are two figures from the Hera sanctuary in Samos and Hephaistia sanctuary at Lemnos, both dated to the Late Geometric period (Kourou 2002: 27-28).

Upraised arms figures are noticeable on some metalwork artefacts, like a plaque from Eleutherna, or votive shields from the Idaean Cave, Phaistos and Palaikastro, usually holding something in their hands, like plants or animals, which rather point to Near Eastern iconography (Prent 2009: 236-237). A similar image is painted on the Orientalizing period urn from Aphrati, where a female figure holding plants is flanked by two birds (Prent 2009: 236).

**Conclusions**

We should consider particularly the difference between the *image of* and the *image for*. These figures and figurines are *images of* standing females with upraised arms, and can be also *images of* Goddesses or priestesses. However, the question which has never been asked is what the image was *for*. How were these figurines used? How were they handled? What made them meaningful?

As mentioned above, the figures were designed for frontal viewing, a proposition reinforced by them standing on the benches opposite the doorway in the shrine (Gesell 2004:143; Marinatos 1993:228). The context can also indicate that they were indeed representations of a deity or deities. This interpretation is reinforced by the use of symbols - the presence of a tiara, which usually crowns the heads of the 'GWUAs'. These carry attributes such as horns-of-consecration, birds, discs and poppies, and there may also be snakes wrapped around their arms (Peatfield 1994:28; Gesell 2004:139-141). These are all symbols well known from Minoan palatial religion (Marinatos 1993: 227).

In some of the sanctuaries we find more than one figure – in Halasmenos there were nine, in Gazi five, in Kannia, Karphi and Kephala Vasiliki at least four (Gessel 2004: 145-147), and the statues from Kavousi Vronda can be counted in

dozens (Eliopoulos 2004: 87). There is a visible chronological development, with individual figures being found in earlier shrines (early LM IIIB) to numerous examples from later shrines (dated to LM IIIB-C). Together with number of them being found at a site, their size was also growing from ca. 0.2 m to ca. 0.6-7 m. Also, figurines and figures with specific attributes seem to appear in separate shrines. The 'Goddess' with snakes was found in Gournia, Kanina, and Prinias, the 'Goddess' with birds in Gazi, Karphi and Kavousi. Although there are exceptions – in Gazi there was also a Goddess with poppies, and there is also a figure from Kannia with snakes on her arms and a bird on her cheek (Gesell 2004: 139-140). Different attributes could indicate that these are images of several aspects of one Goddess or that these are different Goddesses – who we could call for example: *Snake Goddess*, *Bird Goddess* or *Poppy Goddess*. A middle ground theory has been proposed by Peatfield (1994:33-35), who argues that aspects of one Minoan Goddess, during the Postpalatial period, under the influence of the more polytheistic Mycenaean religion, has been transformed to different individualized Goddesses, although the overall image stayed the same (GWUA *type*).

Another possible interpretation is often cited for Cretan GWUAs – that they could be images of priestesses, worshipping, praying priestesses, or as recently has been proposed, performing, involved in cult activity or even impersonating a Goddess (German 2005; Gesell 2004: 144). German, in her recent study of performance in the Aegean Bronze Age (2005), underlines the existence and usage in the ritual of dance and processions, which are often very difficult to distinguish in Minoan art. Performers gesture in different directions, holding their arms out from their bodies (German 2005: 27). German proposes seven basic Minoan 'dance steps', recognized by the movement of the arms. Step 'E' consists of a familiar gesture of upraised arms. These representations were found mainly within the Minoan palaces, thus indicating that dances and processions were an element of official, elite rituals, conducted by priestesses or noble women. Such an interpretation can only be possible if we assume that priestesses were present in Postpalatial Minoan religion. Priesthood might have played an important role in Neopalatial Crete. Female priestesses involved in such activities as pouring of libations, taking part in processions, gathering flowers and performing dances, could be observable in the material (Marinatos 1993: 127-146). Rituals involving

the element of *epiphany* – the appearance of the Goddess, were, according to some interpretations, pictured on Minoan gold rings; during such ceremonies, a priestess could have been impersonating the divinity (Marinatos 1993: 137,143,145). In the Postpalatial period, we do not have this kind of imagery. New shrines erected in settlements, approachable directly from the street, indicate that a new kind of worship emerged (Marinatos 1993: 222). As Marinatos argue: "Impersonation by some privileged priestess was not possible any longer, but there remained the need for concreteness which the clay images were now required to fulfill" (Marinatos 1993: 229). Thus, during the ritual, the clay figurines rather than the priestesses could have been impersonating the Goddess.

Usage of the GWUA type figures and figurines in the LM IIIB-C is what characterised religious and social life of the Cretan society in this period, especially in the eastern part of the island. They were the answer to the crisis of the end of the LBA, the sense of insecurity and lack of authorities. However, they were strongly rooted in the past, and they were still a part of the Bronze Age Minoan iconography, by being its last but also fresh and creative emanation.

| Site | Number of figures | Average preserved size of figures | Dating |
|---|---|---|---|
| Knossos | 2 | 27.5 | LM IIIB |
| Chania | 1 | 10.7 | LM IIIB |
| Kannia | 8 | 25.5 | LM III |
| Gournia | 1 | 34 | LM IIIB |
| Karphi | 8 | 58 | LM IIIC |
| Pankalokhori | 1 | 52 | LM IIIB |
| Gazi | 5 | 61.7 | LM IIIC |
| Kephala Vasilikis | 5 | 67.5 | LM IIIC |
| Halasmenos | 6 | 38.66 | LM IIIC |
| Prinias | 3 | 62 | LM IIIB |
| | | | |
| **Total** | 39 | 43.76 | |
| | | | |
| **Total LM IIIB** | 8 | 37.24 | |
| **Total LM IIIC** | 24 | 56.45 | |

**A.**

| Settlement context | Discard context | Shrine context |
|---|---|---|
| | | |
| 2 (5.13%) | 1 (2.56%) | 36 (92.3%) |

**B.**

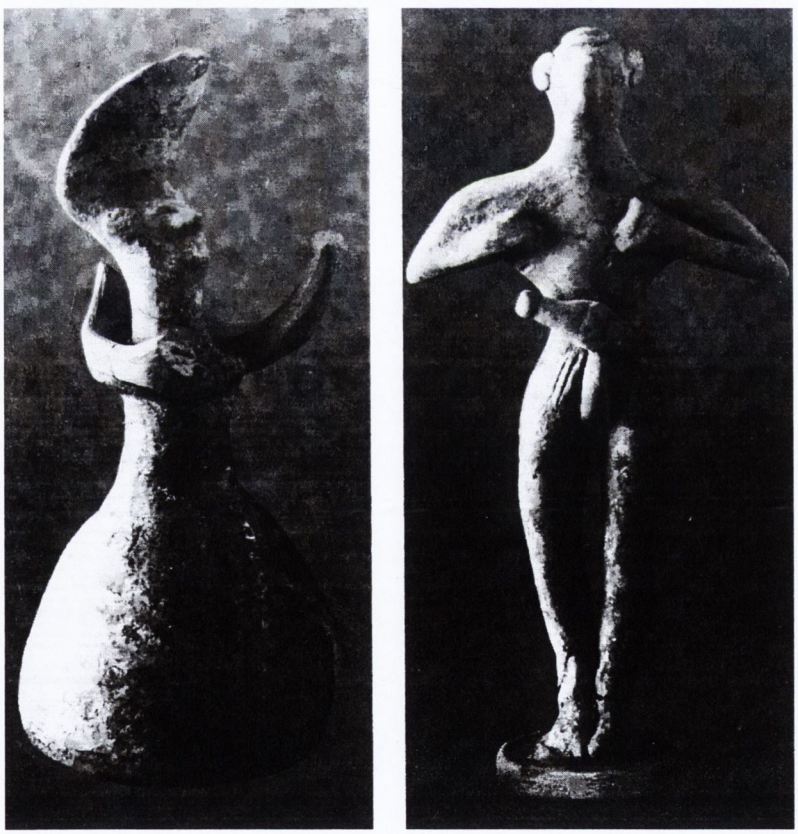
| Attributes | Number of GWUAs | Sites |
|---|---|---|
| bird | 2 | Knossos, Gazi |
| bird and disc | 2 | Karphi |
| bird and horns of consecration | 3 | Kannia, Gazi |
| bird and snake | 1 | Kannia |
| snake | 7 | Kannia, Gournia |
| poppy | 1 | Gazi |
| horns of consecration | 1 | Karphi |
| none | 1 | Knossos |

**C.**

**Table 4.** Cretan material according to a. number of figures, average size and dating, b. types of context, c. attributes



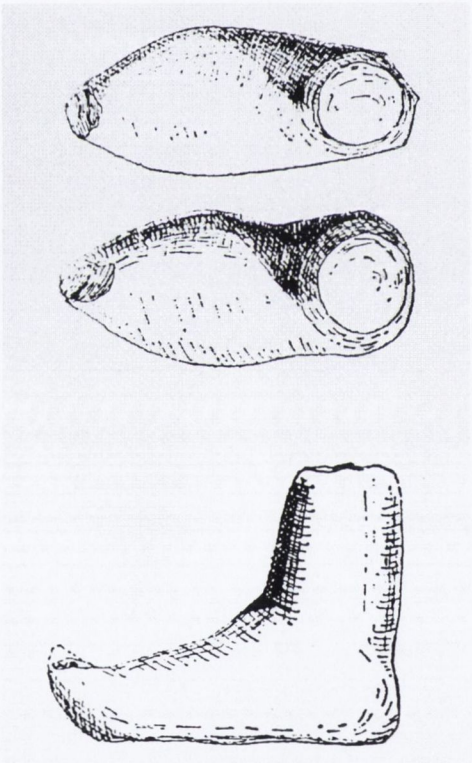
**II.1** Cycladic (Koumasa type) figurine in ivory, from Mesara



**II.2** Figurines from the peak sanctuary of Petsophas (0.10-0.15 m)



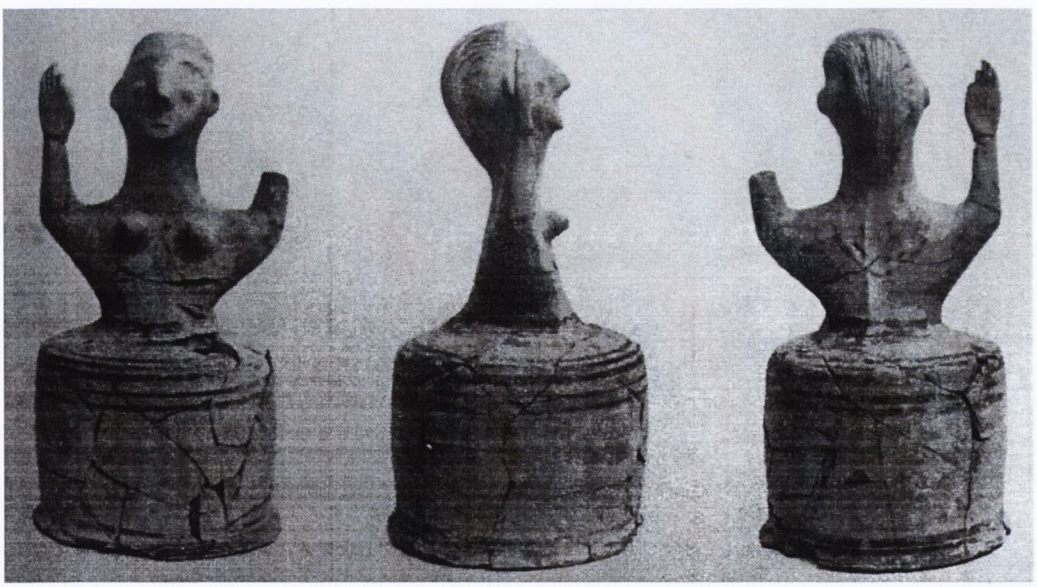
**II.3** 'Snake Goddess' figurine from Knossos (0.295 m)



**II.4** Clay feet from Malia



A.

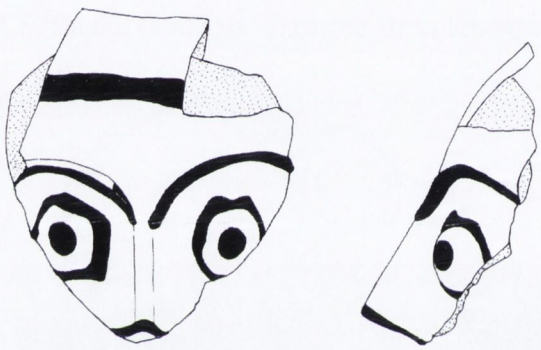


B.

**II.5** A: GWUA from the Double Axes Shrine in Knossos (0.22 m),
B: GWUA from the Unexplored Mansion in Knossos (0.33 m)



**II.6** Figure fragment from Chania (0.107 m)



**II.7** Figure fragment from Chania (0.107 m), drawing



**II.8** Figures from Karphi (0.67m, front and back: 0.63 m, 0.68 m)



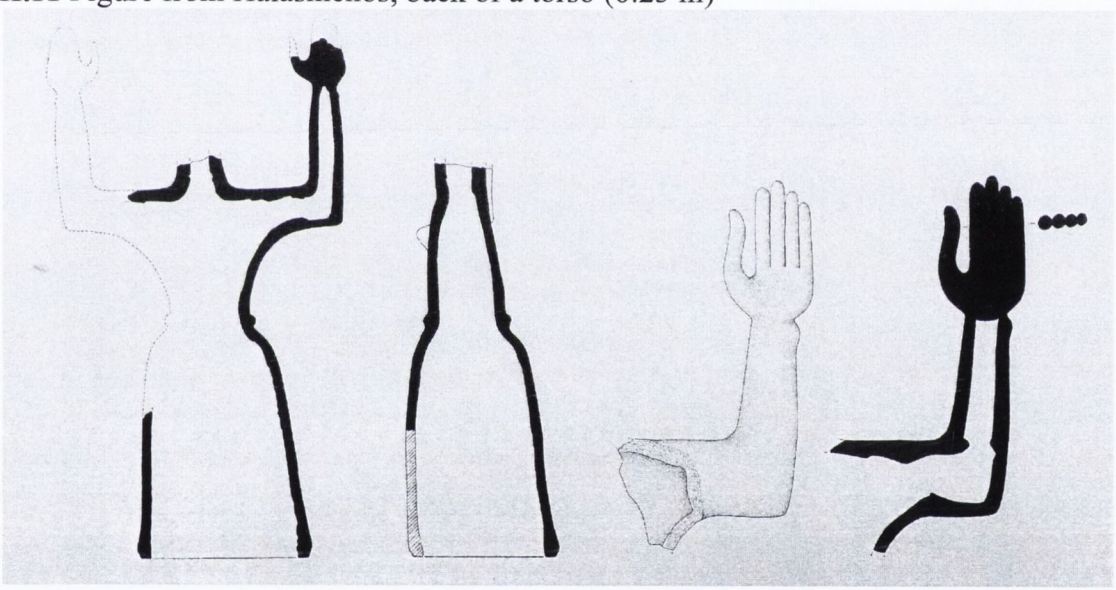
**II.9** Figures and figurines from Kannia (0.22 m, 0.34 m, 0.34 m, 0.47 m)



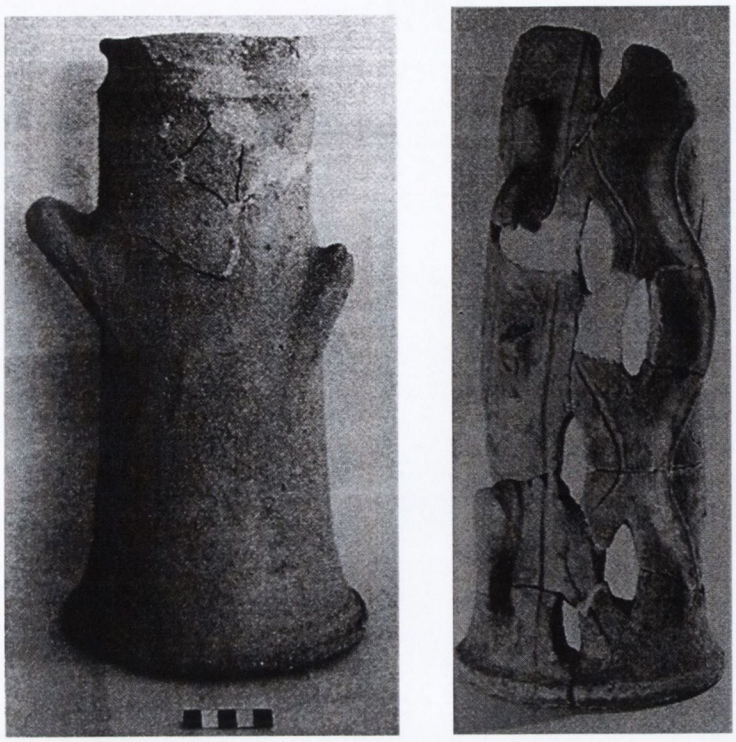
**II.10** Figurine from Gournia (0.365 m)



**II.11** Figure from Halasmenos, back of a torso (0.25 m)



**II.12** Fragments of figures from Halasmenos (0.5 m)



**II.13** Snake tubes from Karphi and Prinias



**II.14** Snake tubes from Gournia



**II.15** Figures from Gazi, old exhibition in the Heraklion Museum

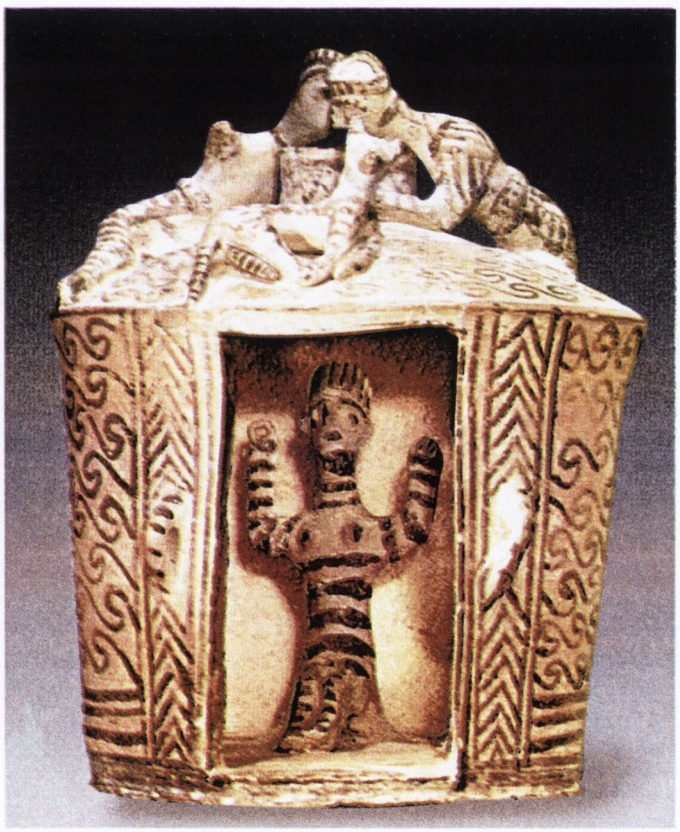




**II.16** Procession with Virgin Mary figures in Brok (Poland), June 2009



**II.17** GWUA from Pankalokhori (0.52 m)



**II.18** Protogeometric terracotta model from Archanes (0.31 m)

# Chapter III

# Cypriot

# 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms'

**Introduction**

In this chapter I discuss 'Goddess with Upraised Arms' (GWUA) type figurines and figures found on the island of Cyprus. As we will see, this assemblage of terracottas differs in many ways from the Cretan examples. First, it is important to introduce issues concerning the geography and chronology of the island in order to establish a framework for further discussion; this is done briefly below. A short presentation of the most important Bronze Age traditions of figurine production is also provided to facilitate an understanding of the later phenomenon of GWUAs and their possible role within the broader social context. The core part of this chapter consists of case studies of three important sites – Enkomi, Kition and Palaepaphos. The figurines from these particular sites are fully discussed, with reference to their spatial context where such information is available. These sites were chosen because of their importance during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age, for their notable assemblages of GWUAs and their ability to illustrate the beginning and development of this type in Cyprus.

## Geography

Cyprus is the third largest Mediterranean island, after Sicily and Sardinia, with an area of 9251 km$^2$. Its island character means that it has fixed boundaries with the possibility of isolation from the outside world. However, its location between the Aegean, Anatolia and the Levant offers a different path of development – a crossroads of civilisations. Both isolation and the interaction had various degrees of influence during different periods of the Cypriot past. The internal geography of the island is also distinct. Several separate regions can be distinguished. The Pentadaktylos (Kyrenia) mountains, which run east to west parallel to the north coast, are formed of mainly sedimentary rocks (Steel 2004: 3). They overlook the central Mesaoria plain, fertile lowland watered by several seasonal rivers, probably largely covered by forests in antiquity. Its south edge is marked by the foothills of the Troodos mountains, a massif which covers an area of 3200 km$^2$. This is where the most significant natural resources of Cyprus are located. First, green picrolite was used extensively to produce small artefacts, including the characteristic cruciform figurines, dated to the Chalcolithic period. Later, rich copper ores were exploited both to satisfy local needs and for export. Copper is used in the production of bronze and was thus highly valued. A Late Bronze Age settlement at Apliki gives testimony to early mining traditions in this area (du Plat Taylor 1952). South and East from the Troodos, a low-lying coastal belt is situated. In antiquity, the south coast was even more accessible due to the mouth of navigable rivers like the Pediaios (now silted up).

As mentioned above, the geographical position of Cyprus within the Eastern Mediterranean shaped its intense external relations. The sea, as much as it is a natural border, can also serve as means of communication (on sea routes see Chapter IV). According to written sources, the dynamic civilisations of the Near East were probably in contact with Cyprus as early as the 18th century BC. From this time on (especially from the 16th to 11th centuries BC), a place named 'Alasia' identified with Cyprus or a part of it occurs in texts from Alalakh, Crete, Egypt, Babylon, Byblos, Mari, Ugarit, and the Hittite kingdom (Hellbing 1979: 52-57). It was described as a land (or sometimes as a city) rich in copper, lying 'beyond the

sea', and its king had high status within the Eastern Mediterranean polities (Hellbing 1979: 52). An early identification of Alasia with the site of Enkomi, which was published by the excavators under that name (Schaeffer 1971), cannot be supported because it was only settled in the 16th century, later than the first occurrence of the name in clay tablets (Steel 2004: 144). Results of petrographic and chemical analyses of clay tablets sent from Alasia to Egypt and Ugarit (tablets EA33-34, EA37-38 and RSL.1) indicated that the clay was from the southeast region of Cyprus (Goren and Finkelstein 2002: 197). According to texts sent from Alasia and other referring to Alasia, it is possible to establish the character of its relations with neighbouring polities. The most important aspect was trade (often described as exchange of gifts between kings, but traders are also mentioned) in copper, and less often wood, oil, cattle and ships (Hellbing 1979: 41, 55; Vincitelli 1976: 41). Late texts from the Hittite kingdom suggest that Alasia was under its rule and protection. However, the last Hittite king Suppiluliumas II fought the people of Alasia three times, which might suggest they tried to overthrow his 'protection' (Hellbing 1979: 54). More friendly ties existed between this Cypriot kingdom and the city of Ugarit (Astour 1965: 255). Written sources concerning Alasia clearly indicate that Cyprus was a part of the world of eastern Mediterranean civilizations due to its geographical position and rich natural resources.

**Chronology**

The time frame for the period discussed in this chapter is the end of the Late Bronze Age (LBA) and the beginning of the Early Iron Age (EIA) on Cyprus, in other words, from Late Cypriot IIIB (LC IIIB) until the end of the Cypro-Geometric III. This is the period when GWUA type figurines first appear on the island and when they become the most popular coroplastic product. However, they are still present in the assemblages of the Archaic and even Cypro-Classical anthropomorphic terracottas in a more standardised form. In line with the subject of this thesis, which is a comparative study of Cretan and Cypriot examples, the emphasis is placed on the LCIIIB-CGIII, as chronologically closest to the Cretan terracottas. Moreover, it is of special importance to explore origins of this type in Cyprus, since scholars have traditionally linked them with Cretan influences

(Karageorghis 1977-1978, 1993: 58-61; J. Karageorghis 1977: 119-147); this is also further discussed in Chapter V.

The transition period of LBA-EIA is a fascinating time, which has recently received growing attention from scholars, despite the older tradition of a distinct division between the archaeology of the Bronze Age and the Iron Age (Iacovou 2008; Voskos and Knapp 2008; Knapp 2008: 281-297). The character of the Iron Age was defined in LC IIIB, being marked by changes in settlement patterns and the growing presence of foreign influences, both from East and West, and instantly reinterpreted and incorporated by the local culture (Iacovou 1989: 54-57). LC IIIB is characterized by abandonment of major sites, with continuity often restricted to places connected with cult (like the Ingot God sanctuary in Enkomi or temple area in Kition), but some new settlements were only short-lived (Steel 2004: 211). New funeral practices were also introduced with extramural cemeteries, removing the burials from the boundaries of settlements, in contrast to previous periods (Steel 1995: 199-200). Chamber tombs with a long narrow *dromos* were used for burials, usually with only one to three individuals buried and less rich funerary assemblages. The Cypro-Geometric period is characterized by a clear political organization of the island, based on ten independent kingdoms which maintain the divided picture of the island, related to geographical borders (Iacovou 2008). It is also a time of visible presence of migrants from East and West Mediterranean on the island; in the 9$^{th}$ century BC, Kition becomes a Phoenician colony (Bisi 1986: 341) and the first examples of the usage of Greek language appear (Smith 2002b: 10). Additionally, it is also a period which was extensively discussed by archaeologists, namely because of the so-called Mycenaean 'colonization' of Cyprus (Catling 1973; Cadogan 1993; Iacovou 2008; Karageorghis 1990, 1994; Knapp 2008). As described by Knapp (2008: 250-258), there are two main 'theories of colonization': two waves of Achaeans coming to the island (LC IIC-IIIA, LC IIIB) an idea popular especially in older publications until 80's (Leriou 2002), and politico-economic migrants like merchants deciding to settle permanently in Cyprus due to the collapse of the international system of relations and trade (Artzy 1998; Sherratt 2003). The main argument for the 'colonization' has been the Mycenaean pottery, both imported and produced locally in Cyprus. However as Steel (2004: 74-75) observes, it was just a small part (i.e. 1% in Kalavassos) of a total pottery assemblage. She also points out

that the Mycenaean vessels (like drinking sets) were already incorporated in to the local elite funerary customs (1998: 290-292). As Knapp argues, the presence of both imported and locally made Aegean pottery does not necessary mean the presence of settlers but rather "multiple strands of evidence for complex and ambiguous modes of social interaction, changing internal dynamics, and internal as well as external economic developments" (2008: 158).

**Bronze Age Cypriot Anthropomorphic Figurines**

There was always a rich tradition of figurine production on Cyprus since the Neolithic period, represented by numerous anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines. It is therefore worth acknowledging the main anthropomorphic types produced in the Bronze Age, and especially in Late Cypriot II-III (LC II-III), just before the arrival and popularization of the GWUAs.

Typical of the Chalcolithic period in Cyprus were so-called 'cruciforms' made of picrolite, a type of serpentine of greenish-blue color (such a figurine is represented on the modern Cypriot euro coin) (Fig. III.1). They represent an elongated human with outstretched arms and bent knees. Although their gender is often defined as female, only some of the figurines have visible gender characteristics, namely breasts. A dual gender meaning has even been proposed for this type of representations (Bolger 2003: 85-88), because of their elongated phallic shaped necks. At least some of them might be used as pendants, which is supported by the use wear observed by Goring (1991) and by an example of a figurine depicted wearing a miniature of itself (Steel 2004: 99-102). However, it was suggested they depict a squatting birth-giving posture (with arms extended for support), but their meaning remains disputable, because of their unclear gender and lack of swollen bellies (Budin 2003: 119). They were probably used as amulets, worn by the living and given to the dead as a part of the funerary assemblage (Karageorghis 1976: 52; Christou 1989: 88-91). Moreover, recent research suggests that their usage and meaning differs between earlier and later Chalcolithic period (Winkelman and Cory-Lopez 2010).

From the end of the Early Cypriot and from the Middle Cypriot I periods, come so-called Plank Figurines, known from both settlement and mortuary contexts (Fig. III.2). They are flat terracotta representations rendered with relief and incisions. Heads with facial characteristics are always depicted, sometimes double or triple. Arms are indicated with incised lines, legs are rarely represented, and often jewellery, like multiple necklaces, is also depicted with incisions (Budin 2003: 120-122). It has been suggested that they might have had wooden predecessors (Knox 2012: 115). Gender is not usually shown, but if so, it is female and present in the shape of small breasts visible in relief. Some of the figurines are of *kourotrophos* type - holding an infant in a cradle. The most elaborate examples represent different modes of decorating the body, like jewellery, textiles and tattoos, which seems in this period to be more important than representing characteristics of the body itself. It has been proposed that Plank Figurines illustrate growing divisions in the Cypriot society, differences based on family ties and social roles, like parenting (Knapp and Meskell 1997: 196). This alleged division is said to be represented by the elaborate body adornment. Alternatively, Plank Figurines have also been interpreted as an expression of individuality rather then group identity (Knapp and Meskell 1997: 198-9). However, Talalay and Cullen (2002) argued that gender identity was obscured in Plank Figurines in order to emphasize one's role in a group.

Whole examples of figurines from the LC II period are mostly known from tombs (both rich and poor) or are of unknown provenance; this may, however, be a result of excavation and documentation practice rather than a reflection of a connection exclusively with funerary practice (Webb 1992: 88-90). Examples of anthropomorphic figurines from different parts of the island show a uniform style and production technique, they are of the Base Ring ware and can be either solid or hollow (Merrillees 1988: 55). They can be identified as female because of the presence of breasts (usually moulded) and a pubic triangle rendered with incisions (dots, lines, cross-hatching) or paint. They are 0.15 to 0.30 m high, a size which makes them portable, have rounded body contours and stem-like, separately modelled legs with pointy feet (Begg 1991: 16). Their hands are positioned alongside the body, or under breasts. Two types of figurines can be distinguished in this period, known as 'bird-faced' and 'normal-faced' (Budin 2003: 140-144;

Knapp 2008: 175-178). The first type is characterised by a beak-like hooked nose, rounded top of the head and large ears with piercings with large hanging earrings made of clay (Karageorghis 1993: 3-10). These figurines are decorated with incisions in the pubic area, waist, and legs or between the breasts, and sometimes they carry objects like musical instruments, a bird or a child (Budin 2003: 142), according to Webb (1999: 209) in total 48 of them are depicted with an infant, and 65 without. The second type differs in head moulding, which is flat with rendered facial details like eyebrows, mouth, and small nose; their ears are not pierced. Moreover, they are decorated with black and red paint rather than incisions (Karageorghis 1993: 10-12). These figurines are never shown carrying objects or children (Budin 2003: 142) (Fig. III.3). Both types show clear stylistic similarities with anthropomorphic statuettes from the Orontes region in Syria, from sites like Hama, Ebla, Alalakh and Tell Judaidah (Budin 2003: 144). However, the 'normal-faced' type is sometimes connected with a more 'naturalistic' influence of Aegean coroplastic tradition, present on Cyprus in the form of *phi*, *tau* and *psi* figurines (described below) (Karageorghis 2002: 325; Begg 1991: 2). Begg (1991) also argues that statuettes of the second type should be connected with rich graves, a view which cannot be supported by new data, as was demonstrated by Daisy Knox in her thesis (2012).

The Bronze Age Cypriot figurines were the focal point of an aforementioned recent PhD thesis by Daisy Knox, titled '*Making Sense of Figurines in Bronze Age Cyprus*' (2012). She provided a database and discussion of all anthropomorphic and zoomorphic terracottas from this period (1790 objects in total), both provenanced and unprovenanced. She observed that during the first half of this period many types and styles were specific to particular regions of the island and even to single sites, and the island became more culturally integrated towards the Late Bronze Age. For example when discussing the 'Plank' phenomenon she notices distinct variations between the Central Island, South West and the site *Vounous*, however all these traditions were appearing in Lapithos. She also associates the production of Plank figurines with the production of textiles. Also discussing flat head and bird faced figurines Knox see them as an expression of local and group identity, like specially shaped heads and rich jewellery (representing the "nouveaux riches"), but no longer connected with textiles.

Very few Mycenaean figurines have been found on Cyprus belonging to LC II and LC IIIA (Fig. III.4). According to Webb (1999: 213), fifteen of them can be identified as belonging to the psi type, two phi and only one tau; others are too fragmentary to allow identification. There are also local imitations found in Enkomi, Kition, Palaepaphos and Limassol, dated to the LC IIIA period (Kourou 2002: 16). An interesting example is a local imitation (proved by the identification of the local clay) found at Hala Sultan Tekke. It is of a tau type, has a solid cylindrical body, decorated with red paint, and with pierced base, so it might have been attached to an object, like a krater or ring-vase. There were also eleven fragments of imported Mycenaean figurines found at Hala Sultan Tekke, two of which were psi, and one tau type (Åström 1991: 28-29). Most Mycenaean type figurines come from settlements rather then burial contexts (Webb 1999: 213). However, at Kition-*Chrysopolitissa*, which was identified as a settlement area, one possible fragment of a psi type figurine was found, but was probably derived from a looted tomb context (Smith 2009: 127). All examples from Kition are psi (Webb 1999: 215). It is interesting that most of the Mycenaean figurines were of the *psi* type, which foreshadows the predominance of the gesture of upraised arms in female figurines in LC and CG (Webb 1999: 215). Schaeffer (1971: 343) discussing Enkomi GWUAs figurines describes them as 'post-mycénien'. Both Mycenaean type figurines and later GWUAs often had a *polos*, a conical headdress with a depression, although GWUAs wore a higher one, and, as Smith observes (2009: 129), it connected seamlessly to the face.

**Anthropomorphic Bottles**

As observed by J. Karageorghis (1977: 121-123), some of the anthropomorphic bottles from LC IIIA2 to LC IIIB, of Proto-White Painted (PWP) ware, show some characteristics of later GWUA type terracottas (Fig. III.5). These vessels have a cylindrical body and instead of a neck, a female face and a spout opening on the head, V. Karageorghis suggests they might be produced in one workshop: there are six examples known from Cyprus, one from Gezer, and seven are unprovenanced (1996: 15). An example from a tomb in Salamis (V. Karageorghis 1977-1978: 12) with bulging eyes, prominent nose and decorated with

a painted necklace is especially reminiscent of the later terracottas. These bottles are the first sign of a changing Cypriot style of anthropomorphic representations. Also in LC IIIA, a female figurine dressed but still represented as holding hands under her breasts appears in Enkomi; interestingly, genitals are indicated on what looks like a long garment (Kourou 2002: 16).

**First GWUAs in Cyprus**

Three figurines dated to LC IIIB, two of White Painted I (WP I) and one probably of PWP ware, which can be classified as GWUAs, were discovered in 1976 in Limassol, during a rescue excavation (Karageorghis 1977: 28-29; Kourou 2002: 17) (Fig. III.6). Two of them are almost identical, with a characteristic wheelmade, bell-shaped body splaying at the lower part, short neck, and a flat, almost rectangular head. Both also have breasts in relief and short uplifted arms (only one is preserved in full, the others are partially restored with plaster). The first one (PWP) is 0.24 m high, the base is 0.122 m in diameter, and the mostly worn-off black-painted decoration shows parallel straight and wavy lines around the body and four latticed triangles below the breasts and on the back, two bands and a dot near the wrist on the preserved arm and lines on the back and top of the head. The second figurine (WP I) is 0.225 m high, the base is 0.108 m in diameter, and the painted decoration is almost entirely worn-off, only some horizontal lines around the body and traces of paint on the head are visible. The third terracotta (WP I) differs from the previous ones: it has a hollow cylindrical body and feet projecting from the base. It is 0.175 m in height, has a flat rectangular polos, long, bent and uplifted arms (one restored in plaster), prominent chin and nose, eyes in relief, and some traces of black painted decoration (bands around arm and neck).

The first two figurines from this group, with their bell-shaped bodies, have no parallels in Cyprus, either within earlier LBA terracottas or among later cylindrical GWUAs. Their original appearance may rather be connected with a production technique of vessels and a local, maybe even individual, experimental attempt to create an anthropomorphic representation. The third figurine also has some uncommon characteristics like projecting feet and an almost seated position, which also suggests a different, yet still experimental approach.

Some of the first examples of GWUA type figurines and figures in Cyprus are those found in Enkomi. This assemblage is discussed in detail below, as a separate case study.

**ENKOMI**

The site of Enkomi is located on the east coast of Cyprus, approximately 2.5 km from the modern shore, not far from the edge of the fertile Mesaoria plateau (Crewe 2007: 69). In the Late Cypriot period, the Pedhieos River, which ran south of the site, had an outlet leading to the sea and was navigable, although nowadays it leads to a salty marsh (Crewe 2007: 69; Catling 1964: 17). Thus, one reason for the abandonment of the settlement at the end of the Late Bronze Age might be the silting up of the river and inevitable loss of the harbour (Dalongeville and Sanlaville 1980); this probably also led to the establishment of the nearby site of Salamis closer to the shore. Enkomi was occupied from MC III/LC IA (Crewe 2007) to LC IIIB (Iacovou 1989) and is said to have flourished in the Late Cypriot period, giving testimony to the development of the Late Bronze Age Cypriot culture. It was built on a regular plan with central and parallel streets, surrounded by a fortification wall. Its importance for the archaeology of the island is visible in the wide variety of artefacts, types of architecture, and both mortuary and settlement character of the finds. Enkomi was also the place where the oldest examples of the Cypriot syllabary scripts were found and the site of the majority of later examples of this type of, as yet, undeciphered writing (Smith 2002: 19-28). The three most clearly distinguishable cult activity areas of Enkomi are the Sanctuary of the Horned God, the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God, named after bronze statuettes found there. They are all dated to LC III, namely to the last period of settlement in Enkomi.

Excavations in this area began in the late 19th century, undertaken first by the British Museum and later by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. However, the main research was done by a joint project between two teams: the French Mission and the Cypriot Department of Antiquities Mission, under the directorship of C.F.A. Schaeffer (later of O. Pelon) and P. Diakios respectively; the Turkish invasion

brought an end to excavations (Crewe 2007: 69-73). Unfortunately, there are some differences in the chronology and terminology applied by these two teams. Ionas (1984) attempted to correlate them, based mainly on the Sanctuary of the Ingot God (French team) and Ashlar Building (Dikaios excavations). In particular the stratigraphy and dating proposed by the French team was widely debated and criticised (Ionas 1984; Iacovou 1989; Kling 1988; Crew 2007). Below I present material excavated by both teams, and where necessary, I include a short chronological discussion.

**The Sanctuary of the Double Goddess**

The Sanctuary of the Double Goddess was located east of the Horned God sanctuary in Rooms 11 and 12 in the Reconstructed Ashlar Building (Dikaios 1969: 199-200), in Area I (Quarter 4W). It was excavated by Dikaios and attributed by him to the second phase of Level IIIB (described also as Floor II); it was probably not in use during Level IIIC, immediately before the abandonment of the site (Webb 1999: 100). A rectangular hall with pillars 12 m x 7.75 m provided access from Street 3 West. It led to Room 12 7 m x 6.2 m (Courtois, Lagarce and Lagarce 1986: 17), with a hearth platform in the centre and three stone slabs in the northwest, which were interpreted by Dikaios as supports for columns (Dikaios 1969: 200) or as a low table of offerings by Webb (1977: 116). Room 11 was accessible through an opening in the west wall of Room 12. The name 'Double Goddess Sanctuary' was given after a double-sided bronze nude female figurine of 5.5 cm height was found in a shallow pit in Room 11 (Dikaios 1969: 200). Finds from the sanctuary also included sherds and vessels of Plain Ware (PW) and WPWM III ware, a metal plaque depicting a nude female with hands under her breasts, small objects made of bronze, a quern, gold foil, a paste bead and an anthropomorphic terracotta figurine (from next to the east wall of Room 12) (Dikaios 1969: 200). The sanctuary was destroyed, probably unexpectedly (possibly due to an earthquake) while it was still in use, as is indicated by a layer of ash restricted only to the area of the hearth, suggesting that the collapsed structure caught fire from it, and by human remains found in neighbouring Rooms 8 and 10 (Dikaios 1969: 200; Dikaios 1971: 530).

Webb (1999: 100-101) argues that the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess and the Sanctuary of the Horned God were part of the same complex, combining ritual space with residential quarters for the personnel, including kitchens, bathrooms and metallurgical workshops. She observes close similarities between the layouts of the sanctuaries, "(...) one being almost the reverse image of other, and together give the impression of a well organised re-use of the existing structure." (Webb 1999: 100). According to Webb, cult activity here was of public rather than private character, since the ritual space was of considerable size compared to the rest of the building and it was accessible from the streets (Street 3 and 4 West respectively). However, the Double Goddess Sanctuary was much more short-lived than the Sanctuary of the Horned God, and cult here was introduced some years after the founding of the other. The sanctuaries were also not accessible from one to another.

The only GWUA type terracotta comes from Room 12 (Floor II, Level IIIB), found next to the east wall (Dikaios 1969: 200, 1971: 720, Inv. 253, Pl. 137/4) (Fig.III.7.C2). It is 7 cm high, of buff ware, solid, the lower part of the cylindrically shaped body is missing, and the upper parts of the raised arms and disc-shaped head are broken off. It is one of three female representations in the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess, each depicted in a different medium, the others being a bronze figurine and a metal plaque. However, the metal plaque illustrates a nude female with her arms under her breasts, in contrast with the dressed and arms upraised GWUA. A broken off terracotta head was also attributed to this type (Dikaios 1971: 726, pl. 170/5, Inv. 729/16). It is 3.5 cm high, of coarse, buff clay and was found in Room 6 in Area I, between Floors IV and III, attributed to early Level IIIB (Dikaios 1971: 726). Thus, this find comes from the complex, from a room located south-west of the Sanctuary of the Double Goddess and from the level contemporary with the beginning of the cult in the Horned God Sanctuary. Based only on the preserved fragment, it cannot be definitely attributed to any known type of figurine. However, the way the head is flattened at the top resembles some of the GWUAs from the Ingot God Sanctuary (described below). These are the only anthropomorphic terracotta figurines from the Horned God and Double Goddess sanctuaries (Room 26 produced a fragmentary bovine figurine) (Webb 1999: 92-99).

**Area III**

One more GWUA type figurine was found at Enkomi during Dikaios' excavations (Dikaios 1971: 736, pl. 137/3, 170/2, Inv. 1172). It is 8 cm high, of pinkish colour, solid, the head and upper part of the raised arms are missing, and the breasts are moulded. There is visible faded red decoration around the lower part of the neck (indicating a necklace?) and on the cylindrically shaped body in the form of horizontal bands and rows of dots. It comes from Room 6 in Area III, found in the debris overlying Floor II, alongside sherds of Base-ring II and White Slip II Ware (Dikaios 1969: 87), and is attributed to the destruction of Level IIIB (Dikaios 1971: 73). This area is located next to the Fortification Wall; the central part of the room was defined by a cement floor, and was interpreted by Dikaios as a bathroom (Dikaios 1969: 141). Diakios argues that this figurine resembles the Mycenaean psi type (Dikaios 1969: 290).

**The Sanctuary of the Ingot God**

The French Mission excavated the Sanctuary of the Ingot God between 1961-1965. It was located in the centre of Quarter 5E and attributed to the so-called Sols IV-I. However, its chronology is widely discussed (see below). It remains unclear when the sanctuary was constructed: after or just before the final abandonment of the site. The excavators attributed the erection of the building to Sol IV, dated by them to LC IIIB; the last short period of the occupation of Enkomi, after the majority of inhabitants had left. However, Iacovou (1988: 8-9), in her review of the material from the sanctuary, suggested that it was contemporary with events that concluded in the abandonment of the site in LC IIIA, and that the sanctuary was still in use for some years after. Further, Kling (1989: 174) observed some parallels between pottery from the Ingot God sanctuary and other parts of the site and suggested that the period of use of this building overlapped with occupation of at least some other areas of the site.

The sanctuary was probably built over an earlier construction of LC IIC-IIIA date, which may also have had a ritual function (Webb 1999: 102). The first phase of usage is attributed to Sol IV. At this time it consisted of a rectangular hall (16.4

m x 9.6 m) oriented on the east-west axis, and a small room to the west (West Adyton, 2.5 m x 3.5 m). The latter had a central mudbrick construction and a plaster facing on one of the walls (Webb 1999: 106). In use was also an annex with a built stone wall and a pierced stone block (0.8 m x 0.38 m x 0.5 m) identified as a tethering block for sacrificial animals (Webb 1999: 106). Some animal bones were found, a fragment of gold leaf and sherds of PWP and PW ware. Also, at least thirteen fragmented figurines are known, one bovine and twelve anthropomorphic (Webb 1999: 106).

The main phase of usage of the sanctuary is attributed to Sol III. A small room in the northeast corner (2 m x 1.9 m) was constructed. The entrance was identified in the west wall (1.5 m wide) of the west room and the main one through an entrance porch (6 m x 4 m) in the southeast of the building (Courtois, Lagarce and Lagarce 1986: 32-35). Six stone bases along with a 6 m long wall in the centre of the hall suggest the existence of a roof support. Along the walls were benches of rubble 0.45 m wide and 0.4 m high. To the right of the southwest entrance, a rectangular hearth with a low plaster wall was identified. The pierced stone block was still in use, along with another block with a concave surface interpreted as a slaughtering table. There was a courtyard west of the sanctuary stretching to a paved square at the junction of two streets (Webb 1999: 106). The phase was also very rich in excavated material, including animal bones, sherds and vases of PWP, PWW-m III and BR II ware, Canaanite jars, wall brackets, inscribed clay balls, a bronze knife and ring, a cylinder seal and a scarab. In the northeast room the bronze statuette of the Ingot God was found 0.35 m in height, probably deposited there at the end of Sol III and beginning of the next phase (Webb 1999: 112). From the courtyard come thirty-seven fragmentary anthropomorphic figurines and several animal figurines.

Changes during the phase of Sol I and II consisted of blocking the well annex and the northeastern room going out of use. A rectangular plaster platform appeared in the west room along with a small baetyl 0.6 m high, which could have been in use already at the end of Sol III (Webb 1999: 112); the pierced stone block remained in use. Finds attributed to Sol II and I included PWP ware sherds and vases, one inscribed clay ball, and animal bones. Two bicephalous figures of PWP

ware were found together with twenty fragmentary anthropomorphic figurines from the west room and at least 120 more from the west courtyard (Webb 1999: 106-7), (discussed in detail below). From Sol III-I from the area of west benches come almost one hundred *Bos* skulls (mostly male; Ducos 1971) and horns, several were cleaned of projecting bones and probably used as masks (Karageorghis 1976: 102-105). Similar examples are known from the Horned God Sanctuary in Enkomi, and sanctuaries of Kition and Myrtou-*Pigadhes* (Courtois, Lagarce and Lagarce 1986: 33).

Webb (1999: 112) proposes that because during phases of Sol III and Sol II, the building had two inner rooms/adyta this would indicate that the sanctuary was dedicated to two deities. One would be connected with the statue of the Ingot God and the other to the anthropomorphic terracottas found in the west part of the building and in the courtyard. Webb (1999: 112) argues that a manifestation of a dual dedication of the sanctuary would be two wheelmade Proto-White Painted bicephalous centaurs/sphinxes of Sol II, found next to the central part of the northern bench 51 cm high x 35 cm long, and 31 cm high x 25.5 cm long (Courtois, Lagarce and Lagarce 1986: 35-36). They are both hollow, four-legged, plain ware, highly stylized and decorated with incisions and red matt paint, preserved only in a fragmentary state, especially the bigger one (Karageorghis 1993: 50-53). Although, they are unique and meaningful, they cannot provide an argument towards establishing the number of deities worshipped in this sanctuary.

**Figurines from the Ingot God Sanctuary**

The first examples of GWUA type figurines from the Ingot God Sanctuary are attributed by Courtois to the earliest Sol IV (Late Cypriot III), although Karageorghis, based on the dating of such terracottas from other sites, argues that they should be assigned to Sol II-I (Cypro-Geometric I) (Karageorghis 1977-1987: 7). However, figurines from the Dikaios excavations are also dated to Level IIIB, thus corresponding with Courtois's Sol IV, which supports the original, early dating of examples from the Ingot God Sanctuary (Webb 1999: 212).

There are over 200 fragmentary anthropomorphic terracottas from the sanctuary area, the majority of which, consisting of 150 examples, can be described as female, based on visible breasts (Schaeffer 1971: 328-343; Webb 1999: 212-213; see also discussion on gender below) (Fig. III.7.A-B). They are mostly of small measurements, 0.06 m to 0.08 m, mostly solid, with cylindrically shaped body, upraised arms, and sometimes also bent forwards. The figurines have discoid heads flattened at the top with rendered facial characteristics and are often decorated in black, red and purple paint (Karageorghis 1993: 64-65). The characteristically shaped top of their heads was interpreted by Karageorghis (1977-1978: 7) as a polos. However, they are not prominent enough to enable confident use of this term. The majority of the figurines have moulded breasts visible in relief and at least one has a painted pubic triangle (further discussed below). Several bigger fragments, which are discussed separately, indicate that also figures of larger measurements were present in this area.

The concentration of figurines in the western part of the sanctuary, near the west bench and in the courtyard area, is very significant because Webb (1999: 112) uses them as an argument in favour of the dual dedication of the structure. As mentioned above, the name of the sanctuary comes from the bronze statue of the Ingot God, which was interpreted by the excavators as a cult statue (although at first it was called 'Sanctuaire aux Centaures', after two terracotta figures; Courtois, Lagarce and Lagarce 1986: 33, fig. 6). According to Courtois, GWUA figurines are present in the sanctuary from Sol IV to II-I, so throughout the period of cult activity in this area. The bronze statue was buried, which means it was no longer in use, at the end of Sol III. This indicates that GWUAs remained part of cult ritual longer than the Ingot God itself. However, Karageorghis argues that the figurines do not appear earlier than Sol II-I, i.e. after the bronze statue was buried. If so, instead of dual dedication of the sanctuary, it would mean a change in the deity worshipped there, placing the one connected with GWUA figurines in the sanctuary, which previously belonged to the Ingot God. However, as discussed before, Courtois' dating of some of the terracottas to Sol IV and III is very probable, and is strengthened by Dikaios' attribution of his find to the contemporary Level IIIB. Thus, the Ingot God statue and the terracotta figurines were used in the sanctuary alongside each other during Sol IV-III, and the GWUAs also appeared in Sol II-I.

The question, which remains, then is whether the cult area was indeed dedicated to two deities at first, and only to one in the last phase. This assumption is also connected with the attribution of the bronze statue to a male deity and the small terracottas to a female one (Webb 1999: 25). With this is linked yet another question – are the Enkomi GWUAs related to a specific deity, or rather to a specific type of cult practice?

To answer the above questions a review of the available data is needed. Small GWUA figurines from the Ingot God Sanctuary, as Webb observes (1999: 213-214), are indeed the broken off elements of figurative groups, which consist of three females with upraised arms and one male or sexless individual standing in the middle and playing a musical instrument, all attached to a circular plaque. In the same area, terracotta figurines were found, depicting sexless or possibly males wearing a long garment and a pointed bonnet; they are of similar sizes as the female figurines. Also, fragments of plaques and of miniature instruments were found in the area (Webb 1999: 213-214). Further, examples of such groups from Cyprus dated to later periods are known. They are interpreted as representing dancers accompanied by a musician. Schaeffer (1971: 326; Courtois 1984: 80) also suggests that the figurines might have been ritually destroyed ('rituellement brisées') and discarded. Thus, it is probable that the small GWUAs of the Ingot God sanctuary were part of representations depicting actual rituals that were taking place here. Moreover, it would indicate a special role for female votaries or priestesses participating in such ritual dances and performances. However, does that mean that these figurines were part of a female deity cult?

As discussed above, GWUA type figures and figurines were found in Enkomi in the two sanctuaries of the Double Goddess and the Ingot God, and in the debris in one of the rooms near the defensive wall. In the Horned God Sanctuary, there were none. The sole figurine from Room 6 of Area I might be interpreted as accidently placed there. However, the example from the Double Goddess sanctuary is one of three female representations (the others being a bronze statuette and a metal plaque), and based on these, the area was interpreted as dedicated to a female deity. Thus, the eventual gender of the worshipped deity cannot be the sole reason why so many GWUA figurines were found in the Ingot God sanctuary. As

mentioned before, the figurines were clearly concentrated in the western part of the sanctuary and in the neighbouring courtyard. This indicates that they were present mainly in the area of the south-western entrance to the main building and immediately outside it. The inside of the sanctuary itself, further divided by the presence of hearths and stone slabs indicating roof supports in the middle, could not provide enough space for performing ring dances. These kind of rituals had to take place outside, but near the sacred space. Thus, there is indeed a clear division in the space of the Ingot God sanctuary, visible in the excavated material, but it is rather of functional character. GWUA type figurines might have been deposited in the area where the rituals represented by them could have taken place. The Double Goddess and the Horned God Sanctuaries did not have such courtyards and the character of the rituals might be different. Thus, the presence of GWUA figurines in Enkomi is related to the character of the cult practice rather than to the gender of deities worshipped.

**Nude Figurine with Upraised Arms**

One of the small terracottas from the Ingot God Sanctuary differs significantly from the majority of GWUAs. It is a fragmentary figurine 0.07 m in height; its head, arms and legs are broken off, but the remaining fragments of arms indicate the upraised gesture. The figurine is painted with vertical and horizontal lines. There are visible moulded breasts, and, in contrast to the other examples, its pubic triangle is painted and the legs are separated (Webb 1999: 215). A similar figurine of 0.15 m was found in Korovia near Famagusta (Karageorghis 1977-1978: 25) (Fig.III.17 left). Its paint has worn off and one of its feet is broken. The ears are prominent and pierced, and the flat rectangular polos is pierced at the upper part. The breasts are visible in relief and the pubic triangle is accentuated with an incision. Another example, of unknown provenance, now in the Cyprus Museum (Karageorghis 1977-1978: 25) (Fig.III.17 right), represents a nude female with upraised arms, 0.225 m in height. It has a partially broken off polos, accentuated facial characteristics and prominent pierced ears. Its breasts are visible in relief, the pubic triangle is painted, and the legs are separated with a groove. Female nudity was present in the Cypriot coroplastic art throughout its history. I propose that this deeply rooted local tradition should be seen as a reason for the presence of the nude,

upraised arms figurines. Late Bronze Age Base Ring ware terracotta figurines termed 'flat head' and 'bird-faced' were decorated with paint and incisions (especially accentuating the pubic area), and earrings situated in the large pierced ears, with hands below the breasts or arms alongside the body (Karageorghis 1993: 3-14). Similarities between these terracottas and the later representations of nude females with upraised arms are noticeable. The shared features consist of separated legs, painted decoration in the area of the neck and headdress, and an incised and painted pubic triangle. The pierced ears in particular, unknown from other upraised arms representations, are reminiscent of LBA coroplastic traditions. Although two examples are dated to the Cypro-Archaic period, the fragmentary figurine from Enkomi suggests that this kind of imagery could have been continuously present in the repertoire of Cypriot terracottas.

**Figures from the Ingot God Sanctuary**

In the area of the Ingot God Sanctuary fragments of terracottas of grander size were also found. These larger figures probably also depict females. Fragments include part of a head preserved in two pieces (no. 670; 3.2 cm height), two hands decorated with painted circles (no. 641 n/o; 5-6 cm long), an arm (no. 638 b; 10 cm long) and a foot (no. 826; 5.5 cm long) (Schaeffer 1971: 328-343). Their estimated size according to Karageorghis (1977-1978: 7) would be at least 0.25-0.30 m, much bigger than the ring-dancer figurines found alongside them, but smaller than the bicephalus/centaurs. They were hollow inside and finely decorated in black and purple paint. To this group J. Karageorghis (1977-1978: 7) also added a fragmentary head with facial details preserved, 0.07 m high (no. 642; Schaeffer 1971: 335). It was rendered in detail, with paint and incisions, purple spots on the cheeks and neck, a necklace of two parallel rows of beads; even the eyelids were accentuated. Because it is flat on the back, V. Karageorghis (1993: 34-35) proposed it to be not a part of a figure but symbolising a mask, and interprets it as an ex-voto.

Larger terracottas were far less numerous than small ones. There are six fragments, which is also the highest possible number of figures. They were found outside the sanctuary itself, in the west courtyard. Their fragmentary state indicates that they were excavated in their discard context, while their proximity to the

sanctuary suggests this might be their place of use; they might have stood on the benches together with the bicephalus terracottas. Thus, they should be interpreted either as cult statues or ex-votos.

**Plain Ware Late Cypriot III figurines**

Karageorghis (1993: 58) states that small figurines from the Ingot God Sanctuary represents a transition between Late Bronze Age terracottas and the new emerging type of Iron Age GWUAs. They are indeed hardly distinguishable from the LC III Plain Ware figurines. The size of the PW terracottas varies from 0.06 m to 0.17 m, they are made of ordinary clay, the same as that used for pottery production, and are rather crudely rendered. Some of them still have legs moulded separately and an accentuated pubic area; however, their bodies are often cylindrical, splaying at the bottom in the fashion recognizable also in many examples of GWUAs. The majority of them are gendered female, based on breasts and accentuated pubic area (Karageorghis 1993: 26-32, types K (i)/(ii) and L). Examples of this type are known from Enkomi (Dikaios's Level III B-C), Hala Sultan Tekke and Idalion, from a settlement context; all are dated to LC III A and B (Karageorghis 1993: 26-32). The most visible difference is the gesture illustrated by terracottas; LC III PW figurines have their arms in the Late Bronze Age style under or on their breasts, touching heads (especially in case of figurines attached to vases), or alongside the body. An example of such a figurine is a so-called 'dressed Astarte' from Enkomi, dated to LC IIIA2, with hands under breasts, wearing a long garment, but also with female genitals indicated in paint (Kourou 2002: 16). Thus, small GWUAs from Enkomi appear to be produced in the same fashion as their immediate predecessors, but with a different position of the arms and an abandonment of separately moulded legs in favour of a cylindrically shaped body, suggesting a long garment.

PW LC III figurines mark a significant change in Cypriot coroplastic production and usage. The standardized types of anthropomorphic terracottas widely known in LC II are completely abandoned. Karageorghis (1993: 29-30) points out that better quality 'metallic' clay is replaced by buff clay used for pottery production. He also argues that it was the flourishing of metallurgy and possible rise

in bronze statue production that caused a decline in number and quality of terracottas. Indeed, the well-known bronze Horned God, the Ingot God and the Bomford figurine come from this period (Catling 1971). The high value of the material and the possibility of re-casting might prevent many statues from surviving in the archaeological material. Plain Ware figurines mainly come from settlement contexts and examples from graves are scarce, which is also a significant change compared to the LC II terracottas, which frequently occurred in mortuary assemblages. The less valuable material might also indicate that they were used also by non-elite groups in apposition to earlier metal figurines from sanctuaries.

GWUA figurines from Enkomi appear then to continue standards set up by the Plain Ware terracottas, which were indeed well known at this settlement. Their small size, the use of buff clay, cylindrical body and painted decoration, alongside the gesture of upraised arms, make them a characteristic of the transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages in terms of coroplastic art. However, larger, finely rendered and decorated figures of the GWUA type, and the bicephalus from the Ingot God sanctuary, already clearly mark a new wave in the Cypriot production of terracottas. Their dating to the last phase of the sanctuary might be significant (Sol II-I), just after the disappearance of the bronze statue, as if marking a withdrawal from the usage of metal figures and the return of clay representations, albeit in the new form of a female with upraised arms.

## KITION

The second case study of this chapter is Kition, a multi-period site located on the south coast of Cyprus, nowadays lying largely beneath the modern city of Larnaca (Fig. III.9). The natural bay offered a good harbour, and in the vicinity was also a Salt Lake, which could provide an inner harbour through a navigable channel, serving the nearby site of Hala Sultan Tekke. Additionally, exploitation of salt could have been one of the sources of wealth for this region (Karageorghis 1976: 14-21). These, together with the presence of marshes north of Kition, made the settlement oriented towards the sea and not as closely linked with the hinterland as, for example, Enkomi. Only parts of the site have been excavated so far, due to the

dense building development of Larnaca. However, data already provided is very varied, including tombs, temples, workshops and fortifications (Karageorghis 1976: 14-21). Human activity in this area dates from Early and Middle Bronze Age, through all the periods of antiquity, including Late Cypriot, Iron Age, Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic. Previous statements of a hiatus in habitation between Late Cypriot III and Early Geometric period have recently been successfully challenged by Smith (2009). Although ancient Kition was known to scholars through written records, its archaeological remains did not receive much attention until 1929, and the Swedish Cyprus Expedition limited their excavations to the Heracles-Melkart sanctuary. This was due to the assumed Phoenician character of the city, and the lack of a Greek founding legend (according to myth, it was founded by Belos, king of Sidon) suggesting the settlement started in the Iron Age with settlers from Levant. This was further confirmed by the fieldwork of Sir John Myres in 1913. In those times, Greek and Bronze Age artefacts were perceived as more valuable and more worthy of study. However, the Swedish excavations revealed material dated also to Late Cypriot III and Cypro-Geometric I (Gjerstad 1934), thereby proving the existence of a Late Bronze settlement prior to the Phoenician colony. The main excavated areas are known as Kition-*Kathari* and Kition-*Bamboula*, although the latter has not yet been published. In the first area, finds and structures are assigned to respective floors, which are further dated, and thus Floors IIIA-II are ascribed to LC III and Floor I to CG I. GWUA type figurines and figure fragments were found in a cult related context in the area of Temenos A and within twin Temples 4 and 5 (Smith 2009: 127, 134) (Cat. # A6-18). Cult activity continued from the LBA into the Phoenician period at *Kathari*, as well as in the Phoenician sanctuary in the *Bamboula* area. Many of the earlier LBA offerings like pottery, jewellery or figurines were deposited in numerous bothroi (Yon 1999: 21).

**Temenos A and Room 16**

Room 16 was located at the west end of Temenos A - a structure enclosing an altar, dated to Floor IV was identified here. Until Floor I, this area was dedicated to cult activity, with altar and hearth (Smith 2009: 62). There were ovens identified in this area, initially interpreted as connected with metalworking; however, Smith

(2009: 62) argues they might be used for cooking meat, or firing small clay objects. Artefacts found here included ostrich eggs, glass vessels, and several anthropomorphic (GWUA) (Fig.III.8C) and zoomorphic figurines, along with models of buildings (Smith 2009: 63). Within Temenos A, pit h was also located, below Floor IIIA, which incorporated the earliest assemblage of figurines within the sacred complex, of Mycenaean psi type - one complete and six fragments (Smith 2009: 129-130, 133; Webb 1999: 215). The majority of figurines dated to the Cypro-Geometric I was found within Bothros 1 (Fig.III.8.A-B), below Floor I, and dated to Floor II. Its assemblage of finds is interpreted both by Webb (1999: 215) and Smith (2009: 197) as a place for objects used previously in Temenos A. Beneath it was identified Bothros 2, where a fragment of a GWUA type figurine was also found (a bent arm of 0.07 m) (Fig.III.8.C-9) (Karageorghis 1977-1978: 8-9; Smith 2009: 197-198).

**Temple 4**

Temple 4 was a large ashlar building, located alongside the City Wall, and oriented East-West. It consisted of a hall (12 x 7.1 m), two smaller rooms and a vestibule (similar measurements of c. 2.25 x 1.9 m), in front of which were a large courtyard and an open paved area. Five columns supported the structure's roof and the north and south walls were lined by benches (Webb 1999: 77). Among finds from Floors IIIA-II within Temple 4 was an inscribed Late Mycenaean IIIB jar handle, Cypriot pottery (PWW, BR, WP III ware), two ivory plaques (depicting lion and Bes) and jewellery: bronze earrings, a button and faience beads (Webb 1999: 77). GWUA figurines (Fig.III.C-4,5,6) were found in Bothros 16, assigned to Floor III, located outside the entrance to the Temple (Smith 2009: 152-153). On Floor I there was a hand found measuring 0.06 m (see below, Karageorghis 1985: 243).

**Temple 5**

Temple 5 was also a large 29 x 9.15 m structure consisting of a hall, a narrow inner room 1.2 x 6.7 m at the west end, and to the east an opening to a courtyard. Four or five columns supported the roof, and the courtyard area might also have been roofed, although this is unclear, because this area is damaged. The

north and central part of the south walls were lined with benches. Small changes occur at Floor II, including building up of a partition wall along the column bases and the enlargement of a hearth (Webb 1999: 80). Finds from Temple 5 included pottery (WPW-m III, White Shaved, PWP, PWW) among which was a Canaanite jar handle, loom weights, bronze fragments, ivory bowl, glass beads, and fragments of wall brackets. A horn, which was probably a fragment of a large terracotta bull, was found between Floors II and I, along with anthropomorphic fragmentary figurines. Fragments of GWUA type figurines (Fig.III.C-2), alongside incised ox scapulae, two terracotta masks, naiskoi, miniature dishes, a ring-kernos, a moulded face detached from a vessel, scrap bronze and a stylos (or a weaving tool) were found in bothroi, which was associated with Floor I, but the objects might have been in use during the time of Floor II (Webb 1999: 83).

**Courtyards C and D**

Courtyard C is located next to Temple 2, which is connected with metalworking related activities, with a visible amount of scrap metal, shells and jewellery elements (of faience, ivory and stone) found in the area (Smith 2009: 53-54). It is described by Smith (2009: 54-55) as a meeting place of metal and textile craftsmen of Kition and people coming from outside. Courtyard D was located west of Temple 1.

**Figurines from Kition-*Kathari***

Seven fragments of GWUA type figurines dated to LCIIIB were found on or above Floor II in Temenos A, Courtyard C and D, Temples 2 and 5 and in Room 16. A further sixteen fragments belonging to the Cypro-Geometric I period were excavated in Temenos A, Courtyards A and B, Temples 4 and 5, and in Room 16 (Webb 1999: 213). Some of the latter were found in bothroi, which were used for material from hearths and discarded offerings. Webb argues that bothroi in cult buildings "were both a means of safeguarding ritual objects and debris and maintaining continuity with earlier phases of the cult" (1999: 174-175).

The largest group of such terracottas comes from Temenos A, Room 16 (Smith 2009: 134) and Temple 4 (Smith 2009: 127). Temple 5 provided a smaller assemblage, although GWUA figurines were present from Floor 1 into Floor 3 (Smith 2009: 134). The smaller size of the Kition figurines and the absence of bell-shaped skirts are the most immediately obvious elements. They might be considered votive offerings brought to sanctuaries, as a personal offering. Moreover the cylindrical body of the figurine could easily be held in one's hand with fingers wrapped around the pillar-like lower part, while the arms and head would have been visible, presenting the emblematic gesture of upraised arms. Miniaturization, always connected with a certain degree of abstraction and compression, results in the intimacy that is demanded by small objects (Bailey 2005: 26-44). It also empowers the spectator, by facilitating physical control over a thing, and encourages a notion of possession (Bailey 1996: 291). Thus an intimate relationship might be created between figurine and holder, indicating that the cult of which these statuettes were part was at a personal level.

**Figures from Kition-*Kathari***

Fragments of larger figures might less reliably be identified as GWUA type, because they usually do not preserve the whole arms, which represent the emblematic gesture. In this group there is an almost life-size fragment of a face from Room 16, parts of heads from Temple 5 and Courtyard A (Smith 2009: 127). Other fragments include a half life-size modelled left hand from Floor 1 in Temple 4, which is also the earliest alleged fragment of a GWUA type figure. Its most interesting feature is the delineation of fingers only on the side of the palm, suggesting that the hands were held out in front of the figure or raised above the head with the palm facing forward (Smith 2009: 127-128). A similar fragmentary hand, along with a wheelmade head and neck, torso with moulded breasts (with visible nipples) and other parts of a one-third life-size figure, were found in Bothros 16 of Floor 3 near the entrance to Temple 4 (Smith 2009: 128). Such larger figures were partly wheelmade and hollow inside.

**Later GWUA type development - PALAEPAPHOS**

The third case study presented here is the site of Palaepaphos (Old Paphos), which is located in the area of the modern village of Kouklia (after Château de Couvoucle built here during the Lusignan period) on the Southwest coast of Cyprus. This case study is of special importance because it illustrates the presence of GWUA figurines in the cult of Aphrodite, and in a place known as her oldest sanctuary (Fig. III.12).

Until the fourth 4th century B.C. the site was called Paphos and was the main city of the region, and had a flourishing sanctuary and a harbour; the zenith of its development was from the Archaic to the Classical period. Unfortunately, much of the city itself has still not been excavated. After the foundation of a new city (New Paphos) nearby, it became primarily a place known as the sanctuary of Aphrodite, the oldest one dedicated to this goddess. There are two legends connected with its founding, one ascribing it to a local king – Kinyras, and the other pointing to a Trojan war hero, Agapenor of Arcadia, as its founder. Myths and stories connected with the temple and the cult performed there are numerous, so it is worth briefly mentioning the most important elements of the tradition.

Tacitus (Histories 2.3) states that Old Paphos was the place where Aphrodite came after emerging from the sea waves, and the temple itself was consecrated by Kinyras, or his father Aerias. According also to Homer (Il. XI, 15-25) and Pindar (Pyth. 2.18), Kinyras was a Cypriot king in the time of the Trojan War, in which, however, he did not take part, although he gave a fine piece of armour to Agamemnon. He is described as not Greek, and Apollodorus (Bibliotheca III 14.3) suggests he has Near Eastern origins. Kinyras was also to be the first priest of Aphrodite in Paphos, and we know that indeed kings of this city later held a position of high priesthood in the Paphian cult (V. Karageorghis and J. Karageorghis 2002: 71). However, in his 'Description of Greece' (8.5.2-3), Pausanias offers his readers an alternative version of this story, making Agapenor, a

Trojan War hero, the builder of Aphrodite's temple. According to Homer (Il. II, 603-614), he commanded sixty ships with Arcadian warriors from Orchomenos, Stymphalos and Tegea. Another legend is cited by Herodotus (I, 105), who attributes the founding of the Paphian temple to the Phoenicians of Ashkelon. Thus, through these foundation legends, ancient authors searched for the beginnings of the sanctuary in Paphos both in indigenous tradition and in Eastern and Western influences, as modern scholars have continued to do.

Archaeological excavations in the area of the Paphian temple started in 1888 with a three month campaign by the British Cyprus Exploration Fund, followed by the Kouklia Expedition of the University of St. Andrews and the Liverpool Museums in the years 1950-1955. Further work was done by the German Archaeological Institute and the Universities of Konstanz (until 1972) and of Zürich (joined in 1973) with a project starting in 1966 (Maier 1975: 69; Karageorghis 2005: 26). The excavated remains have been dated to two main phases: the Late Bronze Age (Sanctuary I) and Roman times (Sanctuary II). Remains of the older temple can still be seen in the southern part of the site, but a complete plan cannot be reconstructed due to a Medieval building and industrial activity in the area (Maier 1975, 2004: 39). Sanctuary I consisted of an open-air Temenos (sacred enclosure) and a covered Hall, described also as a Stoa by Maier (1975: 75). Only the foundation of the western wall is preserved in its entire length of 28 m, along with a 5 m long part of the south wall (Karageorghis 2005: 27). In between the walls there was a double row of six column bases. A storage jar was found 43 m east of the Hall, dated to the LB II, used probably for votive offerings (as attested by pottery fragments inside); it had a stamp on one of the handles, Levantine in style but with Aegean motifs (Maier 1975: 76). Recently (fieldwork in years 2006-2010) new archaeological research, including both survey and later excavations is being conducted by Maria Iacovou from the University of Cyprus, for which preliminary reports are available in *RDAC*. The main aim of the project is to identify the urban landscape that extended beyond the Aphrodite sanctuary in the 2nd and 1st millennia BC.

The first GWUA type figurines found at this site are dated to the 7$^{th}$ century B.C., the Cypro-Archaic period. Three similar terracottas of 0.36 m height were

found during the British Museum excavations in 1899 on the site of the sanctuary itself. One of them is almost complete (Fig. III.10) (part of an arm missing), the heads of the other are not preserved. Their cylindrical splaying bodies are wheel-made, the face and arms are shaped by hand and attached. The breasts are in a form of attached pellets, visible in relief. There are traces of paint in black and red. The dress and arms are decorated with painted bands, and the breasts are encircled with red colour. The best preserved example has a high flat polos with painted decoration, long loop-shaped earrings, a pendant (seals?), and a tight necklace (Karageorghis 1998: 1-4; J. Karageorghis 2005: 34-35).

Smaller figurines of GWUA type formed a part of 4000 fragments of terracottas (Fig.III.11), dated to the $7^{th}$-$5^{th}$ centuries B.C., found in 1976 in a bothros under a Roman house located 30 m west from the Palaepaphos sanctuary (Karageorghis 1979: 701). Unfortunately, they are as yet unpublished, but some of them are presented in a case in the Kouklia museum (Hall 2). Other figurines include musicians and water bearers. They are roughly modelled, and 15-20 cm in height. Karageorghis (2005: 36) observes that they were similar to each other, and therefore possibly made in a local workshop.

Similar small and medium sized terracottas of the GWUA type were found at the nearby site of Yeroskipou-*Monagri*; they probably came from a bothros (Karageorghis 1998: 9) (Fig. III.13). They are particularly homogenous in style and made of characteristic hard, reddish clay from the Paphos district. The small ones (of ca. 15 cm) have solid, cylindrical bodies, splaying towards a concave base, their arms are stretched sideways and curved upwards, and sometimes the thumb is indicated. They have pellets for breasts, nose, mouth and ears. Tiaras are long, rounded or ovoid, and some of them also have necklaces. Medium sized examples were probably c. 0.30 m in height, but only heads are preserved, which were hollow but stylistically do not differ from smaller examples of the GWUA type, suggesting these were representations of the same kind (Karageorghis 1998: 9-11). Karageorghis (1998: 12) also describes visually similar figurines found at Kouklia-*Arkatzia,* also near the Palaepaphos sanctuary. The great homogeneity among the Cypro-Archaic terracottas from Palaepaphos and Yeroskipou suggests the existence

of a local centre of production of terracottas, which would be very probable in the vicinity of this important sanctuary (Karageorghis 1998: 10).

**Upraised Arms Figures in Other Media**

There are few examples illustrating a figure with upraised arms in other media, such as metal plaques or stone vessels (Fig. III.15-16). Because of their similarity to the terracotta representations from the same period it is important to briefly discuss the most relevant examples. Interestingly, it is possible to observe that they show a nude female with raised arms, and not, as in the majority of clay figurines, dressed in a long garment.

There are 68 known metal plaques from Cyprus, the majority representing a female, sometimes only the head with the characteristic Hathoric curls. A series of gold foils from Cyprus illustrates a familiar image of a nude, standing female with upraised arms and in some cases probably wearing a *polos*. Six examples of such images come from Lapithos: two from tomb 403 and four from tomb 417 (Karageorghis 1975: 32-33; Karageorghis 2003:217). They are dated to the Cypro-Geometric III period (Budin 2002: 269). The first two show a nude female figure in a frontal position with a polos and bent arms. The legs are visibly separated, the breasts are moulded and the pubic triangle is rendered in incised lines. Those from tomb 417 are similar, but here the female is standing on a rosette. They could be a part of a diadem or a headband (J. Karageorghis 2005: 91-2). Similar to the first group are three fragmentary examples from Amathus, found in tombs no. 8 and 25 (Karageorghis 1975: 32-33). A plaque of unknown provenance is almost identical, now held in the Berlin Museum (Karageorghis 1975: 32-33). Several other such gold plaques, a part of Polish collection called the 'Gołuchow collection', were lost during the WWII. However, some of the drawings remained, showing plaques of 6-0.07 m height and 0.03-0.04 m width. They represent naked females with arms upraised, down beside the body or under the breasts, some shown with long curls in the Hathoric fashion; they probably come from Amathus (Karageorghis 2005: 91 fig 86).

Such plaques and foils are widely known in the Late Bronze Age Levant as 'Astarte (or Asherah) -plaques' (these two Levantine goddesses, which were probably syncretised by the beginning of the Iron Age by the Phoenicians; Ackerman 2003: 393). Depending on the region and attributes they are also associated with Atharta, Ishara or Inanna/Ishtar (Budin 2002: 317). They usually show a frontal depiction of a nude female, with hands under the breasts or pointing to her genitals or holding objects, such as flowers, and standing on a lion or a horse (Budin 2002: 317). Those in the form of plaques usually have a suspending loop and are interpreted as pendant-amulets, or - as an example from Ugarit found with a pin - they could be attached directly to clothing (Cornelius 2004: 64-65). Such a golden pendant was for example found on the Uluburun shipwreck (Cornelius 2004: cat. no. 5.29). A gold foil with an image of a naked female standing on top of a horse and holding flowers was found in Lachish and was probably originally attached to a piece of wood, leather or textile (Cornelius 2004: 65). A nude female not standing on top of an animal is also known, but mostly from the medium of clay plaques, and even then she is always holding something in her raised hands.

Cypriot plaques show a lower degree of technical skill in their decoration; especially the facial characteristics are less detailed and the head is almost triangularly shaped. Although the figures depicted do not hold anything in their hands, their arms are bent in the same v-like fashion as on the Levantine plaques. Floral motifs appear only on four foils from Lapithos, where the female is standing on top of a rosette. Clearly, those who made the Cypriot plaques were familiar with and inspired by the Levantine Astarte-plaques, but the very gesture of upraised arms was for them meaningful enough on its own.

A similar image is present on a limestone box (Fig. III.15) from Cyprus (Kythrea according to Budin), dated by J. Karagoerghis to the Cypo-Geometric III period (Karageorghis 1978: 26; Karageorghis J. 1977: 152-153), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (74.51.5163). The object itself is small: only 0.15 x 0.10 m. A nude female with her arms upraised is visible on both short panels of the box. She is wearing necklaces and a stylised hairstyle reminiscent of a *polos*; the breasts are moulded and her legs are separated and the pubic triangle is rendered with incisions. A limestone box of similar dimensions was found also in

Tamassos (now in the Museum Antiquarium, Berlin). There are two nude female figures represented on one of the sides, with raised arms and moulded breasts, but with higher and more recognizable polos (Karageorghis 1977: 153).

According to Myres burnt fragments of similar boxes were found in Kythrea and Tamassos. Due to burning, they were interpreted as incense burners (Myres 1914: 304). They both had inscriptions in the Cypriot syllabary script:

- *I am (the gift) of Prototimos, the priest of the Paphian; and he offered me to Paphian Aphrodite.* [1831]
- *I belong to the Paphian, and Onasithemis dedicated me.* [1832]
- *I belong to the Paphian.* [1834-42] (Myres 1914: 304)

Thus, there might be an association between the use of such boxes and the Paphian Aphrodite cult, even a possibility of employment in the actual ritual, as an incense burner. However, examples bearing an image of a nude female are earlier (CG III) than the inscribed ones (Cypro-Archaic). These are the only known examples of Cypriot origin. However, incense burners were widely used in the Phoenician cult of Astarte; an incense stand on its own might even have functioned as a symbol of the divinity (Markoe 2000: 122).

**Gender**

Traditionally LC III and Cypro-Geometric GWUA figurines were gendered female (which is further underlined by the name of this terracotta group – Goddesses). However, as was already discussed for the Enkomi assemblage, since more than half of the examples either can not be gendered due to fragmentation or can be described as sexless or less probably male (only due to a cap/helmet), this assumption may be problematic. In the studied assemblage many figurines are fragmentary, with the result that in 16 examples it is not possible to establish gender (only foot, hand, arm, head are preserved), and there are also three sexless or ambiguous (in addition to 100 possibly sexless figurines from Enkomi) (Fig.III.14-15). Other figurines and figures (26 in total) were gendered female, based almost solely on visible breasts, usually visible in relief or attached as pallets, in two examples breasts are not prominent. It is important to notice that painted genitals

are known only from three examples, rare naked GWUA figurines, of which one is from Korovia, the second is a small crude figurine from Enkomi and the other is of unknown provenance (Fig.III.17). Thus, even when gendered female, gender attributes are not considered important, in opposition to painted decoration (like bands, or diagonal lines) of the cylindrical long garment, or facial characteristics, and most of all raised arms.

**Conclusions**

Clearly, GWUA figurines in Cyprus mark a distinct change in the coroplastic tradition, because they differ noticeably from their Bronze Age predecessors. The most obvious differences are in the manner of representation like the long garment instead of nudity, and the new characteristic gesture replacing arms alongside the body or folded under breasts. Another important change is that GWUA terracottas are mostly made to stand by themselves and thus are likely to have been handled and used differently than the LBA ones. Their meaning and function also shifted, as is illustrated by the archaeological context; Late Cypriot figurines were mostly associated with graves, while GWUAs were found within sanctuaries. However, some similarities, which are important signs of continuity in Cypriot culture, should not be overlooked. EIA GWUAs, as much as earlier figurines, are mostly female (if preservation permits establishing gender), with an interesting exception of the Enkomi figurines. Their facial characteristics and painted decoration partially follow the LC 'normal face' terracottas style. The importance of jewellery in the form of painted pendants or bands on arms and neck is still visible. Diagonal lines, present in the front or/and at the back of the torso of the figurine, constitute interesting decorative elements, examples of which are known both from LC and Cypro-Geometric figurines, elaborate ones as much as the smallest, crude ones, simplest GWUAs from Enkomi. This element, known since LBA, can clearly be depicted on a nude torso as well as be an element of a long garment, as it was later. From myths concerning Aphrodite, there is also a mysterious element of a dress, called *xestos imas*, said to be the source of her special powers. Maybe these myths were inspired by an actual dress ornament typical for Cyprus? However, the most distinct sign of continuity is the appearance of the first GWUA terracottas in old Cypriot sanctuaries. New types of figurines

and figures in Enkomi, Kition, and Paphos are part of a wider phenomenon of special attachment to cult places; settlement patterns shifted (e.g the move from Enkomi to Salamis) but many shrines and sanctuaries continued from LBA to EIA. Attachment to the place was even stronger than attachment to the religious beliefs and/or cult practices, which is also known very well from much later times when temples were converted to Christian churches.

GWUA type figurines in Cyprus are a part of a process of transition between Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. The main characteristics of this period are continuity and change; old traditions being influenced by cultures from both West and East, but those influences were instantly reinterpreted and incorporated into a distinct Cypriot culture. GWUA terracottas illustrate this very well. As discussed above, although they mark a change in coroplastic traditions, they still bear signs of continuation in style and are associated with LBA cult places. I argue that these terracottas were made and used mostly by the same population that occupied Cyprus in previous periods. Although there is a distinct change in religious beliefs in the EIA and GWUA, and the figurines are one of the most visible elements of such change, they also illustrate that it was of internal character, influenced from the outside but not forced. This is very important in the light of long scholarly discussions concerning population movements in the EIA East Mediterranean. As they mark the end of the BA coroplastic tradition, they also mark the advent of the new style in the production of figurines and figures that flourished until the Cypro-Classical period. Thus, GWUA terracottas in Cyprus are another example of the ingenuity and creativity of the island's culture.

| Site | Number of figurines | Average preserved size of figurines |
|---|---|---|
| Limassol-Komisariato | 3 | 21.3 |
| Kithion-Kathari | 17 | 10.5 |
| Lapithos | 1 | 5.8 |
| Ayios Iakovos | 3 | 10.5 |
| Morphou-Tumba tou Skourou | 1 | 10.5 |
| Ormidhia? | 2 | 22.75 |
| Idalion | 1 | 14.0 |
| Amathus | 7 | 12.64 |
| Korovia | 1 | 15 |
| Enkomi (without the Ingot God Sanctuary) | 9 | 6.83 |
| | | |
| **Total** | **45** | **12.95** |
| | | |
| Enkomi Ingot God Sanctuary figures fragm. | 5 | 5.9 (estimated size 25) |
| Enkomi Ingot God Sanctuary figurines | 150 | 8 |

**A.**

| Site | Sexless or ambiguous figurines | Female gendered figurines | Unknown |
|---|---|---|---|
| Limassol-Komisariato | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Kithion-Kathari | 0 | 7 | 10 |
| Lapithos | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Ayios Iakovos | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Morphou-Tumba tou Skourou | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Ormidhia? | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Idalion | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Amathus | 2 | 5 | 0 |
| Korovia | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Enkomi (without the Ingot God Sanctuary) | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| | | | |
| **Total** | **7** | **20** | **12** |

**B.**

| Mortuary context | Settlement context | Sanctuary context | Unknown |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | |
| 2 (3.85%) | 1 (1.92%) | 37 (71.15%) | 15 (28.85%) |
| | | | |

**C.**

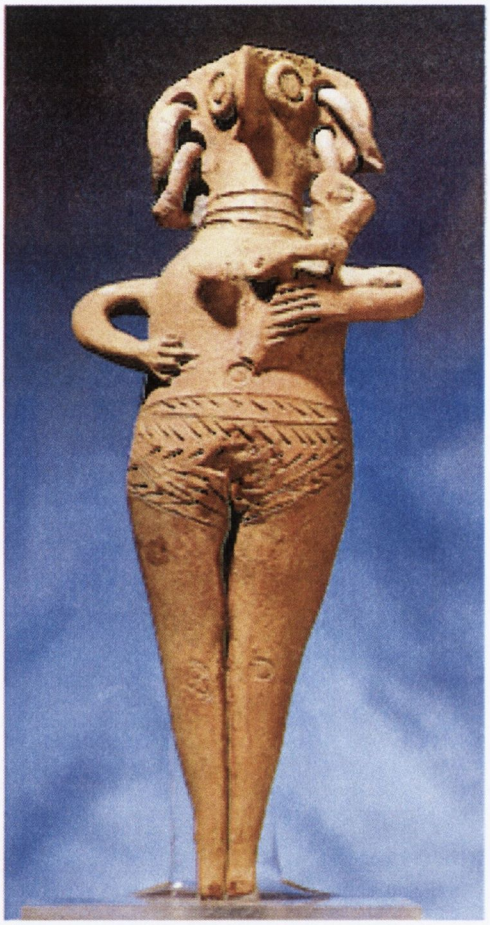
**Table. 5.** Cypriot material according to a. size, b. gender, c. context, excluding the Enkomi Ingot God Sanctuary area



**III.1** Chalcolithic cruciform figurine made of picrolite, from Pomos (Paphos district)



**III.2** Early Cypriot III period plank figurine of Red Polished III ware



**III.3** Late Cypriot II bird-faced kourotrophos figurine, decorated with incisions



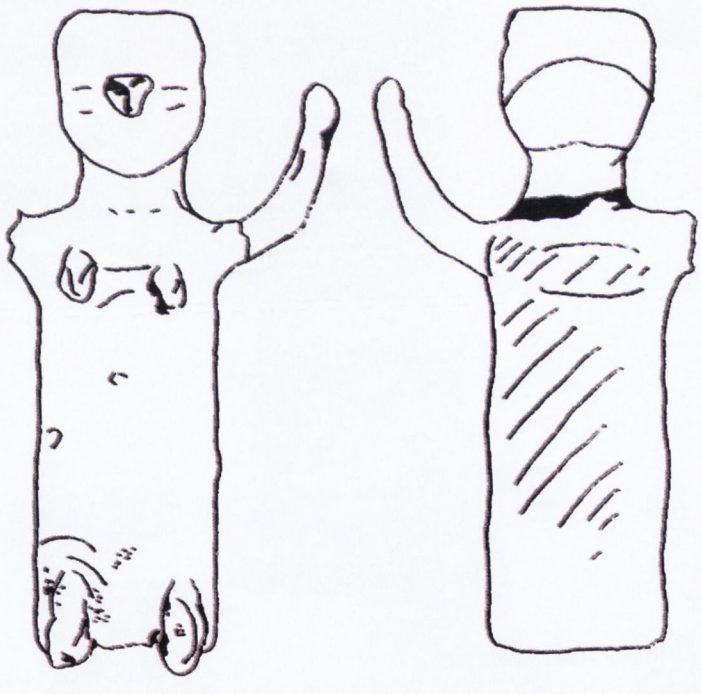
**III.4** Fragments of Mycenaean figurines from Cyprus



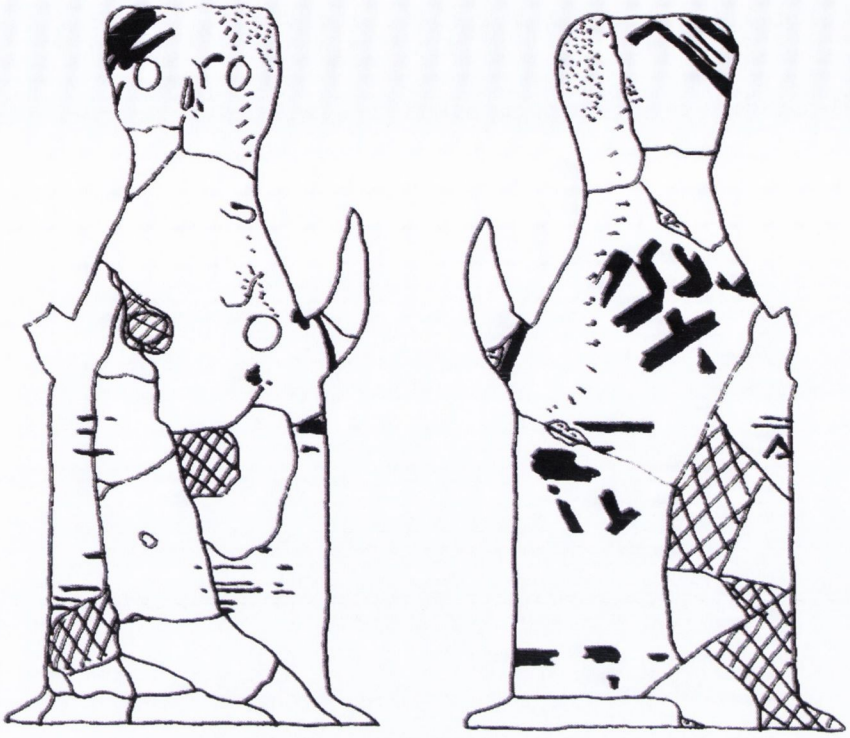
**III.5** Anthropomorphic bottles from Cyprus



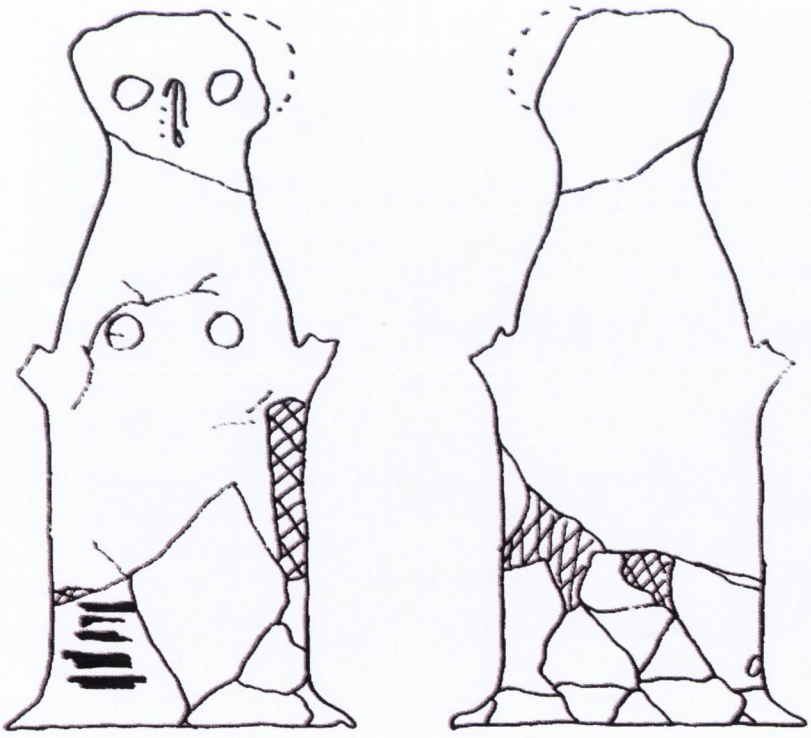
A.



B.

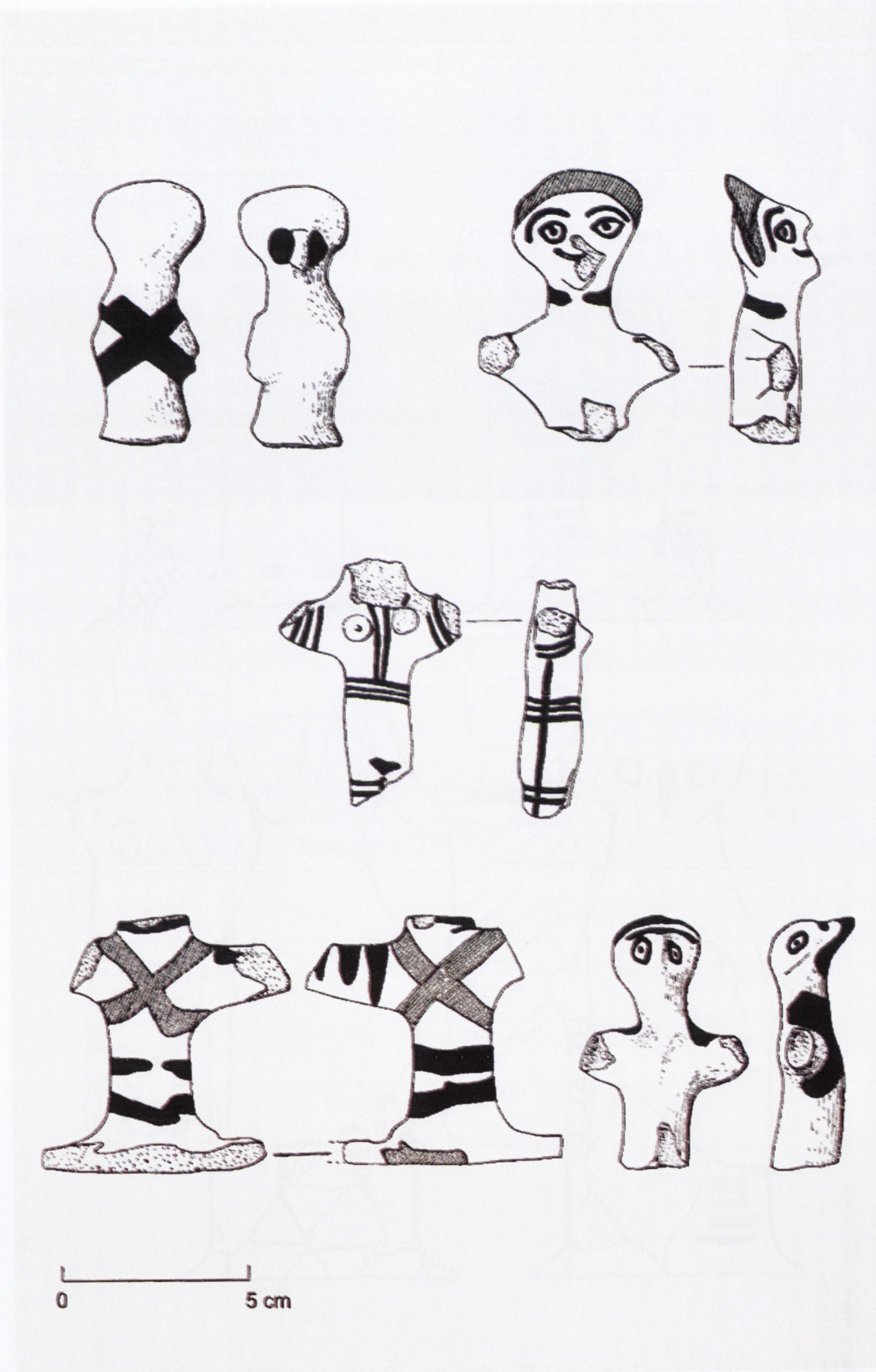


C.

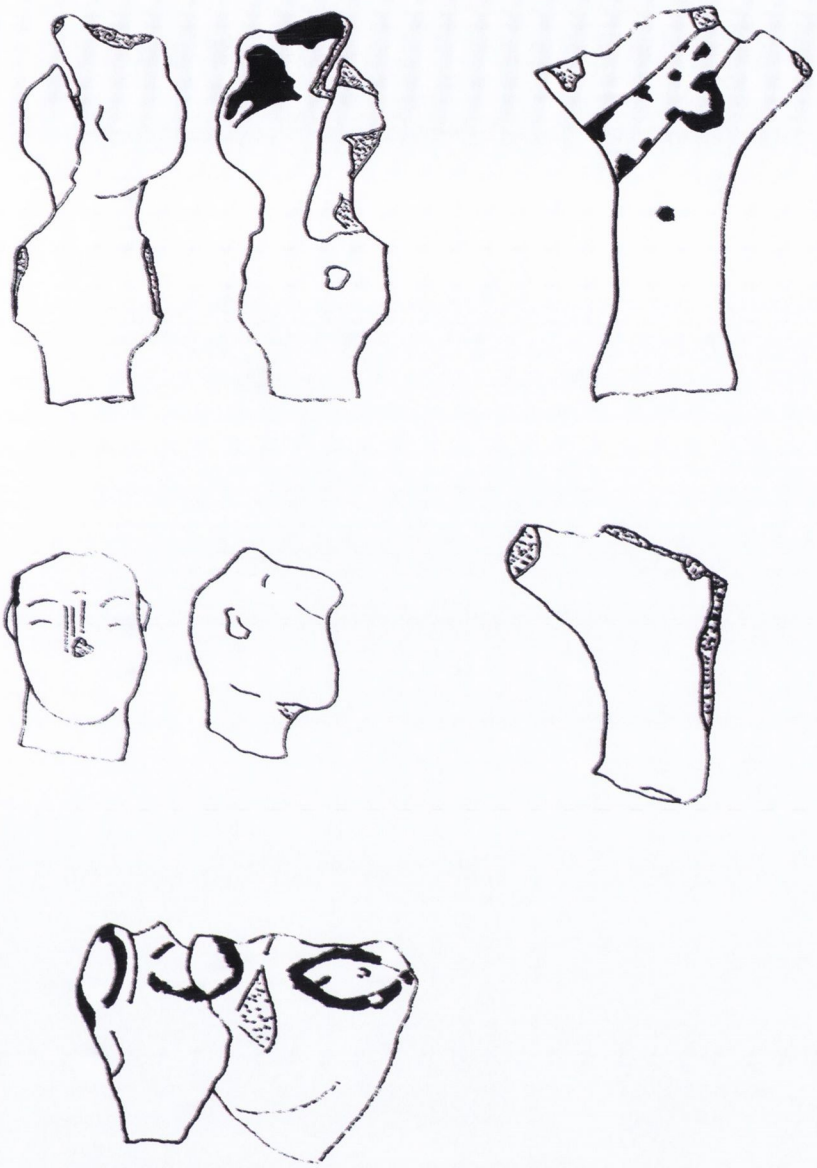


D.

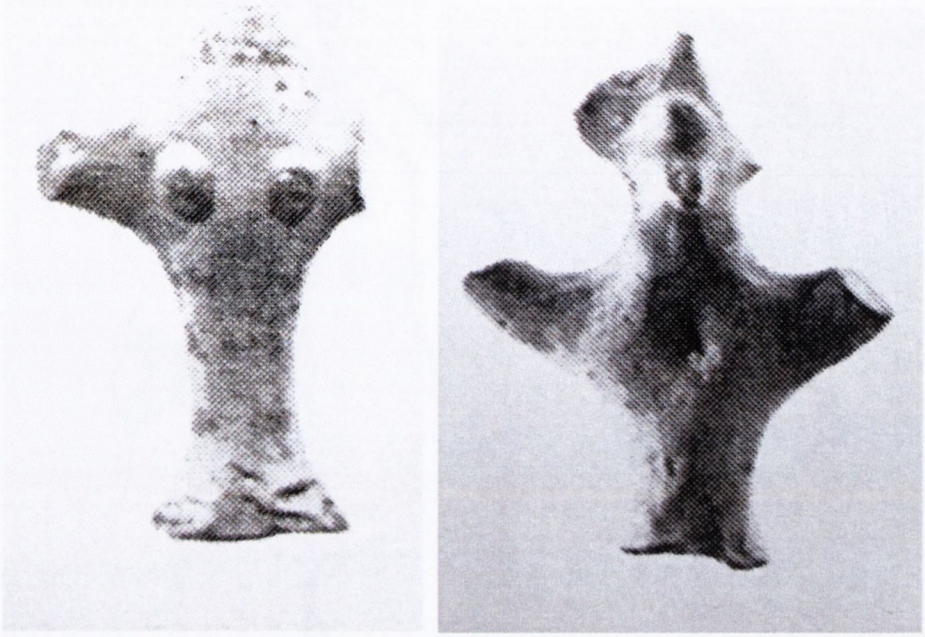
**III.6** Figurines from Limassol-*Komisariato* (0.175 m, 0.225 m, 0.224 m), photograph (a.) and drawings (b., c., d.)




A.



B.

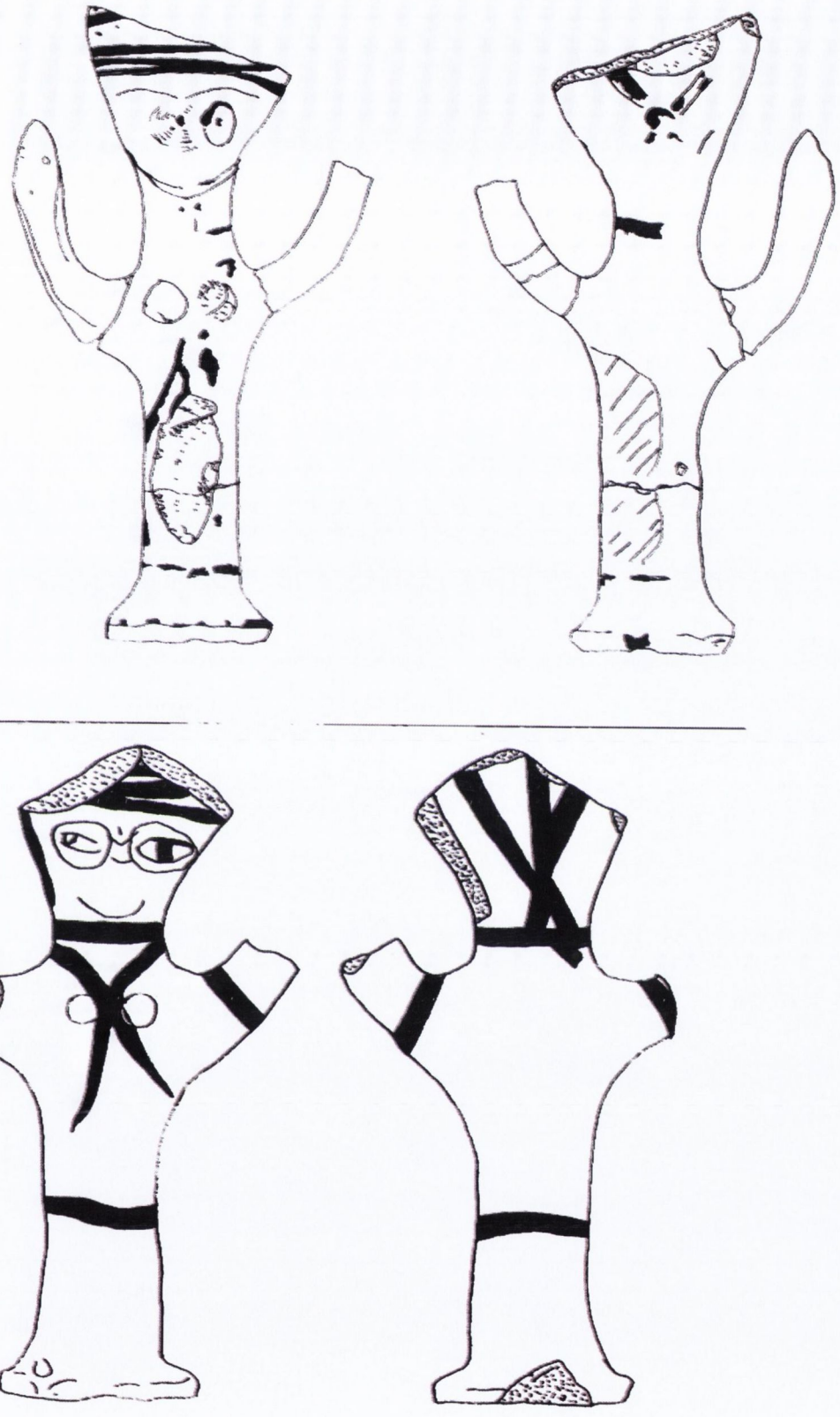


C.

**III.7** Examples of figurines from Enkomi, drawings (b.), photographs (c.)



A.

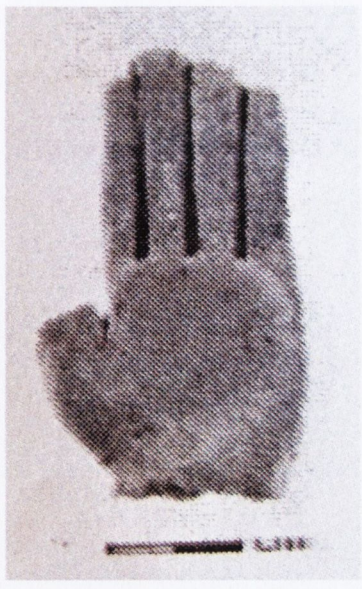


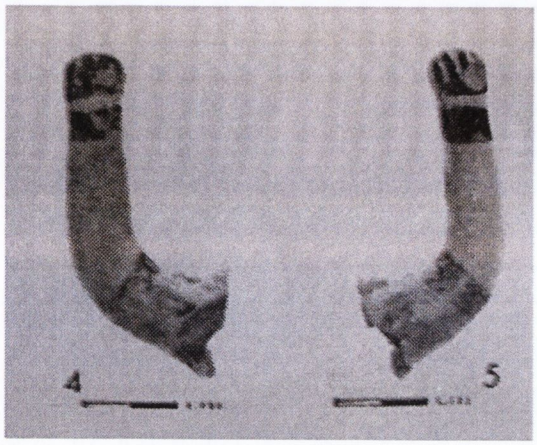
B.

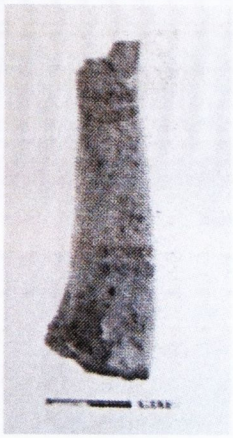


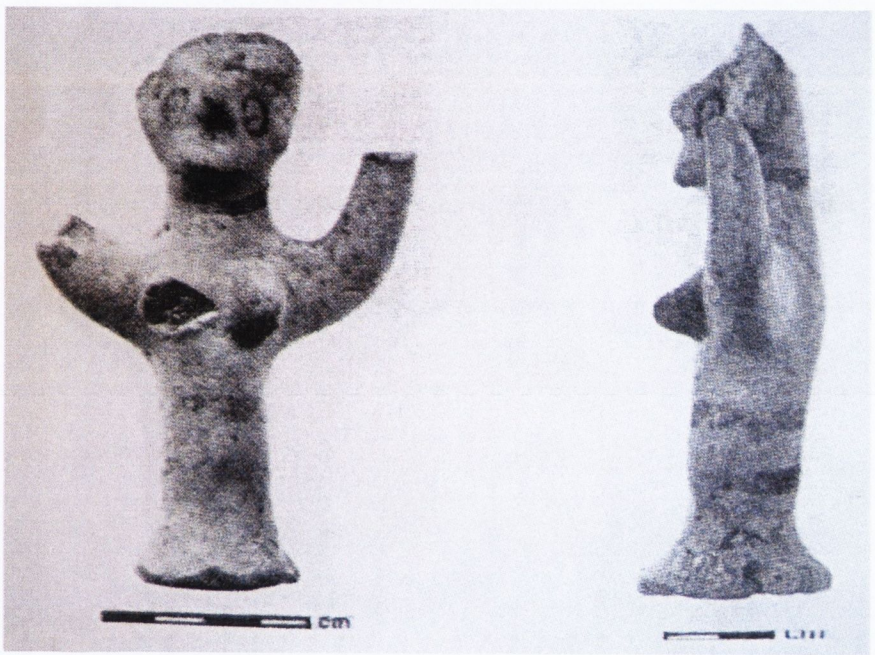

cm





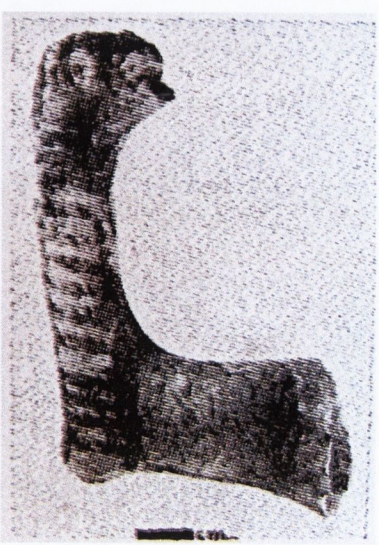

4
5

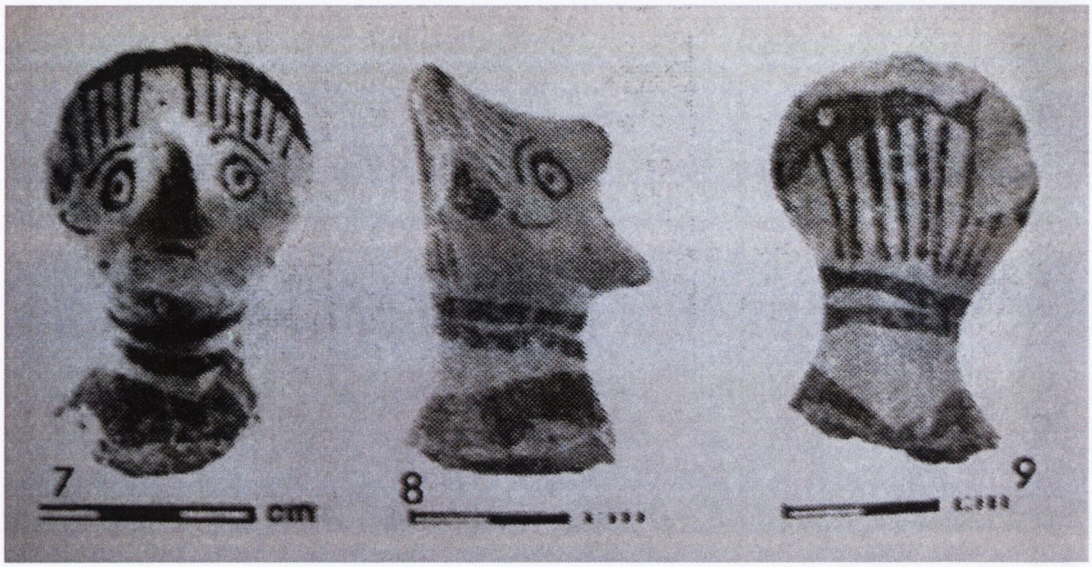













C.

**III.8** Figurines from Kition (a., b.: 0.145 m, 0.123 m; c.: 0.108m, 0.046m, 0.11m, 0.07m, 0.102m, 0.12m, 0.10m)



**III.9** The archaeological site of Kition (Larnaca)



**III.10** Figurine
from Palaepaphos,
Cypro-Archaic period
(0.35 m)



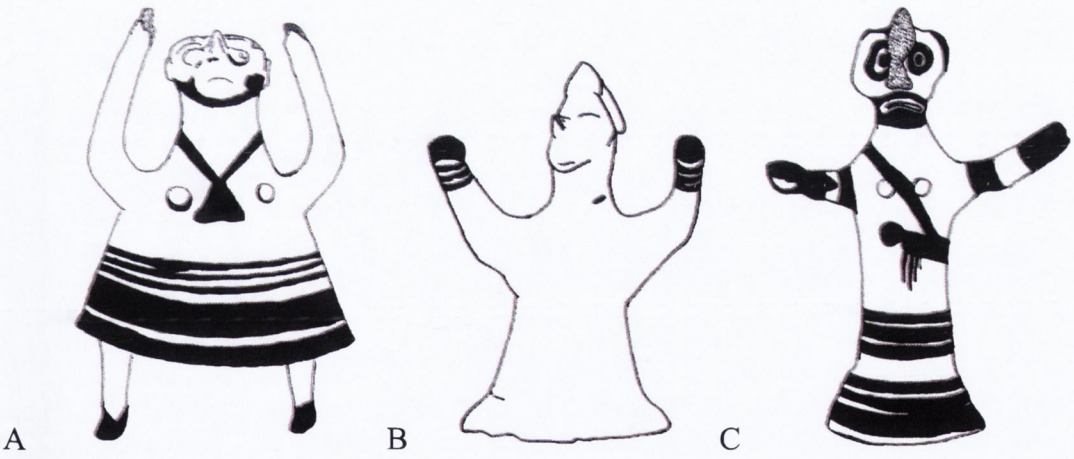
**III.11.** 4000 unpublished figurines dated to 7th-5th cent BC (Cypro-Archaic and Classical period) found in the well under a Roman house west of the sanctuary. Group includes mainly three types: GWUAs (0.15-0.20 m), a musician, and the water barer. Presented in the Kouklia Museum



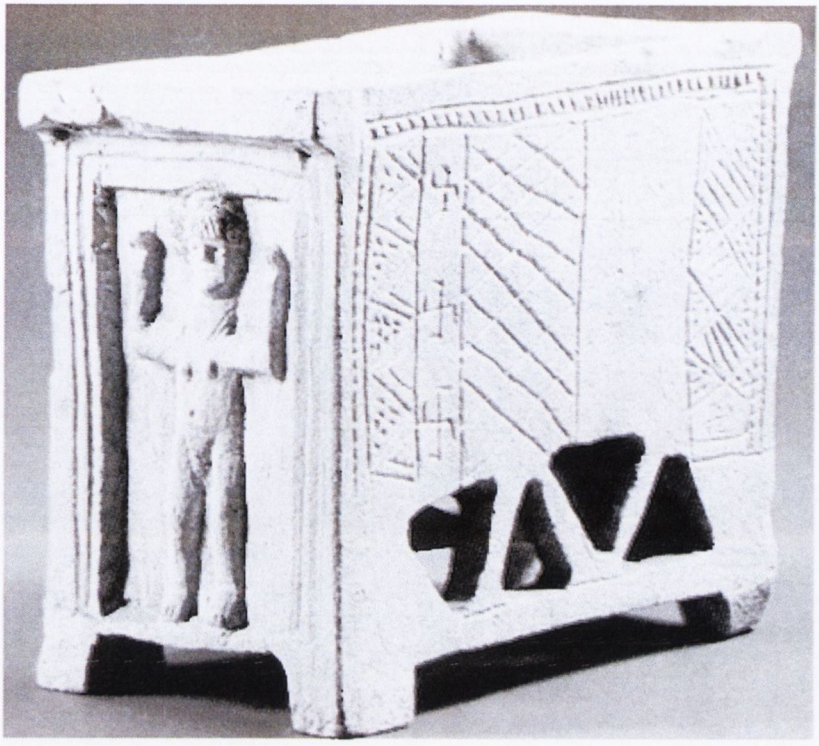
**III.12** Sanctuary I in Palaepaphos



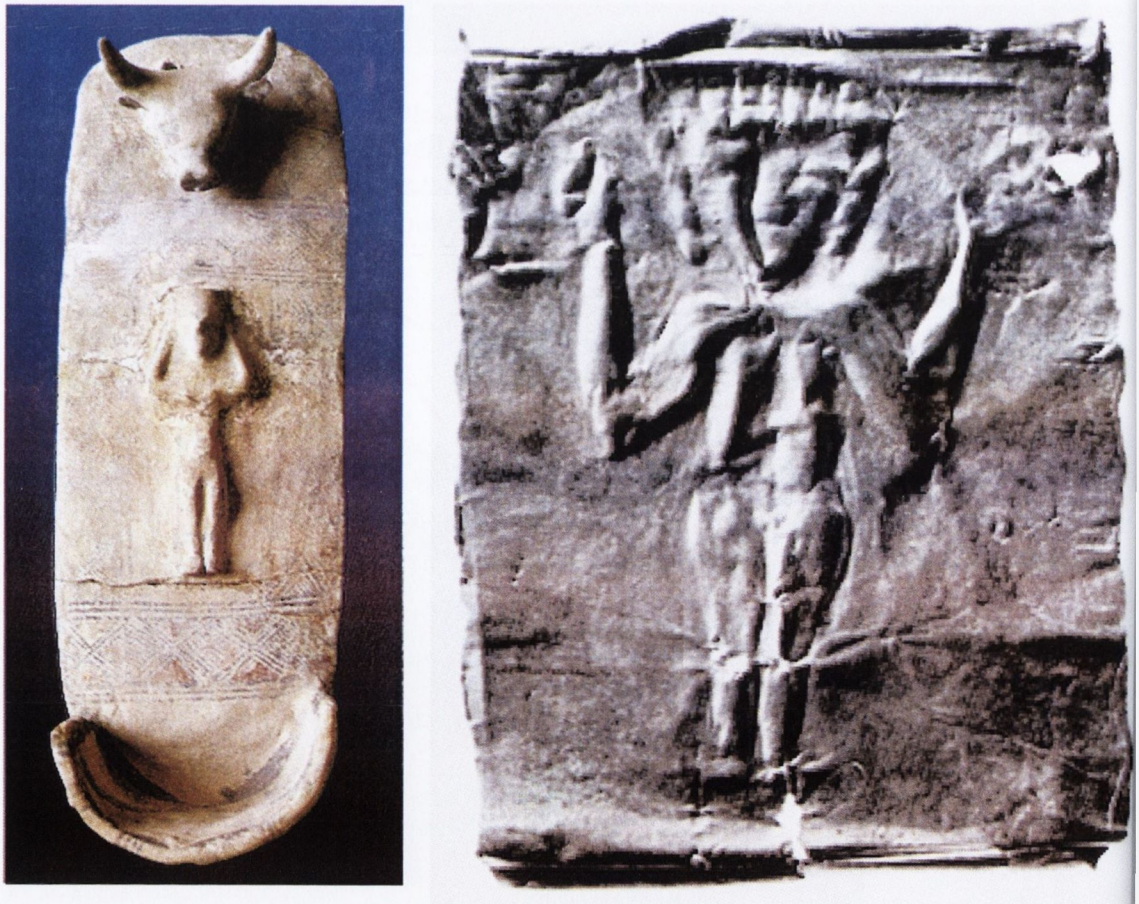
**III.13** Figurines from Yeroskipuo near Palaepaphos, Cypro-Archaic period (0.2 m, 0.17m)




**III.14** Double gender figurines (0.14 m, 0.11 m, 0.138 m)



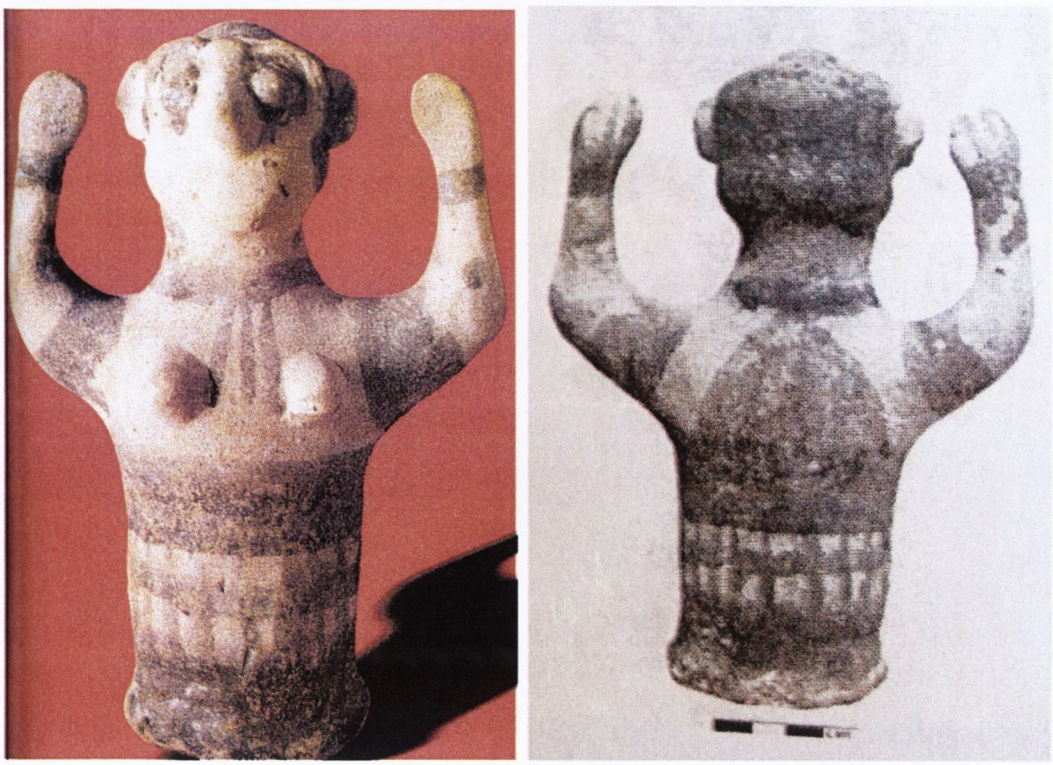
**III.15** Limestone incense box from Kythrea



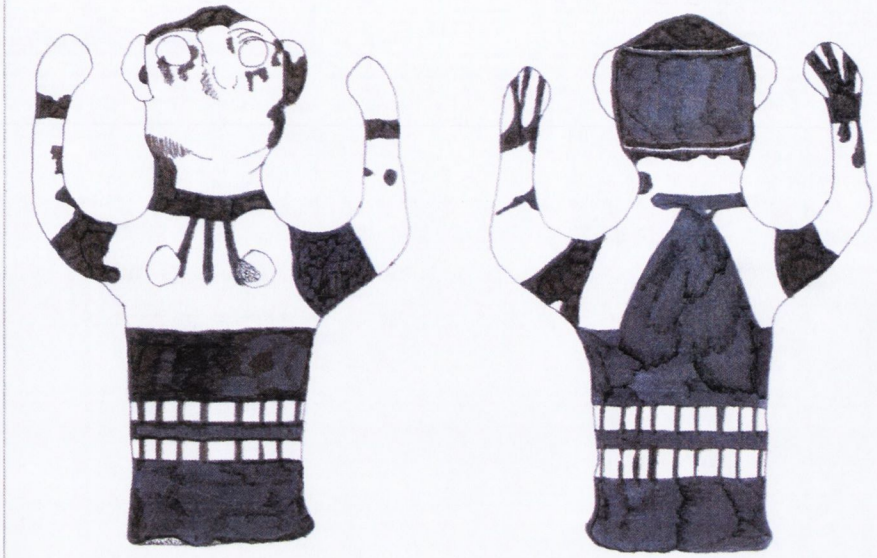
**III.16** Terracotta and metal plaques with an upraised arms figure



**III.17** Figurines from Korovia (0.15m) and of unknown provenance (0.225m)

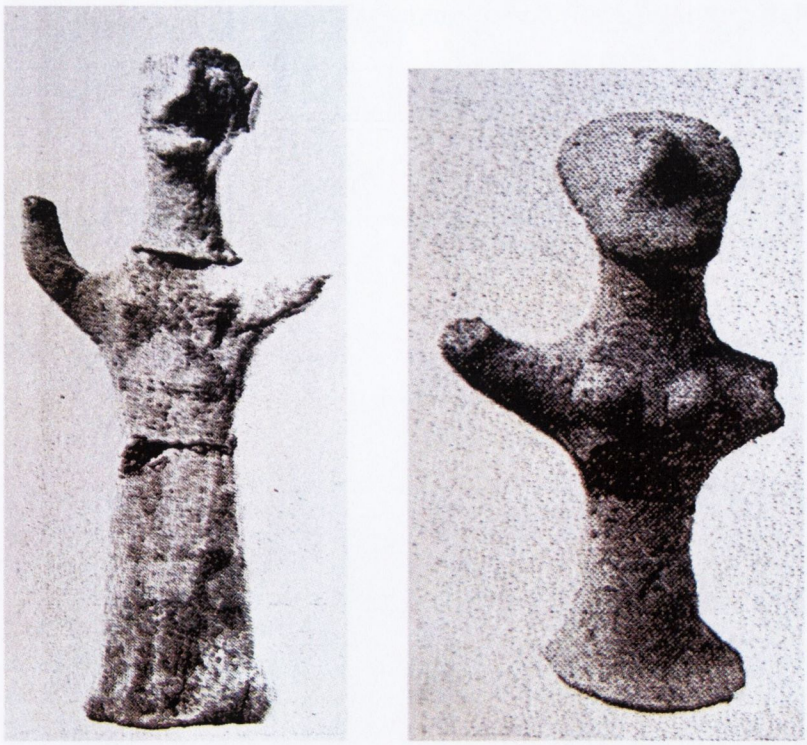


A.



B.

**III.18** Morphou-Toumba tou Skourou figurine (0.163m)

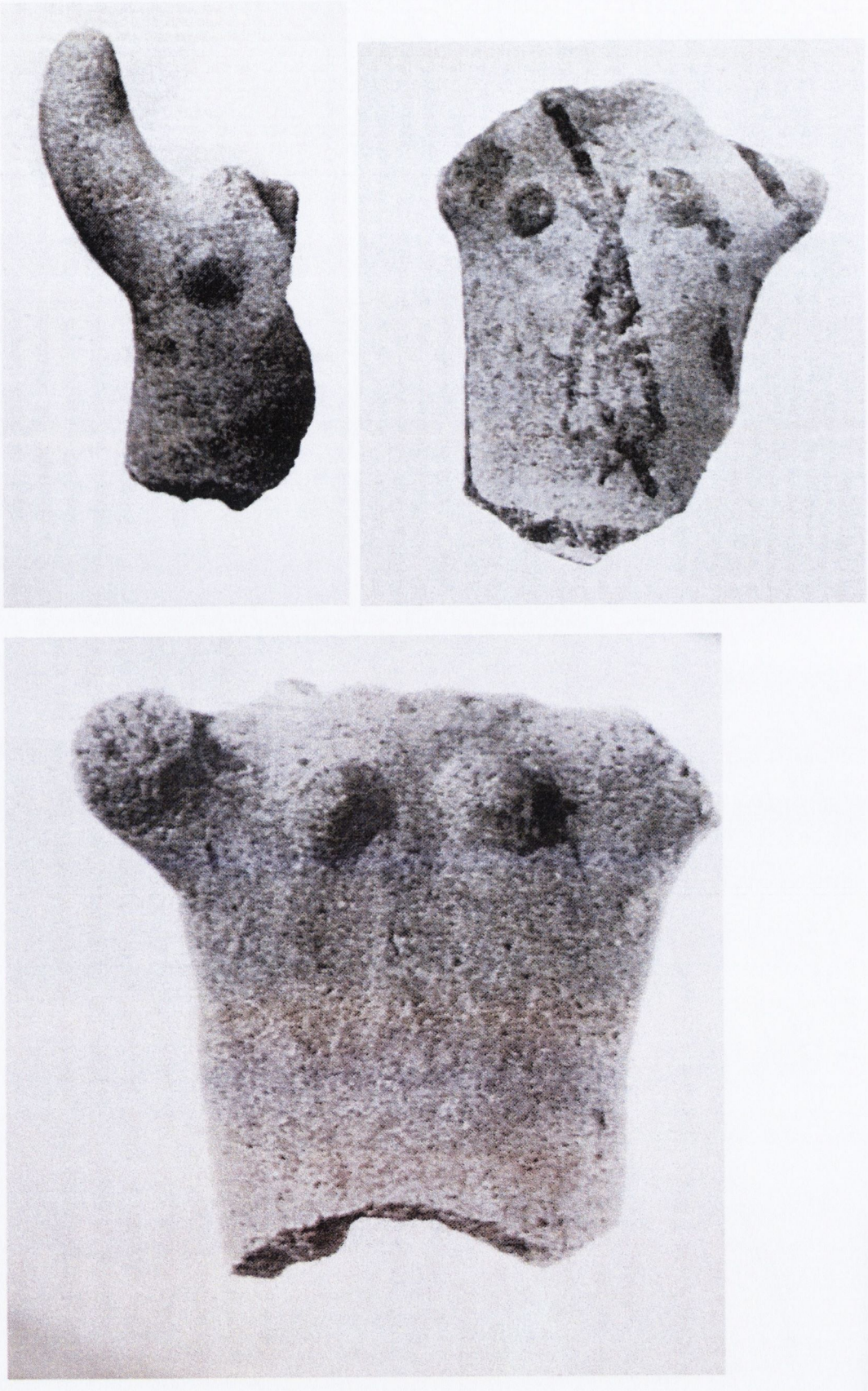




**III.19** Figurines from Ayios Iakovos (0.18m, 0.11m, 0.07m)



**III. 20** Decorated figurine from Lapithos (0.058m)



A.



B.

**III.21** Amathus, figurines' fragments (a., 0.087m, 0.086m, 0.065m) and terracottas probably from Amathus (b., 0.225m, 0.15m)



**III.22** Figurines from Ayia Irini (0.362m, 0.105m), Cypro-Geometric III/Archaic



**III.23** Figurines probably from Ormidhia (Cypro-Geometric III, 0.22m, 0.235m)



**III.24** Figurine from Idalion
(Cypro-Geometric III, 0.14m)



**III.25** Archaic figurines from Idalion (0.13m, 0.16m)



**III.26** Figurine of unknown provenance (Cypro-Geometric III? 0.21m)

# Chapter IV

# Comparison

**Introduction**

In this chapter I will compare the material discussed so far. Cretan and Cypriot 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' (GWUAs) are reviewed and compared according to six main categories:

a) dimensions and usage,
b) methods and social meaning of their production,
c) context of usage and discard,
d) the way they illustrate the emblematic gesture,
e) gender,
f) what they are an *image of*; are they really 'Goddesses'?

In the first part, some analogies offered by Mycenaean iconography are presented. A discussion of the size and dimensions of figures and figurines in Crete and Cyprus and the importance of such comparison follows this. Further, I discuss figurines as active constituents of the material culture through their production techniques and the possible social meaning of the production process itself. Then, the find contexts of Cretan and Cypriot terracottas are discussed, with an attempt to reconstruct the last phases of their use life, including comparison with Mycenaean

figurines. In the next part of this chapter, I review the questions surrounding the meaning of the emblematic gesture presented by the 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' and to what extent these questions may be answerable based only on the archaeological record. In particular, the issues of context and standardization (or the lack of such) are discussed. Finally, an attempt to establish the divine or human nature of the representation is presented, which also follows the pattern of regional diversity between and within the islands of Crete and Cyprus.

This extensive comparison of the different aspects of figures and figurines of the GWUAs type in both islands has two purposes. Firstly, it demonstrates the possibilities offered by modern methodological approaches to the studied material and the variety of questions, which might be asked beyond the art historical approach. Secondly, it is important to establish the likelihood of the assumption present in numerous publications that Cypriot GWUAs originated directly from the Cretan terracottas. The latter will be further discussed in the following Chapter V within the broader context of other coroplastic traditions and inter-regional contacts, including population movements in the LBA/EIA period.

**Dimensions and usage**

The dimensions of an object play an important role in the process of its perception and can have psychological effects on viewers and handlers. Size imposes specific limitations and possibilities; a large figure is, for example, more visible for a group of people, and a figurine is more palpable and easier to handle. Figurines and figures are not meaningful on their own, but they gain their special meaning through being actively used in ritual(s). Whether it is a communal procession or an intimate act of offering, their function and meaning are inevitably connected in a way that might determine each other. Here I would like to consider how Cretan and Cypriot GWUAs might be handled and displayed in a variety of ways, e.g. touched, or carried about, and how such handling would affect the way they were perceived by the people who interacted with them.

There are two iconographical examples from the Aegean, which could be interpreted as illustrations of a person holding a figurine; both come from Mainland Greece. The first is a fragment from a fresco from Tiryns, which depicts a clutched hand, with the fingers wrapped around an object that might be the lower part of a stylised, Mycenaean figurine or a smaller figure (Immerwahr 1990: 114) probably c. 0.3 m high (estimated based on proportions) (Fig. IV.1). It is part of a larger depiction of a procession of life-sized women carrying different objects, such as a pyxis or jewellery, probably as offerings (Whittaker 2009: 107). However, the image is too fragmentary to establish for certain whether it is a depiction of a terracotta figurine or a vessel. The other example is also a fresco fragment, from the Southwest Building in Mycenae, which depicts a pair of hands (possibly female) holding a miniature female dressed in a long, yellow garment decorated with red dots and borders (Immerwahr 1990: 119) (Fig. IV.2). It is part of a processional fresco, which culminates with a depiction of the 'Mykenaia' and a seated goddess, thus probably illustrating a public offering for the deity and/or involving priestesses. It has been proposed that the miniature person is a child being offered to the deity (Immerwahr 1990: 119), although she seems to be wearing a helmet, which, in other examples from Mycenaean iconography, is considered to be an attribute of a divinity (Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1996: fig. 95). It is, however, possible that the miniature female is a terracotta figurine or figure, or rather what Mycenaeans thought such a figurine represented. If they were figures of gods or goddesses, society probably would have perceived them as being inhabited by the deity during rituals, or possibly even permanently. Therefore, it is tempting to postulate that this fresco, rather than being a depiction of a depiction, illustrates the actual meaning of the figurine. Whittaker compares this to later Greek vase painting, where it is hard to distinguish between the deity and his or her statue (2009: 106-107). As Immerwahr observed, it is difficult to establish whether both hands touching the miniature female belong to the same person, or if this fresco fragment illustrates an actual act of offering and passing of the gift between the deity and the leading figure of the procession (1990: 119). If it is indeed a terracotta figurine that is represented, it should be possible to observe that it was held with a thumb inside (as would be possible for hollow cylindrical terracottas). Thus, this fragment might illustrate a ritual during which the people in a procession bring offerings to the goddess, of which the first, and so probably the most important, is a figurine or a figure

depicting a deity or maybe in a symbolic manner - a child, e.g. for securing the divine protection of the firstborn/heir. Mycenaean written sources also provide evidence for the use of figurines; it is probable that the Linear B word 'te-po-ri-ja' is connected with the carrying of figures and/or figurines of deities in processions (Whittaker 2009: 107). Unfortunately, there is no such iconographical or textual evidence from Crete or Cyprus in the LBA or EIA, but Mycenaean culture provides a good analogy because of its close relations with both islands.

The first examples of GWUAs on Crete were figurines and figures of a moderate size, like the terracotta from the Unexplored Mansion in Knossos, which was 0.33 m in height (Higgins 1984: 198), or the GWUA from Gournia of 0.365 m (Eliopoulos 2004: 86). Their dimensions link them with the earlier Minoan coroplastic traditions, in which even highly decorated representations, probably of special importance, were rather small. Moreover, although small enough to be portable and handled easily, they were probably used only within the designated space of the cult room/building. This is indicated by there being individual examples of GWUAs in the particular location (only one or two found on site) and accompanied by other objects, in a way which might have been meaningful. Evans gave an example of objects arranged in such a manner in his publication of the Late Shrine of Double Axes (Evans 1928: 335-344). Hence, it is possible that the main ritual took place within the cult room, and access to the sacred space and participation in the ritual was restricted, not only by the dimensions of the chamber but also by the size and visibility of the figure, which was the focal point of all actions. However, the fresco fragment from Mycenae indicates that even smaller figurines might have been carried in a procession, either as part of a more elite event or perhaps when they were being brought to the shrine for the first time and offered to the deity.

In the later LM IIIC shrines of Karphi and Halasmenos, figures were larger, ranging from 0.5 m to 0.8 m in height. Their portability was clearly restricted, but, as previously discussed, still possible, especially if platforms carried by two or more people were used. Such figures would have been clearly visible to the public when used in outdoor rituals, such as processions. However, such types of terracottas were less accessible for individual, personal engagement involving the touching or

moving of the object by one person only and not in an organized, communal and public ritual. The LM IIIC GWUAs were accompanied by a standardized set of cult equipment, which could be used during such public events as processions or outdoor rituals by representatives of the inhabitants of the settlement. Such specially chosen people, probably members of the local elites, would be allowed to get closer to the divinity, but only in the name of the whole community. Additionally, those fortunate enough to be allowed to engage more directly with the GWUA figure, not only as observers but also as handlers, could gain, establish or promote their elite social status. However, it is important to note that not all of the LM IIIC 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' figures were of such a large size. Several smaller examples from Gazi and Kannia accompanied the large figures and, due to their different size, could have had a different usage. The most intriguing is the figurine from Kannia, 0.22 m in height. The top of her head was open and she had a handle on the back, which would facilitate the transportation and/or presentation of the figurine to the public, and it could also be used a vessel (Levi 1959: 245). Physical engagement with this GWUA terracotta would not only be permitted but also necessary to carry out the ritual; it must have been a local variation of the cult. Smaller differences in size between particular figures were probably a matter of a personal choice or skill and they are discussed together with the issues connected with production and/or meaning of the gesture later on.

In comparison, Cypriot figurines with upraised arms from Enkomi were very small, usually no bigger than 0.07 m in height. Miniaturization combined with three-dimensionality forces a closer proximity between the object and the viewer or handler (allowing proper view of the object), which introduces a sense of intimacy and empowerment. Figurines also provide the opportunity to look at an image in a way, or for duration of time, that would not be possible during contact with a live human body. One's hand becomes the background and the source of proportion for another reality, embodied within the figurine. This is especially true for three-dimensional objects like figurines because they demand a physical engagement. Contact with a miniature object is of a personal character; the viewer or handler has to welcome the figurine into his/her personal space (Bailey 2005: 38, 42). However, miniaturization includes also the paradox of re-sizing, because a small object can provoke thoughts of a greater size about the greater world. Miniaturism also

provides the possibility of literally handling one's identity and social roles, for display or negotiation, in an unthreatening way (Bailey 2005: 85). Often, while resizing the human body, the proportions become altered. Some elements might be missing and other might be exaggerated. Every representation has a purpose, and engagement with the scale of things is one mode in which to express it. What is most important is to observe which body parts are affected and whether it was due to deliberate choice or to constraints of the material used in the production of the image (Bailey 2005: 42). It should also be considered whether the choice of clay, bronze or stone in the process of creating the figurine was a deliberate choice of the maker or an important element of the tradition embodied in the production technique.

Other examples from Cyprus are figurines of medium size, 0.12 m to 0.2 m; of such dimensions are the GWUAs found in Limassol-*Komisariato* and in Kition (Karageorghis 1977: 16-17, 28-29). They are also of a size that encourages physical engagement. As already mentioned in Chapter II of this thesis, the cylindrical body of the figurines from Kition could easily be held in one's hand with fingers wrapped around the pillar-like lower part, while the arms and head would have been visible, presenting the emblematic gesture of upraised arms. Thus, their size would facilitate the process of personal and intimate offering and/or prayer. This would indicate a new form of cult into which GWUAs were incorporated, not yet visible in the first experimental examples from Limassol-*Komisariato* or the miniature group representations from Enkomi. This pattern is also observable in later examples from the Cypro-Archaic period, such as the Palaepaphos figurines (Karageorghis 1977: 22-23). Although larger figures have also been found at Enkomi and Kition, for example, their fragmentary state do not permit their identification as GWUAs or their inclusion in this comparison of size and its implications.

The most striking difference between the Cretan and Cypriot assemblages of GWUAs is their size, and, as demonstrated, this also implies a significant difference in usage. At the beginning, the Cretan examples were of a medium size and, being less visible, served as a part of rituals characterized by their restrictions both in space and in number of participants. By the LM IIIC period, they had developed into the large figures known from Karphi and Halasmenos, which, by being more

visible but still to a certain extent portable, served an important role in the rituals which brought the community together and promoted the social status of the local elites. In contrast, Cypriot GWUAs can mostly be classified as figurines and they consist of miniature and medium size examples, usually ranging in height from 0.05 m to 0.25 m. Thus, their dimensions encouraged more physical engagement, e.g. touching and handling, instead of simply looking, and indicate a personal character to the ritual of which they were a part.

**Figurines as products**

Besides their symbolic meaning, it is important to acknowledge the materiality of figurines as products. Recent studies of links between the organization of production and sociopolitical complexity have explored the importance of different kinds of craft specialization, particularly the difference between independent and attached specialization (Lesure 1999: 209-220; Brumfiel and Earle 1987; Clark and Parry 1990; Costin 1991). Studies by Brumfiel and Lesure on Aztec statuettes underline the importance of including an economical perspective in the study of anthropomorphic terracottas. Although the majority of examples can hardly be classified as luxury items, and even less so as utilitarian goods, terracotta figurines are still products, and observation of labour investment and the organization of manufacture can broaden our understanding of the social processes they were a part of. Independent craftsmen or craftswomen "produce for a general market of potential consumers" (Costin 1991: 11), making every-day items and responding to current demand, while "attached production is sponsored and managed by élite or governmental institutions or patrons" (Costin 1991: 11), and its products are luxury goods typically made to order. Thus, independent specialists generally produce utilitarian goods in response to a social 'demand', while attached specialists typically make prestige goods and wealth items at the behest of powerful patrons (Costin 1991, 11-13). The wheel-made figures were most likely made by trained potters, and where the decoration and clay were similar, it is probable that they were commissioned and their production was organized. In both Cypriot and Cretan material, it is possible to observe regional diversity in terms of the organization of production of the figures and figurines.

On Crete, the technology used in the production of GWUAs has been studied in detail by Gesell and Saupe. GWUAs were produced in a very similar way to local wheelmade pottery (1997: 123-126). Thus, in Crete, potters, for whom making a figure would be an occasional and challenging assignment, produced figures and figurine of this type. The lack of tradition in production of such large figures is visible in the borrowing of a technique from another area of technological production - ordinary, domestic pottery. Every figure had to be commissioned individually; a craftsman or craftswoman using the material and known techniques had to approach the subject guided by his or her skills and the general concept of the figure. This individual approach is visible in the differences in proportions and facial characteristics of figures.

On Cyprus, the regional and chronological diversity within the Cypro-Geometric periods is very visible in the production of GWUA figurines. Above all, however, it is possible to observe the general difference from the Cretan examples in a low degree of standardization. Even within one site, the first Cypriot GWUAs illustrate a tendency to experiment with the form of representation. This is particularly illustrated by the figurines from Limassol-Komisariato, where all three have the emblematic gesture, but two have a wheel-made, bell-shaped body and a flat, almost rectangular head, while the third one has a hollow cylindrical body, feet projecting from the base, a rectangular polos and prominent facial characteristics (Karageorghis 1977: 28-29). Each of the three figurines are unique and the wheel-made ones, in particular, have no parallels. The production technique itself might be related to the Cretan figures, but if so, it is a very distant relationship. The miniature figurines from Enkomi were handmade, but they follow a very general pattern visible in the shape of the pillar-like body, upraised arms in the shape of a crescent and an almost discoid head, pinched nose and painted details (Schaeffer 1971: 328-343; Webb 1999: 212-213). Different people might have made them, but a certain array of skills would be necessary and of course there was a conception of how figurines should look and be decorated. Because the same clay was used for the figurines as for the pottery, it is possible that the production of figurines was attached to pottery workshops. The Kition figurines were still individualized, but they follow far more visible patterns and bear similarity to each other both in dimensions and shape. The mould-made Levantine-style figurines found at Kition, a

result of the arrival of the Phoenician population at the beginning of the EIA, might have inspired a development of standardization of GWUA figurines. Further, in the Archaic period, terracottas from Palaepaphos and Yeroskipou share a great homogeneity and suggest the existence of a local centre of production of terracottas, which would probably be in the vicinity of this important sanctuary (Karageorghis 1998: 10). Thus, it is possible to observe that Cypriot GWUAs developed from the first experimental and diverse approaches in techniques into more standardized production, probably inspired by the Phoenician tradition of using numerous and often mould-made figurines as offerings in sanctuaries.

There is a clear difference in the production processes of Cretan and Cypriot GWUAs. It is tempting to postulate that on Crete figures and figurines were specially commissioned at the expense of local elites or the whole (or part of the) community, while on Cyprus, especially in sanctuaries such as Enkomi, Kition and Palaepaphos, they could have been produced for the general market. Local craftsman and craftswomen could provide worshippers, who participated in rituals or came to the temple with an individual prayer, with figurines. Because of the regional diversity of Cyprus, it is possible to establish that, although the general image of an upraised arms figurine was the same in different sites, the production itself was organized by local workshops. In contrast, on Crete during the LM IIIC period, production technique indicates that figures from nearby sites, such as Halasmenos, Kavousi and Karphi, could have been made by travelling potters, or at least workshops that maintained close contact and cooperation, and that they were specially and individually commissioned.

**Contexts of usage and discard**

As was stated in Chapter I of this thesis, the question of context is vital for any archaeological research. Although many of the GWUA figurines, especially the ones from Cyprus, are unprovenanced and form part of a substantial body of Cypriot and Greek antiquities illegally excavated, robbed, and traded, there are enough available cases of known and secure contexts to make this study reliable. For terracottas, there are at least three possible different contexts in which they were found: production (creation), usage (communication) and discard (consumption)

(Glassie 1998: 48). Although it is usually stated that GWUA figures and figurines were found within a single type of context, in sanctuaries, with the suggestion that this was also their context of use, I will demonstrate the differences apparent after a more careful consideration. Variations occur not only between the assemblages from Crete and from Cyprus, but also among individual sites, such as Knossos and Halasmenos, or Enkomi and Kition. However, it is also important to emphasise that every object has a use life and what is available in the archaeological record is only one element of its biography.

For a long time, scholars tended to consider the discard context less important for studies of past societies, as if such contexts provide less valuable insight into the characteristics and everyday life of particular cultures than production and, especially, contexts of use. However, as recently demonstrated by Tzonou-Herbst in her study of the Mycenaean figurines from Tiryns (2009: 161-173), the discard context can also provide valuable data. The figurines discussed by Tzonou-Herbst were found deposited in graves, together with what can be interpreted as ordinary domestic debris, "an unstructured mixture of heterogeneous objects that were broken and not re-usable" (Tzonou-Herbst 2009: 171). Therefore, Tzonou-Herbst postulates that the figurines changed meaning during their use life, for example when their owner died or when they broke, and that made it possible to throw them away or re-use them in construction fills or in mud-brick. Alternatively, it is possible that not all Mycenaeans shared the same beliefs connected with the 'powers' possessed or represented by the figurines (Tzonou-Herbst 2009: 171-172).

Most of the Cretan GWUAs were found in so-called bench shrines - places where they were used and/or stored. As was discussed previously, their place of use might also have been the open spaces identified near such shrines or the streets and surrounding areas of the settlements. The figures probably stood on benches surrounded by other cult equipment, like the snake tubes in Eastern Crete, or smaller figurines and other objects like those in the Double Axe Shrine in Knossos. This was clearly a cult space in which GWUAs were displayed or were the focal point of ritual. Small spaces restrict access, but bench shrines were probably accessible directly from streets or plateias, thereby open for members of the whole community.

The role of shrines probably differed through time and across regions. The first examples of shrines from Knossos and Gournia, within LM I/II Minoan settlements that flourished in previous periods, consisted of one or two rooms connected with a bigger building; only two examples of GWUAs have been found in each site, and the cult equipment did not appear to be as standardized as in LM IIIC (Eliopoulos 2004: 82; Popham 1984: 263; Higgins 1984: 197-202, Gesell 1983: 95; Marinatos and Hägg 1983: 188). Later LM IIIB/C shrines from Eastern Crete have been identified as separate buildings, such as the Temple in Karphi or the Megaron in Halasmenos, and numerous figures, some larger than the aforementioned examples, were found (Tsipopoulou 2009: 121; Gesell 1985: 79; Pendlebury *et al.* 1940: 75). The absence of votive offerings in the form of smaller figurines is interesting, and would indicate that the inhabitants of the LM IIIB/C settlement felt that GWUA figures belonged to, and were offered to, the deity by all members of the group. Some of the figures were found in the back rooms of the cult building or kept in the back of the main chamber, e.g. in Kannia, Karphi or Halasmenos (Tsipopoulou 2009: 124; Hallager 2009: 108; Gesell 1985: 77-78; Levi 1959: 245-247; Pendlebury *et al.* 1940: 75-76). This is particularly visible in sites where numerous figures were recorded. Because all the examples were found in a fragmentary state, it is difficult to establish, but tempting to postulate, that damaged or old figures no longer in use were still stored in the cult building. Due to the material and production techniques, they were probably easily damaged, especially if used in outdoor rituals, however there are no signs of deliberate breakage. Thus, in contrast to the Mycenaean figurines studied by Tzonou-Herbst (2009: 161-173), Cretan GWUAs kept their special, religious meaning during the last phase of their use-life and were not discarded in a secular space. However, this statement must be treated with caution, because many GWUAs lack information about the exact find spot and, because of the production techniques, some fragments in a domestic context could have been mistaken for pottery. Thus, Cretan GWUAs were found within their use and discard context, which have both been identified as related to cult. The figures probably also kept their sacred meaning during the last phase of their use life.

The Cypriot GWUAs were also found within sacred and cult related spaces, but the character and scale of these sanctuaries were different from bench shrines on Crete. Early examples of GWUAs on Cyprus were found in Enkomi, within the important LBA settlement, where cult activity outlived the actual habitation period of the site. The sanctuary of the Ingot God where they were found was a small space with visible restrictions of access and rituals, probably connected with sacrifices, were carried out inside. However, most of the figurines and fragments of figures, which may have been a larger version of GWUAs (but it is not certain), were found outside the building (Webb 1999: 106). The open space where they were recorded might have served as a place of worship and offering, thus this would be the usage context of figurines, which would indicate that the small, upraised arms figurines of Enkomi were votive offerings. In Kition most of the examples of GWUAs were found in their discard context, within bothroi so specially dug pits for the deposition of older votives to make space for the new ones in the temple. The sanctuaries of Kition were of grand, Levantine scale, and during the EIA a Phoenician population was visibly present on site. Thus, figurines probably also served a votive purpose in Kition, and although at the end of their use life they were discarded, this was also an organized, maybe even ritualized, process within the sacred space. This suggests that figurines kept their special meaning and function even when discarded. Larger figures in Kition were found only in a fragmentary state, making it difficult to establish whether they can be identified as GWUAs; however their find context should also be indentified as the usage or discard one.

It is possible to observe some similarities in the contexts in which Cretan and Cypriot GWUA figures and figurines have been found. However, it is important to note that on Crete they were often positioned within the sacred space in a way that indicates they were the focal point of a ritual, according to the methodological approach to the archaeology of cult proposed by Renfrew (1985). Thus, they were found within a special, separated space, on a raised bench, with cult equipment in front of them. They also kept their importance and meaning in the last phase of their use-life. GWUAs from Cyprus have also been found within sanctuaries, but there they probably served as votive offerings, placed in designated areas, including some outside the building, within their probable use context. They also kept a meaningful role in the last phases of their use life, visible in their deposition process in a

specially prepared, closed space of pits within the limits of Kition temples. Thus, despite overall similarities, the context in which GWUA figures and figurines were found can provide different interpretations about their meaning and function for the local communities.

**Gesture**

The study of gesture in Minoan iconography is a field, which has attracted much attention recently. According to the definition offered by Wedde, "A gesture is defined as a movement performed by one or two hands/arms, while holding the body in one or more specific postures, invested with a meaning that can either be commonly understood by all, or part of codified behavior of a smaller group within a society" (1999: 911). Gesture is often directed towards either an object or another participant of the action. It can have different meanings, depending on the situation, and with whom or with what it interacts. At least three types of gestures are recognizable in Minoan iconography. The first type includes gestures directed at a recipient (person or object), which would be followed by an answer, which can be in the same form/manner. The second type is a targeted movement, involving the use of arms or hands close to the target (Wedde 1999: 911), e.g. the giving or receiving of an object. The third one is a type of gesture, which involves direct interaction with objects or people, like embracing or touching trees or stones. As I will demonstrate, GWUA figurines and figures present gestures, which from first impressions should be classified within all three types described above.

It is important to remember that when interpreting the gesture represented in iconography or in a terracotta figurine or figure, we can not see the real movement but just one element of it, a fragment of a bigger picture outside its context, although frozen in what is probably its most meaningful moment. Hence, when working with the archaeological material, we study the gesture as an image and not as dynamic movement in action. During a ritual, a series of gestures might have followed each other in a way that is difficult to recreate without the textual evidence and combined with other aspects like music or spoken formulas (Morris 2001: 247). For a viewer who comes from the same cultural context as the iconography, the

represented gestures are 'shorthand' for the symbolic meaning of the whole scene, and immediately understandable.

Cross-cultural comparisons are less reliable. A simple example of differences in the meaning of a gesture, even used in the same period but by representatives of different cultural backgrounds, can be offered by photographs in which people hold the right hand up, with two fingers shaping the letter 'V'. For example in Poland, this is a symbol of 'V', in the sense of 'victory'; it also has strong political connections. The best-known example of this is a 1991 picture of the first democratically elected Prime Minister after the communist era, making this gesture during his speech in the parliament (Fig. IV.3). At the same time in Asia, people who want to indicate that a photo was made in an informal and fun atmosphere, often make exactly the same gesture (Fig. IV.4). Such differences can cause confusion and even negative emotions when they lead to serious misunderstandings. Thus, when interpreting a gesture frozen in iconographical representations, there are no 'obvious' answers.

Two-dimensional images authoritatively impose the possible perspectives of the viewer (Bailey 2005: 39). With three-dimensional objects, there are far more possibilities to execute the whole posture in contrast to frescoes, glyptic or other types of two-dimensional iconography. Thus, it is difficult to make comparisons of gestures illustrated in different mediums. The same applies to the use of different materials like bronze or terracotta, which facilitates or makes it harder to execute a specific gesture (Morris 1999: 248). The importance of even nuanced differences in a body posture was underlined by Morris in a study based on figurines from Minoan peak sanctuaries (1999). As an example, the absence of kneeling and prostration is given (although used often in representations in Egypt and classical Greece) and instead there is a presence of a cluster of gestures with the general pattern of a raised and bent arm and elbow. However, it is also noted that there are many variations within this cluster, including the arc of the arm parallel to the body or convergent with a fist almost touching the forehead. Different body postures might also have the purpose of evoking the experience of a transcendental or ecstatic state of mind and a sense of contact with the divine (Morris and Peatfield 2004: 48-55, 2001: 245-251; Peatfield 2001: 51-55). Wedde postulates that during actual ecstatic

activities, like dancing or tree shaking, participants might have been using different gestures in a less restrained manner (1999: 918), but it is probable that their representation in the iconography was standardized.

The gesture became one of the reasons that Cretan figures were linked to a group of Cypriot figurines and figures, and are thus referred to using the same term, 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms'. Because of the depicted gesture of upraised arms, they were all assigned to one category, with the same origins, purpose and meaning. Although the Cypriot material represents a much more diverse assemblage than the Cretan examples, where small figurines, bigger figures and groups of terracottas attached together to a plaque can be observed, they have all been treated as a rather homogenous type. The interpretation was automatically transferred from the Cretan examples, together with the name. The term 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' consists of two parts: a description of the gesture ('upraised arms') and the interpretation of the figurines (as 'Goddesses'). Two main explanations have been offered for the specific posture:

a.) prayer, worship, adoration

b.) a manifestation of divine presence, or blessing (Nilsson 1950: 310; Alexiou 1958; Matz 1958: 34-35; J.Karageorghis 1977: 129-134; Webb 1999: 215; Prent 2005: 181)

To evaluate these assumptions, it is important to closely examine whether it is actually a single gesture that is represented in the GWUA figures and figurines, giving special attention to any regional diversity. A careful consideration of possible meanings in different contexts will follow.

First, it is important to define the main characteristics of the gesture depicted by GWUA figures and figurines. The overall posture of the representation is standing upright, and a sitting position is depicted in only a few examples from Crete (Kavousi) and one from Cyprus (Limassol-*Komisariato*). However, some of the Enkomi figurines are slightly bent forwards. The arms are always raised and often bent, if palms are depicted they face outwards or towards each other. Palms are open and fingers are straight, sometimes thumbs are slightly bent.

Within the Cretan assemblage of GWUA figures and figurines, it is possible to observe, through all the phases of the development of this type, a particular attention in the shaping of the arms and hands, including careful rendering of fingers, with a separate thumb. This is visible also in the exaggeration and changed proportions of the body; the arms are longer than they should be and hands and fingers are also long and slender. Fingers are rendered separately and in the case of the figurine from the Late Shrine of Double Axes in Knossos, they are also spread wide. A figure or a figurine is an image of a body transmitted into an object, it is human-formed and represents the 'essence' of the body, re-created and abstracted in a way preferred by the maker and his or her culture, ultimately creating an illusion. Figurines and figures more than anything illustrate how the body is an instrument of culture and they are never politically neutral, since they were frequently or even continuously circulated and visible in the community and served as a presentation of the human body. A repetitive participation of the body in performances, acts and gestures creates a convention and constructs and promotes a particular identity, which is further embodied in the figures and figurines. They are not (or not only) representations of a person, but representations made for a reason (Bailey 2005: 84-149). The body parts are depicted in a way that provokes the viewer into drawing attention to particular characteristics of the representation. Making the choice of emphasis underlines these body parts, which are responsible for the public identity of what or who are represented.

Thus, the most important part of the represented body of the Cretan GWUAs is the exaggerated forearms, and particularly the hands. Because of the careful rendering of fingers, there is perhaps also a more nuanced meaning difficult to interpret, but necessary to observe. The importance of the position of the fingers is visible in the image of the Christ Pantocrator (Almighty) from Christian Orthodox representations. In this type of representation, Jesus makes the gesture of teaching (or of blessing) with his right hand, which can be raised or not, but the fingers need to be precisely positioned: the two first fingers touch the thumb and the middle and index fingers are extended (Fig. IV.5). In Hinduism and Buddhism, such gestures are called 'mudrā' and are formed by both the hand and the fingers, employed statically or dynamically along 'āsanas' (seated postures) (Fig. IV.6). In the

iconography, they facilitate recognition of different deities or their different aspects or emanations.

It is possible to observe that the position of the arms varies between particular examples of GWUAs. In general, Cretan figures hold their arms either back from or in front of the body, either presenting an open hand or turning it inwards and over the space between the shoulders. The first gesture, showing the open palms, could characterize the representation of an emblematic and passive manner (Fig. II. 9-10, 12). However, the second position of the arms suggest a more active posture communicating, rather than just presenting, the meaning of the gesture (Fig. IV.7). If the figure was held up above participants of the ritual, the gesture could gain a protective meaning. The protection of the deity is what the inhabitants of the settlements in East Crete in the troubled Postpalatial period needed most of all. Thus, I postulate two gestures instead of one, with two different possible interpretations. The first, with the palms facing out, consisted of the presentation of the 'power' of the individual depicted in the form of the figure or figurine (whether terracottas depicted one deity, several deities or humans is discussed further in this chapter). What the exact character of this 'power' might have been differed between sites and particular GWUAs. The second gesture with arms bent and positioned forwards, and palms facing in, would symbolize the transfer of those powers to the worshippers, e.g. during a procession or other communal ritual. However, both gestures could have been elements of an event in which the powers of the figure were first presented and then transferred to the community, an event either described in the local mythology and/or performed during the ritual. This interpretation is only a possibility, and it should be underlined that the particular meaning of gestures might have been different in the eyes of Cretan GWUAs makers and users.

On Cyprus, the arms of the GWUAs dated to the Cypro-Geometric period were raised, but not bent at the elbow. The hands are either not indicated at all or the fingers are not rendered but only painted; the thumb is usually absent. As discussed in Chapter III, one of the first examples of GWUA figurines on Cyprus are numerous, miniature terracottas from the area of the Ingot God sanctuary in Enkomi. As Webb observes (1999: 213-214), they are broken off elements of

figurative groups, which consist of three females with upraised arms and one male playing a musical instrument, all attached to a circular plaque. Thus, it is probable that the small GWUAs of the Ingot God sanctuary were part of representations depicting ritual dances that were performed there, placed in the area to ensure the continuous repetition of the ritual.

Dancing is probably known in every world culture, in all periods and geographical areas. Further, in numerous religions, dance is a vital part of ritual, as an expression of faith, a form of prayer or a way to enter an altered state of mind, bringing the worshipper closer to the divinity. The most popularized example in the Western imagination is the image of the whirling dance ritual of Sufis, during which they reach an ecstatic or semi-ecstatic state. Sacred music was believed to fill the bodies of dancing Sufis, "We were slowly drawn into the sea of music and of whirling and lost ourselves in the rhythm, the sound, and the spirit." (Schimmel 2001: 10). This is also expressed in the words of a song of the Ewa community in Ghana, which is sung by the female participants of the dance-drumming rituals connected with funerals:

> The music has become a divine spirit,
> Everybody come join in.
> Our Kinka music has become a divine spirit, everybody come join in.
> And the spirit is really working its power! (Burns 2009: 3)

This form of worship often changes not only in space but also in meanings, identity, social customs and cultural restrictions. From the Middle East and India, there are interesting examples where gender boundaries become fluid during such performances, moving through the spectrum of feminine and masculine. Individuals had the opportunity to experience social roles other than those they were born or brought up with. Examples from Egypt, Iran, Afghanistan, and Uzbekistan show that in certain rituals, both male and female dancers often use similar or the same dance movements and males wear gender ambiguous costumes, for example combining female dress with male hats and hairstyles (Shay 2009: 287-308). In 19$^{th}$ century Cairo, male dancers often impersonated females, but to prevent confusion with their true gender identity, their dress combined elements of two genders (Lane [1836] 2003: 382). At the same time in India, the South Indian court dance – *sadir*

*kacheri*, was traditionally danced in the temple, court and home by females (called *devadasi*) and was only performed in secular environments by males, usually employing the modality of the 'gynemimesis' – imitation of feminine characteristics (Krishnan 2009: 378-391). The importance of dance and dance movements is often omitted or undervalued by the Western scholars, perhaps because of its virtual nonexistence in European, Christian traditions. However, outside Europe, where such local traditions are strongly rooted in the religious conceptions of the local communities, elements of dance are also incorporated into the performance of the holy mass, e.g. in South America and Africa (Radzik 2005: 3). Recently, attempts have been made in the European Catholic Church to introduce occasional elements of dance, but they are usually treated cautiously because they are associated with non-Christian cults (Radzik 2005: 4).

Therefore, a gesture indicating one of ritual dance movements would be a powerful one. The posture represented by the figurines, with the body bent slightly forwards, also suggests an attempt to depict movement. Moreover, the hands of the participants are intended to almost or actually touch each other, which further underlines the importance of the group and communal character of the ritual depicted. It is possible to imagine that those who took part in such dancing events would later deposit such sets of figurines attached to plaques to mark their participation. Alternatively, it is probable that such terracottas were deposited instead of carrying out the actual ritual.

From the Cypro-Geomteric II period onwards, the gesture presented by Cypriot GWUA figurines became more standardized and passive. They depict arms being raised and clearly bent in a manner more similar to some of the Cretan GWUAs, but after a considerable chronological gap. Hands are more clearly depicted with palms open and facing out, and fingers are often indicated in paint. When handled in the way discussed previously (fingers wrapped around the cylindrical lower part of the body), the upraised arms gesture would be clearly presented. Such figurines could be held either towards the handler or outwards, thus presented to others or to the deity worshipped in the sanctuary. Either way, a personal, physical engagement with the figurine would be encouraged. However, the character of the gesture is hard to establish and it would depend on the overall

character of the representation, i.e. whether later Cypriot 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' indeed depicted deities or worshippers.

In conclusion, despite the overall similarities of the depicted gesture of the upraised arms, after more careful consideration it is possible to establish that in both Cretan and Cypriot assemblage, at least two different gestures were represented. On Crete, one type of gesture has the character of a display of power and the other a transfer of such powers onto the worshippers - a more protective gesture. Both could have been employed more actively in rituals alongside each other, or one after another, where different figures would be presented or chosen participants would perform such gestures. On Cyprus, the most visible difference is an absence, or at least much less careful rendering, of hands and fingers of the first examples of GWUA figurines. A unique group is formed by the Enkomi figurines, which depict an active and performative posture of which the gesture of upraised arms was a part.

**Gender**

As it was discussed in the first chapter gender archaeology is a very vibrant and increasingly important field of research, drawing on the work of philosophers and anthropologists like Judith Butler, Elizabeth Grosz, Thomas J. Csordas and others. It is often applied as a central theme of research or at least an important part of it to almost any type of archaeological data, and it is important to underline that archaeology, as much as anthropology is of special importance to gender studies in general (Joyce 2009). As Nelson (2006: 18) describes it:

> "Girls can choose from a variety of role models and behave in a variety of ways. Researching gender in archaeology has shown that there is nothing women biologically couldn't do, and archaeology has the data to prove it."

Particularly, anthropomorphic figures and figurines cannot be studied without asking questions concerning gender, like how/whether they are gendered (male or female, sexless or double gender, or gender ambiguous?), what can they say about performance of gender roles, gender identity and ideology. They have been a

starting point for many valuable contributions in the field of gender archaeology, including the work of Peter Ucko (Egyptian and Cretan figurines), Lauren E. Talalay (Neolithic figurines from Greece), Elizabeth Brumfiel (Xaltocan figurines), and Diane Bolger (Cypriot figurines). These studies have helped to overcome the previous notions of figurines being interpreted mostly as fertility symbols, mother goddesses, or substitute wives (Whitehouse 2006: 758). Figures and figurines give us a sense of being face to face with past societies and they must have played an important role in creation, negotiation and expression of gender identities.

Traditionally, Early Iron Age Cypriot figurines were classified primarily by sex and their social role, and meaning was assumed according to their masculine/feminine category, such as 'Goddesses' or 'Warriors'. I would like to focus in this section on gender understood as a cultural process, which also opens up the possibility of there being more than two categories, such as that of gender ambiguity, double gender or sexless. The subject of dual-sexed and gender-ambiguous figurines in Cyprus has been widely discussed. Starting with the Neolithic and Chalcolithic material, this can be illustrated by the multi-representational examples from Khirokitia (Dikaios 1953: pl. 95) and Sotira (Dikaios 1961: 209-213), and picrolite figurines with breasts and phallic-shaped necks (Bolger 2003: 105). Also, the sexual and gender identity of Bronze Age plank figurines has led to a wide discussion that included the problem of the lack of any sex-based biological markers, evident in many examples, or the presence of both a beard and breasts, as exhibited in a plank figurine from Nicosia-*Ayia Paraskevi* (Budin 2009: 76-79). Terracottas representing minotaurs with breasts and male genitals were attested in the Iron Age sanctuary of Ayia Irini (Christou 2009). As I will discuss further, such representations also occur among the Cypriot GWUA figurines. I will consider them alongside a second Cypriot group, the so-called 'Warrior' figurines, which are said to represent a standing male with a long robe, one or two arms outstretched, usually wearing a helmet and holding a spear and shield. Examples of this type have been found, for example, in the sanctuary and adjacent areas in Salamis, and in tombs in Amathus and Rizokarpaso-*Latsia*; however, many of them lack provenance (Karageorghis 1993: 79-81). GWUAs and 'Warrior' figurines were popular during the same periods, and bear a strong stylistic resemblance to one another.

Both GWUAs and 'Warrior' figurines from the Cypro-Geometric and Archaic periods depict human figures dressed in a similar long garment covering the body. The skirts are highly decorated, and jewellery, such as bracelets and necklaces with pendants, can be identified in both cases. The figurines also have some features traditionally considered as secondary indications of gender. Beards are either painted or modelled as an articulated, pointed chin. Breasts were made in relief or more commonly attached as pellets, and were often additionally painted. They were not always prominent but nonetheless highly visible in the majority of examples identified as GWUA figurines (Tab.5.B). The representation of both beard and breasts cannot be considered accidental and should not be overlooked. Some examples of the GWUA type preserve traces of paint on their chin, and it has been suggested this might represent part of a band around the neck or just an articulation of facial characteristics (Karageorghis 1993). However, the paint does not usually continue to the back of the neck and is sometimes accompanied by a moustache, which makes its interpretation as a beard more probable.

Additional gender differentiations include attributes such as the polos worn by some of the GWUAs and the helmets and weapons of 'Warriors'. As one might observe, the figurines themselves do not draw our attention to the body as such, since their physical characteristics are schematic and in most cases not prominent. In other words, the representations do not focus on gender, but rather on social roles, presented in the form of specific gestures and attributes; it was their social function that was primarily depicted. However, those roles were themselves clearly gendered. For instance weapons and beard are depicted together, as much as upraised arms are shown together with breasts. Of special importance here therefore are figurines, which are not easily or simply categorised as either GWUAs or 'Warriors'. These are examples, which have mixed elements and attributes characteristic of both types (Morris 1999).

One of the figurines I would like to consider – now exhibited in the Cyprus Museum – is 0.14 m in height, and has been dated on stylistic grounds to the Cypro-Geometric II or III period by Karageorghis (Fig. III.13A) (1993: 25). A similar figurine was found in tomb 198 in Amathus (Karageorghis 1993: 25). The body of

the figurine is wheel-made and decorated with painted parallel lines and encircling bands. There are visible traces of paint around the wrists and a painted necklace with triangular pendant. The characteristic elements are separate legs, pierced at the upper part, which were attached to perforations on each side of the skirt, in a manner similar to some of the 'Warrior' figurines. It has well rendered facial characteristics, including a defined and painted black chin, together with attached pellet breasts (Vandenabeele 1973: 47-49). Its gender has been defined as female by Vandenabeele (1973: 48), and as male by Karageorghis (1993: 25).

A second example, termed an 'Adorant' by Vandenabeele (Fig. III.13B) (1973: 55), is 0.11 m in height and is now held in the Munich Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek. It is also wheel-made and dated to the Cypro-Geometric period. The skirt is decorated with a red band and there are also painted bands on the arms (possibly bracelets). Most probably, the figurine had separate legs, similar to those of the previous example, judging from the perforations on each side of the skirt. It has upraised arms but no breasts. However, it has an articulated chin and is also wearing a helmet (Vandenabeele 1973: 55). There is a similar figurine exhibited in the museum of the University of Amsterdam; this example also has a visible painted beard (Karageorghis 1993: 79). Thus, this figurine can described either as male (because of the helmet and articulated chin) or as sexless, since there are no first or secondary (like breasts or beard) gender characteristics visible. Another example of a sexless figurine would be from the site of Ayios-Iakovos, a small terracotta of just 0.07 m with a polos and upraised arms, but with no breasts indicated; this was probably attached to something (Fig.III.19.3).

A further example is a figurine measuring 0.138 m in height (Fig. III.13C), held in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, dated also to the Cypro-Geometric period. The decoration consists of horizontal bands in black and purple around the lower part of the skirt and on the arms. The face is well depicted with depressions for the eyes with a circle in black paint round them, and a horizontal groove for the mouth. It also has holes for fixing mobile legs. It is wearing a helmet, and has a sword and painted moustache and beard. However, it also has breasts, clearly visible in relief (Karageorghis 1993: 80).

'Warrior' figurines were more widely distributed, and they were found in both mortuary and ritual contexts. They are also more widely interpreted; both Monloup (1994) and Karageorghis (1993: 79-81), though not entirely ruling out their ritual functions, proposed that they might be toys because of their movable legs and the suspension holes in their helmets. Karageorghis (1993: 81) interprets them as a kind of puppet, which might be made to move to become 'dancing warriors' as he describes them, "a theme which would be appealing for a toy". But, why should warriors be dancing, especially with their armour on, one might ask? In later periods such a custom, known as *pyrriches* (military dance), was part of the funerary rites of Cypriot kings, probably including the famous funeral organised by Nicocles for his father, Evagoras (Hadjistephanou 1991: 31-32). Armed warriors led the funeral procession dancing. According to Aristotle, Achilles himself started this tradition during the Trojan War, at the funeral of his friend Patroclos. It was also said to originate from a similar ritual, which was performed by warriors before going to the battle in Homeric times (Hadjistephanou 1991: 37-39). Thus, if the custom is as old as the literary tradition suggests, these figurines might not be toys but rather performers of the *pyrriche* or a similar rite, especially since they are found in mortuary contexts. Their movable legs and often bell-shaped skirts would also support this interpretation (Carstens 2009: 94).

I would like to argue that both GWUAs and '*Warriors*' are representations of different strategies employed by gender groups to negotiate their social status. The activities in which they were engaged, and their emblematic attributes, form part of these strategies. GWUA figurines represent claims to authority by promoting a special female relationship with the divine, achieved by participation in special cult activities. '*Warriors*' employ military iconography to proclaim male claims to prestige by manifesting physical strength and war skills. Moreover both male and female rites – military or ritual dances – could be publicly performed and were thus visible to members of the community and comprised an important part of the processes of constructing gender relations within Cypriot society.

Thus, representing the gesture of upraised arms together with a beard or a helmeted person with breasts cannot be accidental, because the aforementioned link between the depiction of ritual and the gender of the performers was too strong and

too important. Rather, the figurines presented above, which combine aspects of both male and female characteristics, might be considered an attempt to depict an idea of transgressing gender boundaries by participating in certain rites, reserved for the opposite gender. Performance of differently gendered social roles and usage of symbols of prestige, usually attributed to another group, would not only redefine one's social role, but also one's gender status. However, the examples, which I have presented above, do not form a homogenous group but rather present a variety of possibilities; they are a mix-and-match of different elements indicating gender and social roles. They do not seem to represent an actual third-gender recognised by the society, similar to those known from ethnographic material (Herdt 1994). However, there is no evidence that they are representations of individuals (for an illustration of this approach see Bailey (1994), and Knapp and Meskell (1997)). As I stated before, they do not represent a group, but rather different ways of transgressing gender boundaries, which might occasionally have occurred within the specific context of rituals represented by GWUA and 'Warriors' figurines. Thus, they did not take on a concrete, standard form but the notion of crossing such boundaries was clearly present. At the beginning of the 1st millennium B.C. – a period when new social and gender relations were being constructed in Cyprus – these figurines demonstrate the existence of a wide range of possibilities for negotiating one's role and place within the community and how dynamic these processes were.

A different situation is represented in the Ingot God sanctuary in Enkomi, where ca. 150 GWUA figurines of an average size of 0.08 m were identified. They form a distinct group, and thus should be interpreted separately. Approximately 50 (due to fragmentation) more anthropomorphic figurines were found in the same area, however they were representing different gestures, probably holding objects like miniature musical instruments. The majority of the Enkomi figurines are fragmentary and heavily abraded, however it is clear that some of the terracottas were deliberately made without breasts. Because of poor preservation it is difficult to establish if all the sexless figurines were presenting other gestures then upraised arms, it is possible that also some of the GWUAs did not have gender characteristics. Webb argues that those figurines, which were depicting 'musicians' should be interpreted as males, because of lack of breasts and because they are wearing pointed bonnets or helmets (1999: 213-214). However, lack of evidence

should not be treated as a decisive argument and we should not cross out the possibility that those figurines were left sexless deliberately. It was suggested by Ribeiro (2002) that terracottas without gender attributes might have been depicting pre-pubescent members of the society, young girls and/or boys, maybe from élite families. Although, as Bolger (2009: 21) observes such an interpretation is highly speculative, and based on ethnographic rather than archaeological arguments. Further, she argues that "it may have not been necessary for Bronze Age coroplasts to provide clear sexual markers on every figure in order to convey information about sex, since their sexual identities may have been readily understood within the context of the scenes themselves" (2009: 21). This observation can be especially valid for figurative scenes, like those which the Enkomi terracottas were depicting.

Other Cypriot GWUA figurines from sites like Limassol-Komisariato, Kithion-Kathari, Ayios Iakovos and Amathus can either be gendered female, based on breasts attached as pellets or visible in relief, or cannot be gendered due to fragmentation (i.e. only arms or head are preserved), or being very heavily abraded (see Table 5B). However, as it was discussed earlier, only two figurines are presented as naked, with rendered female genitals (one unprovenanced and one from Korovia). Other examples do not have clearly or otherwise indicated genitals, although as mentioned before, in the Cypro-Geometric period also figurines gendered as male are done so based solely on secondary gender characteristics and attributes (i.e. beard, weapons, helmet or pointed bonnet). As Knox (2012: 31-32) points out these kind of representations were already known in Cyprus in the form of Plank figurines, which did not have indicated genitals, although in this set of terracottas also the depiction of breasts is scarce. However, the immediate predecessor - figurines from the LC period were usually depicted as naked, with female genitals clearly rendered in incisions or painted. Thus, GWUA figurines in Cyprus mark a visible change in the coroplastic repertoire, and draw the attention of the viewer and/or handler to the emblematic gesture (and connected with it meanings within the social context, including performance of gender) rather than to biological sexual characteristics. of In the LC III and Cypro-Geometric periods, Cypriot GWUA figures and figurines, although mostly gendered as female, were also open to other possibilities, like double gender or ambiguity, and were a part of

figurative groups, which included also sexless representations with their own distinct role.

The GWUA figures and figurines assemblage from Crete presents a clearly different imagery. Gender has recently become an important field within the Minoan archaeological research, with valuable publications by Rehak (1984, 1998, 2002), Morris (2009, 2009b) and Hitchcock (2000b). Especially the frescoes from Knossos and Akrotiri (Thera) have proved to be a useful source for gender related debates, like the male and female rites of passage, roles within the cult and issues of possible transgender representations. However, predominantly there is a visible male-female binary imagery in these representations with female skin painted in white and male in red/brown colours. Also the dress code seems clear, with long, elaborated female dresses and short male skirts, with the only exceptions in frescoes being the bull jumpers (if one follows the skin colour trait there were both male and female participants). Female garments had low-cut décolleté, with visible breasts (discussed further below). All these characteristics (except the skin colour) are also depicted by the Bronze Age Cretan seals and sealings, and especially figurines, found in abundance in settlements and sanctuaries (especially peak sanctuaries). They were rendered in detail, with various gestures, which often can be assigned to one gender, like the clutched fist (the so-called Minoan salute) touching the forehead is connected with males. It is important to underline that Bronze Age Cretan iconography was depicting both males and females, clearly of different age (children, adolescents and mature) and social status (ladies with rich jewellery and naked fisherman, or women carrying water jars from the well). This rich imagery probably encompassed both human and divine representations, which still, sometimes remain difficult to distinguish. This difficulty, especially in female representations led to interpretation of some élite or otherwise important females as taking on the role of divinity during rituals.

Evans described Minoan Crete as a land of the Goddess and her dying and reborn male counterpart, representing the cycle of nature and agriculture. However, now it is more widely acknowledged that Minoans were polytheistic with many female and male deities, but the theme of the Great Goddess still reappears in some publications (Warren 1988; see Goodison and Morris 1998). The possibility of a

cult focussed primarily on a fertility goddess (or in other words Mother Goddess) can most probably be excluded since there are almost no depictions of pregnancy or females suckling infants (with the only examples are provided by animal imagery) (Goodison and Morris 1998: 125).

The collapse of the Minoan palaces, brought many social changes, visible in the settlement pattern, and also new kinds of ritual activity, represented by bench shrines with GWUA figures. However, these representations do follow the lines laid out by earlier Minoan female imagery. Where their preservation permits, it is possible to gender figures as female, based on breasts visible clearly in relief. They also all wear long bell-shaped dresses, which also have a practical function allowing the figures to stand without additional support. None of the figures have depicted genitals, which was also an almost unknown practice in the earlier Minoan iconography, with the exception of Zakro seals and sealings (Weingarten 2009) and votive female body parts from peak sanctuaries. What is new is the clear predominance of the female imagery, which has a visible relation to cult and ritual. It is not, however, possible, based on this alone, to postulate prominent religious and social roles for females during LM III B-C on Crete. A cautionary example might be here Classical Athens, with a strong cult of a female deity – Athena and yet a rather patriarchal society. In contrast to Enkomi, Cretan GWUAs were not found arranged in groups, thus it would be much more difficult to recreate the actual rituals, but the ones discussed earlier including processions most probably did encompass performance of different identities, including gender (see Chapter II). However, if GWUAs were to be interpreted as representations of deity or deities (discussed further below), this would indicate the predominant role of female divinity in the religious life of the inhabitants of many Cretan settlements where these figures were used. Yet, still they should not be categorized as Mother Goddesses, nor connected with the fertility cult, any more than earlier Bronze Age Cretan figures and figurines.

For the modern viewer an especially visible element of the Minoan female dress is the low-cut décolleté with naked breasts (also indicated nipples in frescoes, or faience figurines). Evans saw this theme as a symbol of divine maternity, while in modern perception it is often seen as an erotic element. As Morris points out that

was probably not the case in the Minoan period (2009: 243-249). Since female genitals were rarely shown, sexual scenes are unknown, as much as nurturing of infants, the naked female breast had a different meaning (or meanings) to Minoans that for modern Europeans. For example on frescoes from Akrotiri its shape and size was one of the age indicators. However, it is not clear whether the GWUA figures had naked breasts. One of the earliest figurines, from the Shrine of Double Axes in Knossos has painted nipples, but on later figures paint in this area is not preserved. Some of the examples do, however, have pointed breasts, which might be the way to indicate nipples or a tight bodice, similar to the one represented on earlier BA terracottas. Only the figures from Kannia have clearly modelled nipples. Another argument is provided by the late example of a shrine model from Archanes with a figurine with upraised arms with clearly naked breasts and painted nipples. Thus, it might be possible to argue that Cretan GWUAs indeed still represented the BA female attire with a low-cut décolleté and visible cleavage, or at least that some of the figures did. Although, the significance of it still remains unknown, so too the question remains as to whether 'ordinary' females of this period continued this fashion, at least at special events such as religious festivals or rituals.

Gender is one of the areas where Cretan and Cypriot GWUAs differ visibly, despite overall similarities. Generally, the majority of figures and figurines from both assemblages can be gendered as female, however, based on secondary gender characteristics, namely the breasts. Nevertheless, whereas Cretan terracottas can most probably be all gendered as female, the Cypriot group includes also several dual gendered (breasts and beard) or sexless examples, or were arranged in figurative groups together with sexless figurines (the latter presenting other gestures or holding objects). This might be read as an emanation of how the gender roles were being organized in those two island societies. In Crete it is the last period of a long tradition of the Bronze Age and the Minoan culture, which is visible also in the iconography presented by GWUAs, such as their attributes and the long, female dress with the low-cut décolleté, and naked breasts. Thus, the representation of the female gendered body follows quite clearly the older coroplastic tradition. Differently, in Cyprus, despite many important similarities with earlier terracottas, GWUAs are markers (among others) of the beginning of the Iron Age, a new period of the island's development. Therefore, many elements of the social life are being

redefined and there is a room and consent for experimentation, and more than usual dynamic negotiation of gender ideologies, roles or individual identities. Examples of this are well illustrated by the terracottas discussed earlier, which elude the binary gender definitions. Moreover, both female and male gendered figurines from the Cypro-Geometric period were predominantly depicted wearing long garments covering the body, showing only secondary gender characteristics, and drawing attention rather to attributes such as gesture of upraised arms, jewellery or weapons, thus emphasizing social roles and position.

For Cyprus, it is possible to argue for a special female role in ritual activities i.e. in the sanctuary in Enkomi, because the site has yielded examples of the depiction of the ritual itself. Such representations are not available from Crete, were we have only sets of GWUA figures with no obvious internal arrangements. Furthermore it is important to observe that although in both islands GWUAs were the main coroplastic anthropomorphic type in relevant periods, in Crete this predominance was more clear, while in Cyprus, the figurine assemblage also representing other gestures, such as hands alongside the body, gendered female, male or sexless.

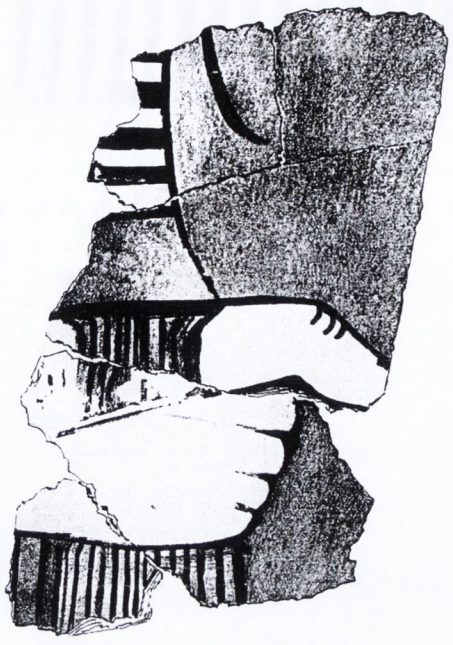
Therefore, this study serves as yet another example that asking questions related to gender issues is unavoidable when studying figures and figurines and they can provide valuable data. Both assemblages of GWUAs, from Crete and Cyprus can be predominantly gendered female (if they are not too abraded, or fragmented), but gender ideologies in the early Iron Age Cyprus were visibly more dynamic and in flux. Also, the type of representations – small terracottas from Cyprus, more numerous, sometimes arranged in figurative groups can provide more information about gender roles and identities in past societies, than the big cult figures from Crete.

**Divine nature of GWUAs?**

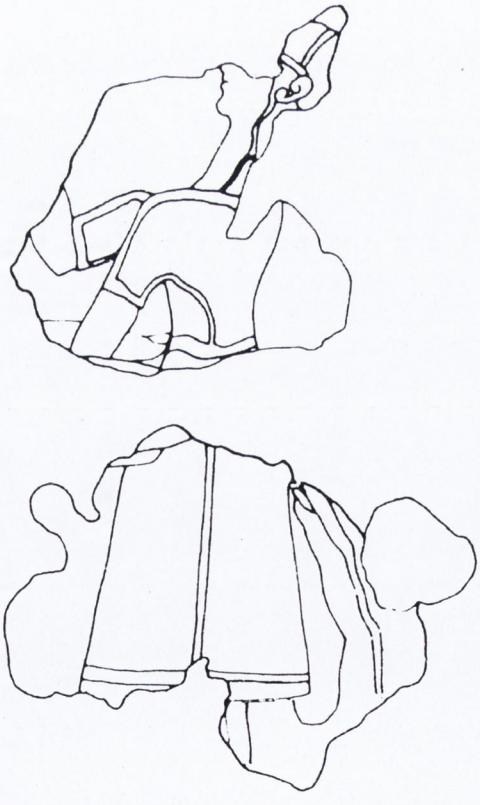
In conclusion, there are visible differences between Cretan and Cypriot GWUAs figures and figurines. The Cretan assemblage consists of large and medium sized figures and figurines, which are of restrained portability and do not encourage personal physical engagement. They were produced by potters and probably commissioned by representatives of the elites, or groups within the community. They have been found within their use and discard contexts, which can both be identified within the sacred space of bench-shrines, in cult rooms or adjacent storage spaces. Despite first impressions, Cretan GWUAs present at least two interrelated gestures. Therefore, I postulate that due to their size, find contexts and the characteristics of the depicted gestures, it is possible to indeed interpret them as representations of a deity, or deities. However, since they were not depicted pregnant or with an infant, they cannot be labelled as a 'Mother Goddess' (Goodison and Morris 1998: 114). Because of overall similarities of the image of a female in a bell-shaped skirt, with raised, exaggerated forearms and hands, it is possible that these were emanations of one goddess, as argued by Peatfield (1994: 33-34), distinguished using different attributes, like snakes, birds or poppies. Although, as Goodison and Morris observe (1998: 131) because of numerous figures being found together in shrines, it is more probable that it was a canonical model of representation of different female goddesses, which is further supported by earlier Linear B texts mentioning many different deities.

By contrast, the Cypriot GWUAs were of miniature to medium size and fragments of larger figures of the Cypro-Geometric period do not belong to this type with certainty. Their small size makes them portable and easy to handle, encouraging an intimate relation with the figurine, which makes it possible for them to be a private offering of an individual. They have mostly been found in sanctuaries within the limits of the sacred space and even when discarded in Kition they were placed in specially prepared *bothroi*. The first examples of this type on Cyprus have arms raised but more in a crescent shape and not bent at the elbows, often without fingers, or even palms. The gesture represented by numerous examples from the separate assemblage of miniature GWUAs from Enkomi is an active one, probably depicting the performance of a ritual dance. In contrast,

terracottas from other sites and later periods depict a more standardized and emblematic gesture of raised and bent arms with hands and fingers indicated in paint. For the Enkomi examples, it is possible to postulate that they almost certainly depicted human participants of ritual dances, an actual performance that might have been taking place outside the Ingot God sanctuary in its last phase of use. Such figurines might have been placed here to ensure a continuous repetition of the prayer embedded in the depicted ritual. However, medium sized figurines from Kition and other sites could represent either priestesses, worshippers or, equally possible, the female deity, who was worshipped in the particular sanctuary. The offering of a representation of a god or goddess to the temple is known from later periods and from the Levant. Cypriot figurines were not specially commissioned, but probably produced by local workshops to provide for the needs of the general public. Following the development of this type, it is possible to observe a growing standardization of the production within sites. Thus, it is possible to observe that although both Cretan and Cypriot figurines and figures were used in cult, they had a very different character and meaning within each island's local communities. In order to further re-evaluate the theory of the Cretan origins of the Cypriot GWUAs, it is necessary to put them within a broader framework of interregional relations. It is also necessary to discuss other possible sources for the development of this type on Cyprus, which will follow in the next chapter.



**IV.1** Fresco fragment from Tiryns (drawing)



**IV.2** Fresco fragment from Mycenae (drawing)



**IV.3** Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki making the 'V' gesture



**IV.4** Japanese teenagers making the 'V' gesture




**IV.5** 'Christus Pantocrator', detail from Haghia Sophia



**IV.6** Hindu dancers employing 'mudrā' gestures



**IV.7** Figures from Karphi

# Chapter V

# 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' in the Context of Eastern Mediterranean Relations

## Introduction

After an extensive comparison of the Cretan and Cypriot 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' (GWUAs) and previous discussion of the development of this type in the Cypro-Geometric period it is important to revisit the origins of this type in Cyprus. A reconsideration of major problems connected with this subject will demonstrate the complexity of the interrelation of the terracotta figure and figurine production in different regions.

In this chapter I discus and evaluate the possibility of the transfer of the GWUA type from Crete to Cyprus, which has long been assumed. Figures and figurines known, as GWUAs are a part of a wider subject of the relations between Cyprus and the Aegean, a subject widely studied and published on. They are often cited as an argument for close and/or contact between Minoans and Cypriots in terms of culture, beliefs and cult practice, including population movement and an actual presence of Cretans on Cyprus. Thus, this discussion is situated within the wider context of contact between these two islands, initially dealing with the sea routes, existing written sources, archaeological finds and especially the role of the trade in copper. Based on this will be briefly re-evaluated the alleged strong and direct contacts between the two islands during the Bronze Age, which could have

lead to the exchange of such important elements as religious beliefs, symbolism and cult practice. I will then turn to elements other than the GWUAs, which have been recognised by scholars as arguments for important influences of Cretan religion within LBA/EIA Cyprus; particularly the so-called 'horns of consecration' and wheelmade bull figures. Furthermore, the possibility of Mycenaean influences in the origin and development of the Cypriot GWUAs is discussed, especially within the context of the production of figures and figurines and cult practice of the Greek Mainland and the Aegean islands under Mycenaean control at the end of the Bronze Age. Some problems connected with the presence of Levantine iconography in Cyprus are noted too. Also similarities of this type with the local LC coroplastic traditions, already discussed in Chapter III are revisited. This study will allow for the re-evaluation of the long time assumption of direct origins of the Cypriot GWUAs from the Cretan figures. Furthermore, it is followed by a brief discussion of the identification of Cypriot GWUAs with Aphrodite, which is present in both popular and scholarly publications.

**Sea Routes**

The character of Cretan – Cypriot relations was conditioned by geography. Due to this, it is crucial to first illustrate their position in eastern Mediterranean sea routes. Assuming that Bronze Age sailors made use of all the possibilities offered by nature, air and sea currents shaped these routes. The most convenient route led east from Crete, via Kasos, Karpathos and Rhodes, along the south coast of Anatolia. The lack of natural harbours in this part of Asia Minor might have inclined travellers to visit the north coast of Cyprus. From there, it was possible to continue the journey either directly to one of the Levantine cities (like Ugarit) or first via the west coast down to the southern Cypriot harbours (like Hala Sultan Tekke) (Guzowska 1998: 145-146). In this case, Cyprus would be one stop on a major route taken, for example, by the Minoans on the way to the Levant, or by Syrian ships going to the Aegean region.

The second possible route led south from Crete, via the Libyan coast, to Egypt. Then the ship could follow the Levantine coast and harbours, turn west to Cyprus and continue the journey passing by Anatolia, Rhodes, Karpathos and Kasos, and back to Crete. This route could only be followed in one direction, and

Cyprus would be on the way back from Egypt and the Levant (Bachhuber 2006: 347, 357-359).

The third route could lead through the open waters directly between Crete and Cyprus. Then one would have to circle the island from south, east to the north coast, and passing Anatolia, Rhodes, Karpathos and Kasos, come back to Crete. This route could also only be followed in one direction, but of course could have started on either of the islands (Mantzourani and Theodorou 1989).

All the sea routes outlined above made the journey from Crete to Cyprus and vice versa possible, either directly or a stop on a longer connecting all the most important harbours of the eastern Mediterranean. The existence and usage of these sea routes is proved by Bronze Age shipwrecks found near the Anatolian coast, the holds of which contained objects from Egypt, Levant, Cyprus and the Aegean (Pulak 2001: 13-60; Bass 1973: 29-38). Many examples of anchors are also known, including two of Cypriot or Syrian type found in the main harbour town of south Crete, at Kommos (Fig. V.1) (Shaw 1995: 279-291).

**Written sources for Cretan – Cypriot relations**

Three scripts are known from the Aegean: hieroglyphic, Linear A and Linear B (Chadwick 1987; Killen, Melena and Olivier 1987; Chadwick 1958). The first and second were used by the Minoans and remain undeciphered, but the third, used by the Mycenaeans, is an archaic form of the Greek language (Palaima and Sikkenga 1999: 599-608). When the Linear B tablets were deciphered they provided an insight into the Mycenaean administrative system. However, the worlds of mythology, literature and diplomacy remain unknown.

From LM III Knossos, we have an archive of tablets written in the Linear B script; on one of these, the word 'a-ra-si-jo' occurs. Could this mean Alasia - Cyprus? It is equally possible to interpret it as a name or a description of a 'man from Alasia' (Hellbing 1979: 57). Similar problems are connected with the word 'ku-pi-ri-jo', similar to the Greek name of Cyprus - Κὐπρος. It is not known whether it was used then as a place name; the word also occurs on tablets from

Pylos (Bubenik 1974: 245). Next to the word 'ku-pi-ri-jo' was information about sheep, bronze, olive oil and coriander (Hadjisavas 2003: 101). It is possible then that a person of this name was responsible for flocks of sheep or metal production (Bubenik 1974: 245; Helbing 1979: 57; for an alternative interpretation Killen 1995: 215-216). However, the occurrence of the olive oil with words 'ku-pi-ri-jo' and 'a-ra-si-jo' might indicate trade with Cyprus in this product. Coriander (*Coriandrum Sativum*) is a plant known in the Mediterranean, used as a spice, natural preservative, added to bread and beer, or used in perfume production known even today under the name 'Chypre' (Podbielski 1989: 162). There might have been trade in coriander between Crete and Cyprus, as seeds of this plant were found on the Bronze Age shipwreck of Uluburun (Bass 1998: 184).

The undeciphered Cypriot script, named 'Cypro-Minoan' by Evans, bears many similarities with the Aegean linear scripts (Palaima 2004; Evans 1909: 69). Similarities include shape of some signs used in both systems, and the oldest tablets written in the Cypriot script are known from Enkomi and are dated to the 16th/15th century B.C., the period when Linear A was used on Crete (Fig. V.2) (Masson 1979). Comparisons with other Near Eastern systems of writing have not yielded any possibilities, and it is the most probable that the Cypriot script evolved from the Cretan Linear A (Powell 2002: 240). Later examples of the use of the 'Cypro-Minoan' script are known from the 13th/12th century B.C., where the signs are already simplified and adjusted to writing on clay tablets. They come mostly from Enkomi, but individual examples have also been found at other sites (e.g. Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios, Palaepaphos) (Smith 2002: 10, 20-21). As mentioned, the Cypriots wrote on clay tablets, as was popular in the Near East, but also on clay balls, cylinders, terracotta vessels, metal objects and seals. The only example of the script found outside Cyprus is a list of names discovered in Ugarit (Tatton-Brown 1997: 80). From the beginning of the Iron Age, the so-called 'Cypriot-Classical' script was in use to write in Greek, and some signs from Linear B appeared in it (Tatton-Brown 1997: 81; Chadwick 1979). This script can be read today because of inscriptions from the Hellenistic period, which were written in the dual system – the same text in Cypriot signs and the alphabet (Tatton-Brown 1997: 81). The language in which 'Cypro-Minoan' was written remains, as much as for Linear A, unknown (Masson 1979:134). At the beginning, the Cypriots probably wrote mostly on

perishable materials like papyrus, since this was probably popular in the Aegean; wax plates were also used, fragments of which have been found in Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke (Smith 2002: 8-9). Later, possibly under the influence of contact with the Near East, signs were adjusted to writing on clay tablets, which also meant a change in the information storing system (Smith 2002: 10).

**Pottery**

The oldest example of Cypriot pottery found on Crete is an amphora fragment of Red Polished III Ware found in Knossos (Catling and McGillivray 1989). It is dated to EC IIIB/MC I and the context within which it was found was MM I/IIA (Warren and Hankey 1989: 115; Cadogan 1972: 5). An EC III bowl with incised decoration was discovered in a Sub-minoan grave in Phatsi, but it probably originally came from an earlier (EM-MM) settlement in Papadiokambos (Fig. V.3) (Tsipopoulou 1991: 481; Graziado 2005: 328). In Poros-Katsamba, probably the harbour of Knossos, several cup fragments were found, dated to LC II, but not in a magazine or the harbour area, but in a LM III grave (fig. V.4) (Graziado 2005: 328). From the palace at Malia comes the only known example of a Red on Black bowl (MC III), from a context dated to the MM III-LM IB period (Åström 1965: 79). Several fragments of Cypriot vessels have also been found in Gournia (LM IB), Pseira (LM IB and LM IIIA2-B) (Fig. V.5) and Kato Zakros (LM IA) (Betancourt 2004: 25; Betancourt and Davaras 1988: 207-205; Cadogan 1972: 5-9; Boyd-Hawes 1908: 42). The only site, which has yielded a larger assemblage of Cypriot pottery, is the harbour town of Kommos in south Crete (Fig. V.6, 8). It proves intense contact with Cyprus from at least LM IB until LM IIIA2 (MC-LC II). A Cypriot vessel fragment was also the oldest import found on the site (Shaw 2004: 43). In MM IB-IIB, Cypriot pottery fragments appear in buildings connected with administration and storage, together with Levantine pottery (Shaw 1998: 14). From MM IIB to LM III, Cypriot pottery can be found in all areas of Kommos, mostly bowls, jugs and pithoi (Shaw 2004: 44). In LM IIIA/B Chania, several White Slip II bowls were also found (Fig. V.7) (Kanta 1998: 45). The popularity of Cypriot bowls is shown by several imitations of their characteristic wishbone handles attached to cups found in Trianda in Rhodes, Poros-Katsamba, Kommos, Pseira and Chania

from LM IB, through LM II-IIIA (Fig. V.9) (Graziado 2005: 331-332, 1999: 365-377).

In Cyprus, the oldest example of Cretan pottery is a MM IA bridge spouted jar found in a grave in Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba from the EC III period (Fig. V.10) (Grace 1940: 24-25). Also in a mortuary context, a MM IA Kamares cup was found, in Karmi-Palealona, in a so-called 'Sailor's Tomb' (fig. V.11) (Keswani 2005: 378). From the harbour town of Toumba tou Skourou by the Ovghos river many examples of pottery from Syria, Palestine, and the Aegean are known, including LM IA-LM IIIB Crete (Fig. V.12) (Vermeule 1976: 78, 1974: 2). Two Minoan cups have been found at the nearby cemetery of Ayia Irini, but Kanta suggests they might have been produced in Mainland Greece and that their decoration was only inspired by the Cretan style (Kanta 2001: 24; Pecorella 1977: 21). A LM IA cup was also found in a well in Paleapapho-Evreti, and at Paleapaphos itself, fragments of several LM IIIB stirrup jars have been found (Maier 1985: 51, 71). From Kourion-Bamboula and Limassol-Kapsalos come fragments of LM IB cups (Nicolaou 1980-1981: 56; Karageorghis 1978: 888-889; Benson 1972: 106). Hala Sultan Tekke yielded numerous examples of Cretan pottery, one LM I, two LM II, two LM IIIA and twenty four fragmentary and complete vessels of LM IIIB date, mostly stirrup jars from the Chania region (Karageorghis 1990: 16; Åström 1980: 40). There were also fragments dated to the LM IIIC period, and some local imitations of Minoan pottery of LM IIIB-C date (Kanta 1991: 32; Åström 1986: 64). Fragments of LM III kraters and stirrup jars are also known from Pyla-Kokkinokremos, the kraters probably imported from Palaikastro (Fig. V.13) (Catling and Karageorghis 1961: 116-117). There are also several LM III kraters and stirrup jars dated to LM III from Enkomi (from LC IIA/B-IIIC contexts) (Catling and Karageorghis 1961: 113-114, 119). Individual fragments of LM IIIA-C pottery, mostly Chania stirrup jars, were found in Maroni, Kition, Pyla-Verghi, Sinda, Korovia-Nitovikla, Athienou, Dhenia-Kafkalla, Kalopsidha-Ayios Iakovos and Kaimakli-Evretadhes (Guzowska: 1998: 143; Karageorghis 1990: 19; Catling and Karageorghis 1961: 113). Nevertheless, one has to keep in mind that, although pottery can indicate contacts between regions it does not necessarily indicate an actual movement of people (pots do not equal people).

**Cypriot Copper**

Copper is a basic component of bronze (80-90%); the second is tin. It was used to produce tools, weapons, figurines, figures and everyday objects. Copper was an important part of Bronze Age trade (and/or exchange system), as is also illustrated in the written records concerning Alasia – interpreted as Cyprus, as was discussed in Chapter III. The first Cypriot examples of objects made of copper are dated to the Chalcolithic period, from the settlement of Souskiou-Laona, and later from Mosphilia (Steel 2004: 114-115). Development of bronze production techniques came with settlers and influences from Anatolia at the beginning of the Bronze Age (Webb and Frankel 1999: 31-33). At first, copper as well as bronze objects were probably imported from Anatolia, Levant and the Aegean (Gale and Stos-Gale 2006). These include possible Minoan daggers found in several EC III-MC I graves in northern Cyprus, although their origins remain controversial and they might be not from Crete but Ugarit or Byblos (fig. V.14, 15, 16) (Branigan 1966: 123-126; Catling and Karageorghis 1961: 110-112). From the MC period onwards, there was intensification of copper mining in the Troodos Mountains, at sites of Ambelikou, Apliki-Karamallos and Politiko-Phorades, for example (Knapp et al. 2001: 202-208; Catling 1986: 93; Muhly 1979: 88). Copper was exported in 'oxhide' ingots, to facilitate transport – it could be carried on a shoulder held by one or two corners, and more importantly had a standardized weight of 29 kg (Fig. V.17, 18) (Stos-Gale 1997: 84; Muhly 1979: 95). Some of the ingots were marked with 'Cypro-Minoan' script (Muhly 1979: 89). However, the only cast of this shape was found in Syria at Ras Ibn Hani, although the traces of copper in it were of Cypriot origin (Legarce, Bounni and Saliby 1983: 277-290). The importance of metallurgy for Cypriot society is illustrated by its connection with cult, from workshops near the temples, or the bronze figurines known as the Ingot God and Astarte-on-the-ingot, depicting a male and a female standing on miniature oxhide ingots (Fig. V.19) (Webb 2001: 69-82; Knapp 1986: 2-3, 9-12).

Sources of metals found on Crete are established using the lead isotope analysis, which allows us to see the complexity of copper import during the Bronze Age, when Cyprus clearly was not the only source. In the EM period, Ayia Photia Cycladic copper was in use, in Chrysokamino it was imported from the island of

Kythnos, and the objects found in the Mesara tombs were produced using metals from Kythnos, Lavrion, local Cretan resources (which were very scarce) and Cyprus (Betancourt 2001: 216; Gale 1990: 299-316). For the MM II palace at Malia, copper was imported from Anatolia and Cyprus, other bronze objects dated to MM II-III point to Attica (Lavrion) (Poursat 2005: 120; Stos-Gale and MacDonald 1991: 267). For objects dated to LM II-LM IIIB from Knossos, Samonas, Armenoi and Pighi the main source of copper was also Mainland Greece and only few examples were made with Cypriot copper (Stos-Gale and Gale 1990: fig. 15; Muhly 1986: 53). Only two oxhide ingots found at Kommos were of Cypriot origin, others – from Ayia Triada (fig. V.20), Kato Zakros, Gournia, Tylissos, Kato Syme, Mochlos, Palaikastro and Knossos - were mostly from Attica or even Sardinia (Rehak and Younger 2001: 415-416; Gale and Stos-Gale 1988: 349-384, 1986: 81-100; Muhly 1979: 93; Cadogan 1972: 9; Evans 1935: 652). On frescoes in Egyptians tombs from the times of Hatshepsut (Tomb of Senenmut), Thutmosis III (Tombs of Puimre', Menkheperra'sonba, Amenusera, Amenemhaba and Rekhmire) and Amenophis III (Tombs of Kenamun and 'Anena), a people called 'Keftiu', identified as from Crete, carry oxhide ingots (Muhly 1979: 89-90). In the light of isotope tests, it is possible that Minoans exported Lavrion copper to Egypt, rather than acting as a middleman for the Cypriots.

**Transition to the Iron Age (LM IIIC-SM I/LC IIIA-B)**

The period of LM IIIC to SM I in Crete corresponds to LC IIIA-B in Cyprus. An extensive review of Cretan external relations in the EIA, including those with Cyprus, is presented by Jones in his monograph on this subject, and what follows below is mostly a summary of his work (2000: 213-239, 293-343). From eleventh century B.C. Kition, floor II various Subminoan elements appearing in Proto-White painted ware are attested (Karageorghis 1968: 182-83; 1976: 90). An amphoroid krater found in Alassa might have been inspired by a Sub-minoan vessel, and this may also be the case with the few known Proto-white Painted pyxides Cyprus (Karageorghis 1975: 48). There are some general similarities between islands' techniques of ceramic fabrication, pottery shapes and decoration, observed by Yon (1979: 245) and Desborough (1972b: 57). These include the often discussed agrimi/goat motif in Cyprus, which Yon believes to have a Syrian origin (1970:

315-316); Iacovou (1988: 35-36) suggests it could be an example of Cypriot influence on the Cretan repertoire, and not vice versa, as argued by Desborough (1972b: 57). Desborough (1972a: 275) also points out a shape of bird vase common in this century found on sites on both islands, especially Type II, which might have been brought from Crete to Cyprus or vice versa. In Crete, clay stands from Karphi might have been inspired by bronze examples from Cyprus, and flasks from Vrokastro could also be considered imitations of Cypriot pots (Desborough 1972b: 118-119). There is a small amount of Subminoan sherds found on Cyprus. At Enkomi, one Cretan vase was found (Dikaios 1969a: 316-317; 1969b: Pl. 95, no. 26; Betancourt 1985: 186), and from Salamis, a three-legged coarse ware cooking pot and an incised pitcher are known (Yon 1971: 28-29, no. 55; 1979: 242). All Cypriot artefacts found on Crete are metal: iron spits and a bronze tripod stand from Knossos Fortetsa, an iron knife and a bronze tripod from Vrokastro, a bronze bowl and tripod base from Eleutherna, a bronze pendant from Karphi, and two arched fibulae from Phaistos (Jones 2000: 144).

Many scholars are inclined to see a population movement from Crete to Cyprus in the eleventh century B.C., due to LM IIIC upheaval. GWUAs are usually used as one of the main arguments; for the purpose of this study, a review of other possible evidence would be valuable. Desborough (1972a: 275; 1972b:57) argues for a movement of population based on the similarities in styles and shapes of pottery, and particularly the occurrence of the Type II bird vase, as presented above. He also suggests that without Cretan refugees in Cyprus, contacts between these islands would shrink visibly in the EIA period. Karageorghis (1976: 9; 1965: 53) observes similarities between terracotta centaurs/sphinxes from Aghia Triada (Crete) and Enkomi (Cyprus), and he describes Cypriot clay models of sanctuaries as a Sub-minoan element. Further, Yon (1979: 245) sees the Cypriot material as illustrative of a movement of religious expression from Crete to Cyprus, but in the other direction she observes only a presence of isolated travellers or merchants. Conversely, Nikolaou (1979: 255) argues that besides the occurrence of GWUAs, there is not enough evidence to suggest a population movement - he especially points out the lack of Cretan daily ware on Cyprus. As Steel points out "there was no simple imposition of Mycenaean culture on the island (...) the modes of transmission and transformation are more complex than a simple demic diffusion"

(2004: 187). She observes that pottery should not be treated as a marker of ethnicity, and that the Cypriot ceramic repertoire gives also evidence to both continuity and change, the latter connected not only with the Aegean but also the Levant (2004: 191-193). Recently Iacovou (2008) and Knapp (2008) argued for the importance of continuation or the possibility of cultural hybridization, respectively. Knapp argues even that arguments for ethnic divisions in EIA Cyprus were motivated rather by modern political circumstances (2008: 281-282), as an example of a hybridized culture of the EIA Cypus he discussed Proto-White Painted– "amalgamation of local, Aegean and Levantine pottery traditions" (2008: 292).

**Re-evaluation of contacts between Crete and Cyprus**

Contacts between Crete and Cyprus started in the transition from Early and Middle Bronze Age. Perhaps already in EM some of Cypriot copper was imported to Crete; although, the main source was the island of Kythnos. However, possible Minoan imports in Cyprus – daggers dated to EM III-MM I were found in graves dated to the EC III-MM I, as mentioned before remain controversial. The transition from the Early to Middle Bronze Age for both islands was a moment of intensification of contacts with the Levant and Egypt and the presence of visible eastern influences in metallurgy (Muhly 1979: 88). Probably in this period Cyprus was for the Minoans just a stop on the trade route to the Near East and later Egypt, as attested by the relatively small assemblage and randomness of finds. For the Minoan culture this is the beginning of the First Palaces and in Cyprus the most developed area is the north of the island. The oldest Minoan vessel found in Cyprus is dated to the MM period, also fragments of Cypriot pottery known from Knossos and Phatsi in Crete are attributed to EC III and EC III/MC I (Warren and Hankey 1989: 115; Cadogan 1972: 5). It is worth noting also that Minoan imports come mostly from the sites in the northern part of the island, a region convenient for ships on the way from the Aegean to the Levant or vice versa. This was also the region where important Cypriot centres were developing. In the Middle Bronze Age a continuation of this pattern of contacts is visible, as a part of a wider set of East-West relations. Most Cypriot pottery was found in main harbour of southern Crete – Kommos; in Mallia some copper from Cyprus was identified (MM II), however a more important source of this metal was Lavrion (Poursat 2005: 120; Stos-Gale and

MacDonald 1991: 267). In Cyprus only one Kamares cup (dated to MM IIA) was found (Keswani 2005: 378). In the same time in the diplomatic correspondence of the Near East a place called Alasia appears (identified in Cyprus), which marks up the islands' presence within the eastern political and economical world (Helbing 1979: 52-57; Vincitelli 1976: 41).

In Crete the LM IA period was characterised with a development of culture and art of the New Palaces and intensive overseas contacts. Imports from Cyprus were found at Kato Zakros and Kommos. However, copper was imported rather from Attica and Anatolia, while some amount from the Cypriot sources appeared in the form of oxhide ingots in Kommos (Gale and Stos-Gale 1988: 349-384, 1986: 81-100; Muhly 1979: 93). The end of the MC III and the beginning of the LC I (corresponding with LM IA) is a period of important changes in Cyprus. These are marked by the appearance of fortifications and the fast development of centres on the southeast of the island. In this period Minoan imports appear in northwest (Toumb tou Skourou), and for the first time in the south and east (Hala Sultan Tekke and Palaepaphos). The changing spatial pattern of imports from Crete is indicative of internal development of Cyprus and of an attempt to dominate the international relations by the southeastern regions of the island - it is better illustrated by the Levantine imports. What is also of importance is that from this period are known first examples of the 'Cypro-Minoan' writing, which clearly shows that there were contacts between the Minoan and developing Cypriot élites (Powell 2002: 240; Smith 2002: 10, 20-21).

The end of the LM IA period in Crete was marked by the Thera volcanic eruption causing the collapse of the northern sea route, which was crucial in providing the island with copper from Lavrion. The amount of bronze objects decline in comparison with previous periods, especially after the collapse of the New Palaces in LM IB/II. However, at the same time usage of the Cypriot copper in Crete appear to rise (Stos-Gale and Gale 1990: fig. 15; Muhly 1986: 53). It is possible that nevertheless Cyprus, which earlier was not an important source of metals for Crete and was more economically tied with the Eastern Mediterranean, could not provide the amount of resources that were needed. Moreover, the

reduction in political strength and following that the international importance weakened the position of Minoans as trade partners for Cyprus.

Cypriot pottery was found in LM IB contexts at sites such as Gournia, Kommos, Knossos and Pseira. This is also the period when cups with handles imitating the characteristic Cypriot wishbone handles first appear in the islands of Rhodes, Kythera, Kea and at Poros-Katsamba in Crete. From LM II they are also known in other Cretan settlements like Kamilari, Kommos, Knossos and Ayia Triada (Graziado 2005: 331-332, 1999: 365-377). However, Cypriot pottery from this period is known only in Kommos. In the same time frame on Cyprus Minoan imports are known in small numbers only from Hala Sultan Tekke, Limassol Kapsalos and Kourion (Nicolaou 1980-1981: 56; Karageorghis 1978: 888-889; Benson 1972: 106). It might indicate a development of relations in which Crete was the receiving part, although these contacts might have been closer then in previous periods and more direct. Simultaneously Minoan contacts with the Levant and Egypt are being overtaken and dominated by the Mycenaeans, which is visible in the amount of Mycenaean imports in the East.

The LM IIIA-B period, in which the turning point was the destruction of the last palace in Knossos, is the most well represented in the archaeological record concerning relations of Crete and Cyprus (Jones 2000: 213-239, 293-343). Moreover imitations of Cretan vessels were found in Hala Sultan Tekke, Enkomi (Åström 1986: 64). Simultaneously at sites where Cretan pottery was found there is a visible presence of Mycenaean imports. Crete clearly became a part of a wider network of contact between the Mycenaean culture and Cyprus. Minoans almost certainly took part in the population movement at the end of the Bronze Age, however, probably hand-in-hand with the Mycenaeans. The key example usually cited is the site of Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* where pottery was locally produced in the LM III style in significant quantities (Kanta 1991: 32).

**Minoan cult symbols in Cyprus**

As D'Agata points out, differences between the nature of cult and socio-economic structures in Crete and Cyprus are visible enough that "... there are no

bases to support the idea of an interaction between the two islands in pure terms of cult activity or cult performed" (2005: 3). An important Minoan symbol of the double axe is known only as a motif on two imported cups from the Ayia Irini LC IA2-IB cemetery, another one from the Kolokassides Collection and two fragmentary kraters from Enkomi and Hala Sultan Tekke respectively (Papadopoulos and Kontroli-Papadopoulos 1992: 330). However, there are some elements connected with cult that are often cited as a sign of a direct influence from Crete to Cyprus; in addition to the GWUAs these are 'horns of consecration' and large wheel-made bulls. As there are different interpretations of their role and meaning it is of interest to briefly discuss them.

**Horns of Consecration**

'Horns of consecration' were stylised bovine horns, known either as free standing or as an element of altars or architecture (fig. V. 21). These stone, middle or large size 'horns of consecration' were an important element of the Neopalatial cult and power ideology and were associated with columned structures (D'Agata 2005: 4, 1992: 250). Later, in the LM IIIA-C periods they are smaller, made of clay or painted on vessels, or they become one of the attributes of GWUA figures (D'Agata 2005: 4). In this period (LH IIIA-B) stone horns were also in use in Mainland Greece, as attested by examples from Mycenae, Gla and Pylos (Hägg 1985). Horns of consecration were also found in Cyprus and they were studied by Lolloupis (1973), who divided them into two chronological groups: LBA examples from Kition, Myrtou-*Pigadhes*, Enkomi, Pyla-*Kokkinokremos* and Kourion, and those dated to the EIA from Meniko, Khapotami, Haghia Moni, Kouklia (Palaepaphos), Kition and Salamis. However, 'horns of consecration' were a well known and popular symbol in Levantine beliefs and cult practice at least since the 10$^{th}$ century BC, first as a part of incense altars and later also larger altars associated with blood sacrifice (Hitchcock 2002: 233-249). The Cypriot examples, as observed by Hitchcock, resemble rather the Levantine examples both in form (blunted tips) and usage, as they are associated with altars rather then with important entryways (2002: 234, 2000: 98-101), and there were also some regional diversities in the way they were executed (Hitchcock 2002: 237). They might have become a common idea connected with the Sea Peoples and come to Cyprus via

Mainland Greece, as they were no longer in use in Crete (D'Agata 2005: 5). Another possibility would be that different regions of Cyprus, due to contacts with either the Levant or the Aegean and local traditions (presence of bull figurines), could have adapted the 'horns of consecration' differently. Thus, there can be no certainty that this religious symbol should be cited as a sign of Aegean influences and even less so as a sign of a direct Cretan involvement in the development of Cypriot religious practice.

**Large Wheel-made Bulls**

The presence of the bull in Cypriot cult is very highly visible in a variety of forms, including the aforementioned 'horns of consecration', but also in the form of actual ox skulls, or as the motif of the bucranium on clay models of sanctuaries, on pottery, stone and metal vases and on jewellery. Ox skulls were found in the two main sanctuaries of Enkomi: of the Ingot God and Horned God, also metal figurines wearing horned helmets were found (resembling Near Eastern imagery) (Papadopoulos and Kontroli-Papadopoulos 1992: 332). Large, clay wheel-made bulls with painted decoration are known from both islands. Cretan wheel-made animals are characterised by a thick layer of clay that covers wheel-made, hollow cylinders that form the basic skeleton of the figures, which were distributed in open space sanctuaries, mostly in Central Crete (D'Agata 2005: 5, 1997: 88, 1999: 43-44). Similar examples from Mainland Greece or from the Cyclades lack the aforementioned thick layer of clay, which allowed the creation of a more naturalistic look, and so these had a more schematic appearance (D'Agata 2005: 5). Large wheel-made bull figures are present in Cyprus in the LC IIIA period and are known from Enkomi and several other sites, however only in Enkomi they were found in a securely dated context. Their production continued in Cyprus down to the Archaic period (Kourou 2002: 19). As D'Agata observes, Cypriot bulls might be rather influenced by Mycenaean and Cycladic artistic traditions rather than Cretan (2005: 5). It is true for the earliest examples (dated to the LC III, which are stylized and have a linear decoration), but it is less so for the bulls from the end of the LC III and in the Cypro-Geometric period. Later bull figures are of a larger size, 0.2-0.3 m long, and are more naturalistic in rendering and have genitals, which is

characteristic for the Minoan terracottas. Moreover, their painted decoration resembles the motifs from Aegean pottery, although some of the Cypro-Geometric figures include elements of the local traditions (like some of the examples from Ayia Irini) (Kourou 2002: 19-20).

A specific example of possible Cretan links is that of figures combining a body of the animal with a human head, known from the sanctuary in Ayia Triada in Crete and from the Ingot God sanctuary in Enkomi in Cyprus. Cretan wheel-made monsters (sphinxes and centaurs) are known from the LM IIIB postpalatial sanctuaries and are of a similar size to the bulls (0.2 to 0.4 m in length), and they combine bovine and human body parts (Kourou 2002: 14-15). Thus it is important to keep in mind the Enkomi centaurs especially in view of the presence of the numerous GWUA figurines in the Ingot God Sanctuary. However, what distinguishes them from the Cretan examples is that they are *bicephalic* (each have a double head). Far more examples of large wheel-made monsters come from the sanctuary in Ayia Irini, and they include sphinxes, and differently gendered centaurs. After these first attempts in the Cypro-Geometric period local elements were added (like horns or snakes) and a new style was developed for this kind of representations (Kourou 2002: 21). Thus, large wheel-made bull figures from the LC III and Cypro-Geometric periods might indicate some Cretan influence in the Cypriot cult practice, yet still as an element of a broader Aegean (namely Mycenaean) context.

**The Mycenaean influence**

It is clear now that towards the end of the Late Bronze Age the contact, in terms of trade, exchange, and religion or culture, between Cyprus and Crete was via the Mycenaeans. The only exception is the Cypro-Minoan writing, which however is dated very early and locally underwent a visible development influenced by the Near Eastern writing systems. Thus, it is of special importance to discuss the Mycenaean coroplastic tradition from the LBA/EIA and possibility of its presence in the origins of the Cypriot GWUAs.

**Mycenaean *psi*, *phi* and *tau* type figurines**

The earliest examples of the Mycenaean figurines are known from the Late Helladic IIIA1 (LH IIIA1) period, with production peaking during the Late Helladic IIIB (LH IIIB) From the beginning their main characteristics were standardization and stylization (fig. V.22). As pointed out by French "the summary character of figurine is due not to lack of skill, but lack of intention (...) figurines display great care in modelling and finish" (1971: 174). Their simple form summarised all the necessary information and meanings that were needed, and had a symbolic quality on its own. It is assumed that they all depict females, because of the breasts indicated in relief or attached as pellets, which are visible on most examples. The first, somewhat naturalistic, experimental figurines of LH IIIA1 were shortly followed by proto-*phi* (LH IIIA1-B1) and *phi* (LH IIIA1-B1) types, which have an almost circular body on a solid, cylindrical stem with bird-like facial features (Weber-Hiden 2009: 24; French 1971: 1116-123). Probably the most popular was the figurine with arms upraised with a cylindrical body, which can be generally subdivided into proto-*psi* (LH IIIA2-B2), *psi* (LH IIIA2-C), and late *psi* type (LH IIIB2-C late). It is interesting to note that some of them were hollow (Weber-Hiden 2009: 25-26). The *tau* type (LH IIIB1-B/C) figurines had the same, typical lower part of the body, usually hollow and arms extended sideways from the body, and all had a *polos* (French 1971: 124-126). There are also known examples of group figurines, such as riders on horses, driven oxen, or seated on thrones and *kourotrophos* ones (Budin 2011: 299-326; Pilafidis-Williams 2009: 114-124; French 1971: 164-173). Especially the late *psi* type of the LH IIIC period is known from examples found beyond Mainland Greece, including Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, Naxos, Iolkos, Miletus, Ras Shamra and Tell Abu Hawam (French 1971: 175). A single figurine found on site might have been brought by an individual traveller, or be a chance import, however, a more visible assemblage, especially accompanied by Mycenaean pottery could be an argument for an actual Greek population.

Mycenaean figurines had a very wide range of functions and were typically used in settlements, and less often in the funerary context. They have been found in areas identified as kitchens and storerooms in both wealthy and poor households. Often they were placed next to doors and walls, transitional and boundary spatial

features and near hearths, serving probably an apotropaic function (Tzonou-Herbst 2009: 166, 169; Kilian 1988: 148). However, they also occur in cult places alongside the large wheel-made figures (discussed below). The popularity of figurines illustrates their importance for Mycenaean society, and again underlines the high possibility of them being a sign of population movement when found overseas.

As mentioned in Chapter III, among Mycenaean figurines found on Cyprus most of them belonged to the LC II and the LC IIIA period and the majority of them were of the *psi* type (Webb 1999: 213). To the LC IIIA period are dated the first local imitations found at Enkomi, Kition, Palaepaphos, Limassol and Hala Sultan Tekke (Kourou 2002: 16; Åström 1991: 28-29). Some imported examples of *psi* type were also found in Kition (Webb 1999: 215). Most Mycenaean type figurines come from settlements rather than burial contexts, including eleven fragments of imported Mycenaean figurines found at Hala Sultan Tekke (Webb 1999: 213; Åström 19998: 83, 1991: 28-29). Thus, they were present in sites where Aegean pottery has also been recorded. It is worth drawing attention to the fact that they were used differently not only from local LC terracottas but also GWUA type figures and figurines. It is a pattern similar to the one observed in Chania in Crete, where Mycenaean figurines were probably used in a household context, some were placed near a large hearth and door entrance, similarly to the way they were used in the Mainland Greece (Hägg 1997: 167; Hallager 1988: 117; Kilian 1981: 56). These small terracottas were highly stylised and standardized, and it would seem that their usage and function was also executed in a conservative and standardized manner. Thus, most probably they were either used by Mycenaeans in the same way as they did in the Aegean or by Cypriots who were aware of functional significance. Although many of these figurines were of the *psi* type, and so representing an upward arm gesture similar to the GWUA terracottas, they need to be considered as a different category and they rather influenced the development of the Cypro-Geometric coroplastic tradition in only a rather limited way. Moreover, the function of GWUA figurines, which were not found in domestic contexts, was strikingly different. However, Mycenaean influence can be tracked in a clearer way in the case of the Philistine material (Yasur-Landau 210), where the Mycenaean figurines made a major impact on the development of local coroplastics, creating a new type.

**'Ashdoda': an example of Mycenaean influences beyond Cyprus**

From the Philistine settlement of Ashdod are known first examples of the so-called 'Ashdoda' figurines, later found also in Aphek, Tel Qasile, Tel Batash/Timnah, Gezer, Tel Miqne/Ekron and Ashkelon (Fig. V.23). They were dated to the $12^{th}$-$11^{th}$ century B.C., a period when many Mycenaean and generally Aegean-influenced elements were identified in this region, including cooking vessels and bichrome pottery (Yasur-Landau 2001: 329). 'Ashdoda' figurines were identified as directly derived from the Mycenaean figurines, probably with some Cypriot elements (Dothan 1982: 234; Bunimovitz 1990: 210-222). Yasur-Landau divides them into two types: a.) the seated female of which there are complete and fragmentary examples, and b.) the *kourotrophos* of which only one fragmentary example from Tel Qasile is known (2001: 331). The function of these figurines changes from the Iron I to the Iron II period; at the beginning they are used in a way known from the Mainland Greece, thus found in a domestic context, whereas later they appear in cult places in a manner in which local figurine types were continuously used (Yasur-Landau 2001: 335; Dothan 1982: 234). Those local terracottas, depicting a nude female, did not cease to exist and were still in use alongside the 'Ashdoda' ones well into the Iron II; examples of this coexistence are known e.g. from Ashdod area C and D (Yasur-Landau 2001: 336-337; Dothan and Freedman 1967: fig. 43: 4, 6). Thus, these figurines although at the beginning they represented a foreign element brought by the new population, in later periods became fully integrated into local cult practice.

Their identification as Aegean-derived was based on morphological similarities. The head, long neck and facial features ('bird-like' shape and applied eyes) resemble *psi*, *phi* and *tau* Mycenaean figurines. Another such element is the headdress, which suggests more the Greek *polos* then the Levantine tall hats. However, the painted decoration finds no parallels in the Aegean iconography, but rather used the patterns known from the 'Philistine Bichrome' pottery (Yasur-Landau 2001: 332; Dothan 1982: 215). Furthermore, 'Ashdoda' figurines are identified with a deity known as 'Ptgyh', which interestingly is a non-semitic name. It is known from an inscription in Phoenician script found in the temple complex in

Tel Miqne/Ekron: "The temple which (he) built, 'kyš, son of Padi, son of Asid, [...] son of Ada, son of Ya'ar, ruler of Ekron, for *ptgyh* his lady, may she bless him, and prote[ct] him, and prolong his days, and bless his [l]and" (Yasur-Landau 2001: 337; Gitin, Dothan and Naveh 1997: 1-16). Moreover, the name of the ruler of Ekron might be identified with Ikausu known from Assyrian inscription, which according to Naveh is derived from *Ik(h)ayus/š = the Achaean (1998: 35-37). There are three probable interpretations of the name of the mentioned goddess. First is proposed by Schäfer-Lichtenberger, who derives it from 'Gaia from Pytho' - Πύθω-Γαῖα (1998: 64-76). Alternatively, Demski argues that this name should be actually read as *ptynh* and derives it from Πότνια (1997: 1-5). Yasur-Landau suggests a reading that somewhat combines these two, suggestings that *ptgyh* originated from Πότ(ν)ια-Γαῖα, which means Lady Gaia (Yasur-Landau 2001: 337-338). Thus, it provides a possibility of presence of Mycenaean goddesses, and of their importance in a Philistine city of Ekron. It is possible though, that as 'Ashdoda' figurines were integrated into local cult practice, the deity known as 'Ptgyh' was, to a certain extent, identified with the Semitic goddess Asherah (Gitin, Dothan and Naveh 1997: 12). Thus, the example of Philistine terracottas gives an interesting analogy for an integration of the foreign religion elements, namely the Potnia/Gaia and Mycenaean figurines, with the old-time beliefs popular in the region (Yasur-Landau 2010: 302-307). However, it is important to underline that the presence of immigrants from the Aegean is at first visible in the domestic pottery and domestic cults, thus giving evidence to an actual population movement, which certainly included not only the elites. The question of whether it is possible to establish if the GWUA figurines and figures were connected with the cult of a particular deity in Cyprus is discussed below.

**Large Mycenaean terracottas**

Large Mycenaean terracottas, known since the Late Helladic IIIA (LH IIIA) period differ not only in size from the *phi* or *psi* figurines, also in their function and meaning. They were displayed and stored in cult buildings, often associated with platforms and benches (Whittaker 2009: 99), thus being rather a part of an official rather then popular or personal cult. Among Mycenaean wheel-made figures most

can be gendered female, with the exception of some figures from the Cult Centre in Mycenae, which are quite schematic and sometimes interpreted as male (Taylour 1983: 52-53), although in my opinion they do not have any explicit gender attributes. Whittaker divides Mycenaean wheel-made figures as the Type A, where she includes all the female and highly decorated examples, and the Type B monochrome genderless figures found only in the aforementioned Cult Centre, the only male large terracotta was recorded in the West Shrine in Phylakopi (Whittaker 2009: 99-100), and a smaller one in Tiryns (French 1985). As Kourou observes, Mycenaean wheel-made female figures are more stylized, while the Cretan ones are characterized by a more naturalistic rendering (2002: 13). Examples of the Mycenaean figures, both from the mainland and islands are smaller then GWUAs and usually measure from 0.3 to 0.4 m; larger figures are almost unknown (with the exception of fragments found in Amyklai, Thebes and Aegina; Kourou 2002: 14; Catling 1995: 187). However, these figures tend to display a wide variety of gestures (some of them were probably holding attributes, which are now missing), the 'upraised arms' one was the most frequently represented (e.g. in Tiryns and Phylakopi). Kourou notes also the typological distinction between Mycenaean and Cretan examples, with Mycenaean figures lacking the narrow waist and carination of the skirt and having a rather cylindrical body splaying towards the base (2002: 14). Mycenaean figures were highly stylized and not focused on depiction of anatomical details, including gender characteristics. These figures also do not depict pregnancy, there are also no *kourotrophos* examples (Whittaker 2009: 100). Mycenaean cult buildings were of small size, which indicates some restriction in access (although often it is difficult to establish whether was it just a storage or also a cult space) but also the possibility of taking the figures for rituals outside, as their size makes them portable (Whittaker 2009: 106-109). These large terracottas were found almost exclusively within the context of sanctuaries and were absent from funerary contexts (Kourou 2002: 31), in a manner similar to the Cretan and Cypriot GWUAs.

An interesting example of Mycenaean figures is the so-called 'Lady of Phylakopi' found in the West Shrine of the sanctuary in Phylakopi on the island of Melos (Fig. V.24). The sanctuary, dated to LH IIIA2 and was in continuous use down to the LH IIIC period, yielded an assemblage of figurines both

anthropomorphic and zoomorphic; however, the 'Lady of Phylakopi' was unique among this material in a number of ways. The figure is 0.45 m in height, and resembles other 'upraised arms' figures from Tiryns and Mycenae (Shelmerdine 2001: 365-366; Renfrew *et al.* 1985: 215-216). The exact position of her arms is unknown, it is certain only that her hands were not touching the body.

Evidence for the continuity of cult practice during the Early Iron Age in the Mainland Greece is often problematic. It is clear that wheel-made anthropomorphic terracottas are no longer in use, and that only the bull figures and figurines were still dedicated at least in some regions, e.g. Amyklai in Peloponnese and Acropolis in Athens; the continuation in usage of wheel-made zoomorphic figures is more visible in Crete (Kourou 2002: 21-22). However, in all of the Aegean the most widespread pattern is a considerable gap in usage of such figures between the LH IIIC, or the Proto-Geometric (PG) and the Late Geometric (LG) period, when a significant revival of sanctuaries is observed, alongside the building of new temples (Kourou 2002: 21, 23). It is interesting to observe that first LG wheel-made zoomorphic and anthropomorphic terracottas appear in Aegean sites that had contacts with Cyprus including e.g. Lindos, Lemnos or Samos (Kourou 2002: 33).

**Near Eastern iconography in Cyprus**

In written sources from Ugarit gods and goddesses worshiped in Alasia are mentioned: Baal, Sapas, Astarte and Anat (Budin 2003: 133). This does not necessarily mean/imply that Near Eastern deities were present in Cyprus, but more likely that the author of this text found these gods and goddesses to be the most similar to Cypriot ones. Bronze Age iconography on Cyprus was similiarly influenced by the cult related representations from the Levant (Brown and Catling 1986: 30). There is also a significant Phoenician presence in Early Iron Age Cyprus, especially at the site of Kition, where Astarte was worshiped, and where GWUA figurines were also in use. Thus, it is necessary to review briefly possible Levantine influences in Cyprus and more particularly in the GWUA iconography.

Hand made figurines representing a nude female appear in the Levant as early as the 3rd millennium BC in the region of the Orontes River. The so-called

'bird faced' figurines, known also from Cyprus (see Chapter III), are already popular in the Middle Bronze Age. Many examples have the characteristic diagonal bands intersecting each other between the breasts, which are visible also on the LBA Cypriot terracottas and many GWUAs. These motifs remain visible also in the LBA Levant, including examples from Ebla, Hama, Alalakh and Tell Judaidah (fig. V.25). According to written sources e.g. from Ebla or Alalakh, they were connected with the cult of Ishtar (Budin 2003: 235-236, 144).

Another type of representation, already discussed in Chapter III are plaques and foils known in the Late Bronze Age Levant as 'Astarte plaques', and depending on the region also associated with Atharta, Ishara or Inanna/Ishtar (Budin 2002: 317). They depict a nude female, her hands placed under the breasts, pointing to her genitals or holding objects, such as flowers, and sometimes standing on a lion or a horse (Budin 2002: 317). These were an inspiration for the similar metal plaques from Cyprus, representing a nude, standing female with upraised arms and in some cases probably wearing a polos. The main difference is that in the Cypriot plaques the figures do not hold anything in their hands, although their arms are bent in the same v-like fashion as on the Levantine plaques.

Also many motifs from Near Eastern, and especially Syrian, glyptic do appear on Cypriot seals and sealings (Brown and Catling 1986: 30). They are dated to the LC II/III and are known mostly from Enkomi, Kourion, Hala sultan Tekke, Kameiros, Klavdia, Maroni and Dhima (Budin 2003: 145). Representations identified, as female deities are often nude, winged, sitting on a throne in a company of animals like lions, goats, or sphinxes (Webb 1999: 76). Some Syrian motifs were reinterpreted in the Cypriot glyptic, like the horned helmet, which in Syria was an attribute of male gods, but in Cyprus was also worn by females (fig. V.26) (Budin 2003: 146).

Although the upraised arms gesture can be recognized in Levantine plaques or glyptic it is never depicted as meaningful on its own, but rather as a gesture of holding up objects like flowers or animals. Cyprus was probably much influenced by Near Eastern beliefs and cult practice towards the end of the Bronze Age, but as always the local population was re-interpreting these outside ideas/influences, and

the iconography, although visually similar, might have carried different meanings. Examples include the aforementioned plaques and foils depicting females with upraised arms. Thus, the emblematic gesture of the Cypriot GWUA figurines and figures should not therefore be considered to be a result of Levantine influences. Similarly, the motif of diagonal lines in front or at the back of a figurine had already been popularized in Cyprus during the LBA, so *before* the popularization of GWUAs and so was rather a sign of continuation in the local coroplastic production.

**GWUAs and the Cypriot coroplastic tradition**

As discussed in Chapter III, Cypriot GWUA figurines display a certain degree of similarity with the earlier LBA terracottas. Three examples of nude figurines of this type - from Enkomi (LC III), Korovia near Famagusta and one of unknown provenance (Cypro-Archaic) - are reminiscent of the LBA figurines called 'flat head' and 'bird-faced' (Webb 1999: 215; Karageorghis 1978: 25). Their breasts are visible in relief, the pubic triangle is painted, and the legs are separated with a groove. Of special importance here are their pierced ears, unknown from other upraised arms representations. Other stylistic elements linking GWUAs with the wider Cypriot Bronze Age figurine tradition should also not be overlooked; such as the diagonal lines, on the front and/or the back of the torso, painted facial characteristics and the importance of jewellery in the form of painted pendants or bands on arms and neck. Also dual-sexed and/or gender ambiguous figurines of the GWUAs type are a continuation of a tradition present in the Cypriot coroplastic art since the Neolithic period. Karageorghis observes that small figurines from Enkomi represent a transition between LC III Plain Ware figurines and Iron Age GWUAs (1993: 58). Some of them have accentuated a pubic area and legs moulded separately, but their bodies are often cylindrical, splaying towards the base; this type is known also from Hala Sultan Tekke and Idalion (Karageorghis 1993: 26-32). Their arms are positioned under or on their breasts, touching their heads or alongside the body. Plain Ware figurines come mainly from settlement contexts and examples from graves are scarce (Kourou 2002: 16). Several of the anthropomorphic bottles from LC IIIA2 to LC IIIB, dressed, with bulging eyes and

prominent nose also share some of the stylistic features of GWUAs (Karageorghis 1977: 121-123).

**The Origins of the Cypriot GWUAs**

The origins of the Cypriot GWUAs should be identified with local traditions, but also, importantly with Mycenaean influences, or contact with Mycenaean culture. The Cretan element in the developing Cypro-Geometric religion was present only via the Mycenaean culture that had already come under the influence of Minoan traditions. The most visible elements that argue for influence from the Mycenaean coroplastic production are the cylindrical, stem-like lower part of the body and the *polos* in place of the Cretan GWUAs tiara. Also the gesture and rendering of the arms, which are simply raised, rather then bent, and either an absence of fingers or just an indication of them in paint recalls *psi* figurines and larger wheelmade figures found in Greek sanctuaries. The rendering of facial characteristics also bears a strong visual similarity to the Mycenaean figures. Because of the context in which the Cypriot GWUAs were found, which is predominantly sanctuaries, their function clearly differed from the domestic, apotropaic usage of the *phi*, *psi* and *tau* figurines. However, these smaller figurines did occur also in cult buildings together with larger figures, similarly to the Cypriot GWUA figurines. Thus, it is possible to postulate that, although morphologically they bear a stronger resemblage to the Mycenaean wheel-made female figures, their function was more similar to the *psi* figurines. Probably, the larger figures from Cypriot sanctuaries would offer an interesting comparison for the smaller specimens, which is unfortunately almost impossible due to their fragmentation. However, as I have already discussed in Chapter III - the involvement of local population in the production and usage of GWUAs is certain, the change of the main anthropomorphic terracotta type was an internal one, influenced from the outside but not imposed. This is clear from the strong similiarities with the earlier coroplastic traditions of the island in the gradual development of the type and the regional differences in execution. Also Knapp (2008: 286-287) mentions GWUA figurines, along with Proto-White Painted pottery, relocated or new settlements and new mortuary practices, as examples of a cultural hybridization, which, as he argues, occurred in Cyprus in LC IIIB. According to Knapp in this process "both

locals and migrants become transformed" (2008: 292). An analogy with the Philistine 'Ashdoda' figurines gives a better understanding of how Mycenaean migration at the end of the LBA affected the development of the new terracotta types. I argue that in both cases foreign populations almost immediately start to exchange ideas on religion and cult practice, which involved figurines and figures, with the local society in an open and non-violent manner. Especially if the immigrants from the Aegean intended to stay somewhere for longer as they did in both cases of the Canaan and Cyprus. It is also important to remember that in polytheistic cults of the LBA/EIA the integration, adaptation and change in believes and cult practice had to be far more probable than it is now among the dominating monotheistic religions, and was an expression of the dialogue of traditions.



**V.1** Anchor of the Syrian-Cypriot type, Kommos, 74 kg dated to LM IIIA/B



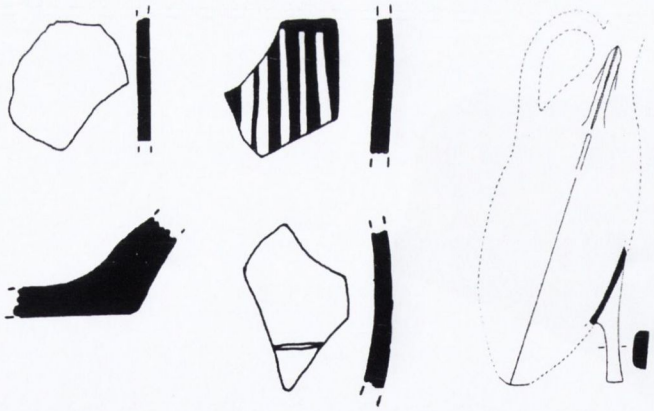
**V.2** Inscription in the Cypro-Minoan script, Enkomi



**V.3** EC III bowl from Phatsi



**V.4** Fragments of the White Slip II (LC II) pottery in the LM III context, Poros-Katsamba



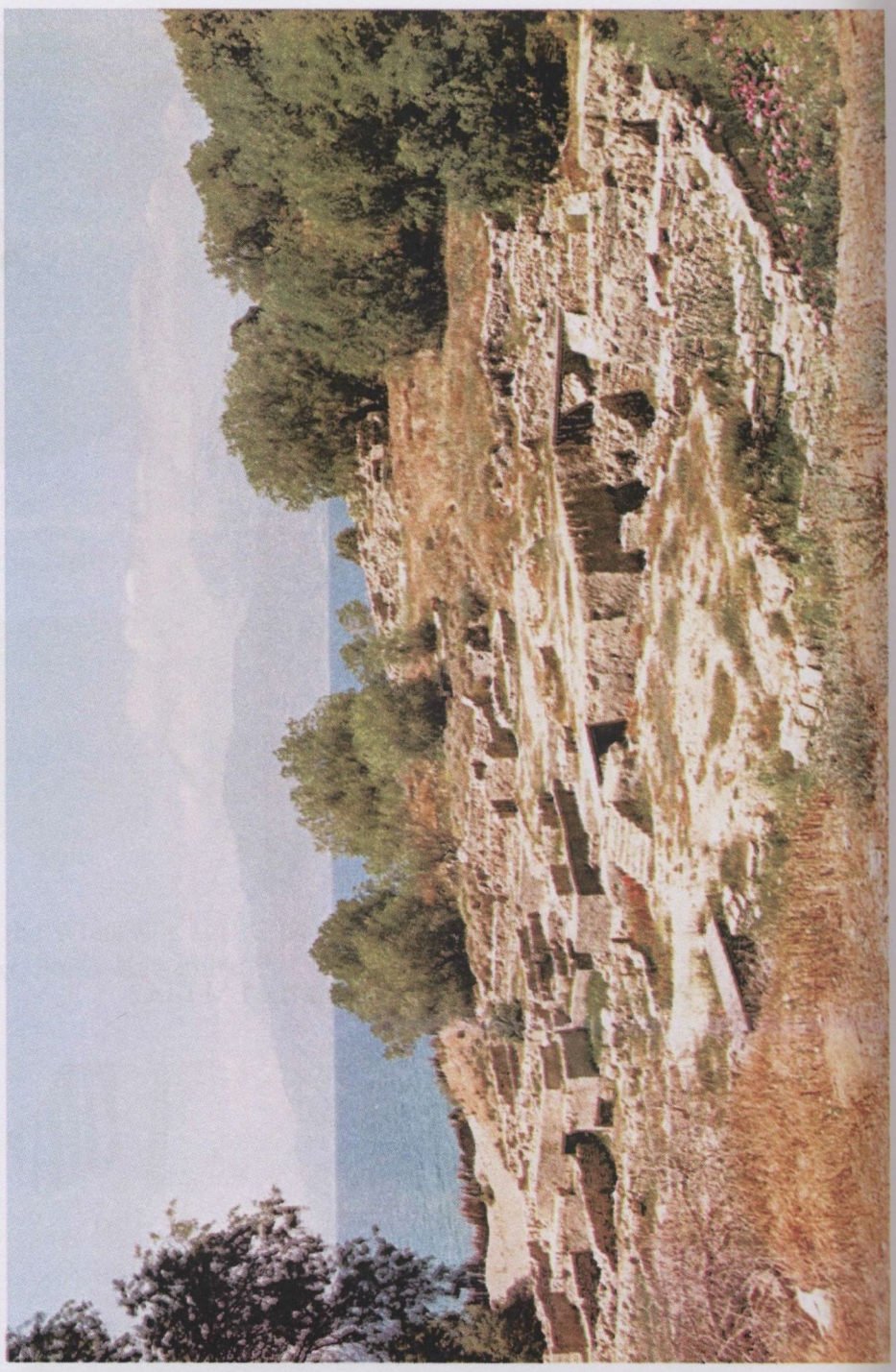
**V.5** Fragments of Cypriot pottery, Pseira



**V.6** White Shaved (LC II) found in the LM IIIA2 context, Kommos



**V.7** White Slip II bowl (LC), Chania



**V.8** Kommos: the archaeological site



**V.9** Examples of Minoan cups with the *wishbone handle*



**V.10** bridge spouted jar, Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*



**V.11** Kamares cup, Karmi *Palealona*

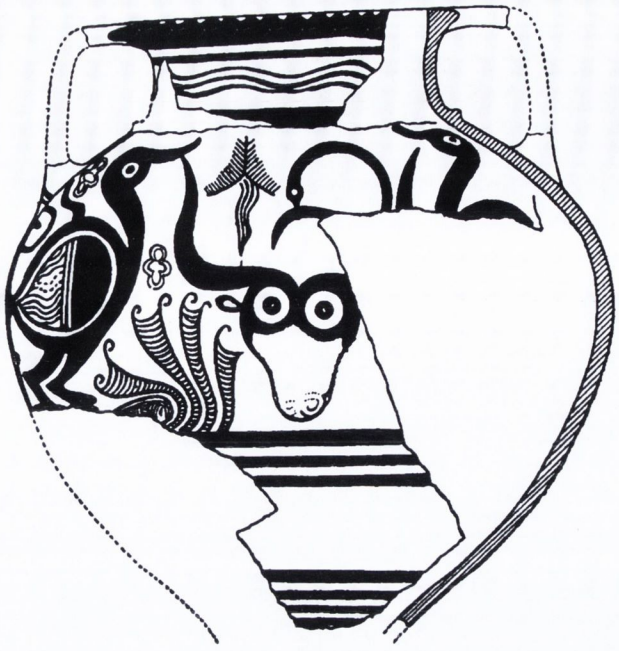


A.



B.

**V.12** Toumba tou Skourou, Minoan pottery:
A.fragments of cups
B.fragment of a stirrup-jar



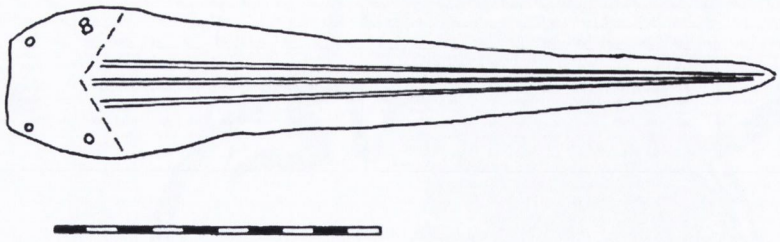
**V.13** Amphoroid crater, LM III, Pyla-*Kokkinokremos*



**V.14** Razor, Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba (Cyprus), tomb 322a



**V.15** Dagger, Vounous *Bellapais* (Cyprus), tomb 143



**V.16** Dagger, Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba (Cyprus), tomb 18b



**V.17** Man carrying an oxhide ingot, fragment of a bronze stand, Kourion



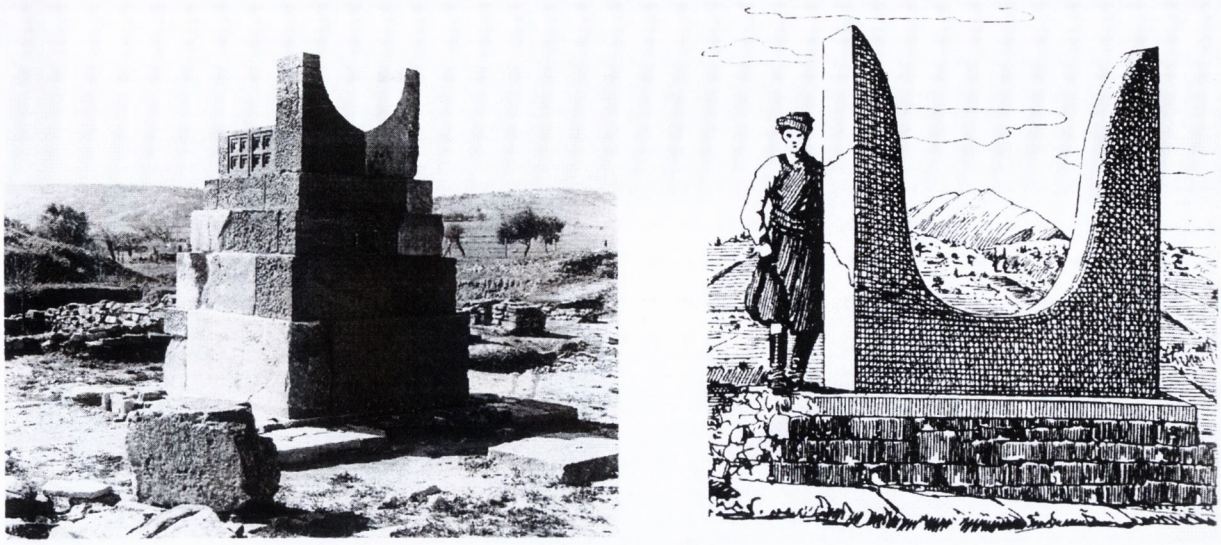
**V.18** Man carrying an oxhide ingot, Thebes (Egypt), Rekhmirē tomb



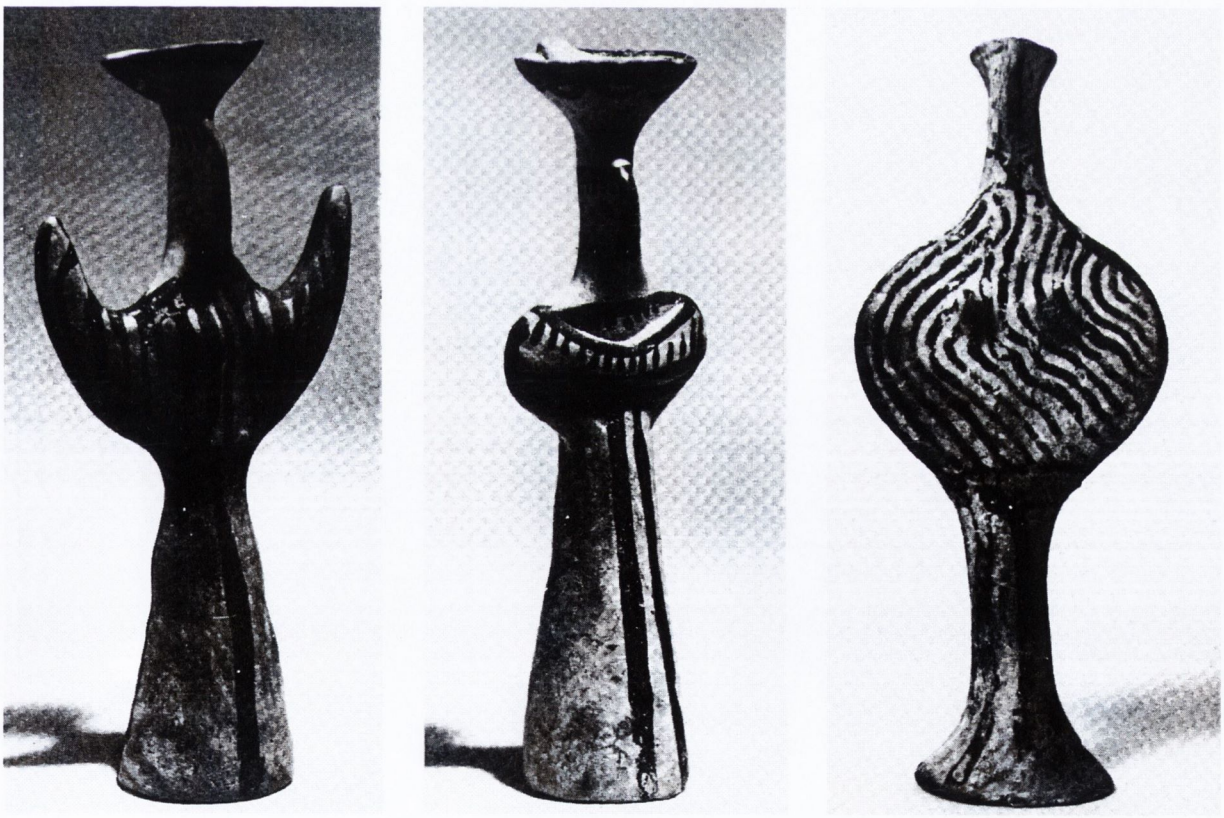
**V.19** Astarte-on-the-ingot and Ingot God (0.099 m, 0.35 m)



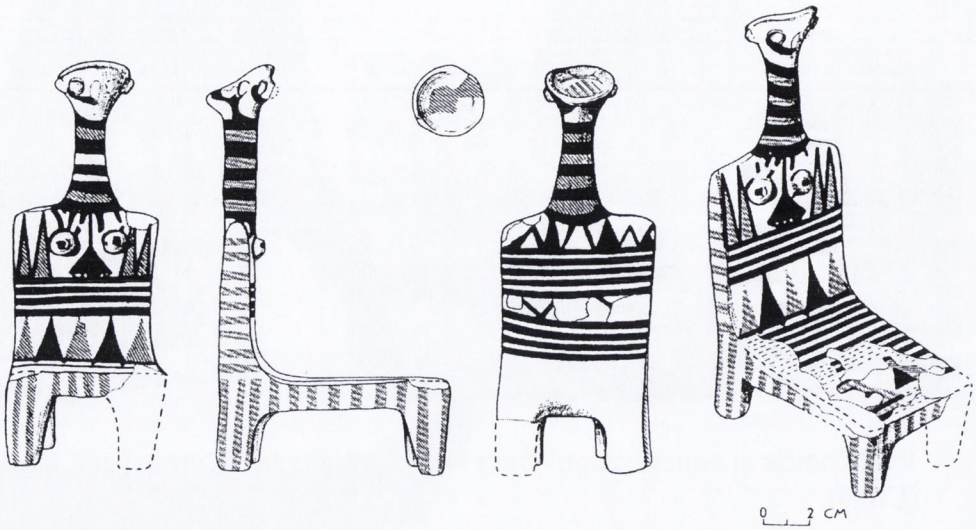
**V.20** oxhide ingots, Ayia Triada (Crete)



**V.21** 'horns of concecration' from Myrtou-Pighades (Cyprus) and Knossos (Crete)



**V.22** Mycenaean figurines of the *psi*, *tau* and *phi* type




**V.23** 'Ashdoda' figurines, Ashdoda Area H




**V.24** 'Lady of Phylakopi', Melos



**V.25** Middle Bronze Age figurine from Ebla



**V.26** Cypriot cylinder seal

# Conclusions

**The purpose of this study**

With this study, I hope to have achieved a number of things. First of all, I hope to answer certain questions surrounding 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' terracottas. The most important question is whether Cretan and Cypriot figures and figurines known under this term form a single group, as it was often assumed in previous studies and publications, or two separate, distinct assemblages. This has been discussed using a number of comparative methods, including the examination of typological and contextual similarities and differences, such as find spots, dimensions, production, or associated attributes. In this study not only spatial context but also cultural context was reviewed, including earlier Cretan and Cypriot coroplastic traditions, and general cultural background of the particular period. Finally, also morphological and contextual similarities with other groups of terracottas were discussed, especially the Mycenaean wheel-made figures and *psi*, *phi*, *tau* type figurines.

Another important issue which I have discussed is the character of the representations, whether their meaning can be determined based on morphological differences and archaeological context, and if they indeed simply depict 'Goddess(es)' or if their meanings are more diverse and nuanced. The particular name under which the terracottas studied here are known was first used for the figures from Crete, and just after used widely also for the Cypriot terracottas. Furthermore, because they often served as an example of close connections between two islands (especially in the publications by J. and V. Karageorghis), the meaning

was automatically transferred together with the name. However, as I have argued, the Cypriot assemblage is from the beginning far more diverse on many levels, including the size, shape and other characteristics. Even, when found in a space connected with cult and ritual (i.e. in a sanctuary) terracottas should not necessarily be interpreted as cult figures and/or representations of deity/deities. Their function and meaning can be more nuanced and even change during the time. As is especially visible in Cyprus, other interpretations such as ex-votos and/or representations of worshippers or a ritual itself (assuring its continuous repetition) can be more valid interpretations and are supported by the evidence. This becomes even more clear in comparison with a far more homogeneous picture presented by the LM IIIC Cretan figures, which bear strong similarity between each other and were found in a typical context of so-called bench shrines.

Another important purpose of this research is an application of modern methodologies used in coroplastic studies to the GWUA figures and figurines from both Crete and Cyprus. This new approach to terracottas is still in its making, and includes the importance of contextualization, ethnographic analogies, and gender issues connected with the studied objects. The application of this dynamic approach, which underlines the three-dimensionality and performative aspects of terracottas, is of special importance.

First, the performative aspect of GWUA figures and figurines - the way they were handled, displayed and used - has been reviewed. A distinction between large figures and figurines is essential when studying terracottas, as it affects portability and therefore also the perception of viewers and/or handlers. Although, all studied object are portable to a certain degree, there is a clear difference between clutching a 12 cm figurine in one's hand and carrying a 70 cm figure, probably on a platform with one or more other participants of the event. Smaller size encourage a more personal or even intimate relation with an object, and is more suitable for individual and private rituals or offerings. However, larger figures being more visible can more probably be used in public cult and rituals, and also serve as a cult statue. This is also supported by ethnographic evidence, including the one presented in this study. This striking difference in dimensions between Cretan and Cypriot GWUAs was also omitted in previous studies.

An important part of this study was also the discussion of issues connected with gender. As it was demonstrated, although all GWUAs from both Crete and Cyprus were previously gendered female this subject is again, especially in case of the Cypriot assemblage, far more nuanced. Not only do double gender or sexless figurines form a part of Cypriot GWUAs type, but also the emergence of this type mark a possible change in gender ideologies in the island. It adds to the picture of the Cypriot Early Iron Age as a period of dynamic social and cultural processes, including the construction, negotiation and performance of gender ideologies and relations. This become visible when Cretan and Cypriot GWUAs are compared together with awareness of previous local, coroplastic traditions. I hope that these examples illustrate/capture how these new methodologies can help to *figure out figurines*, by asking a new type of questions.

**The origins and development of Cretan GWUAs**

As discussed in Chapter II, Cretan GWUA type figures and figurines characterize the social and religious life of the LM IIIB-C (Postpalatial) period. They were especially popular in the eastern part of the island in new settlements set in a mountainous region. The changes in the religious symbolism in the LM IIIB-C period, of which GWUAs are the most visible sign, were caused by a sense of insecurity and lack of authorities after the final fall of the palaces. Nevertheless, their origins lay in Bronze Age coroplastic traditions, and are strongly rooted in Minoan iconography. This creative continuity is also visible in the re-interpretation of some of the old symbols, like the horns of consecration, which became one of the GWUA attributes. This is visible also in a way the figures were gendered, with a Minoan long dress most probably with a characteristic low-cut décolletage, with naked breasts, but – in line too with previous periods - none of the examples had depicted genitals,. However, the clear predominance of female terracottas is a new feature.

The earliest examples of this type are known still from sites, which were inhabited and flourished in previous periods, like Knossos ('Double Axes Shrine' and 'Unexplored Mansion') and Gournia. At these sites both figurines and shrines were of small measurements and the cult space was not a separate building but a room or rooms within a bigger complex. It is also characteristic that there was only one such figurine in Gournia, as much as in Unexplored Mansion and Double Axe Shrine in Knossos, although in the latter it was accompanied by other terracottas. The further development of this type took place in the mountainous areas in the East of Crete in Karphi, Kavousi and Halasmenos. They were produced and used by small communities cooperating with each other, also visible in the standardization of this type of figure. Cult places became separate buildings, usually at the edge of the settlement, although still too small to accommodate numerous worshippers. This new, developed type of figure and separate shrines is also observed back in Central Crete, especially in Gazi and Kannia, interestingly at the latter site an older LM I building had been re-used.

GWUA figures in the LM IIIC period were larger (c. 0.5 m up to 0.8 m), but they remained portable, especially if carried by two people, e.g. on a platform (as indicated by ethnographic examples discussed in Chapter II). A possible use of GWUAs in outdoor rituals and celebrations is strengthened by the open spaces observed adjacent to cult buildings. Therefore, figures could have been stored in designated places where private prayer or adoration could also have taken place, but their main purpose was realised during public gatherings and/or processions. Especially processions are an occasion that brings the community together, and rebuilds a sense of security through divine protection. At the same time, they facilitate the negotiation and promotion of social hierarchy and local elites. Due to numerous figures being found on one site, it is tempting to postulate that different families within the communities each commissioned a GWUA figure, so that their representatives could carry one in a procession through the streets of the settlement. As was presented in Chapter IV, the production technique of the figures indicates that they were made by potters. Although each example is unique, the visible degree of standardization suggests that craftspeople were either in contact with each other or even travelled between settlements.

The divine character of the representations is indicated by several factors. Most fragments were found in specially designated rooms or buildings, with architectural attention focusing elements, like a bench on one of the walls where figures could be displayed. In the LM IIIC period, a standard set of cult equipment accompanied the figures, including snake tubes with kalathoi. Later figures were of large sizes, which made them more visible to the participants of rituals. The question of whether they did represent one goddess or several goddesses is more problematic. As was discussed in Chapter IV, Cretan GWUAs do not present one uniform gesture but at least two, which could be interpreted as a part of a sequence of movements or different postures, which were meaningful separately or as interacting with each other. This does not determine whether these were various emanations of one deity or different deities. They also did have different attributes: bird, snake, disc, horns of consecration, poppies and, most of all, snakes. These appeared separately or with each other, and based solely on this it would be highly speculative to establish whether they were distinguishing separate goddesses or different emanations of one deity. However, since most probably Bronze Age Minoans, as much as inhabitants of Crete in later periods worshipped many deities, it might be assumed that also in LM IIIC religion was polytheistic. Therefore, GWUAs were the last example of the fresh and innovative Minoan art, but interestingly without any significant continuity into the Iron Age. There are only a few examples of this kind of image appearing later in Crete (discussed in Chapter II).

**The origins and development of the Cypriot GWUAs**

As presented in Chapter III, Cypriot GWUAs differ noticeably from their Bronze Age predecessors in the manner of representation, like the new characteristic gesture, replacing arms folded under the breasts or alongside the body, and the long garment instead of nudity. These new terracottas were also made to stand by themselves and were therefore probably handled differently than the LBA ones. Further, Late Cypriot figurines were mostly found in mortuary contexts, while GWUAs were found within sanctuaries, and the meaning and function of figurines thus changed during the LBA/EIA transition period. Nevertheless, some

signs of continuity in Cypriot coroplastics are also noticeable; GWUA facial characteristics and painted decoration resemble the LC 'normal face' terracottas style, and are, as in the Bronze Age, mostly female. They also have diagonal lines, painted on the front and/or at the back of the torso of the figurine. This is an element known since LBA, where it was depicted on a nude torso as well as an element of a long garment (the possible meanings of which was discussed in Chapter III). The presence of jewellery is also a sign of continuity - painted bands on arms and neck, and pendants. However, the most distinct sign of continuity is their association with LBA Cypriot sanctuaries. Despite the changes in settlement patterns, many cult places continued longer than the inhabitation of sites. As I argued in Chapter III, it is possible to observe that attachment to a place is even stronger than attachment to beliefs and/or cult practices. This indicates that the population that inhabited Cyprus produced and used GWUA terracottas already in the Late Bronze Age.

Moreover, I argue that in the case of anthropomorphic figurines, the developing Cypro-Geometric religion was influenced by Mycenaean rather than by Minoan culture. Minoan elements were present mostly only through earlier influences of Minoan traditions on the art and beliefs of Mainland Greece. The facial characteristics of Cypriot GWUAs bear a strong visual similarity to the Mycenaean figures. The cylindrical, stem-like lower part of the body and the *polos,* instead of the Cretan GWUAs' tiara, are indicators of some influence from the Mycenaean coroplastic tradition. The emblematic gesture of raised but un-bent arms, and the simple indication of fingers in paint (or their absence) recall figures found in Greek sanctuaries, including *phi*, *psi* and *tau* figurines. Although the small Mycenaean terracottas have often been found in domestic or mortuary contexts, they were also used in shrines together with larger figures, similarly to the Cypriot GWUAs. Therefore, although stylistically upraised arms figurines are more similar to the larger Mycenaean wheel-made female figures, their function was probably more influenced by the *psi* figurines. The analogy of the Philistine 'Ashdoda' figurines, discussed in Chapter V, offers a better understanding of how the Mycenaeans could have participated in a dialogue of traditions with the local population, including religion and cult practice in an open and non-violent manner, as happened in both Canaan and Cyprus.

An active approach to the study of terracottas in this thesis was also applied to the Cypriot GWUAs. At least two possibilities of usage were observed. The earliest miniature figurines from Enkomi were an illustration of a performance, most probably a ritual dance, which could have been performed in the area where the terracottas were found, next to the Ingot God sanctuary. Worshippers, either observers or participants, could deposit such sets of figurines attached to a plaque in order to ensure the continued repetition of the ritual. In this example, the emblematic gesture would become a part of movement evoked by music. Other possibilities are offered by medium-sized figurines (c. 0.12 to 0.15 m), known from Kition and later Palaepaphos. Their stem-like, cylindrical bodies could have easily been held in the hand, with fingers wrapped around the lower part, facilitating either presentation to others (or to the statue of the deity) or to oneself, with the gesture of upraised arms clearly visible. They encouraged personal, physical engagement. Thus, Cypriot GWUA figurines were probably used as votives, or offerings as a part of a private type of cult, but they might simultaneously depict rituals performed publicly. I argue that Cypriot GWUAs are not necessarily images of a deity, and the gesture of upraised arms could have different meanings, depending on context. Larger figures were also present in Cypro-Geometric sanctuaries, but their fragmentary state does not allow us to establish whether they also represented the upraised arms gesture.

The diversity of Cypriot GWUAs gives also more possibilities for the discussion of gender issues. I observed that not all terracottas of this type in Cyprus are gendered female, some of them are double gendered or remain sexless (see Table 5B). Differently than in Crete, although GWUA figurines were very popular, and even a predominant type, other gestures and types were also present in Cyprus, including terracottas which can be gendered as male. These underlines the dynamism of cultural processes visible in the Early Iron Age Cyprus, where new models of social roles and interactions were appearing, based on both local traditions and new foreign elements. Furthermore, the study of the Cypriot assemblage permits wider observations concerning how gender ideologies were being developed and negotiated in the Cypro-Geometric period. Especially in comparison with 'Warrior' figurines, which were employing militaristic

iconography to promote male position within the society, it is possible to argue that GWUAs represent claims to authority by promoting a special female relationship with the divine. It is also important to observe that in contrast with LC II period terracottas (both 'bird faced' and 'normal faced') GWUA figurines do not have indicated genitals, and they can be gendered only based on secondary characteristics, like breasts and beard, with the depiction of other elements, like gesture, visibly more important.

The GWUA type was much longer lived on Cyprus than on Crete, and figurines and figures of this type developed into a more standard form at the end of the Cypro-Geometric period. They were still in use in the Archaic and Classical sanctuaries (as it was discussed with the example of Palaepaphos in Chapter III). It is also possible to observe that they became a part of the cult of Aphrodite.

**Two assemblages instead of one**

I argue that Cretan and Cypriot 'Goddesses with Upraised Arms' are two distinct, separate assemblages of terracottas with no direct connection. They should be seen as figures and figurines specific for their particular islands and their meaning and function should not be simply transferred from one to another, but studied separately, as it was in this thesis. There are many visible differences between Cretan and Cypriot GWUAs in their size, find contexts, characteristics of the depicted gestures, production, and usage. Also, when discussing issues of gender and performativity (how they might have been handled and used) important variations were observed.

Cretan figures were still a part of the earlier Minoan coroplastic tradition, visible in the long female dress and usage of BA symbols as GWUAs' attributes, on the other side there was almost no continuity of this type in terracotta figures or figurines of the later periods in Crete. Also Cypriot LBA/EIA upraised arms figurines originated from earlier, local coroplastic traditions, which is especially illustrated by similarities with the Plain Ware figurines. An interesting sign of continuity is provided by the diagonal lines, on the front and/or the back of the

torso, painted facial characteristics and the importance of jewellery in the form of painted pendants or bands on arms and neck. Another argument for the continuity in Cyprus is the tendency to use old cult places, like in Enkomi, Kition or Palaepaphos. Nevertheless the EIA Cyprus was a place were local and foreign elements were influencing each other and also in the case of GWUAs especially Mycenaean terracotta production and usage inspired some new elements. The most visible element that argues for influence from the Mycenaean culture is the emblematic gesture itself and rendering of the arms. They are raised, but un-bent, and fingers are either absent or just indicated in paint, which recalls *psi* figurines and larger wheel-made figures found in Greek sanctuaries, rather than Cretan GWUAs. They also have a cylindrical, stem-like lower part of the body and the *polos* in place of the Cretan GWUAs tiara, and facial characteristics bearing a strong visual similarity to the Mycenaean figures. It is important to underline that this change in Cypriot cult practice of which GWUAs were a part was internal, and the Mycenaean element, although noticeable, was nevertheless not an indication of a shift in power, but of the creative exchange of ideas between the local population and the newcomers. Through this comparative study, it was also possible to observe that although both Cretan and Cypriot figurines and figures were used in cult, they had a very different character and meaning within each island's local communities. While in Crete 'Goddesses' were indeed representations of deities, in Cyprus they turned out also to be rather human worshippers and participants of rituals.

**Importance for the study of the EIA in Cyprus**

This study makes also a valubale addition to the ongoing disscussion concerning the character of chnages, which occured at the beginning of the Iron Age in Cyprus. For a long time this period was described as moment when settlers from the Aegean came flooding into Cyprus and finally taking control over the island, it was a theory especially promoted by V. Karageorghis, and GWUA figurines were given as an example of such in the sphere of the cult. However, recently Iacovou postulated very strong continuity and Knapp argues for a hybridization of culture in this period, with local, Aegean and Levantine elements. As has been discussed in this thesis, GWUA terracottas differ from earlier

coroplastic traditions, nevertheless this type bears also signs of continuation and was developed in Cyprus, and not in the Aegean and simply transferred to the island with settlers. Many elements point to these figurines having been made and used by the local population. However, some Mycenaean (not Minoan) influence is also visible, which adds to Knapp's argumentation for the hybridization of cultures.

Moreover this research have shown that indeed the Iron Age started already in the LC IIIB period, with the abandoment of many settlements, and changes in burial practices also the first GWUA figurines appeared. Further, one the first examples – from the Ingot God sanctuary in Enkomi, gives a fascinating insight into the dynamic processes which were occuring both within the cult and ritual sphere and in gender roles and relations. In contrast with previous periods, figurines are used mainly in sanctuaries, they were also later deposited within the sacred space (i.e. in bothroi in Kition). The examples from Enkomi depict a new ritual connected with dance and music and involving mainly females in a company of sexless or male figurines (the only gender characteristic is helmet/pointed bonnet). Later, dual sexed and sexless Cypriot GWUAs further demonstrate the fluidity of gender ideologies in the Early Iron Age, a period when a new culture emerged, with a sense of continuity but embracing also influences from East and West.

**Dynamic approach to figurines**

Last, but not least, a dynamic approach to GWUA figures and figurines has opened new possibilities of interpretation, from the depiction of a performance (e.g. a ritual dance) to the usage in performance, like a communal procession or an act of private offering. GWUAs evoked different thoughts and served various purposes by being handled and displayed in a variety of ways, as discussed throughout this study. Bailey summed up the problems evoked by modern studies of figurines in these words,

> As stimulants for thought about ourselves and our relationships with others, figurines are best defined as philosophies. As philosophies, figurines have no exact meaning or function. (…) It is most probable that any one figurine

was understood, used if you wish, in different ways by different people, or by the same person in different contexts and different places. (2005: 84-85).

Thus, modern scholars studying figurines and figures are aware of their changing cultural biographies and that their meaning is not embodied in them but changes during their use-life. These biographies do not end with the deposition of the figurines/figures, but are renewed when they are excavated and later displayed in museums and galleries. Modern interpretations, including the one presented in this thesis, also become a part of the cultural biographies of the studied objects. Figurines and figures, more than anything else, serve as a bridge between past societies and ours, and bring us together as a community of people who experience the same things, even if we understand them differently.

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**Abbreviations**

*AAA – Athens Annals of Archaeology*

*ADelt - Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*

*AJA – American Journal of Archaeology*

*AOAT - Alter Orient und Altes Testament*

*AR – Archaeological Reports*

*ASAtene - Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni italiane in Oriente*

*BdA - Bollettino d'arte*

*BICS - Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*

*BCH – Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*

*BSA – Annual of the British School at Athens*

*BN - Bulletin de numismatique*

*CAJ - Cambridge Archaeological Journal*

*IEJ – Israel Exploration Journal*

*JCS – Journal of Cuneiform Studies*

*JANES – Journal of the Ancient Near East Society of Columbia University*

*JMA – Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*

*JNES – Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

*KretKhron – Κρητικά Χρονικά*

*NEA – Near Eastern Archaeology*

*OpAth – Opuscula Atheniensis*

*Praktika - Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρίας*

*RDAC - Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*

*SIMA – Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology*

*SMEA - Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici*

*TUAS - Temple University Aegean Symposium*

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# Appendix A

## Database

| catalogue number | height | preservation | technology | paint |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A1 | 24.0 | fragmentary reconstructed | wheelmade | blacka pararell lines, traces of red on the neck |
| A10 | 10.0 | fragment - arm | handmade | blacka bands, red paint for the hand |
| A11 | 7.0 | fragment - arm | handmade | black bands |
| A12 | 12.0 | good | handmade | black bands |
| A13 | 10.2 | good | handmade | black bands, diagonals on chest |
| A14 | 8.5 | fragment - arm | handmade | black bands, three black swastikas |
| A15 | 7.5 | fragment - arm | handmade | black bands |
| A16 | 7.0 | fragment - hand | handmade | red |
| A17 | 5.0 | fragment - head | handmade | black and red for facial characteristics |
| A18 | 11.0 | good | handmade | black bands, diagonals on chest |
| A19 | 5.8 | good | handmade | black bands, diagonals on chest |
| A2 | 22.5 | fragmentary reconstructed | wheelmade | black pararell lines |
| A20 | 7.0 | good | wheelmade | black bands |
| A21 | 11.0 | good | handmade | black diagonals on chest |
| A22 | 18.0 | fragmentary reconstructed | handmade | black bands, diagonals on chest |
| A23 | 16.3 | good | handmade | black bands |
| A24 | 22.0 | good | handmade | black and red for facial characteristics |
| A25 | 23.5 | good | wheelmade | black bands, diagonals on chest, black and red for facial characteristics |
| A26 | 14.0 | good | handmade | black diagonals on chest |
| A27 | 21.0 | good | handmade | black bands, diagonals on chest, black and red for facial characteristics |
| A28 | 10.5 | good | handmade | black bands and facial characteristics |
| A29 | 36.2 | good | handmade | traces |
| A3 | 17.5 | good | handmade | traces |
| A30 | 15.0 | good | handmade | none |
| A31 | 22.5 | good | handmade | black bands |
| A32 | 6.5 | fragment - torso | handmade | traces |
| A33 | 8.6 | fragment - torso | handmade | black bands, diagonals on chest |
| A34 | 8.7 | fragment - torso and an arm | handmade | traces |
| A35 | 22.5 | good | handmade | black bands, diagonals on chest, black painted genitals |
| A36 | 15.0 | fragmentary | handmade | traces |
| A37 | 3.5 | fragment - head | handmade | traces |
| A38 | 8.0 | fragment - head | handmade | black and red for facial characteristics |
| A39 | 3.2 | fragment - head | handmade | traces |
| A4 | 8.0 | fragmentary | handmade | red bands, row of dots |
| A40 | 6.0 | fragment - hand | handmade | traces |
| A41 | 5.5 | fragment - foot | handmade | traces |
| A42 | 7.0 | fragment - head | handmade | black and red for facial characteristics |
| A43 | 15.0 | fragmentary | wheelmade | traces |
| A44 | 10.2 | fragment - hand | handmade | traces |
| A45 | 17.0 | fragment - head | handmade | traces |
| A46 | 15.0 | fragment - head | handmade | traces |
| A47 | 13.2 | good | wheelmade | traces |
| A48 | 14.0 | good | wheelmade | black bands, diagonals on chest, black and red for facial characteristics |
| A49 | 11.0 | good | wheelmade | black bands and facial characteristics |
| A5 | 9.0 | fragmentary | handmade | none |
| A50 | 10.2 | fragmentary | wheelmade | traces |
| A51 | 13.8 | good | handmade | black bands, black and red for facial characteristics |
| A6 | 14.5 | fragmentary reconstructed | handmade | orange bands |
| A7 | 12.3 | good | handmade | black bands, red band round the body, diagonals on chest |
| A8 | 10.8 | fragmentary | handmade | black bands, diagonals on chest |
| A9 | 4.6 | fragment - hand | handmade | black bands |

| catalogue number | gender | figures no. | bibliography |
|---|---|---|---|
| | female | III.6A/D | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 1-3 plate XIV Karageorghis (1993) fig. 1 plate XXVII |
| | unknown | III.8C | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 7 plate I |
| | unknown | III.8C | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 6 plate I |
| | female | III.8A/B | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 5 plate II |
| | female | III.8A/B | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 1-2 plate III |
| | unknown | III.8C | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 3 plate III |
| | unknown | III.8C | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 4-5 plate III |
| | unknown | III.8C | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 6 plate III |
| | unknown | III.8C | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 7-9 plate III |
| | female | III.8C | Karageorghis, J. (2005) fig. 131 |
| | dual | III.20 | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 2 plate II Karageorghis (1993) fig. 9 plate XXVII |
| | female | III.6A/C | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 4-6 plate XIV |
| | sexless | III.19 | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 8 plate II |
| | female | III.19 | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 7 plate II |
| | female | III.19 | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 1 plate II |
| | dual | III.18A/B | Karageorghis (1993) fig. 3 plate XXXVII |
| | female | III.22 | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 1-2 plate IV |
| | female | III.22 | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 3 plate IV |
| | female | III.24 | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 4 plate IV |
| | female | III.26 | Karageorghis, (1977-1978) fig. 3-4 plate V |
| | female | III.23 | Gjerstad (1963) fig. 39 |
| | dual | III.23 | Gjerstad (1963) fig. 42 |
| | female | III.6A/B | Karageorghis (1993) fig. 3 plate XXVII Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 7-8 plate XIV |
| | female | III.21A | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 5 plate VI |
| | female | III.21A | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 1 plate VIII |
| | female | III.21A | Hermary (2000) fig. 1 plate 1 |
| | female | III.21A | Hermary (2000) fig. 2 plate 1 |
| | female | III.21A | Hermary (2000) fig. 3 plate 1 |
| | female | III.17 | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 2 plate VII |
| | female | III.17 | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 3 plate VII |
| | unknown | III.7B | Dikaios 1971: 736 fig 2 plate 3 |
| | unknown | III.7B | Dikaios 1971: 726 fig 5 plate 5 |
| | unknown | III.7B | Schaeffer 1971: 328-343 |
| | female | III.7A | Dikaios (1969) fig. 3 plate 137 |
| | unknown | III.7A | Schaeffer 1971: 328-343 |
| | unknown | III.7A | Schaeffer 1971: 328-343 |
| | unknown | III.7A | Schaeffer 1971: 335 |
| | female | III.8C | Smith 2009: 128 |
| | unknown | III.8C | Smith 2009: 127 |
| | unknown | III.8C | Smith 2009: 127 |
| | unknown | III.8C | Smith 2009: 128 |
| | dual | III.21B | Karageorghis 1993: 25 |
| | dual | III.21B | Karageorghis 1993: 25 |
| | ambiguous | III.14A | Karageorghis 1993: 79; Vandenabeele 1973: 55 |
| | female? | III.7C | Dikaios (1969) fig. 4 plate 137 |
| | ambiguous | III.14B | Karageorghis 1993: 79 |
| | dual | III.14C | Karageorghis 1993: 80 |
| | female | III.8C | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 2 plate I |
| | female | III.8C | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 3 plate II |
| | female? | III.8C | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 3 plate I |
| | unknown | III.8C | Karageorghis (1977-1978) fig. 5 plate I |

# Appendix B

## List of sites

# LIST OF SITES

## CRETE

**B.1** Ayia Triada

**B.2** Chania

**B.3** Gazi

**B.4** Gournia

**B.5** Halasmenos

**B.6** Kannia

**B.7** Karphi

**B.8** Kavousi Vronda

**B.9** Kephala Vasilikis

**B.10** Knossos

**B.12** Prinias

**B.13** Pankalokhori

**B.14** Sakhtouria

When possible the find spots (or areas) are marked.


B2
B14
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B10
B12
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B1
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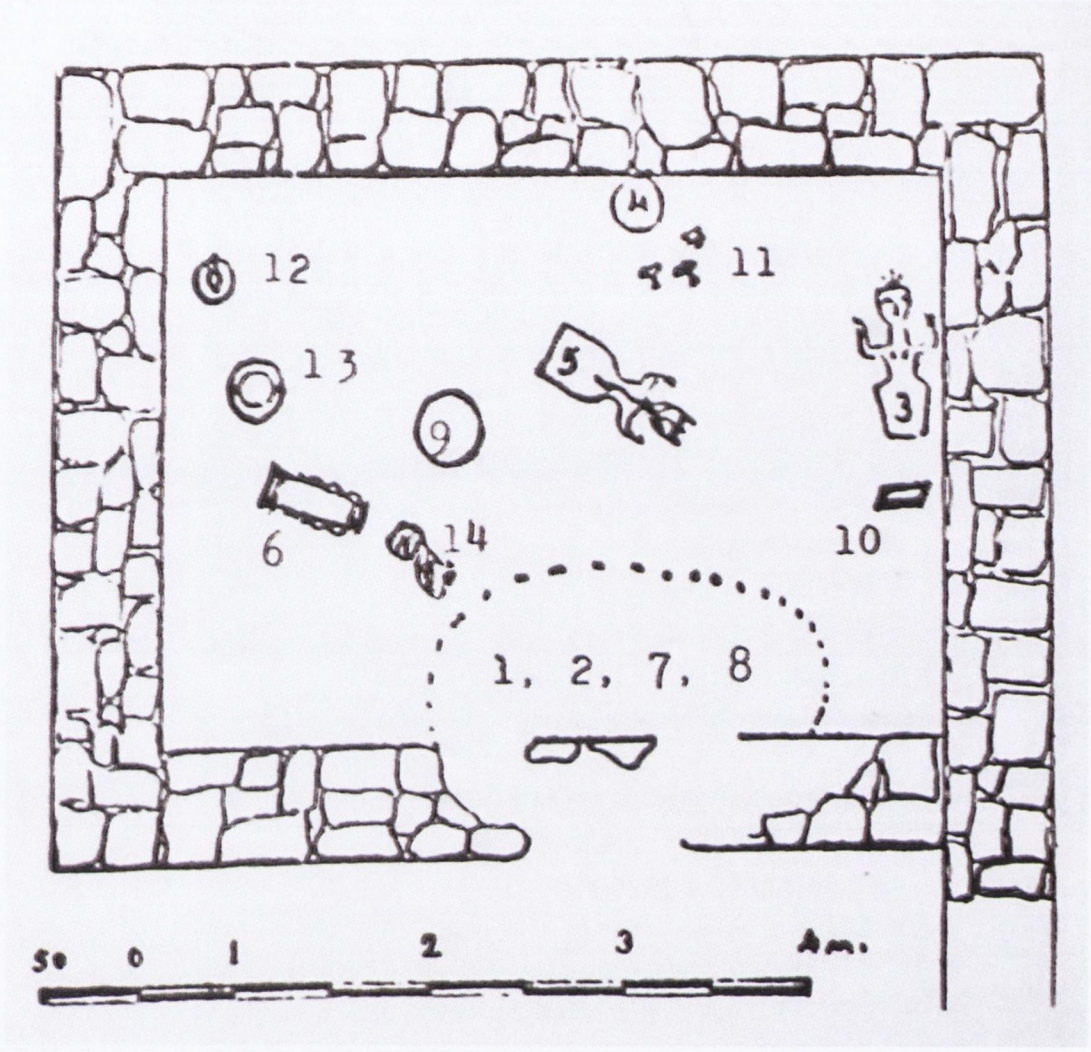
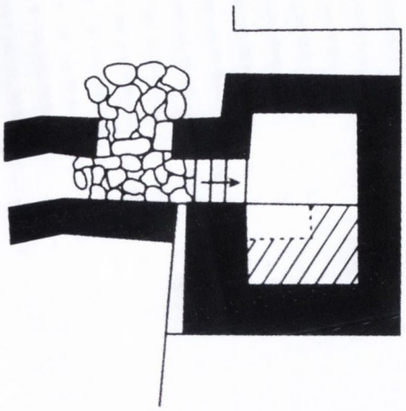
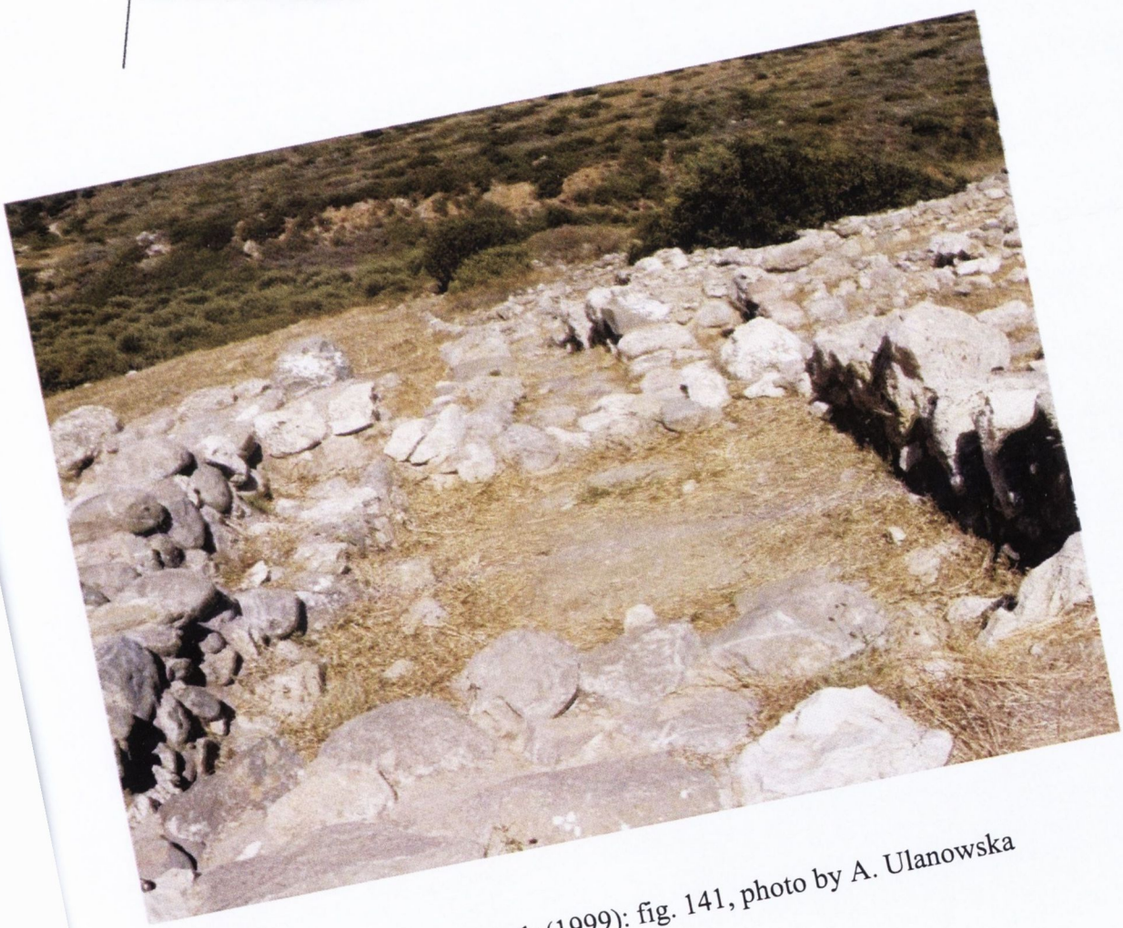
B5

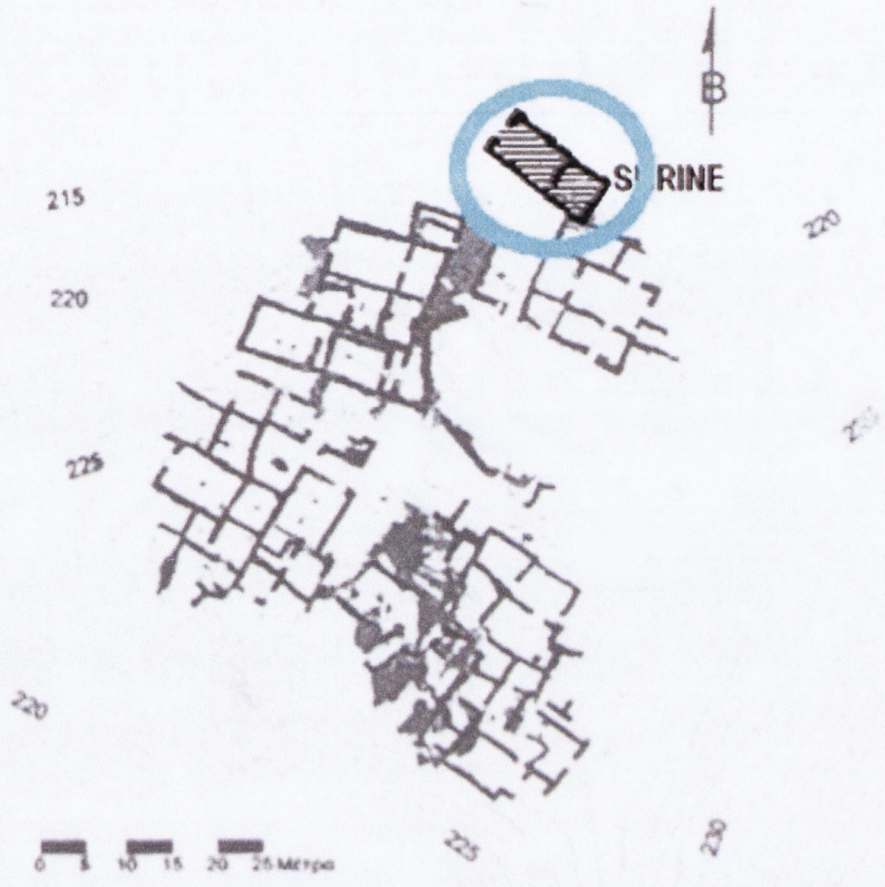



**B.3.** after Gesell (1985) fig. 3

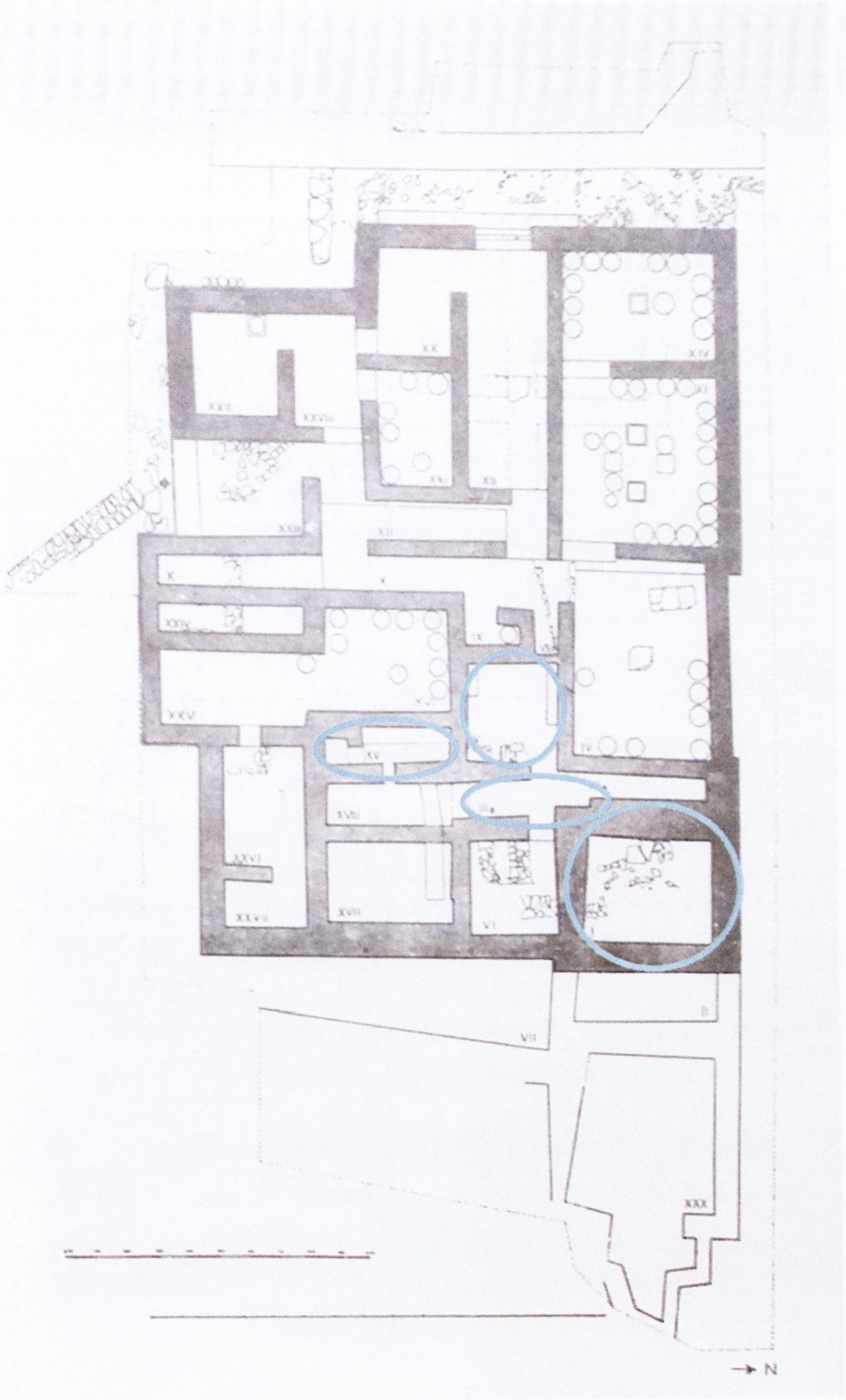




**B.4** after Preziosi and Hitchcock (1999): fig. 141, photo by A. Ulanowska




**B.5** after Tsipopoulou (2004): fig. 2




**B.6** after Levi (1959): fig. 12



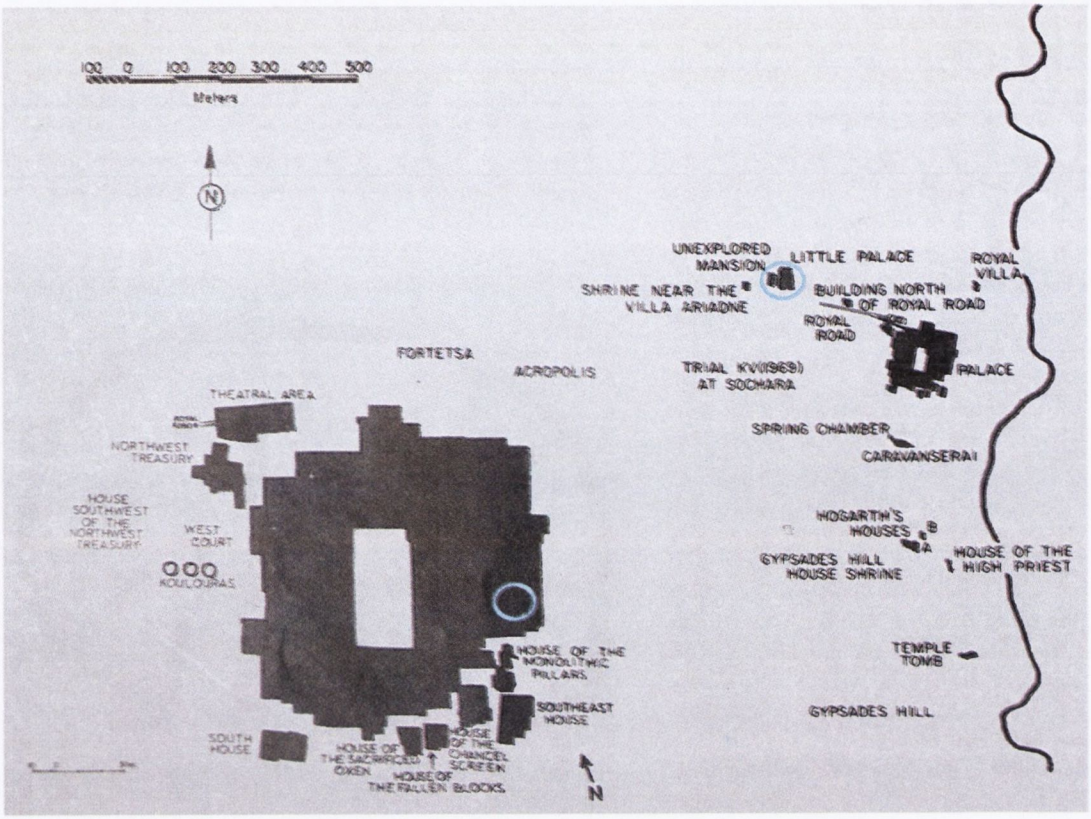

**B.7** after Pendelbury *et al.* (1937): pl. IX



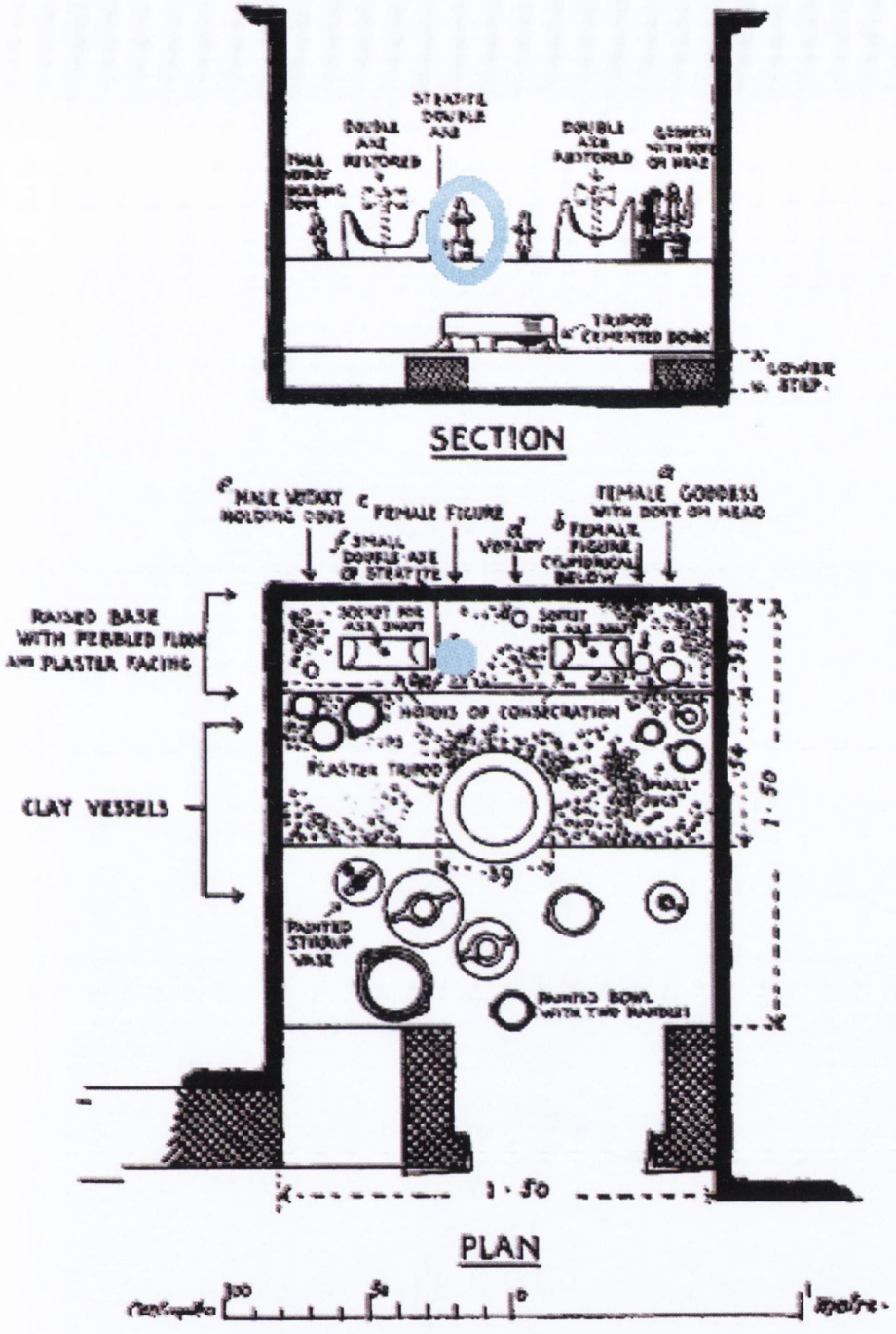

**B.8** after Gesell, Preston & Coulson 1991: fig. 1



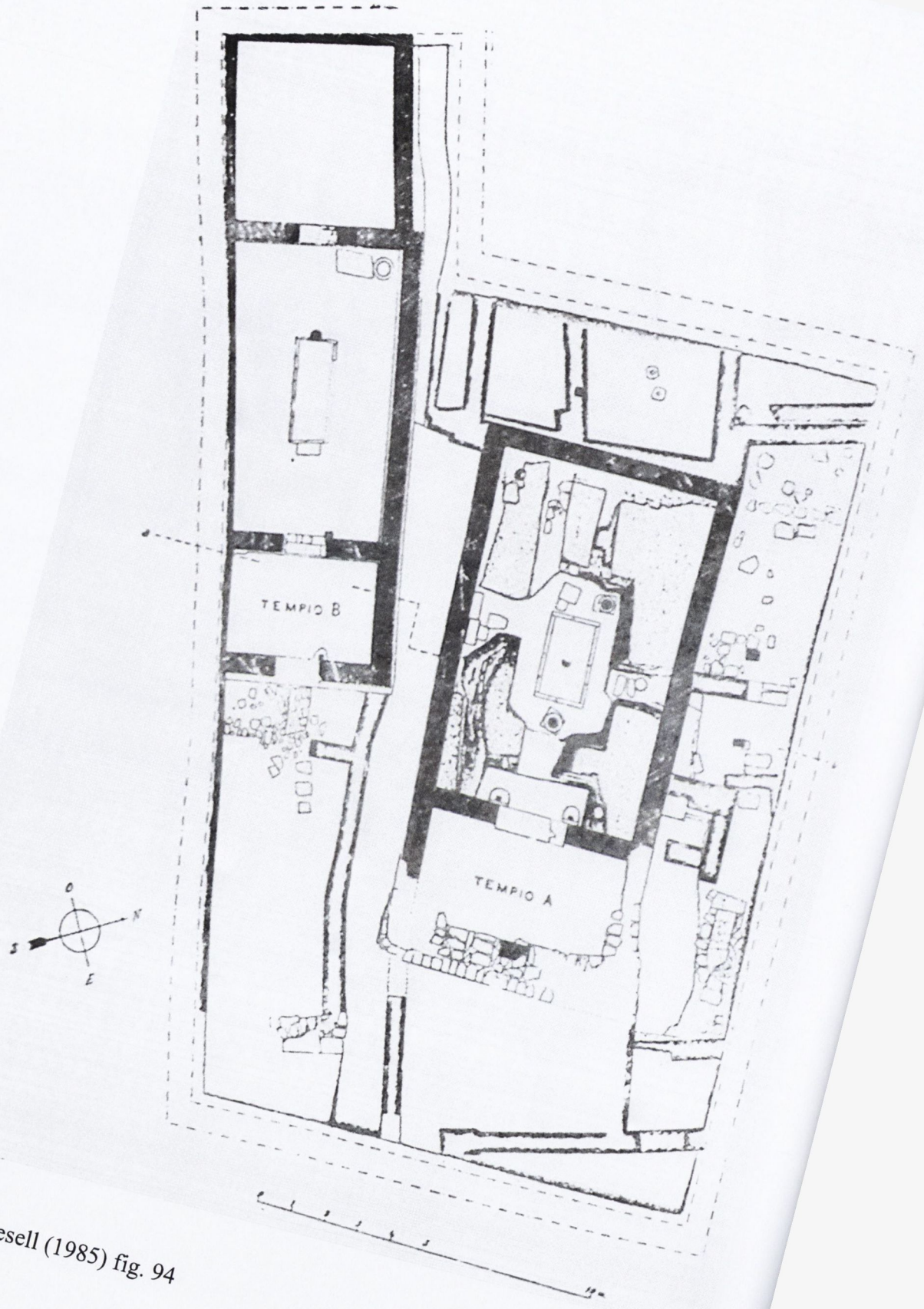
**B.9** after Rehak and Younger 2001: fig. 8




**B.9a** Unexplored Mansion and the shrine, after Gesell (1985) fig. 17




**B.9b** Double Axes shrine, after Evans (1902) fig.190




**B.12** after Gesell (1985) fig. 94

# CYPRUS

**B.15** Amathus

**B.16** Ayia Irini

**B.17** Ayios Iakovos

**B. 18** Enkomi

**B. 19** Idalion

**B.20** Kition

**B. 21** Korovia

**B. 22** Lapithos

**B. 23** Limassol-*Komissariato*

**B. 24** Morphou Toumba tou Skourou

**B. 25** Ormidhia

**B. 26** Palaepaphos

**B. 27** Yeroskipou

When possible the find spots (or areas) are marked.


B22
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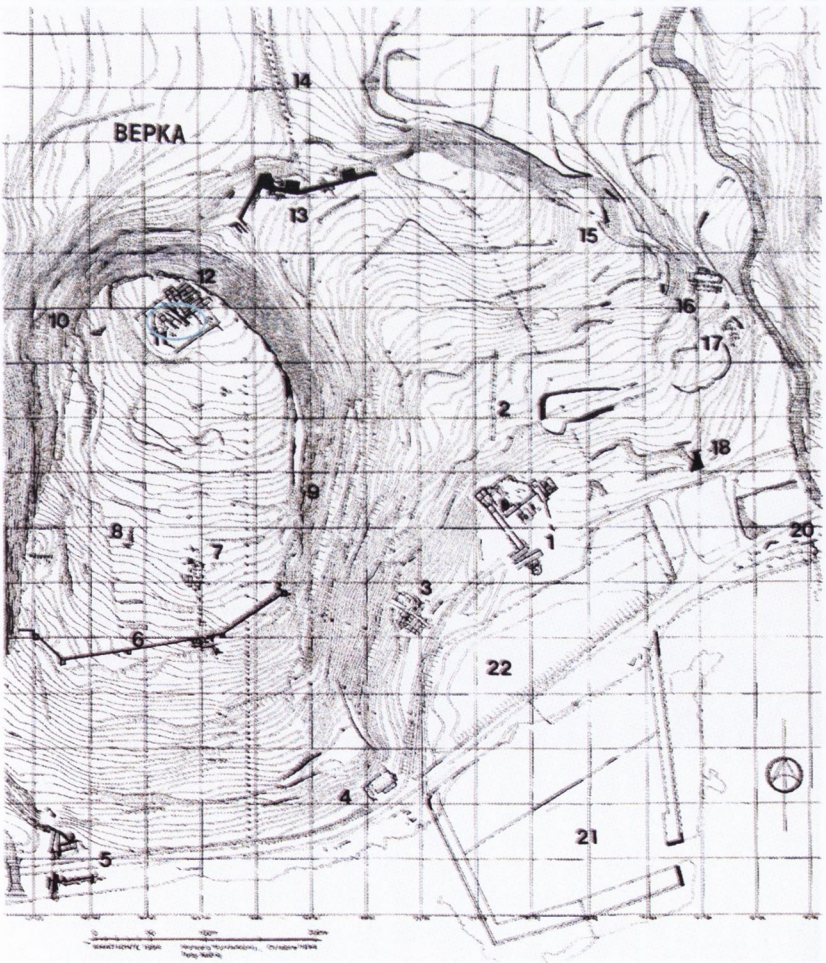
B27

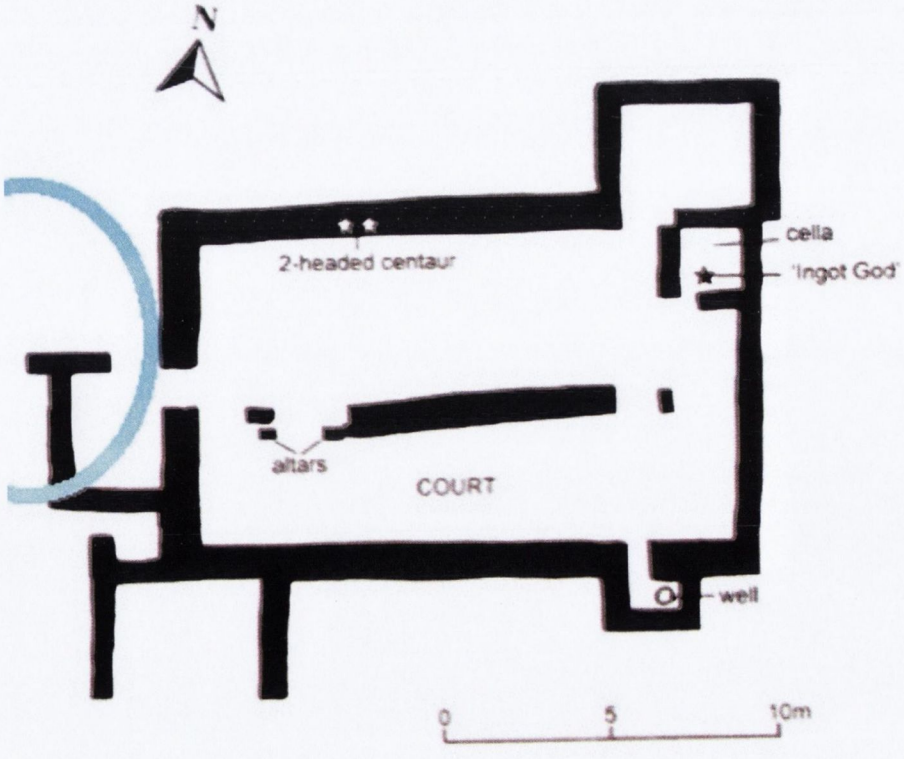


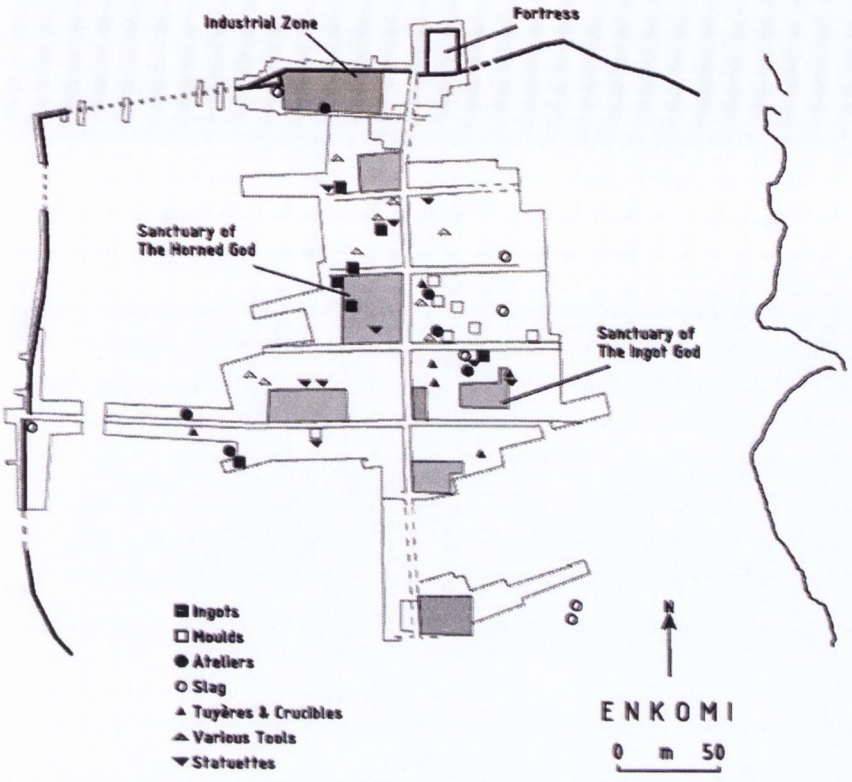



**B.15** Amathus, Google Maps, plan after J. Karageorghis 2005: fig. 71

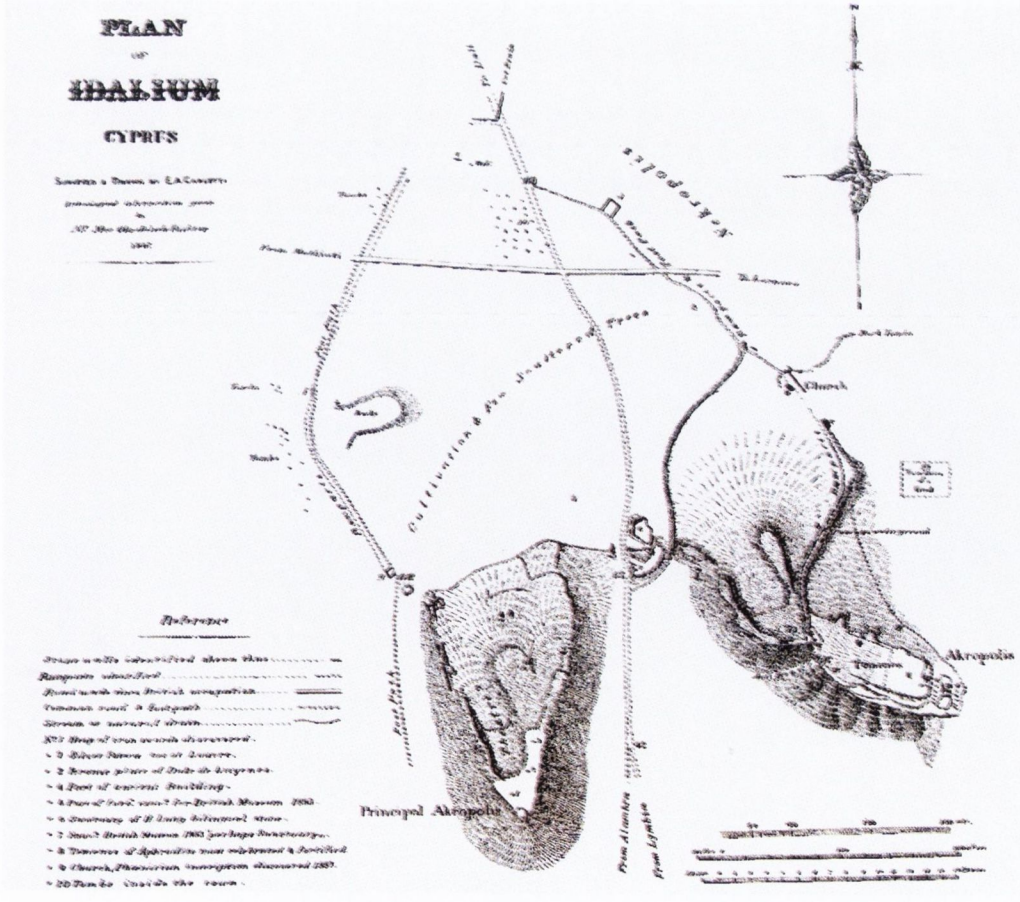


**B.17** Ayios Iakovos, satellite picture after Google Maps





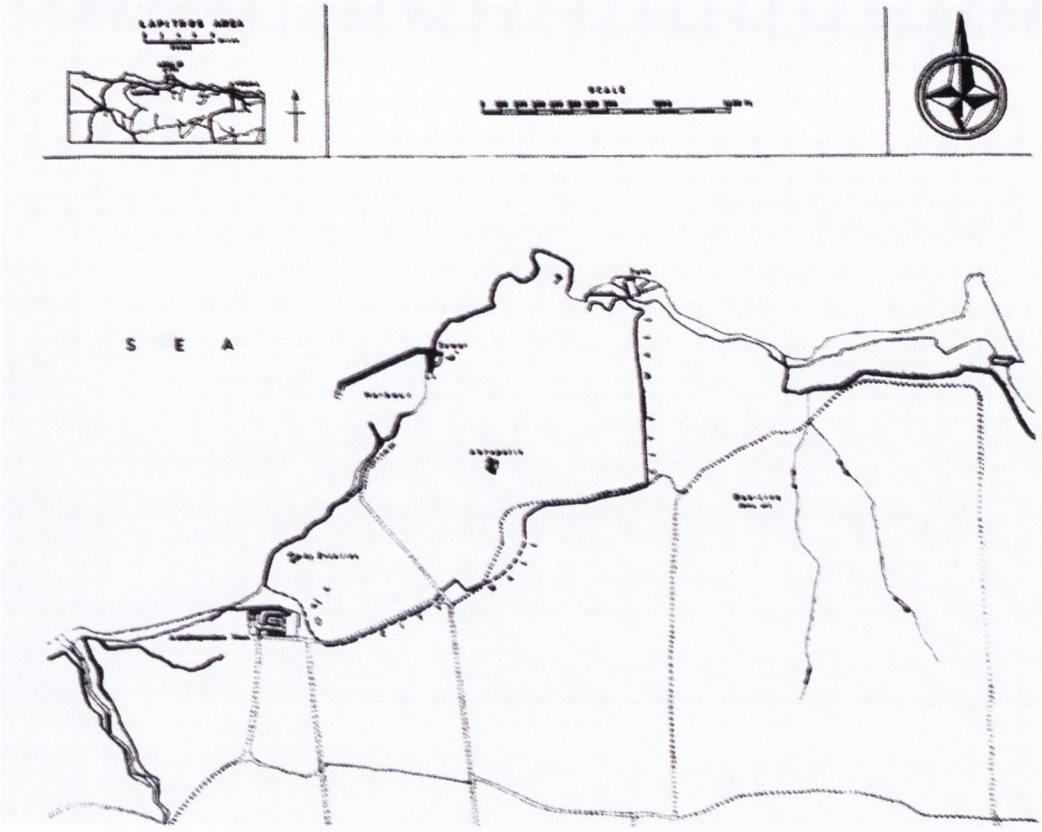

**B.18** after Steel (2004) fig. 7.7, and Knapp (2008) fig. 42



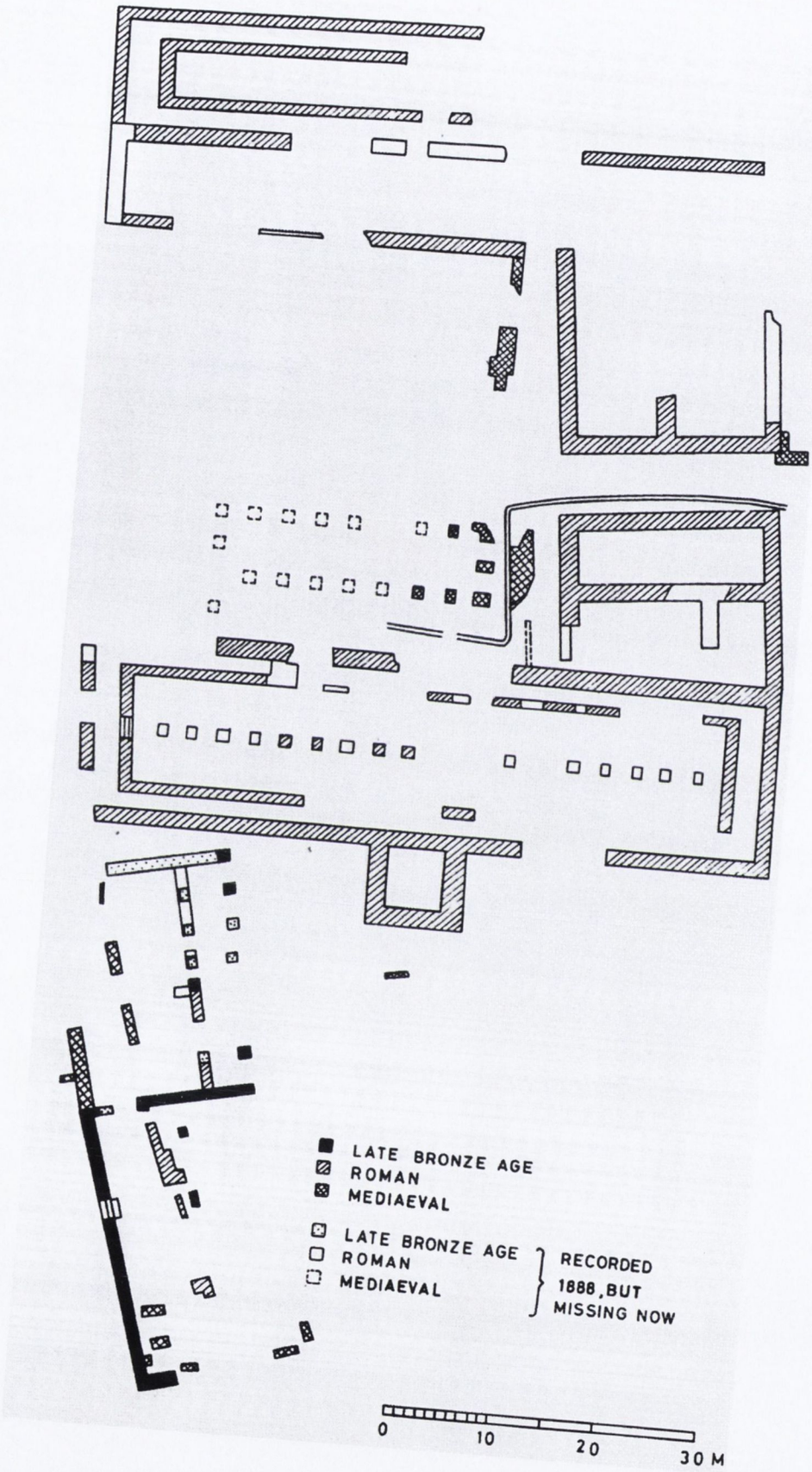

**B.19** after J. Karageorghis 2005: fig. 207




**B.20** after Karageorghis (1985): plan V, (1976): fig. 18




**B.22** after J. Karageorghis 2005: fig. 262




**B. 26** after Maier and Karageorghis (1984): fig. 245