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# **KOSMOS**

## **JEWELLERY, ADORNMENT AND TEXTILES IN THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE**

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# SIMPLY DIVINE: THE JEWELLERY, DRESS AND BODY ADORNMENT OF THE MYCENAEAN CLAY FEMALE FIGURES IN LIGHT OF NEW EVIDENCE FROM MYCENAE\*

*for Professor S. Iakovidis  
ab imo pectore*

The clay Mycenaean anthropomorphic figures form a distinct group of objects whose role is closely associated with religious practice,<sup>1</sup> as most complete examples came to light in the premises of the sanctuaries in Phylakopi, Mycenae and Tiryns.<sup>2</sup>

The clay Mycenaean figures fall in two broad categories, type A and type B, according to E. French.<sup>3</sup> Type B figures have monochrome bodies with reserved areas for the facial characteristics and added plastic features. This type is essentially restricted in a singular group from a single site, including, as it is, the twenty-one figures from the Temple Complex in Mycenae, which have been interpreted as cult celebrants.<sup>4</sup>

The vast majority of Mycenaean figures falls under type A. They form a much more diverse and abundant group and they appear frequently among the cultic equipment of large sanctuaries and smaller shrines, where they stood at the focus of cultic activity probably as cult images.<sup>5</sup> They were receiving attention displayed on benches, and may have been carried

\* I wish to express my gratitude to the organizers of the conference for accepting my contribution and for carrying out the Kosmos conference in unprecedented adverse circumstances.

1 See recently G. ALBERS, "Figures and figurines in Mycenaean sanctuaries: find distributions and contexts," in A.-L. SCHALLIN and P. PAKKANEN (eds), *Encounters with Mycenaean figures and figurines. Papers presented at a seminar at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 27-28 April 2001* (2009) 85-98; H. WHITTAKER, "The cultic function of Mycenaean anthropomorphic terracotta figures," in *Encounters with Mycenaean figures and figurines (op. cit.)* 99-111. Also C. RENFREW *et al.*, *The Archaeology of Cult, The Sanctuary at Phylakopi* (BSA Suppl. 18, 1985) 413-415; H.W. CATLING, "A Mycenaean Terracotta Figure from the Menelaion," *BSA* 90 (1995) 189; K. DEMAPOULOU, "A Mycenaean Terracotta Figure from Midea in the Argolid," in Ph. BETANCOURT, V. KARAGEORGHIS, R. LAFFINEUR and W.-D. NIEMEIER (eds), *MELETEMATA. Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters his 65<sup>th</sup> Year*, *Aegaeum* 20 (1999) 202-203.

2 Appendix numbers (App. nos.) refer to the appendix at the end of this paper where references are given for all Mycenaean clay figures. For Phylakopi see App. nos. 89-113, for Mycenae App. nos. 1-28 and for Tiryns App. nos. 29-46. See recent overviews of the evidence in J. WRIGHT, "The Spatial Configuration of Belief: The Archaeology of Mycenaean Religion," in S. ALCOCK and R. OSBORNE (eds), *Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece* (1994) 37-78, esp. 61-62; G. ALBERS, *Spätmykenische 'Stadtheiligtümer': Systematische Analyse und vergleichende Auswertung der archäologischen Befunde* (1994); C.W. SHELMEIRDINE, "Review of Aegean Prehistory VI: The Palatial Bronze Age of the Southern and Central Greek Mainland," *AJA* 101 (1997) 570-580, esp. 577-578; H. WHITTAKER, *Mycenaean Cult Buildings, A Study of their Architecture and Function in the Context of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean* (1997); S. LUPACK, "Mycenaean Religion," in E.H. CLINE (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Bronze Age Aegean* (2010) 263-276, esp. 270. The presence of figures is considered a primary criterion for identifying cult activity according to K. KILIAN in R. HÄGG and N. MARINATOS (eds), *Sanctuaries and Cults. Proceedings of the First International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 12-13 May 1980* (1981) 209, 216. WHITTAKER (*supra* n. 1) 108-109, stresses their association with the cult practiced by the Mycenaean ruling elite.

3 E. FRENCH, "Mycenaean Figures and Figurines, their typology and function," in *Sanctuaries and Cults (supra* n. 2) 173; E. FRENCH, "The Mycenae Figures," in *POTNIA*, 275-276.

4 App. no. 26. Type B figures were not cult images, according to A.D. MOORE and W.D. TAYLOR, *The Temple Complex (Well Built Mycenae 10, 1999)* 93-101; see also A. MOORE, "The Large Monochrome Terracotta Figures from Mycenae: The Problem of Interpretation," in E.B. FRENCH and K.A. WARDLE (eds), *Problems in Greek Prehistory* (1988) 219-225; FRENCH (*supra* n. 3, *POTNIA*). Recently WHITTAKER (*supra* n. 1) 101-106 advocated the view that they too represent deities and functioned as cult images. A small base fragment from the Tiryns syringes deposit (App. no. 44) is reportedly coming from a type B figure.

5 ALBERS (*supra* n. 1) 97, proves the figures' special function, probably as recipients of ritual action, through a thorough analysis of their primary contexts; WHITTAKER (*supra* n. 1) 101: "there would seem to be

around in processions outside their regular place of deposit.

In this paper I attempt to trace another possible aspect of the cultic use and identity of type A figures through the examination of their form and adornment in combination with contemporary contextual and iconographic evidence.

Mycenaean figures of type A are clay anthropomorphic objects with a roughly cylindrical, wheel-made body and added plastic and painted features of the human anatomy and appearance. It is their larger size and their wheel-made bodies that set them apart from the much more abundant Mycenaean figurines, with which they present significant similarities.<sup>6</sup>

All figures are to be considered female or at least human in a neutral sort of way, unless their male features are explicitly stated.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, very little evidence exists for male figures, essentially limited to the five males of the sanctuary at Phylakopi and the fragment of a figure from Tiryns.<sup>8</sup>

The clay female figures come from various sites in the mainland and the islands, primarily from cultic contexts, thus proving that their use in Mycenaean cult was a well established phenomenon.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, the fact that they appear from LH IIIA to LH IIIC, indicates a significant degree of consistency in their use in the palatial and post-palatial period.<sup>10</sup>

When we think of Mycenaean female figures we tend to bring in mind the best known so-called 'Ladies', which amount to about a dozen examples. But a closer look at this material reveals that, in point of fact, a much larger number of such figures exists, amounting to over 100 pieces,<sup>11</sup> 22 of which are complete or nearly complete.<sup>12</sup>

A quick look at the Mycenaean figures betrays a high degree of individuality, which could be reflecting differences of identity. But after a careful study of all the complete and fragmentary pieces, a morphological and decorative type emerges: a type with very specific characteristics for the representation of this female image, which persists beyond the different treatment of the individuals who modeled these objects, and does not preclude possible individual identity features.

The definition of this type provides valuable insight for the identity and use of the figures, so I shall briefly review and comment on its basic morphological characteristics.

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general agreement that the type A figures represent deities and may have functioned as cult images." See also MOORE and TAYLOUR (*supra* n. 4) 89-93; RENFREW *et al.* (*supra* n. 1) 373, 415: "It is indeed possible [...] that all the large female figures in the Aegean originally served as cult figures in shrines." *Contra* this, see S. MORRIS, "Prehistoric Iconography and Historical Sources: Hindsight Through Texts," in *EIKΩN*, 209, suggesting a votive and funerary (alluding to dead ancestors) character; on the difficulty of distinguishing between cult image and votive, see RENFREW *op. cit.* 22-23; R. LAFFINEUR, "Seeing is believing: Reflections on Divine Imagery in the Aegean Bronze Age," in *POTNIA*, 388.

6 MOORE and TAYLOUR (*supra* n. 4) 89; FRENCH (*supra* n. 3, *POTNIA*) 275. A. TAMVAKI, "Some Unusual Mycenaean Terracottas from the Citadel House Area," *BSA* 68 (1973) 258, suggests that figurines may have acted as "cheap substitutes for large religious figures." WRIGHT (*supra* n. 2) 75-76 elaborates on this notion: "Among other things the figurines may have symbolized the figures at Cult Centres and thereby provided a symbolic link to the seat of the cult at the citadel centres."

7 E. FRENCH, "The Figures and Figurines," in RENFREW *et al.* (*supra* n. 1) 211.

8 App. nos. 100-104 (Phylakopi), 46 (Tiryns). The Tiryns fragment found in an unstratified deposit comes from a half life-size figure and in this respect recalls the Amyklaion figure fragment of a hand holding a kylix (App. no. 60). Five more possible male figures are noted: App. nos. 105 (Phylakopi), 22 (Mycenae), 28 (Mycenae?), 117-118 (unknown provenience). RENFREW (*supra* n. 1) 420-424; the Phylakopi males differ from their female counterparts in the representation of separate legs and genitalia and more notably they present a constructional difference in having handmade solid bodies.

9 Only two Mycenaean figures are associated with funerary contexts. App. no. 1 is reportedly coming from chamber tomb 40 in the Agriosyia cemetery, Mycenae, excavated by C. Tsountas. App. no. 114 is a fragmentary head (of Minoan type?) from chamber tomb 80 in Rhodes.

10 One may follow the development of the type from the LH IIIA figures (App. nos. 3, 6, 89, 97) through LH IIIB (App. nos. 2, 5, 7, 47) to LH IIIC (App. nos. 29-33).

11 See Appendix and *infra* Note to the Appendix. Some are notably overlooked in related literature, like App. nos. 18, 39, 69.

12 App. nos. 1-7, 27 (Mycenae), 29-33, 39-40 (Tiryns), 47 (Midea), 54 (Tsoungiza), 55 (Menelaion), 73 (Aigina), 89, 91-92 (Phylakopi).

*Size* – Clay Mycenaean female figures range in height from 14,5 cm. (Menelaion) to 45 cm. ('Lady of Phylakopi'), but their average height is 25-30 cm.<sup>13</sup> They are obviously larger than figurines and their size does not preclude their use as cult statues.<sup>14</sup>

*Gender* – It was obviously important to denote the gender of the figures, which is why in all cases the breasts are plastically rendered and almost always accentuated with paint. Besides denoting the female being, this persistent feature may also have alluded to her special attributes associated with motherhood and fertility.

*Stance* – Although figures are three dimensional objects, their form betrays that they were meant to be viewed frontally. All figures face front<sup>15</sup> and direct their gesturing towards the viewer.

*Posture* – Though seated figures are portrayed in Mycenaean iconography and most importantly seated clay figurines exist,<sup>16</sup> the clay figures are always standing upright,<sup>17</sup> in a rather uptight position, with no body movement other than their gesturing, which was evidently determinative.

*Gesture* – 'Raised arms' is the prevailing gesture of the Mycenaean clay figures,<sup>18</sup> with only four having their hands on or below their breasts.<sup>19</sup> There are also two exceptional figures which I will be discussing in detail further on, a figure with hands crossed on the chest and a kourotophos.<sup>20</sup>

*Hollow lower body* – The lower half of the body in the Mycenaean figures is always formed as a hollow stem with an open base, a practical solution for better firing and steadier standing. But it must have been more than that, if only judging by the intentionally opened bases of the two early 'pot figures' from Mycenae.<sup>21</sup> The hollow stem would have been practical for holding a figure in one's hand the way it is shown on a fresco fragment from the Mycenae Cult

13 App. nos. 55 (Menelaion), 89 (Phylakopi). Only complete examples were taken into consideration for the average height, i.e. App. nos. 1 (19 cm.), 4 (29,7 cm.), 5 (29 cm.), 30 (33 cm.), 31 (35 cm.), 32 (24 cm.), 47 (28,2 cm.), 73 (17,7 cm.), 92 (25,5 cm.). There are three exceptional fragments coming from near life-size figures, the 'Lord of Asine' head, the Amyklaion hand with kylix and snake, and the Amyklaion head fragment; App. nos. 52, 60, 61.

14 The Palaikastro kouros is 50 cm. tall; see M. MOAK, "The Palaikastro Kouros," in J.A. MACGILLIVRAY, J.M. DRIESSEN, L.H. SACKETT, *The Palaikastro Kouros. A Minoan Chryselephantine Statuette and its Aegean Bronze Age Context* (2000) 65. Cult statues in Egyptian temples are thought to have been about 30 cm. (1 foot) tall; D. LORTON, "The Theology of Cult Statues in Ancient Egypt," in M.B. DICK (ed.), *Born in Heaven, Made on Earth. The Making of the Cult Image in the Ancient Near East* (1999), 128. Hittite cult statues ranged between 22 and 44 cm.; see WHITTAKER (*supra* n. 1) 106, n. 42 with references.

15 Notable exceptions are the 'Lady of Midea', App. no. 47, and a figure from Tiryns, App. no. 31, whose slight turn of the head creates a more lively expression; see DEMAKOPOULOU (*supra* n. 1) 200; K. DEMAKOPOULOU (ed.), *The Mycenaean World. Five Centuries of Early Greek Culture* (1988) 99-101, no. 25.

16 P. REHAK, "Enthroned figures in Aegean art and the function of the Mycenaean Megaron," in *Ruler*, 95-118. M. VLASSOPOULOU-KARYDI, *Πήλινα Μυκηναϊκά Ομοιώματα Καθισμάτων και Καθιστά Ειδώλια* (2008).

17 I would not preclude the discovery of seated figures in the future; the only known fragment which could plausibly be attributed to a seated figure is App. No. 60 from Amyklaion, because of its mere size and posture (easier to model a seated than a standing half life-size figure, esp. with an extended hand) and iconographic similarity to seated figures holding vessels; see VLASSOPOULOU-KARYDI (*supra* n. 16) 38-39, figs. 4-6.

18 A gesture already popular in Minoan cultic imagery, thought to reflect the greeting and blessing of the divinity; see S. ALEXIOU, "Μινωική θεά μεθ' υψωμένων χειρών," *KretChron* 12 (1958) 243-252; G. RETHEMIOTAKIS, *Ανθρωπομορφική Πηλοπλαστική στην Κρήτη* (1998) 127; it may also be denoting power or authority, epiphany or adoration; see MOORE and TAYLOUR (*supra* n. 4) 91; RENFREW (*supra* n. 1) 23; research shows that gesture does not work as a determinant in distinguishing between divinity and adorant; M. WEDDE, "On Hierarchical Thinking in Aegean Bronze Age Glyptic Imagery," in *POLITEIA*, 496; C.G. THOMAS and M. WEDDE, "Desperately Seeking Potnia," in *POTNIA*, 7-8.

19 Two 'pot figures' from Mycenae (App. nos. 3, 6), the 'Hands on Breasts' figure from Mycenae (App. no. 4) and the 'Lady of Midea' (App. no. 47). The gesture accentuates the female identity and probably nurturing through breast feeding; MOORE and TAYLOUR (*supra* n. 4) 91.

20 'Lady M', App. no. 2, and the 'Brussels Lady', App. no. 27.

21 App. nos. 3, 6.

Centre.<sup>22</sup> It may also have served for the insertion of a pole<sup>23</sup> to lift a figure higher for display or to carry it in processions,<sup>24</sup> as shown on a fresco fragment from Tiryns.<sup>25</sup>

*Accentuated facial features* - The most striking morphological characteristic of all Mycenaean figures is the depiction of accentuated facial features. Even on the most schematic examples, these features stand out, rendered as naturalistically as possible, using plastic, painted and incised decoration: the ridged arch of the eyebrows,<sup>26</sup> sometimes even with the eyebrow hair drawn,<sup>27</sup> the large eyes with a denoted pupil<sup>28</sup> and even eyelashes on the 'Lady of Phylakopi',<sup>29</sup> a long nose, very often with two small holes for the nostrils,<sup>30</sup> the mouth often having painted lips with an incision to separate them.<sup>31</sup>

The chin is pointed and protruding, in some cases even painted, and emphasis is paid in the formation of the ears, which were obviously considered very important. About half the existing figures' heads have plastic and painted ears, at times protruding in a rather unnatural manner,<sup>32</sup> while some even have ear holes.<sup>33</sup>

I believe that the attention on the naturalistic depiction of the facial features is not a mere wish to have an anthropomorphic image with a lively expression but reveals a need to display the figure's heightened senses,<sup>34</sup> in order to establish the best possible communication

- 22 A miniature female figure is carried in the hands of a large seated goddess; G. MYLONAS, *The Cult Center of Mycenae* (1972) 32-33, 39, pl. XIV and I. KRITSELI-PROVIDI, *Οι Τοιχογραφίες του Θρησκευτικού Κέντρου των Μυκηναίων* (1982) 41-42, pl. 6a, suggest that a clay figure votive offering is depicted in the hands of a goddess. Several scholars reject this identification considering the small female a living young girl; *Aegean Painting*, 119, MY no. 4, fig. 33a; P. REHAK, "Children's Work: Girls as Acolytes in Aegean Ritual and Cult," in A. COHEN and J. RUTTER (eds), *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy (Hesperia Suppl. 41, 2007)*, 222; note the various reconstructions suggested by B.R. JONES, "New Reconstructions of the 'Mykenaiia' and a Seated Woman from Mycenae," *AJA* 113 (2009) 313-318.
- 23 MYLONAS (*supra* n. 22) 30, 39, suggested that type B figures may have been carried on poles in processions; MOORE rejected the use of poles but accepted the figures' display in processions; see MOORE and TAYLOUR (*supra* n. 4) 101; E. FRENCH, *Mycenae. Agamemnon's Capital* (2002) 134.
- 24 Perhaps in an occasion like the Linear B attested *te-o-po-ri-ja* in KN Ga 1058 and KN Od 696; S. HILLER, "Te-o-po-ri-ja," in *Aux origines de l'hellénisme. La Crète et la Grèce. Hommage à Henri van Effenterre* (1984) 139-150, esp. 148-150; E. ANDRIKOU, "Μυκηναϊκή ανθρωπόμορφη κεφαλή από την Καδμεία. Σκέψεις για τα είδωλα και την *te-o-po-ri-ja*," in *Δώρον. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Σπύρο Ιακωβίδη* (2009) 33-36. Note also a scene of procession on a larnax from Tanagra where the leading woman carries a figure in an evidently funerary ritual; T. SPYROPOULOS, "Ανασκαφή μυκηναϊκής Τανάγρας," *PAE* (1974) 12-14, pl. 10a.
- 25 C. BOULOTIS, "Zur Deutung des Freskofragmentes Nr. 103 aus der Tirynther Frauenprozession," *ArchKorrBlatt* 9 (1979) 59-67, esp. 63, fig. 1; *Aegean Painting*, 114, 202, Ti No. 4, fig. 33b.
- 26 Emphasized eyebrow arch on App. nos. 4, 5, 17, 19 (Mycenae), 31 (Tiryns), 47, 50 (Midea), 52 (Asine), 65 (Athens), 71 (Aiani), 73 (Aigina), 89 (Phylakopi), 114 (Rhodes), 116 (unknown provenience).
- 27 App. nos. 5 (Mycenae), 30, 31 (Tiryns), 65 (Athens), 89 (Phylakopi), 114 (Rhodes).
- 28 See esp. App. nos. 32, 34 (Tiryns), 47, 50 (Midea), 65 (Athens). The so-called 'Dame of Nichoria,' App. no. 64, may have had pupils made of other material, perhaps glass. Two type B figures had small cavities in their eyes, one of which had preserved "some crystal-like remains", perhaps from filling with glass; see MOORE and TAYLOUR (*supra* n. 4) 49.
- 29 App. no. 89.
- 30 Nostrils depicted in App. nos. 4, 17 (Mycenae), 28 (Mycenae?), 30 (Tiryns), 47 (Midea), 52 (Asine) 65 (Athens), 67 (Thebes), 71 (Aiani), 116, 118 (unknown provenience).
- 31 See for instance App. nos. 5 (Mycenae) and 31 (Tiryns). App. no. 71 (Aiani) has no mouth, while the 'Lord of Asine' head, App. no. 52, has a half-opened mouth, as if about to speak.
- 32 See App. nos. 28 (Mycenae?), 30 (Tiryns), 114 (Rhodes). See also App. nos. 1, 6, 17, 19 (Mycenae), 50 (Midea), 67 (Thebes).
- 33 App. nos. 4 (Mycenae), 30, 31, 32 (Tiryns), 52 (Asine), 118 (unknown provenience). NICHOLLS (talking of Cretan figures with ear holes) observed that "there is no technical necessity for these and it can only be assumed that their role is simply 'all the better to hear with' ", see R.V. NICHOLLS, "Greek votive statuettes and religious continuity, c.1200-700 B.C.," in *Auckland Classical Essays presented to E.M. Blaiklock* (1970) 4. Note also the ear holes on the ivory male head, probably from a cult statue, from Room 31 in the Cult Centre; S. HOOD, *The Arts in Prehistoric Greece* (1978) fig. 115; FRENCH (*supra* n. 23) 92, col. pl. 13.
- 34 This of course doesn't explain the importance of the chin, a point on which I return in the examination of the figures' facial decoration. The desire to produce an impressive face may lie behind the gold sheet miniature mask from Phylakopi which must have been fitted on a wooden or clay figure; see C. RENFREW and J.F. CHERRY, "The Other Finds," in RENFREW (*supra* n. 1) 302-303, fig. 8.2, pl. 59; A. VLACHOPOULOS, "Ακρόλιθος Μυκηναϊκός «Κούρος» από τη Γρόττα της Νάξου," in *Δώρον. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Σπύρο Ιακωβίδη* (2009) 109, n. 26.

between figure and deity or figure and adorant. This female being needed to see well with her large eyes. She needed to listen well (to prayers and incantations?) with her often oversized ears. She even needed to use her nose with nostrils (to smell the incense burned, fragrant oils, flowers or cooked food?) and have a well defined mouth (in hope to convey or answer to prayer?).

To further explore the identity and use of the clay figures, I now turn to the examination of their adornment in an effort to define better the emerging type of the female figures and explore how their special status is reflected in their dress code and overall appearance.

To begin with dress, one observes that a general rule applies, with no exceptions: all figures are wearing a long garment covering the feet. The feet are never depicted, thus giving the figures a sort of floating impression and proving that this part of their body was obviously not important. Although there is significant variety in the depiction of the garments, ranging from the schematic to the naturalistic, study reveals that three basic types of dress occur. No dress type appears to be more popular than the other, nor is there any chronological preference of one type over another; they all appear from LH IIIA to LH IIIC.

The first type of dress is a long garment without a belt, resembling a robe, whose most representative example is worn by the 'Hands on Breasts' figure from the Temple Complex at Mycenae.<sup>35</sup> The garment is elaborately decorated with dot-rosettes on each shoulder and tall papyrus plants, an interesting choice of motifs recalling the decoration of conical rhyta.<sup>36</sup> The 'Lady of Phylakopi' wears a similar impressive dress decorated with red and added white paint in a zigzag pattern that recalls flounced skirts.<sup>37</sup>

The second type of dress is a long garment with sleeves and belt, evidently pleated. Nine figures are wearing this type of garment,<sup>38</sup> which actually reproduces faithfully the schematic decoration of the smaller clay figurines with dense vertical wavy or straight lines and a band in the waist. Because of this obvious similarity and the fact that all these schematic figures seem to have raised hands, they ultimately resemble oversized Psis.

Both these types of the long garment, with or without a belt, evidently depict the same kind of dress, the Homeric *εἰνός*, which is attested in Linear B texts as a kind of cloth made of linen and of wool, offered to both female and male divinities.<sup>39</sup> The most faithful depiction of the *εἰνός* dress, as this is defined by B. Jones in her recent research, appears on one of the LH IIIC Tiryns figures;<sup>40</sup> the dress is worn without a belt and the double banding indicates the banded edges of the garment. This was obviously a special costume, since it is popular with female figures in Mycenaean religious iconography.<sup>41</sup> (

35 App. no. 4. Worn by at least seven more figures; App. nos. 30, 31, 33, 39 (Tiryns), 73, 74 (Aigina), 89 (Phylakopi).

36 Cf. DEMAKOPOULOU (*supra* n. 15, 1988) 275-276, no. 309; note the papyrus plant on the Pylona 'Master of Animals' rhyton, E. KARANTZALI, "A New Mycenaean Pictorial Rhyton from Rhodes," in V. KARAGEORGHIS and N. STAMPOLIDIS (eds), *Eastern Mediterranean. Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C., Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Rethymnon-Crete in May 1997* (1998) 87-104, esp. fig. 6a. When not suggesting a natural setting, a mythic or cultic association is intimated for the papyrus plant; see *Miniature Wall Paintings*, 24.

37 App. no. 89. FRENCH (*supra* n. 7) 215, also notes that the 'Lady of Phylakopi' is decorated like a conical rhyton. The zigzag pattern on her dress closely parallels the flounced skirt of the seated female on an ivory plaque from Mycenae and on the ivory pyxis lid from Minet el-Beida; HOOD (*supra* n. 33) fig. 122b-c.

38 App. nos. 8, 12, 15, 16 (Mycenae), 32, 40 (Tiryns), 54 (Tsoungiza), 62 (Ayios Stephanos), 91 (Phylakopi).

39 M.-L.B. NOSCH and M. PERNA, "Cloth in the Cult," in *POTNIA*, 475; B. JONES, "Veils and Mantles: An Investigation of the Construction and Function of the Costumes of the Veiled Dancer from Thera and the Camp Stool Banqueter from Knossos," in K.P. FOSTER and R. LAFFINEUR (eds), *METRON. Measuring the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 9<sup>th</sup> International Aegean Conference: New Haven, Yale University, 18-21 April 2002*, *Aegaeum* 24 (2002) 444-445.

40 App. no. 31. JONES has shown that *εἰνός* is a long Minoan type dress with a V opening at the neck and bands running along the shoulders, central front and bottom; JONES (*supra* n. 22) 318-321, fig. 15.

41 JONES (*supra* n. 22) 331. The *εἰνός* dress is worn by the miniature female held by a seated goddess on a fresco from Mycenae (*supra* n. 22), by the females of the ivory triad (A.J.B. WACE, *Mycenae. An Archaeological History and Guide* [1949] 83, figs. 101-103), by the seated goddess on the Tiryns ring (CMS I, 179) and probably by the goddesses riding the griffin chariot on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus (*Aegean Painting*, pl. 53).

The third type of dress worn by the clay female figures is a seemingly two-piece garment with a frontless blouse with sleeves and a skirt for the lower body resembling the costume worn by the 'Mykenaiā'.<sup>42</sup> This type is worn by thirteen figures, two from the Menelaion<sup>43</sup> and the rest from the Argolid.<sup>44</sup> The torso appears naked, while the skirt is banded in the Argolid, and in Menelaion it has monochrome and diverse linear decoration. The horizontal banding probably reflects the flounced skirt or kilt, though one would expect a more elaborate depiction of this element. A sharp difference is actually observed on many clay figures in the formation and decoration of the more naturalistic upper body in contrast to the more schematic lower stem; one wonders whether the lower part was meant to be covered with real cloth.<sup>45</sup>

While some Mycenaean figures do not have any head covering,<sup>46</sup> several others sport a variety of polos hats and headbands. The polos, an accessory of special character,<sup>47</sup> is quite popular and presents considerable variety: a tall inverted cone version on the 'Lady of Midea,' a lower one on the 'Lozenge Lady,' a flat cylindrical cap peculiar to Aigina.<sup>48</sup> More often than not the polos is simply modeled by pinching the top of the figure's head.<sup>49</sup> There are also headbands or diadems, alluding to prototypes made of cloth or metal.<sup>50</sup> The diadem worn by a figure from Tiryns is adorned with incised dotted circles denoting added decoration.<sup>51</sup>

Most of the female figures are wearing their hair long in a single plait starting from the top of the head, or in long locks running down their back.<sup>52</sup> Curls are sometimes depicted on the forehead and the sides of the head, but the hair never covers the ears. There are also figures with short hair, like the 'Lady of Midea'.<sup>53</sup>

A very intriguing aspect of the female adornment is the facial cosmetic or symbolic decoration for which there are ample actual finds but very little iconographic evidence, practically restricted in a few female figures on the Thera frescoes.<sup>54</sup> The clay female figures

42 According to Jones's recent reconstruction of the 'Mykenaiā' fresco, she was actually wearing a three-piece costume: an *εανός* dress, a frontless blouse with sleeves and a flounced kilt; JONES (*supra* n. 22) 326-334. A similar costume, consisting of *εανός* and blouse, is worn by the 'bucket carrier' on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus; JONES (*supra* n. 22) 326-328, figs. 11, 23-24.

43 App. nos. 55, 56.

44 App. nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 11, 18 (Mycenae), 27 (Mycenae?), 29 (Tiryns), 47 (Midea). App. nos. 1, 2, 5, 11, 18 from Mycenae, as well as App. no. 27, probably also from Mycenae, present significant similarities and form a quite uniform group, perhaps produced by the same workshop.

45 In this respect it is most significant that part of a cloth is identified next to the hand holding a figure on a Tiryns fresco fragment from a processional scene; BOULOTIS (*supra* n. 25) 61, fig. 1. The use of cloth has been speculated for dressing type B figures, FRENCH (*supra* n. 3, *Sanctuaries and Cults*) 173; RENFREW (*supra* n. 1) 408. At least some of the textiles offered to male and female gods in Linear B texts may have been used for dressing the cult statues; HILLER (*supra* n. 24) 139-150, NOSCH and PERNA (*supra* n. 39) 477. Dressing the cult statues was part of the daily cult ritual in Egyptian temples by the "stolist," the priest responsible for this service; see S. SAUNERON, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt* (2000) 84.

46 App. nos. 1, 6, 17, 19, 21, 22 (Mycenae), 28 (Mycenae?), 41 (Tiryns), 50 (Midea), 69 (Delphi), 93, 106 (Phylakopi), 117, 118 (unknown provenience). In some cases a headdress like a close-fitting cap is suspected, but it's hard to distinguish from hair; see App. nos. 22, 28, 117.

47 Worn by important women, priestesses and goddesses, as well as sphinxes; J. YOUNGER, "Representations of Minoan-Mycenaean Jewelry," in *EIKON*, 258, 275; P. REHAK, "The 'Sphinx' Head from the Cult Centre at Mycenae," in *Autochthon. Papers presented to O.T.P.K. Dickinson on the occasion of his retirement* (2005) 272.

48 App. nos. 47 ('Lady of Midea'), 5 ('Lozenge Lady'), 73, 83 (Aigina). See also App. nos. 20, 24, 29, 45, 92, 114. Note App. no. 45 (Tiryns) with decorated polos and net-patterned diadem. App. no. 61 wears a polos with a snake-like plastic ornament; the piece is much closer to the Kea statues than to Mycenaean figures.

49 App. nos. 4, 55, 64, 70, 71, 89.

50 App. nos. 30, 31, 32, 34, 53, 67.

51 App. no. 30. The figure wears an identical necklace (both alluding to glass beads?). The diadem recalls the headband/diadems on the ivory male head from the Cult Centre (HOOD, *supra* n. 33) and on the 'Master of Animals' on the Pylona pictorial rhyton; KARANTZALI (*supra* n. 36) figs. 5a, 6c, 7b.

52 See for instance the single plait on App. no. 89 ('Lady of Phylakopi') and long locks on App. no. 31 (Tiryns) and 52 (Asine). Plastic and painted locks co-exist and their number is not significant. Most notable is the hairstyle on App. no. 29 (Tiryns) with locks hanging from the top of the polos on the front side of the body.

53 App. no. 47. See also App. no. 21. A choice that could be denoting age difference in analogy to hair styles in the Thera frescoes; E. DAVIS, "Youth and age in the Thera frescoes," *AJA* 90 (1986) 399-406; R. LAFFINEUR, "Dress, Hairstyle and Jewellery in the Thera frescoes," in *Wall Paintings of Thera*, 897-898.

54 The goddess and a mature woman from Xeste 3 have crocus flowers painted on their cheeks; WPT, pls. 126, 132. The priestess from the West House has a red ear and lips, both possible signs of her status or age; WPT,

provide valuable clues for the practice of facial decoration, which serves to stress these objects' special nature. Five figures have signs of paint on their cheeks,<sup>55</sup> one on the forehead and six of them sport a painted chin.<sup>56</sup> The 'Hands on Breasts' figure from the Cult Centre at Mycenae has rosettes on the cheeks and a painted chin, the 'Lozenge Lady' is decorated with large lozenges on her cheeks and body and the 'Lord of Asine' head has a painted lozenge on the center of the forehead. It can be no coincidence that the closest Mycenaean parallel for this kind of decoration comes from the large plaster head from Mycenae, which P. Rehak convincingly argued that it came from a cult statue;<sup>57</sup> the head has four dot-rosettes painted on each of the cheeks, on the forehead and the chin. A second, smaller plaster head from Mycenae, whose cultic role is also possible, must have had similar facial decoration, of which only a red dot on the left cheek is preserved.<sup>58</sup> It appears then that the facial decoration in Mycenaean iconography must be closely associated with cult and moreover the rosette and the lozenge emerge as special symbols, presumably of religious importance.

In regard to the painted chin, scholars in the past thought that it depicted a beard, but there is now no doubt that this feature appears on females.<sup>59</sup> The stress in both the formation and the decoration of the chin of the female figures has not been sufficiently discussed.<sup>60</sup> I venture here to suggest that the answer may lie in the gesture of supplication known from the *Iliad*<sup>61</sup> and later Greek literary and iconographical sources, where the supplicant touches the chin of the *supplicandus*.<sup>62</sup> The chin on the Mycenaean figures may be emphasized to denote the figures' role as recipients or intermediaries in acts of supplication asking for divine intervention.

When examining the adornment of the Mycenaean female figures, jewellery emerges as their most prominent feature. Not only do the figures wear necklaces, pendants, bracelets and armlets, but they wear plenty of them, conveying, in combination with their posture and gesture, a heightened sense of display.<sup>63</sup> The 'Hands on Breasts' figure alone wears as many as twelve pieces of jewellery<sup>64</sup> and one of the Tiryns figures sports thirteen pieces.<sup>65</sup>

Most jewellery pieces on the clay figures are depicted as simple bands or rows of dots indicating beads. Necklaces are by far the most popular, some of them presenting interesting iconographic variety: two necklaces, one of them plastically rendered, made of dotted incised circles on a figure from Tiryns, a band with pendent semi-circles on the 'Lady of Midea', a schematic foliate type on two Aigina figures and 'rock-pattern' and 'quirk' necklaces on the

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- pl. 25. In the House of the Ladies the 'standing lady' and the 'bending lady' have red cheeks; *WPT*, pls. 9-10. Some women from Xeste 3 seem to have painted fingernails; *WPT*, pls. 104, 105-106, 117, 120, 123, 130. See REHAK (*supra* n. 47) 273; LAFFINEUR (*supra* n. 53) n. 16.
- 55 App. nos. 4, 5 (Mycenae) 65 (Athens), 93 (Phylakopi), 118 (unknown provenience). Faint traces of paint preserved on the cheeks of App. no. 65; K. DEMAKOPOULOU, "Μυκηναϊκή πῆλινη κεφαλή," *ArchDelt* 25 *Meletemata A* (1970) 179. Vertical wavy lines on the cheeks on App. nos. 93, 118. VERMEULE associates this feature to mourning; E. VERMEULE, "A Mycenaean Dead Head," *RDAC* 1988, 300.
- 56 App. nos. 1, 4, 17 (Mycenae), 89, 93 (Phylakopi), 116 (unknown provenience).
- 57 S. MARINATOS and M. HIRMER, *Crete and Mycenae* (1960) pls. XLI-XLII; REHAK (*supra* n. 47) 274.
- 58 WACE (*supra* n. 41) 83, pl. 104b; recently illustrated in VLACHOPOULOS (*supra* n. 34) 115, fig. 11a-b.
- 59 It is noteworthy that out of the four safely identified male figure heads from Phylakopi (App. nos. 101-104), only one (App. no. 101) has a painted chin.
- 60 According to FRENCH (*supra* n. 3, *POTNIA*) 276, this feature betrays an anthropological difference and the existence "of two groups of Mycenaean of two facial types".
- 61 Hom. *Il.* 1.495-540.
- 62 S.F. NAIDEN, *Ancient Supplication* (2006) 44-49, fig. 2.5.
- 63 Observed also in the women in Mycenaean fresco processional scenes, like the 'Mykenai', and the Thera fresco iconography; see KRITSELI-PROVIDI (*supra* n. 22) pl. C; *Aegean Painting*, 119, 191, My No. 3, pl. XX; two fresco fragments from Thebes, in DEMAKOPOULOU (*supra* n. 15) 189, nos. 156-157; C. TELEVANTOU, "Κοσμήματα από την Προϊστορική Θήρα," *ArchEph* (1984) 50. The similarity between figures and women in processions was noted by KILIAN in *Sanctuaries and Cults* (*supra* n. 2) 40. Like the processional women, the figures never wear earrings, despite their love for jewellery and the accentuated formation of their ears. This is in complete contrast to the Thera frescoes where earrings are the most common piece of jewellery. TELEVANTOU, *op. cit.* 43; YOUNGER (*supra* n. 47) 260-261.
- 64 App. no. 4. She wears two necklaces, four bracelets and six armlets.
- 65 App. no. 30. She wears seven necklaces of various kinds and six bracelets. See *supra* n. 51.

‘Lady of Phylakopi.’<sup>66</sup> Bracelets<sup>67</sup> are also popular, but armlets are only worn by the ‘Hands on Breasts’ figure and the ‘Lozenge Lady’ in Mycenae.<sup>68</sup> Pendants are as rare as they are significant. The ‘Lady of Midea’ seems to be wearing a figure-of-eight shield pendant,<sup>69</sup> one Tiryns figure wears a lunate pendant<sup>70</sup> and another wears one shaped like a ‘waz-lily’.<sup>71</sup> All these shapes are symbols with religious connotations and recall actual Mycenaean jewellery,<sup>72</sup> like the gold necklace from Dendra which combines lunate and ‘waz-lily’ beads.<sup>73</sup>

The deposit of actual beaded jewellery in the sanctuaries is significant in relation to the figures’ decoration. In Room 19 of the Mycenae Temple Complex a cache of small finds was found in a plain bowl, including over 140 beads, together with type B and snake figures. Actual necklaces made of these beads must have been offered and may have been hung from the arms of the type B figures.<sup>74</sup> Offering beaded jewellery is also evidenced in the sanctuary of Phylakopi.<sup>75</sup> Mycenaean iconography supports the offering of necklaces to divinities: B. Jones in her recent study suggests that the ‘Mykenaia’ is not accepting but offering the necklace in her hand, probably to a seated goddess.<sup>76</sup>

Moreover, the practice of offering necklaces to deities is well evidenced in the Near East and Egypt. The inventory of a sanctuary in Qatna, Syria, dating to about 1400 B.C., lists the contents of the jewellery box of the goddess Nin-égal with 68 items, 52 of which are beaded necklaces and pendants.<sup>77</sup> In Egypt dressing the cult statue and adorning it with jewellery was part of the daily ritual in the temples and the annual festivals when the cult image was carried in procession.<sup>78</sup> Ikhnofret, a high-ranking official under Sesostri III (19<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.) reports on his provision for the cult statue of Osiris in Abydos: “I decked the breast of the lord of Abydos with lapis lazuli and turquoise, fine gold, and all costly stones which are the ornaments of a god’s body”.<sup>79</sup>

66 App. nos. 30 (Tiryns), 47 (Midea), 73, 86 (Aigina), 89 (Phylakopi).

67 YOUNGER (*supra* n. 47) 275-276, notes that, besides Theran women, bracelets are worn by women who also wear plumed caps and sealstones, i.e. of special status.

68 App. nos. 4, 5.

69 App. no. 47. G. MYLONAS, *Mycenaean Religion. Temples Altars and Tombs* (1977) 56-62, 111-116. Numerous beads and pendants made of gold, ivory, semi-precious stones and glass have a figure-of-eight shield form; see for instance DEMAPOULOU (*supra* n. 15) 120-121, no. 52, 221, no. 201; A. XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU, *Οι Θαλαμωτοί Τάφοι των Μυκηνών Ανασκαφής Χρ. Τσούντα (1887-1898)* (1985) 302, type 85.

70 App. no. 29. The seated goddess in Xeste 3 wears a bracelet of lunate beads, *WPT*, pl. 125; on their symbolic value see REHAK (*supra* n. 22) 210-211 with references to iconographic and actual parallels; see also XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU (*supra* n. 69) 302, types 80, 83.

71 App. no. 31. ‘Waz-lily’ pendants are often worn by sphinxes, e.g. *CMS* I 87; YOUNGER (*supra* n. 47) 258; XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU (*supra* n. 69) 307, type 107.

72 I. KILIAN-DIRLMEIER, “Zum Halschmuck Mykenischer Idole,” *Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Universität Frankfurt am Main* (1978-1979) 29-43.

73 DEMAPOULOU (*supra* n. 15) 219, no. 197.

74 An idea illustrated in the final publication of this material; see MOORE and TAYLOUR (*supra* n. 4) fig. 18-19, pl. 20. MOORE and TAYLOUR (*supra* n. 4) 112 correctly remark that not only complete strings but isolated beads may have been offered.

75 RENFREW (*supra* n. 1) 385-386.

76 JONES (*supra* n. 22) 334. YOUNGER (*supra* n. 47) 267-268, comments on the LBA scenes which focus on a necklace claiming that attention is thus called on the economic and social value of the beads. He goes on to promote the interesting notion that beads of semi-precious stones constitute “transportable items of barter, i.e. money”. In this respect two more representations are of note: the Keftiu men and men from Punt who are depicted carrying beaded necklaces to high-ranking Egyptians in the tombs of Menkheperasonb and Rehmira. Of note is the connection between figurines and beads established by I. TZONOU-HERBST, *A Contextual Analysis of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines* (2002) 206+219; EAD., “Η Πολυσημία των Μυκηναϊκών Ειδωλίων,” in *Αργοναυτής. Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Χ. Ντούμα* (2003) 653-654.

77 J. BOTTÉRO, *Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia* (2001) 133; J. BOTTÉRO, “Les inventaires de Qatna,” *Revue d’Assyriologie* 43 (1949), 1, 137.

78 SAUNERON (*supra* n. 45) 75-89; LORTON (*supra* n. 14) 136-146.

79 Stela of Ikhnofret, Abydos, Berlin Museum 1204; see M. LICHTHEIM, *Ancient Egyptian literature. Vol. I. The Old and Middle Kingdoms* (1975) 123-125.

I believe that the formation of an unnaturally long neck on several Mycenaean figures,<sup>80</sup> in conjunction with jewellery found in related contexts, strongly suggest the idea that actual necklaces were not only offered in sanctuaries but were placed around the neck of the figures.

The examination of a nearly complete figure from Mycenae sheds further light on several issues of the figures' adornment. For the past years, with kind permission by professor S. Iakovidis, I have been working on the publication of the excavation conducted in the House M quarter of the Mycenae citadel by the late G. Mylonas from 1962 to 1964.<sup>81</sup> The careful study of this old material has led to the identification of a new area with indications of cult activity, contemporary to the shrines of the Cult Center. In the bottom of a basement room to the north of House M, Mylonas discovered a female figure, fallen there together with other finds. I call this figure 'Lady M' (Pl. CLa-c) and I will be discussing her in brief presently together with another figure, now in the *Musées Royaux* in Brussels.<sup>82</sup> I believe it is highly likely that this 'Brussels Lady' originated in Mycenae since she was undoubtedly made by the same person who modeled 'Lady M'.

These two figures present both canonical and exceptional features in relation to the established type. They are both frontal, standing females with a hollow concave stem and open base, but each of these two Ladies presents a unique gesture. 'Lady M' has her arms crossed in front of her chest in a rather awkward manner, as if to show off her jewellery. The 'Brussels Lady' folds her arms<sup>83</sup> to hold a child depicted with its head resting on the female's chest. She is the only known Mycenaean kourotraphos figure, of a type well-known by smaller figurines, and she presents the most expressive example of this pose.<sup>84</sup> This is actually the only Mycenaean female figure with an obvious identity, that of a nurturer of children, and it is regrettable that she has been permanently detached from her original excavation context.

'Lady M' preserves part of the head with a remarkably naturalistic formation of the cheeks, the mouth and the chin. She was also decorated with lozenges on the cheeks (much like the 'Lozenge Lady') which now create the false impression of being the eyes because of the break. In the back of both figures evidence for plastic and painted locks of hair is preserved and both figures wear the open blouse with sleeves and have a banded lower body. Unlike other figures, they alone present a very interesting element of this garment, the tassels or strings hanging from the sleeves, which are known from women's costumes in the Thera frescoes.<sup>85</sup>

The most intriguing feature of these two figures' adornment is their jewellery. Besides their necklaces, each wore four oversized rings or amygdaloid seals as bracelets and armlets. Even more remarkably the child held by the 'Brussels Lady' also wears such a seal as an armlet, thus establishing both its special status and its close relation to the woman. The depiction of this type of jewellery is indeed unique in reference to other clay figures, but it is attested on females depicted in religious iconography.<sup>86</sup>

80 App. nos. 6 (Mycenae), 30, 31, 32 (Tiryns), 47 (Midea), 67 (Thebes), 89 (Phylakopi). More examples must have existed, but the neck is a usual point of break.

81 G. MYLONAS, "Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών," *PAE* (1962) 61-65; ID. "Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών," *PAE* (1963) 99-103; ID. "Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών," *PAE* (1964) 69-71.

82 App. nos. 1, 27.

83 One hand is missing but sufficient traces are preserved to reconstruct the pose.

84 Full catalogue in K. PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS, *The Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aigina in the Bronze Age* (1998) 171-180, Appendix III. See also EAD., "The Mycenaean kourotraphos figurine at the Sanctuary of Aphaia on Aigina," in *Encounters with Mycenaean figures and figurines* (*supra* n. 1) 113-124.

85 On eight females, all from Xeste 3, but one from the House of the Ladies; the strings are tied with round and papyrus beads; see *WPT*, pls. 10, 104, 105, 107, 118, 120-121, 123, 129-130; C. TELEVANTOU, "Η Ίννακεια Ενδυμασία στην Προϊστορική Θήρα," *ArchEph* (1982) 129-130; YOUNGER (*supra* n. 47) 273-274; LAFFINEUR (*supra* n. 53) 894, 904; JONES (*supra* n. 39) 443-444, n. 28. See also one of the females on the Isopata ring, YOUNGER (*supra* n. 47) #111, *CMS* II.3.51.

86 YOUNGER (*supra* n. 47) 272-273; on the 'Grain Goddess' from Mycenae, *op. cit.* #34; on the bucket carrier and the females riding the chariots on the Ayia Triada sarcophagus, *op. cit.* #57, 58, 60; on a probable female figure from a Pylos fresco, *op. cit.* pl. LXVIa, as well as on the 'Archer', H. BRECOULAKI *et al.*, "An Archer from the Palace of Nestor. A New Wall-Painting Fragment in the Chora Museum," *Hesperia* 77 (2008), fig. 6. Note also from Knossos, *op. cit.* #55, 72 and L. MORGAN, "A Minoan Larnax from Knossos," *BSA* 82 (1987) fig. 4.

Seals were certainly worn as bracelets and a similar use is postulated for engraved rings as well. J. Younger has also noted their use as charms, and it is observed that rings and seals are offered as *ex votos* in Mycenaean sanctuaries.<sup>87</sup> In the House M quarter cultic assemblages, three lentoid seals came to light, as well as a quite exceptional metal ring with a large elliptical bezel, whose similarity with the jewellery on 'Lady M' is striking.<sup>88</sup>

I cannot elaborate here on the data and rich finds from the House M quarter, but it is worth noting that 'Lady M's' excavation context also produced a gold foil rosette, 4 miniature gold beads, a piece of gold wire and 12 stone and glass beads. All these adornment elements must be associated with the figure, either as its offerings or perhaps as its actual decoration.

Though several issues regarding the Mycenaean female figures' form and adornment are not exhausted, I hope this short overview has convincingly shown that a specific type for these Mycenaean cult objects exists; a type whose features aim to convey symbolic messages and serve specific ritual functions. These females' high status and function in the realm of religion is reflected in their dress code of emblematic headdresses, rich garments, excessive jewellery and facial decoration (Pl. CLd). Their role as cult images appears extremely likely. A combined examination of both morphological and decorative features suggests that the clay figures were not only meant to be displayed in their regular place of deposit or carried around in processions, but may also have been adorned with actual jewellery and cloth. This aspect is supported by contemporary Near Eastern and Egyptian sources and is worth further exploring within the framework of Mycenaean religion. If nothing else it suggests a more interactive, rather than detached role with those practicing Mycenaean cult.

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87 J. YOUNGER, "Non-sphragistic Uses of Minoan-Mycenaean Sealstones and Rings," *Kadmos* 16 (1977) 142-144, 147-152; J.G. YOUNGER, "The Sealstones," in RENFREW *et al.* (*supra* n. 1) 294-296.

88 In analogy to the suggestion for necklaces, one wonders whether figures may have been adorned with actual rings or seals in their raised hands. Oddly enough, these two Ladies' gestures with folded arms precludes this possibility (perhaps this is why they, of all figures, have to have painted seals/rings?) but all figures with raised hands could have been adorned this way, or have seals/rings hanging from their necks.

## APPENDIX

Effort has been made to include all published Mycenaean clay figures, but omissions may exist. References provided lead to the original or most analytical publication of a piece or at least to a good illustration. Museum or excavation numbers are given in parentheses to facilitate identification, followed by a brief description. I only note the certain identifications of male figures, everywhere else females or “humans” are assumed. I prefer the term ‘pot-figure’ to ‘anthropomorphic vase’ considering these objects as figures with a vessel-shaped body rather than vases with an anthropomorphic head.<sup>89</sup>

In this catalogue I do not include the Ayia Irini in Kea statues which form a uniform group with strong Minoan associations,<sup>90</sup> figures found in Crete in the LBA<sup>91</sup> and Minoan type figures found on the mainland and the islands in the LBA.<sup>92</sup> Minoan figures present a significant constructional difference to Mycenaean ones in having their solid upper body made separately and then mounted on a ‘bell-skirt’.<sup>93</sup>

| MYCENAEAN CLAY FIGURES CATALOGUE |                                               |                                                                                     |                                                                                                                 |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| App. no.                         | Site                                          | (Museum/exc. no) brief description                                                  | Reference                                                                                                       |
| 1.                               | Mycenae, Agriosykia cemetery, chamber tomb 40 | (National Museum 2494) almost complete, missing hands                               | XENAKI-SAKELLARIOU ( <i>supra</i> n. 69) 114, pl. 28:2494.                                                      |
| 2.                               | Mycenae, House M quarter                      | (Mycenae Museum 29133) ‘Lady M’, almost complete, missing top of head, part of base | MYLONAS ( <i>supra</i> n. 81, 1962) 63, pls. 60b, 61a; MYLONAS ( <i>supra</i> n. 69) pl. I.                     |
| 3.                               | Mycenae, Cult Centre                          | ‘pot-figure’, almost complete, missing head and part of one arm                     | G.E. MYLONAS, “Ανασκαφή Μυκηνών,” <i>PAE</i> (1975) 157, pl. 133a; MYLONAS ( <i>supra</i> n. 69) pls. XVI-XVII. |
| 4.                               | Mycenae, Cult Centre                          | (exc. no. 68-1577) ‘Hands on Breasts Figure’, almost complete, missing part of base | MOORE and TAYLOUR ( <i>supra</i> n. 4) 47, 89-93, pl. 12a.                                                      |
| 5.                               | Mycenae, Cult Centre                          | (exc. no. 69-1221) ‘The Lozenge Lady’, almost complete, hand missing                | MOORE and TAYLOUR ( <i>supra</i> n. 4) 46-47, pl. 12b.                                                          |
| 6.                               | Mycenae, Cult Centre                          | (exc. no. 68-1584) ‘pot-figure’, almost complete, missing part of one arm           | MOORE and TAYLOUR ( <i>supra</i> n. 4) 46, 102-104, pl. 11a.                                                    |
| 7.                               | Mycenae, Cult Centre                          | (exc. no. 68-1585) missing the head and one arm                                     | MOORE and TAYLOUR ( <i>supra</i> n. 4) 47, 89-93, pl. 11b-c.                                                    |
| 8.                               | Mycenae, Cult Centre                          | (exc. no. 69-68) cylindrical lower body                                             | MOORE and TAYLOYR ( <i>supra</i> n. 4) 47, 89-93, pl. 11d.                                                      |
| 9.                               | Mycenae, Citadel House area                   | (exc. no. 62-123) body with an arm                                                  | TAMVAKI ( <i>supra</i> n. 6) 218, no. 31, pls. 49d:31, pl. 50a:31.                                              |
| 10.                              | Mycenae, Citadel House area                   | (exc. no. 54-182) body with part of neck and breasts, beginning of arm              | TAMVAKI ( <i>supra</i> n. 6) 218, no. 32, pl. 49d:32, fig. 7:32.                                                |
| 11.                              | Mycenae, Citadel House area                   | (exc. no. 69-258) torso with breasts and necklace                                   | TAMVAKI ( <i>supra</i> n. 6) 218, no. 33, pl. 49d:33.                                                           |

89 FRENCH (*supra* n. 7) 215.

90 M.E. CASKEY, *The Temple at Ayia Irini. The Statues* (Keos II.1, 1986).

91 RETHEMIOTAKIS (*supra* n. 18) 95-99.

92 RETHEMIOTAKIS (*supra* n. 18) 99-105.

93 FRENCH (*supra* n. 7) 211, RETHEMIOTAKIS (*supra* n. 18) 129-133. I also preclude three Mycenaean fragments from the Citadel House area. TAMVAKI (*supra* n. 6) 218, no. 36, fig. 7:36 is probably the rear part of a horse figurine attached to a chariot; TAMVAKI (*supra* n. 6) 218, no. 37, fig. 7:37 comes from a large figurine, as suggested by TAMVAKI herself; TAMVAKI (*supra* n. 6) 218, no. 41, pl. 49d:41 probably comes from a conical rhyton with vertical whorl-shells (FM 23), cf. P. MOUNTJOY, *Mycenaean Decorated Pottery. A Guide to Identification* (1986) fig. 133:7.

|     |                                       |                                                                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-----|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 12. | Mycenae, Citadel House area           | (exc. no. 62-5) torso with breast                                                                                   | TAMVAKI ( <i>supra</i> n. 6) 218, no. 34, pl. 49d:34.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 13. | Mycenae, Citadel House area           | (exc. no. 69-669) arm of human figure or horn of bull figure, doubtful                                              | TAMVAKI ( <i>supra</i> n. 6) 218, no. 35, fig. 7:35.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 14. | Mycenae, Citadel House area           | (exc. no. 69-109) part of skirt, crude rendering, doubtful                                                          | TAMVAKI ( <i>supra</i> n. 6) 218, no. 38, pl. 49d:38.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 15. | Mycenae, Citadel House area           | (exc. no. 68-900) stem fragment                                                                                     | TAMVAKI ( <i>supra</i> n. 6) 218, no. 39, pl. 49d:39.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 16. | Mycenae, Citadel House area           | (exc. no. 69-808) part of the waist                                                                                 | TAMVAKI ( <i>supra</i> n. 6) 218, no. 40, pl. 49d:40.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 17. | Mycenae, Granary                      | 'pot figure'? head                                                                                                  | A.J.B. WACE <i>et al.</i> , "Report of the Excavations of the British School at Athens 1921-1923," <i>BSA</i> 25 (1921-1923) 45-47, pl. VIIc.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 18. | Mycenae, House of the Tomb of Tripods | upper part of body with neck and part of arms                                                                       | A.A. ONASSOGLOU, <i>Η Οικία του Τάφου των Τριπόδων στις Μυκήνες</i> (1995) 118-119, fig. 53:6, pl. 52a.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 19. | Mycenae                               | 'pot figure'? head and neck                                                                                         | H. SCHLIEMANN, <i>Mykenae</i> (1878) 77, No. 81.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 20. | Mycenae                               | head and neck                                                                                                       | SCHLIEMANN ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 19) pl. B: Fig. g; E. FRENCH, "The Development of Mycenaean Terracotta Figurines," <i>BSA</i> 66 (1971) 147.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 21. | Mycenae, acropolis                    | (National Museum 2595) figure? head                                                                                 | M. MAYER, "Mykenische Beiträge II. Zur Mykenischen Tracht und Kultur," <i>Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> vii (1892) 195, no. 1; FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 20) 147.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 22. | Mycenae                               | (National Museum 2595) figure? male? head                                                                           | MAYER ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 21) 195, no. 3; FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 20) 148.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 23. | Mycenae                               | (National Museum 1260) small head                                                                                   | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 20) 147.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 24. | Mycenae                               | (National Museum 2593) head with polos and neck                                                                     | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 20) 147, pl. 23c; DEMAKOPOULOU ( <i>supra</i> n. 1) 199, n. 8.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 25. | Mycenae                               | (National Museum 6245) head                                                                                         | DEMAKOPOULOU ( <i>supra</i> n. 1) 199, n. 8.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 26. | Mycenae                               | Type B (monochrome) figures; 27 pieces coming from at least 21 figures, of which 17 complete or largely restorable. | MOORE and TAYLOUR ( <i>supra</i> n. 4) 47-50, 93-101, fig. 20, pls. 13-22a.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 27. | Mycenae?                              | (Brussels Musées Royaux inv. no. A30) 'Brussels Lady', almost complete, missing head and an arm                     | V. VERHOOGEN, <i>Terres cuites grecques aux musées royaux d'art et d'histoire. Guide sommaire</i> (1956) 13-14, fig. 6; R. LAFFINEUR, <i>Cyclades, Crète, Mycènes, Chypre</i> (1976) 38-39, no. 13A; A. TRCKOVA-FLAMEE, "The Mycenaean Terracotta Figurine from the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels," <i>Anistoriton</i> (electronic journal) 9 (2005) <a href="http://www.anistor.gr/english/enback/o053.htm">http://www.anistor.gr/english/enback/o053.htm</a> |
| 28. | Mycenae?                              | male? head with neck                                                                                                | G.E. MYLONAS, "A Mycenaean Figurine at the University of Illinois," <i>AJA</i> 41 (1937) 237-247.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 29. | Tiryns, Unterburg                     | almost complete, missing part of base                                                                               | K. KILIAN, "Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1976, Bericht zu den Grabungen," <i>AA</i> 1978, 461, fig. 17.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 30. | Tiryns, Unterburg                     | (Museum Nafplion 26173) almost complete, missing hand                                                               | KILIAN ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 29) 464, fig. 20.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 31. | Tiryns, Unterburg                     | (Museum Nafplion 26171) complete                                                                                    | KILIAN ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 29) 464, fig. 21.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

|     |                     |                                                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|-----|---------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 32. | Tiryns, Unterburg   | almost complete, missing small part of chest                                  | KILIAN ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 29) 466, fig. 23.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 33. | Tiryns, Unterburg   | large fragment, missing head and one arm                                      | KILIAN ( <i>supra</i> n. 2) fig. 6 far right.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 34. | Tiryns, Unterburg   | three fragments, head with neck and two arms, apparently from the same figure | KILIAN ( <i>supra</i> n. 2) fig. 7.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 35. | Tiryns, Unterburg   | two arms, apparently from the same figure                                     | K. KILIAN, "Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1977, Bericht zu den Grabungen," AA 1979, 392, fig. 12 top.                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 36. | Tiryns, Unterburg   | two arms, apparently from the same figure                                     | KILIAN ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 35) 392, fig. 12 bottom.                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 37. | Tiryns, Unterburg   | arm                                                                           | KILIAN ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 35) 392, fig. 14 top right.                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 38. | Tiryns, Unterburg   | arm                                                                           | K. KILIAN, "Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1978, 1979, Bericht zu den Grabungen," AA 1981, 164, fig. 17 top right.                                                                                                                                                                          |
| 39. | Tiryns              | large fragment, missing head, arms, part of torso and base                    | K. KILIAN, "Ausgrabungen in Tiryns 1982/83, Bericht zu den Grabungen," AA 1988, 126, 140, fig. 37:10.                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 40. | Tiryns, Westschnitt | large fragment, missing head, hand and part of lower body                     | KILIAN ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 39) 144, fig. 45.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 41. | Tiryns, Westschnitt | head, 'sphinx figure'                                                         | KILIAN ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 39) 145, fig. 47.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 42. | Tiryns, Syringes    | body fragment                                                                 | I. WEBER-HIDEN, "Die Mykenischen Terracottafigurinen aus den Syringes von Tiryns," in <i>Tiryns</i> XI (1990) 77, No. 161, pl. 48:161.                                                                                                                                              |
| 43. | Tiryns, Syringes    | arm                                                                           | WEBER-HIDEN ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 42) 77, No. 162, pl. 48:162.                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 44. | Tiryns, Syringes    | part of base, presumably from a Type B figure                                 | WEBER-HIDEN ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 42) 76-77, No. 160, pl. 48:160.                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 45. | Tiryns              | (Museum Nafplion 8460) upper part of head with polos                          | NICHOLLS ( <i>supra</i> n. 33) 6, pl. 1b.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| 46. | Tiryns              | male, half life-size, hand on erect penis                                     | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 223, fig. 6.10, pl. 37e-h.                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 47. | Midea               | 'Lady of Midea', almost complete, missing part of base                        | DEMAKOPOULOU ( <i>supra</i> n. 1) 197-205, pls. XL-XLI.                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| 48. | Midea               | body and arm fragment                                                         | K. DEMAKOPOULOU <i>et al.</i> , "Excavations in Midea 2002," <i>OpAth</i> 28 (2003) 14, fig. 24; K. DEMAKOPOULOU and N. DIVARI-VALAKOU, "Mycenaean figures and figurines from Midea," in <i>Encounters with Mycenaean Figures and Figurines</i> ( <i>supra</i> n. 1) 40-41, fig. 3. |
| 49. | Midea               | head and neck                                                                 | K. DEMAKOPOULOU <i>et al.</i> , "Excavations in Midea 2006," <i>Opuscula</i> 1 (2008) 22, fig. 47.                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 50. | Midea               | head and neck                                                                 | DEMAKOPOULOU and DIVARI-VALAKOU ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 48) 41-42, figs. 4-6.                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 51. | Midea               | neck fragment                                                                 | A. OSTENSO, "The Small Finds," in G. WALBERG <i>et al.</i> , <i>Excavations on the Acropolis of Midea. Results of the Greek-Swedish Excavations, vol. I:1, The Excavations on the Lower Terraces 1985-1991</i> (1998) F68, 156, 167, 246, pl. 110.                                  |

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|-----|-------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 52. | Asine             | (Museum Nafplion 3313) 'Lord of Asine', half life-size, head and neck | O. FRÖDIN and A.W. PERSSON, <i>Asine. Results of the Swedish Excavations, 1922-1930</i> (1938) 308, fig. 211; A.L. D'AGATA, "The 'Lord' of Asine Reconsidered: Technique, Type and Chronology," in <i>Asine III, Supplementary Studies on the Swedish Excavations 1922-1930</i> , 1 (1996), 39-46. |
| 53. | Epidavros         | head and neck                                                         | V. LAMBRINUDAKIS, "Ιερὸν Μαλεάτου Απόλλωνος εἰς Επίδαυρον," <i>PAE</i> (1975) 173, no. 7, pl. 148c.                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 54. | Nemea, Tsoungiza  | large fragment, missing head and arms                                 | J.C. WRIGHT <i>et al.</i> , "The Nemea Valley Archaeological Project: A Preliminary Report," <i>Hesperia</i> 59 (1990) 636, pl. 95e.                                                                                                                                                               |
| 55. | Menelaion         | almost complete, missing one arm and small fragments of body          | H.W. CATLING, "A Mycenaean Terracotta Figure from the Menelaion," <i>BSA</i> 90 (1995) 183-193, pl. 26.                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 56. | Menelaion         | two fragments from lower body                                         | H.W. CATLING <i>et al.</i> , <i>Sparta: Menelaion I. The Bronze Age</i> (BSA Suppl. 45, 2009) 278-280, TC2, fig. 328.                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 57. | Menelaion         | body fragment                                                         | CATLING ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 56) 278-279, 280, TC3, fig. 318.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| 58. | Menelaion         | body fragment?                                                        | CATLING ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 56) 278-280, TC4, fig. 318.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 59. | Menelaion         | body fragment?                                                        | CATLING ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 56) 278-280, TC5, fig. 315.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| 60. | Amyklaion         | half life-size, hand holding kylix, part of snake                     | K. DEMAKOPOULOU, <i>Το Μυκηναϊκό ιερό στο Αμυκλαίο και η ΥΕ ΙΙΙΓ περίοδος στη Λακωνία</i> (1982) 55, pl. 26a-b.                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 61. | Amyklaion         | life-size, top of head (Minoan type?)                                 | DEMAKOPOULOU ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 60) 54-55, pl. 25.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 62. | Ayios Stephanos   | part of stem                                                          | E.B. FRENCH and R. JANKO, "The Late Helladic Small finds," in W.D. TAYLOR and R. JANKO <i>et al.</i> , <i>Ayios Stephanos. Excavations at a Bronze Age and Medieval Settlement in Southern Lakonia</i> (BSA Suppl. 44, 2008) 455, no. 7090, fig. 10.4, pl. 54.                                     |
| 63. | Ayios Stephanos   | hands on thighs or animal/human pénis, doubtful                       | FRENCH and JANKO ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 62) 455, no. 7091, fig. 10.4, pl. 54.                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 64. | Nichoria          | 'Dame of Nichoria', head                                              | H. HUGHES-BROCK, "Terracotta and Miscellaneous Small finds," in W.A. MCDONALD and N.C. WILKIE <i>et al.</i> , <i>Excavations at Nichoria in Southwest Greece. vol. II The Bronze Age Occupation</i> (1992) 631, 655, no. 2064, fig. 10-8, pl. 10.76.                                               |
| 65. | Athens, Acropolis | front of head                                                         | DEMAKOPOULOU ( <i>supra</i> n. 55) 174-183, pls. 57-59.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 66. | Thebes            | hand                                                                  | K. DEMACOPOULOU, "Μυκηναϊκὸν Ανακτορικὸν Εργαστήριον εἰς Θήβας," <i>AAA</i> 7 (1974) fig. 8, 170.                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 67. | Thebes            | 'pot-figure' head with neck                                           | ANDRIKOU ( <i>supra</i> n. 24) 25-39.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 68. | Eutresis          | head fragment                                                         | H. GOLDMAN, <i>Excavations at Eutresis in Boeotia</i> (1931) 197-198, fig. 269.9.                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 69. | Delphi            | top of head                                                           | S. MÜLLER, "Delphes et sa région à l'époque mycénienne," <i>BCH</i> 116 (1992) 478, fig. 16:1.                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| 70. | Kalapodi          | figure? head with neck                                                | R.C.S. FELSCH, "Mykenischer Kult in Heiligtum bei Kalapodi?" in <i>Sanctuaries and Cults</i> ( <i>supra</i> n. 2) fig. 18.                                                                                                                                                                         |

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|-----|---------------|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 71. | Kozani, Aiani | (BEK 1340) head                               | G. KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI, <i>Aiani of Kozani. Archaeological Guide</i> (1989) 68, fig. 34; A. PILALI-PAPASTERIOU, “Η μυκηναϊκή παρουσία στη Μακεδονία. Προβλήματα και επανεκτιμήσεις,” in <i>Η Περιφέρεια του Μυκηναϊκού Κόσμου. Α' Διεθνές Διεπιστημονικό Συμπόσιο, Λαμία 25-29 Σεπτεμβρίου 1994</i> (1999) 104, fig. 2; G. KARAMITROU-MENTESIDI, <i>Aiani: A Guide to the Archaeological Sites and the Museum</i> (2008) 14, fig. 7. |
| 72. | Hydra         | head and neck                                 | V.N. CHADJIMICHALI, “Τυχαία Ευρήματα στην Ύδρα,” <i>ArchDelt</i> 20 (1965) <i>Chronika</i> 130-131, pl. 108a; G. LOLOS, “Hydra,” in A. VLACHOPOULOS (ed.), <i>Αρχαιολογία. Νησιά του Αιγαίου</i> (2005) 192, fig. 259.                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| 73. | Aigina        | almost complete, missing arms                 | K. PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS, “A Mycenaean Terracotta Figurine from Mount Oros on Aigina,” in <i>Klados. Essays in honour of J.N. Coldstream</i> (1995) 229-234, figs. 1-4.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| 74. | Aigina        | seven fragments from one arm, body and base   | PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 78-80, no. 536, pls. 5, 57-60.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 75. | Aigina        | left arm and upper body fragment, now missing | A. FURTWÄGLER, <i>Aegina. Das Heiligtum der Aphaia</i> (1906) 373-374, no. 6, pls. 108:15, 109 right of no. 3; PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 80-81, no. 537.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 76. | Aigina        | neck and shoulder fragment                    | FURTWÄGLER ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 75) 374, no. 8; PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 81, no. 538.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| 77. | Aigina        | arm with elbow                                | PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 81, no. 539, pl. 60.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 78. | Aigina        | conical base                                  | PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 81, no. 540, pl. 60.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 79. | Aigina        | body or base fragment                         | PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 81, no. 541, pl. 60.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 80. | Aigina        | torso, now missing                            | FURTWÄGLER ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 75) 374, no. 10, pl. 108.22; PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 81, no. 542.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 81. | Aigina        | four body fragments                           | PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 81, no. 543, pl. 60.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 82. | Aigina        | body fragment                                 | PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 81, no. 544, pl. 60.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 83. | Aigina        | head with polos                               | FURTWÄGLER ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 75) 374, no. 7, pls. 108.6, 109.6; PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 73) 229-234, figs. 5-6; PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 81, no. 545, pls. 4, 61.                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| 84. | Aigina        | arm or stem fragment                          | PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 81-82, no. 546, pl. 61.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 85. | Aigina        | lower arm and hand                            | PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 82, no. 547, pl. 61.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 86. | Aigina        | shoulder fragment                             | PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> n. 84) 82, no. 548, pl. 61.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| 87. | Aigina        | torso with neck and upraised arm              | FURTWÄGLER ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 75) 373, no. 5, pls. 108.7-8.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| 88. | Aigina        | arm                                           | FURTWÄGLER ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 75) 374, no. 9, pls. 108.13, 111.14.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |

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|------|-----------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 89.  | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 2660) 'Lady of Phylakopi', almost complete, missing arms and part of base              | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 215-216, 221, fig. 6.4, pls. 31, 32a, 33a-b.                                                                          |
| 90.  | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 2274) part of body and arm                                                             | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 215, 218, pl. 33g-h.                                                                                                  |
| 91.  | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 2661) almost complete, missing head and arms                                           | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 213, 221, fig. 6.7.                                                                                                   |
| 92.  | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 2658) almost complete, missing arms                                                    | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 211, 221, fig. 6.3, pl. 34d-e.                                                                                        |
| 93.  | Phylakopi | (exc. nos. SF 2672, 773) two fragments, head and shoulder, apparently from the same figure          | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 216, 217, 221, fig. 6.5, pl. 34a-b.                                                                                   |
| 94.  | Phylakopi | (exc. nos. SF 1090 + 768) two fragments, cylindrical body and base, apparently from the same figure | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 216, 217, 218, fig. 6.6.                                                                                              |
| 95.  | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 2251) plait fragment                                                                   | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 222.                                                                                                                  |
| 96.  | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 2275) plait fragment                                                                   | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 222.                                                                                                                  |
| 97.  | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 2691) 'pot figure', head, neck and shoulder                                            | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 215, 222, pl. 32c-d.                                                                                                  |
| 98.  | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 2679) 'pot figure', arm                                                                | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 215, 222, pl. 33e-f.                                                                                                  |
| 99.  | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 1083) 'pot-figure'?, shoulder fragment                                                 | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 215, 217, pl. 33i-j.                                                                                                  |
| 100. | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 1553) male, almost complete, missing head                                              | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 223, 229, fig. 6.12, pls. 36b, 37a-b,d.                                                                               |
| 101. | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 2340) male, complete                                                                   | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 223, 225, 230, fig. 6.12, pls. 36a, 37c.                                                                              |
| 102. | Phylakopi | (exc. no. 1544) male, almost complete, missing hands and legs                                       | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 225, 227, fig. 6.13, pl. 36c.                                                                                         |
| 103. | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 1520) male, large fragment, missing hands and lower body                               | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 225, 227, fig. 6.13, pl. 36d.                                                                                         |
| 104. | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 1550) male, complete                                                                   | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 225, 227, fig. 6.14, pl. 35.                                                                                          |
| 105. | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 817) male? legs                                                                        | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 223, 227, fig. 6.11.                                                                                                  |
| 106. | Phylakopi | (exc. no. 19, Melos Museum 263) head with neck                                                      | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 276, no. 1, pl. 48h.                                                                                                  |
| 107. | Phylakopi | body fragment                                                                                       | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 276, no. 3.                                                                                                           |
| 108. | Phylakopi | (National Museum 5850) raised arm bent at elbow with hand and modeled thumb                         | T.D. ATKINSON <i>et al.</i> , <i>Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos</i> (1904) 202-203, pl. xxxix.11; FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 216, 276, no. 4. |
| 109. | Phylakopi | (Melos Museum 262) hand with thumb and fingers                                                      | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 216, 276, no. 5, pl. 48f-g.                                                                                           |
| 110. | Phylakopi | (National Museum 5850) 'pot figure'? head                                                           | ATKINSON <i>et al.</i> ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 108) 203, pl. 40.30; FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> n. 7) 276, no. 6.                                       |
| 111. | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 119) figure? head                                                                      | E. FRENCH, "Appendix H: The figurines," in C. RENFREW <i>et al.</i> , <i>Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos 1974-77</i> (BSA Suppl. 42, 2007) 438. |
| 112. | Phylakopi | (exc. no. SF 2237) arm                                                                              | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 111) 438, pl. 57a-b.                                                                                               |

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| 113. | Phylakopi           | (exc. no. SF 2278) figure arm or furniture finial                                               | FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 111) 438.                                                                    |
| 114. | Rhodes              | Minoan? front of head                                                                           | M. BENZI, <i>Rodi e la civiltà micenea</i> (1992) 167-168, 388, pl. 106d-e.                                 |
| 115. | Chios               | arm fragment                                                                                    | J. BOARDMAN, <i>Excavations in Chios 1952-1955. Greek Emborio</i> (BSA Suppl. 6, 1967) 189, no. 48, pl. 73. |
| 116. | Unknown provenience | (University of Chicago D. and A. Smart Museum 1967.115.421) head with neck and part of shoulder | K. PILAFIDIS-WILLIAMS ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 73) 232, fig. 7.                                              |
| 117. | Unknown provenience | (National Museum) figure? male? head and neck                                                   | MAYER ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 21) 195, no. 2; FRENCH ( <i>supra</i> App. no. 20) 148.                       |
| 118. | Unknown provenience | (Boston Museum of Fine Arts 1988.153) male? head and neck                                       | VERMEULE ( <i>supra</i> n. 55) 299-300, pl. xxxix.                                                          |

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

- Pl. CLa-c    Mycenaean clay female figure ('Lady M') from the House M quarter in the Mycenae citadel. Front, back and side views. Photographs by the author.
- Pl. CLd    Composite drawing of the Mycenaean figure type with photograph of actual necklace superimposed. Drawing by the author.



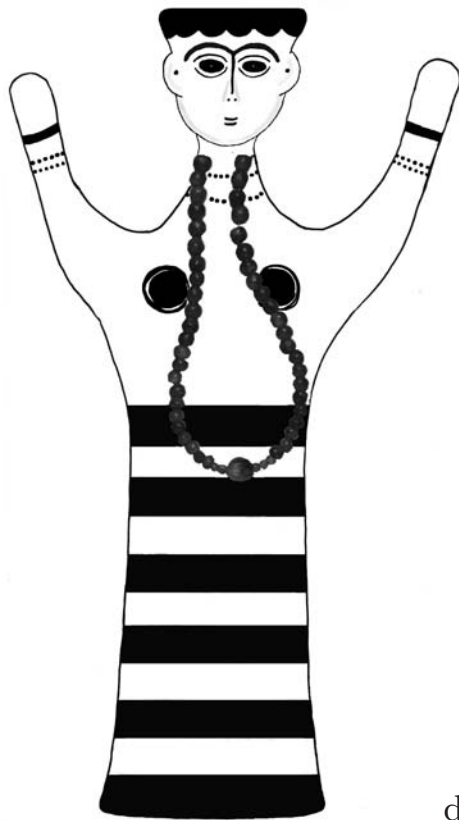
a



b



c



d