HESPERIA

The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens

Volume 80
2011

Copyright © The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, originally published in *Hesperia* 80 (2011), pp. 635–655. This offprint is supplied for personal, non-commercial use only. The definitive electronic version of the article can be found at <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.2972/hesperia.80.4.0635>.

HESPERIA

Tracey Cullen, Editor

Editorial Advisory Board

Carla M. Antonaccio, *Duke University*
Angelos Chaniotis, *Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton*
Jack L. Davis, *American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
A. A. Donohue, *Bryn Mawr College*
Jan Driessen, *Université Catholique de Louvain*
Marian H. Feldman, *University of California, Berkeley*
Gloria Ferrari Pinney, *Harvard University*
Sherry C. Fox, *American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
Thomas W. Gallant, *University of California, San Diego*
Sharon E. J. Gerstel, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Guy M. Hedreen, *Williams College*
Carol C. Mattusch, *George Mason University*
Alexander Mazarakis Ainian, *University of Thessaly at Volos*
Lisa C. Nevett, *University of Michigan*
Josiah Ober, *Stanford University*
John K. Papadopoulos, *University of California, Los Angeles*
Jeremy B. Rutter, *Dartmouth College*
A. J. S. Spawforth, *Newcastle University*
Monika Trümper, *University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill*

Hesperia is published quarterly by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Founded in 1932 to publish the work of the American School, the journal now welcomes submissions from all scholars working in the fields of Greek archaeology, art, epigraphy, history, materials science, ethnography, and literature, from earliest prehistoric times onward. *Hesperia* is a refereed journal, indexed in *Abstracts in Anthropology, L'Année philologique, Art Index, Arts and Humanities Citation Index, Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals, Current Contents, IBZ: Internationale Bibliographie der geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Zeitschriftenliteratur, Numismatic Literature, Periodicals Contents Index, Russian Academy of Sciences Bibliographies,* and *TOCS-IN*. The journal is also a member of CrossRef.

The American School of Classical Studies at Athens is a research and teaching institution dedicated to the advanced study of the archaeology, art, history, philosophy, language, and literature of Greece and the Greek world. Established in 1881 by a consortium of nine American universities, the School now serves graduate students and scholars from more than 180 affiliated colleges and universities, acting as a base for research and study in Greece. As part of its mission, the School directs ongoing excavations in the Athenian Agora and at Corinth and sponsors all other American-led excavations and surveys on Greek soil. It is the official link between American archaeologists and classicists and the Archaeological Service of the Greek Ministry of Culture and, as such, is dedicated to the wise management of cultural resources and to the dissemination of knowledge of the classical world. Inquiries about programs or membership in the School should be sent to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 6–8 Charlton Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540-5232.

HESPERIA 80 (2011)
Pages 635–655

GODDESS, LOST ANCESTORS, AND DOLLS

A Cultural Biography of the Ayia Irini Terracotta Statues

ABSTRACT

A biographical approach to the study of material culture reveals that an object's meaning usually varies in different episodes of its life history. This article examines the terracotta statues from the temple at Ayia Irini on Kea in three contexts of experience: (1) their initial context in the Bronze Age temple; (2) their reuse in the Iron Age phase of the temple; and (3) their "permanent" exhibition in the Archaeological Museum of Kea. Although the meaning with which the statues were imbued has varied in these contexts, they have retained the status of sacred objects.

As late as the 1960s, almost nothing was known about religious spaces in the Middle and Late Bronze Age Aegean.[1] The excavation of the temple at Ayia Irini, on the northwest coast of the island of Kea, was the first in a string of discoveries in the major settlements of the Cyclades and the northeastern Peloponnese that have increased our understanding of religion and religious spaces in these areas. Moreover, Ayia Irini offered the archaeological world a spectacular and unparalleled religious assemblage (especially for its period), consisting of over 32 terracotta statues, half to three-quarter life-size, which were published by Miriam Caskey (Fig. 1).[2] The cultural biography of these statues is the subject of this article.[3]

The approach followed here was initiated by Igor Kopytoff in 1986.[4] Arguing that commoditization is a process and not a condition (an all-or-nothing state of being), he proposed a biographical approach to the analysis of the value of things.[5] Kopytoff suggested that when constructing the

1. I would like to extend my thanks to the following people and institutions for reading various versions of this paper, offering comments and corrections, and responding to requests for permits and information: Miriam Caskey, Jack L. Davis, Alkis Dialismas, Julie Fairbanks, Rodney D. Fitzsimons, Carol Hershenson, Kathleen M. Lynch, Timothy Matney, Alexandros Phasianos, Brian W. Trail, the Archaeological Receipts Fund of the Greek Ministry of Culture and Tourism, and the 21st Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities and its director, Mariza Marthari. This article is based on a paper coauthored with Brian W. Trail and presented in 2007 at the 108th Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in San Diego.

2. *Keos* II. On the absence of anthropomorphic cult images on Crete, see Marinatos and Hägg 1981.

3. For the genre of cultural biography, see Kopytoff 1986; Rawson 1993; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Papadopoulos and Smithson 2002.

4. Kopytoff 1986.

5. Kopytoff 1986, p. 73.

© The American School of Classical Studies at Athens

Figure 1. Terracotta statues from the temple at Ayia Irini: (a) statue 1-1, front (p.H. 0.98, est. H. 1.05 m); (b) statue 1-2, back (p.H. 0.55, est. H. 1.20 m). Photos courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati

biography of an object, one should ask questions similar to those one asks about a person in a traditional biography. Such an interrogation would not only lay bare the qualities with which things are endowed in each context, thereby revealing their trajectories of transformation, but also expose latent features of the societies that adopted them. Indeed, biographies of things cast in relief something that might otherwise remain obscure: "Objects are not simple residues of social interaction but are active agents in shaping identities and communities."[6] Thus, by observing how the meanings of objects are defined and redefined in the different contexts in which they are put to use, we gain valuable insight into the society that has adopted and utilized them.

In this article I explore the character of the Ayia Irini statues in their various settings and describe the phases in their collective biography as they were moved from one context to another. This approach reveals the meaning with which they were invested through their involvement in social interactions, informing us not only about the statues but also about the communities that valued them. I examine the 3,600-year-old statues in three experiential contexts: (1) their initial installation in the temple, where they were displayed or stored during the Late Bronze Age; (2) their

6. Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002, p. 8; see also Gosden and Marshall 1999, p. 169; Miller 2005, pp. 8–10.

reuse during the Early Iron Age (and later), when at least one of the heads formed the focal point of worship within the ruins of the temple; and (3) their modern exhibition in the Archaeological Museum of Kea, following their designation as archaeological objects. I argue that the statues preserved a sacred character in all three contexts. During the Bronze Age, their sanctity derived from their direct connection to the divine; in the Iron Age they gained additional associations with mythical ancestors; and in their current museum setting their sacred inflection stems from the nonspiritual, but equally powerful, inclusion of the statues as antiquities within the symbolic inventory of the Greek nation. The sacred character with which the statues were endowed is a topos in their cumulative biography, and it dictates an atmosphere of reverence and veneration that has secured them against violation or infringement by human agency.

The statues were discovered during the University of Cincinnati excavations led by John L. Caskey in the 1960s and 1970s.[7] The existence of an ancient settlement at Ayia Irini had been known well before excavations began.[8] It was not until the 1950s, however, when Caskey was looking for sites that would allow him to refine the Cycladic cultural sequence (as his previous work at Eutresis and Lerna had done for the Early and Middle Helladic sequence), that plans for a full-scale exploration of the site began.[9]

In the end, Ayia Irini turned out to be a much more interesting site than Caskey had anticipated. Over the course of the excavations, which continued on and off until 1976, Caskey uncovered an impressive settlement that had been established in the Early Bronze Age and reached its floruit at the end of the Middle Bronze Age and in the early phases of the Late Bronze Age, the period to which most of the extant remains date. At that time the site was fortified with a sturdy circuit wall, a long stretch of which still stands along its northern side.[10] Contained within this wall was an extensive town provided with a network of streets complete with a drainage system and a series of private houses, as well as one monumental structure (House A) interpreted as the house of the leader, and a sanctuary, dubbed the temple, whose rooms were filled with fragments of dozens of female terracotta statues (Fig. 1).[11]

7. The results of the excavations, first presented in preliminary reports, are summarized in Caskey 1971, 1972, and 1979; a series of final reports has appeared (*Keos* I–VII, IX, X), with others in preparation (*Keos* XI, XII). See also Hershenson 1998; Morgan 1998; Morris and Jones 1998; Schofield 1998.

8. Local antiquarians such as Konstantinos Manthos ([1877] 1991, p. 32) and Ioannis Psyllas (1921, p. 303) mention the site, as do Gabriel Welter (1954, cols. 50–52) and Kathryn Scholes (1956, p. 11), the scholars who introduced the archaeological world to the potential of Ayia Irini.

9. Caskey and Caskey 1960; Caskey 1960, 1968. Until that time, knowledge of Cycladic cultural history was derived almost entirely from Phylakopi on Melos (Atkinson et al. 1904; Barber 1974; Renfrew et al. 2007).

10. Other parts of the wall are visible beneath the waters on the eastern and western sides of the peninsula, but its exact course cannot be reconstructed with certainty.

11. For House A, see *Keos* III. For town planning during the main phases of the site, see Schofield 1998. The fragments represent at least 32 statues (*Keos* II, p. 35).

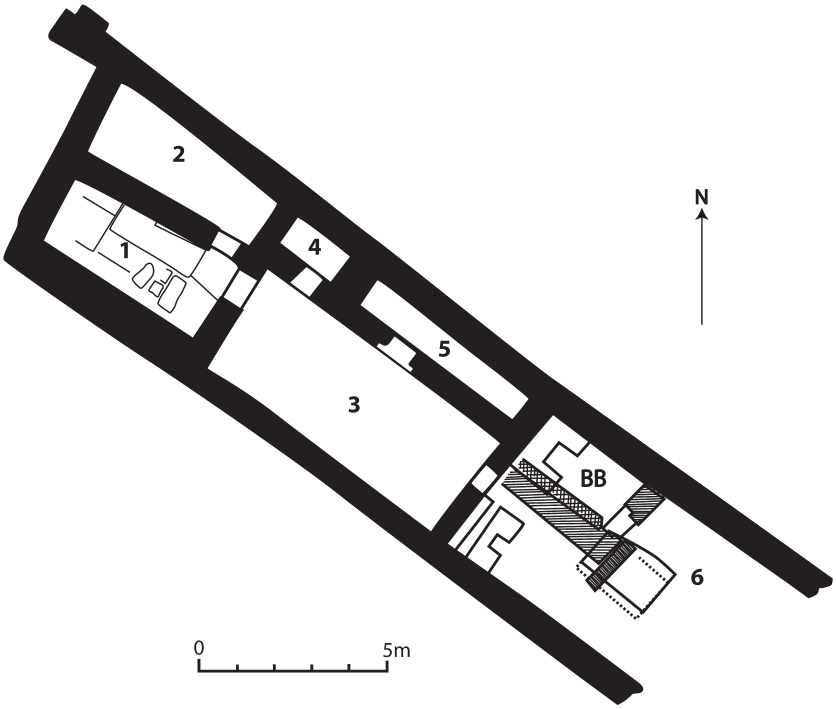

Figure 2. Plan of the temple. T. Ross, after Caskey 1962, p. 282, fig. 4, and Caskey 1966, p. 368, fig. 2

IMAGES OF THE GODDESS

The temple itself was built during Ayia Irini Period IV, when Middle Minoan (MM) II pottery was in fashion (corresponding approximately to the 18th century B.C.).[12] In its initial incarnation, the temple was a square, 6 × 6 m, two-room building accessed from the east (Fig. 2, rooms 1 and 2). Soon afterward, however, it was enlarged through the addition of more rooms on the east side, so that the two original rooms became the inner recesses of a new oblong building that measured 26 × 6 m.[13] M. Caskey observes that the new construction itself is a sign of historical continuity: "The designers of the new building were obliged to preserve and include the older unit. It is not by chance that Room 1, where most of the terracotta statues ultimately lay, continued to be special on into Late Bronze Age times."[14] The temple was preserved in this form with minor alterations until its destruction at the end of Ayia Irini Period VIIb, when Late Minoan (LM) IB/Late Helladic (LH) II pottery was in use (approximately the 15th century B.C.). The structure, however, retained its ritual character well into historical times.[15]

During the excavation of the temple, statue fragments were found in almost every room except room 4, and even outside the confines of the building.[16] The majority were uncovered in room 1, which belonged to the original Middle Bronze Age nucleus of the building (Figs. 3, 4).[17] Several fragments recovered from other rooms proved to join with fragments found in room 1.[18] Exactly where the statues were originally housed and how they were displayed is unknown, but the excavators believe that they were stored in room 1, explaining the scatter of fragments elsewhere as

12. Caskey 1998, p. 124. Caskey (2009, p. 145) also notes that the ritual character of the building was established from its inception.

13. Caskey 1964, p. 326; see also Caskey 2009, pp. 144–145.

14. Caskey 1998, p. 125.

15. Caskey 1964, p. 333.

16. *Keos* II, p. 5.

17. Caskey 1964, p. 327; 1971, p. 385; *Keos* II, p. 1.

18. The stratigraphy of the temple has not received final publication. Nevertheless, from the summary discussion included in *Keos* II (pp. 4–23), it is evident that the statues come from a variety of contexts (destruction deposits and fills). It is also noteworthy that fragments from the same figure were found in contexts dating to later periods, such as LH IIIA–IIIC (e.g., *Keos* II, pp. 71–73, nos. 5-1 and 5-2; cf. tables of findspots, pp. 14–23).

Figure 3. Fragments of terracotta statues as found in the destruction deposit in room 1. Caskey 1964, pl. 55:c

Figure 4. Terracotta statue 7-1 as found in the destruction deposit in room 1. Photo courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati

the result of post-depositional processes.[19] M. Caskey also suggests that room 1 could have been an *adyton,* an inner sanctum to which only a select few were allowed access on a regular basis.[20] Indeed, the fact that this room, the ancient nucleus, was not only preserved, but also converted into the innermost space of the new oblong building, is telling. The choice to preserve the initial form of the "old temple" while increasing its distance from the entrance may indicate not only the venerable status of the original structure, but also an effort to control and restrict access to the space and its contents.[21] The large collection of terracotta figures would have occupied at least one-third of that dark room,[22] creating an eerie experience for those entering for the first time, as their eyes slowly acclimated to the darkness.

The statues are freestanding and range in size from 70 to 120 cm (Fig. 1).[23] They all represent female figures wearing flounced skirts and tight bodices that, to varying degrees, leave the breasts uncovered in typical Minoan fashion. Some of the figures are adorned with garlands around their necks, while their hair is arranged in long single locks that flow down their backs. They are made of a distinctive local coarse reddish clay; some preserve traces of red, white, and yellow paint.

Despite the difficulties inherent in establishing a strict chronological sequence for these figures, some observations can be made. One of the statues is definitely Mycenaean in date, since it was found in a LH III context and none of its numerous fragments seem to join with statues from other rooms.[24] As for the others, M. Caskey considers it highly unlikely that they were all made at the same time; she categorizes them into different groups and interprets them as the products of different craftsmen at different periods.[25]

How can the accumulation of a large number of statues over an extended period of time be accounted for? One explanation is that it reflects a long, cyclical process of production, use, and ultimately replacement and storage.[26] The decision to store the statues instead of disposing of them after use indicates that they were not regarded as mere utilitarian objects; they had a sacred inflection and thus could not be discarded or destroyed.[27]

Another possibility is that many of the figures were in use at the same time. Scholars have long debated the nature of Minoan religion and whether

19. Caskey 1964, p. 327; 1971, p. 385; *Keos* II, p. 4. The fragments could have been scattered during cleaning and renovation following the destruction of the building. Initially, the excavators proposed two other scenarios to account for the dispersal: the statues were housed in a second-story room and fell into room 1 when the floor collapsed (Caskey 1964, pp. 327–329; 1971, p. 385), or they were housed on both the ground floor and the second story (Caskey 1964, pp. 328–329). Both theories were abandoned; neither is mentioned in *Keos* II.

20. *Keos* II, p. 4.

21. Cf. the discussion of Egyptian temple design by Shafer (1997, p. 6), who notes that in Egypt cult images dwelt inside a small, dark room in the temple, which was considered the focus of the cosmic order. See also Morenz 1973, pp. 86–87.

22. *Keos* II, pp. 35–36.

23. *Keos* II, p. 36.

24. See *Keos* II, pp. 25, 97–106, group 15.

25. *Keos* II, p. 32.

26. The excavators did not address the issue of wear on the figures prior to the destruction of the temple. M. Caskey (*Keos* II, p. 23) noted that the fragments were found in varying states of preservation depending on their findspots and their exposure to fluctuating sea levels. On the other hand, Caskey also observed that "fragments found close together at the northwest end of Room 1, having shared the same post-destruction history, were by no means all in the same condition." Caskey attributes this variability to differences in the initial firing of the figures, but it is possible that other factors, such as exposure to natural forces, affected their condition before the temple was destroyed.

27. The storage of the figures after the end of their use life is also consonant with the later Greek custom of keeping all dedications within the temenos. (I thank Kathleen Lynch for this observation.)

it was monotheistic or polytheistic.[28] Arthur Evans was a proponent of the monotheistic view and held that Minoan religion revolved around a principal female deity, the Mother Goddess, who assumed or was worshipped in many guises, not unlike a medieval Madonna.[29] More recently, others have maintained that the Minoans, like their Mediterranean and Near Eastern neighbors, venerated a pantheon of deities, some of which were male.[30] The statues might therefore be considered representations of the many guises of a single goddess, or of several goddesses protecting agriculture, renewal, and fertility.[31]

Whether the statues represented a single deity or many, it is reasonable to assume that they were imbued with a sanctity that protected them from the fates of more mundane objects. In ancient Greek, Egyptian, and Near Eastern ritual, as well as contemporary Hindu practice, anthropomorphic cult images are treated as manifestations of deities: the deity is present in the image.[32] Such rituals include not only prayer, sacrifice, and procession, but also the dressing, bathing, and feeding of the images, a clear indication that such representations are not merely symbols but the actual objects of religious devotion.[33] It is possible that the terracotta statues of Ayia Irini were likewise perceived as the timeless, enduring representatives of the deity or deities residing within the temple for the benefit of the settlement.

The forms and features with which the inhabitants of Ayia Irini endowed these statues, consciously or otherwise, tell yet another story. Although the statues were produced locally, they are represented in a costume characteristic of the elite women of the Aegean world and usually interpreted as a product of contact with Minoan society.[34] Indeed, the material recovered from the buildings at Ayia Irini demonstrates that the inhabitants enjoyed a high standard of living. This prosperity was probably the result of the site's location at an important maritime crossroads, which allowed it to participate in the procurement of metal from Laurion and mediate exchanges between Crete and the Greek mainland.[35] These exchanges supplied Ayia Irini with an abundance of imports that attest to the breadth and strength of Kean trading contacts. Imported pottery from Crete, other Aegean sites (including the eastern Aegean), and the Greek mainland was plentiful throughout the Middle Bronze Age until the destruction at the end of Ayia Irini Period VIIb, after which the mainland prevailed as the almost exclusive source of imported wares.[36] Other aspects of the material culture of the site tell a story of the rise and fall of the Aegean "powers," as

28. For a summary of the debate, see Moss 2005, pp. 1–2.

29. *PM* II, pp. 277–278.

30. Nilsson 1950, pp. 392–393; Dickinson 1994; Goodison and Morris 1998, p. 132.

31. Without discounting the possibility that the figures were representations of the goddess(es), M. Caskey (*Keos* II, pp. 41–42) has suggested a third alternative: the figures represent worshippers waiting for an epiphany of the deity, whose cult figure was kept elsewhere or was nonexistent (i.e., the cult was aniconic).

32. Romano 1988, p. 131; Davis 1997; Meskell 2004, p. 89.

33. For Hindu practices, see Davis 1997, pp. 19, 23. For Egypt, see Sauneron 1960, pp. 80–93; Meskell 2004, p. 94; see also Morenz (1973, pp. 87, 150–156), who comments on the relationship between the god and the image as well as the process of "vitalizing" the image (p. 155). For other ancient parallels, see Bittel 1970, p. 13 (Hittites); Oppenheim 1977, pp. 188–198 (Mesopotamia); Romano 1988 (early Greece).

34. For more on Minoan fashion and its symbolism and function, see Gullberg and Åström 1970; German 2000; Laffineur 2000; Lee 2000; Stephani 2002.

35. Davis 1979; Davis et al. 1983. See also Schofield 1982.

36. *Keos* XII; see also Davis 1980; Davis et al. 1983; Davis and Gorogianni 2008. For Mycenaean influence in the Aegean islands, see also Marthari 1988; Schallin 1993, 1998.

attested by local emulation of aspects of Minoan culture, including fashion (already noted in the costume of the statues), wall painting, Linear A script, and weights and measures, as well as technologies represented by Minoan loom weights and a faster potter's wheel.[37]

This adoption of cultural traits by the inhabitants of the Cycladic communities has previously been interpreted as a manifestation of Cretan cultural or political imperialism, often referred to as a "Minoan thalassocracy," on the basis of a passage in Thucydides (1.4); or else as "Minoanization," a term that draws attention to this process of acculturation and the function of the foreign fashions within the local context.[38] In a recent reassessment of the phenomenon, however, it is suggested that the local communities emulated these styles in an attempt to identify themselves as belonging to a "new environment" in the Aegean at the time, an environment in which the "fashions" prevalent on the island of Crete, and later on the Greek mainland, were the cultural language of power that communities appropriated to serve their symbolic and economic needs.[39] In this scenario, the Ayia Irini statues embodied the community's desire to integrate itself into the Aegean network, which was, of course, the very cornerstone of its prosperity.[40]

This prosperity, however, did not last forever. Following the LM IB/LH II destruction, the settlement shrank and was finally abandoned at the end of the LH IIIB period. While settlement activity at the site appears to have come to an end at this time, however, the temple itself preserves evidence of use throughout the final phases of the Bronze Age, when it suffered yet another destruction.[41]

LOST ANCESTORS

Even after the destruction and general abandonment of the site at the end of the Bronze Age, parts of the temple continued in use as places of veneration. In the Iron Age, cult activity took place in rooms 1, 2, 3, and 6, as attested by floor levels containing vessels of a ritual character, as well as structures such as a bench (room 3, northeast wall) and shrine BB (room 6) (Figs. 2, 5).[42] Room 1, however, is the focus of this discussion, because of the Iron Age shrine that was established within it.[43] During the 8th century B.C., a stone pavement (the "Geom. Shrine Floor" in Fig. 5) was laid down and a structure of rough stone blocks was built on top of it in the northwestern part of the room. The stone structure collapsed at some point during the late 8th century B.C. and was removed by the excavators in 1963,[44] revealing in situ a base in the form of a terracotta ring, surrounded

37. Davis 1980, pp. 258–259.

38. See, e.g., Hägg and Marinatos 1984; Wiener 1991; Broodbank 2004; Laffineur and Greco 2005; Davis and Gorogianni 2008; Knappett and Nikolakopoulou 2008.

39. Davis and Gorogianni 2008, pp. 339–340 and passim.

40. For the concept of network theory and its application, see Broodbank 2000; Knappett, Evans, and Rivers 2008; Malkin, Constantakopoulou, and Panagopoulou 2009.

41. M. Caskey (2009, p. 146) notes that although it is not certain whether all the rooms of the temple continued to be used for cult purposes, corridor 5 and room 6 preserved indisputable evidence for the continuation of worship in Mycenaean times and for the knowledge and emulation of the earlier (predestruction) cult tradition.

42. Caskey 1998, p. 127.

43. According to the excavators, this room was continuously used for ritual, except for a probable hiatus indicated by the absence of pottery dating to early and middle LH IIIC (Caskey 1964, p. 332; Caskey 2009, p. 149).

44. Caskey 1964, p. 333.

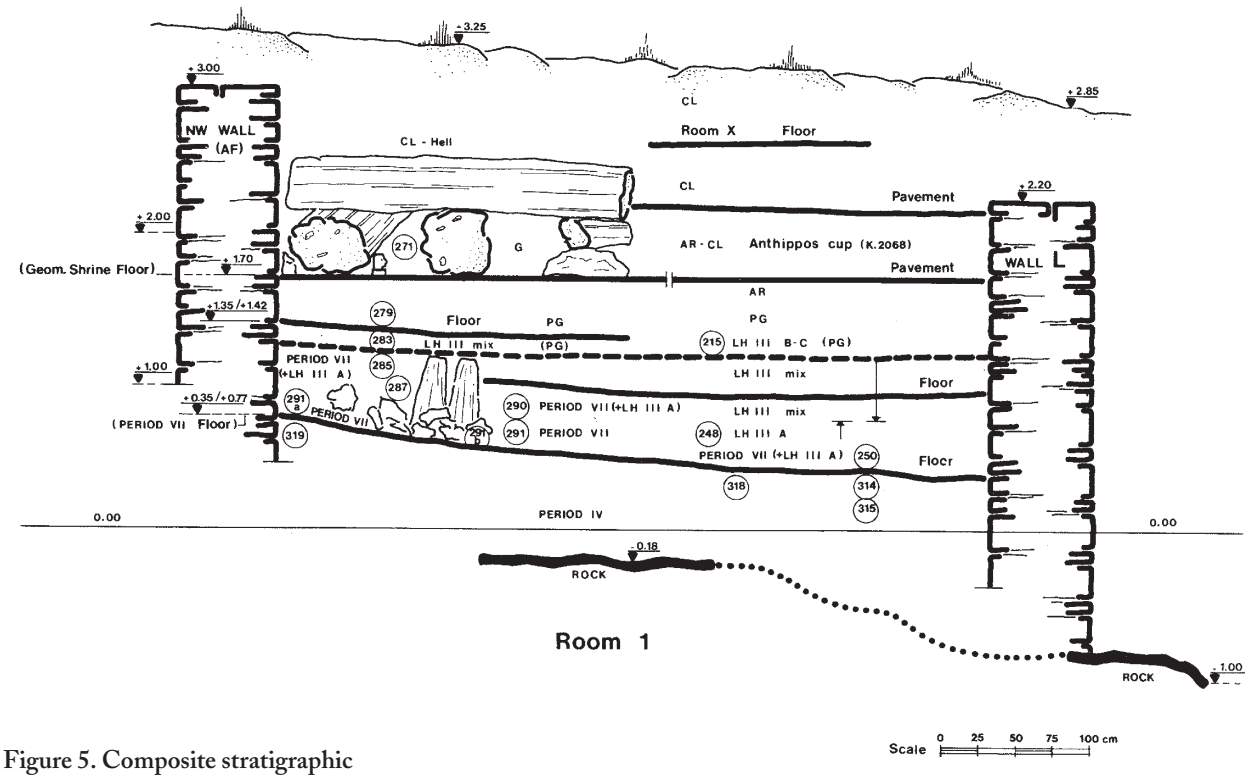

Figure 5. Composite stratigraphic section of room 1. *Keos* II, p. 9, fig. 1

by flat stones and supporting the worn head of a statue (Fig. 6).[45] While the southeastern part of the room continued in use as a shrine long after the 8th century,[46] the area blocked by the fallen stones has a terminus ante quem in the later part of that century, as the pottery attests (Fig. 5).[47]

It is unknown how much earlier than the 8th century B.C. the head might have been reclaimed from the ruins of the temple and put on display, either in room 1 or elsewhere, or whether other statues or fragments were similarly exhibited.[48] What is clear is that early in the 8th century this area was organized as a shrine: the statue pieces were reclaimed from the Bronze Age ruins, put on display, and treated as a focus for ritual behavior. In this respect, the temple at Ayia Irini is consistent with a wider pattern observed at several sites of Iron Age date in Greece. During the 9th and 8th centuries, a multitude of Bronze Age sites, ranging in function from sanctuaries to settlements and cemeteries, show continuous use or, in the case of abandoned sites, reuse as centers of ritual activity. Indeed, some of the most important rural and nonurban sanctuaries of the Classical period, such as Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, Kalapodi, and Epidauros, as well as the Argive Heraion, Eleusis, and the Menelaion near Sparta, seem to be characterized by a Bronze Age heritage.[49]

45. Caskey 1964, p. 330; 1998, p. 127; 2009, p. 150. The deposits from this shrine also included the skirt of another statue (*Keos* II, p. 6).

46. The evidence for the continued use of the southeastern part of room 1 includes burned deposits, fragments of various drinking vessels dating to the 6th and early 5th centuries B.C., and a small structure that may have been a Hellenistic shrine (Caskey 1964, pp. 333–334).

47. Caskey 1964, p. 330.

48. M. Caskey (*Keos* II, p. 40) does not think that the reuse of the head was an isolated phenomenon and cites the discovery of two more ring bases in the Late Geometric shrine. She also notes that a number of the statues are missing their heads, a phenomenon that could be attributed to similar cases of reuse.

49. Polignac 1984, pp. 38–39; see also Antonaccio 1994b, pp. 86–93; Morgan 1995; *Isthmia* VIII.

Figure 6. Head of terracotta statue 1-1 reused on a ring base in the Iron Age shrine. Photo courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati

The reuse of abandoned sites was not the result of frugality. These prehistoric sites were probably rehabilitated by local populations seeking to acknowledge their ancestors (real or imagined) and to make a claim on the landscape by establishing ritual practice.[50] In the words of Carla Antonaccio:

> Bronze Age sites, in different ways, served as anchors in a system of moorings which strengthened or unified a territory. . . . These anchors, fastening on to a site of past significance, used the past to lay claim to present power.[51]

Like cult activity at other Bronze Age sites, the continued use of the temple at Ayia Irini anchored communities on Keos to the landscape and its past.[52]

Antonaccio also observes that "cult is located not only to structure physical territory, but to articulate borders at points of contact between different groups."[53] François de Polignac, using the Argive Heraion as an example, has suggested that sanctuaries in the Iron Age were meeting

50. Antonaccio 1994b, pp. 92, 102. See also *Isthmia* VIII, pp. 380, 382, 386–387.

51. Antonaccio 1994b, p. 103.

52. The island itself was not populous at this time. A surface survey conducted in the area around Ayia Irini (Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991a) showed that the evidence for habitation during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods is in fact rather thin. Of the 71 sites (and many more off-site locations), only nine preserved ceramic material of those periods (Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991b, p. 330, fig. 17:1; Sutton 1991, pp. 245–247). Nevertheless, whatever the number and size of the Protogeometric and Geometric communities on the island, they existed in a network that connected them with other Saronic Gulf communities, as indicated by Attic and Corinthian pottery (Sutton 1991, pp. 245–247). During the Archaic period, four of the Kean communities evolved into the *tetrapolis,* the independent and autonomous city-states of Koressos, Ioulis, Poieessa, and Karthaia (*RE* XI, 1921, cols. 181–189, s.v. Keos [L. Bürchner]; XXI, 1951, cols. 1270–1276, s.v. Poieesa [E. Kirsten]); Whitelaw and Davis 1991, pp. 265–266).

53. Antonaccio 1994a, p. 103.

Figure 7. Inscribed votive cup base of the 6th century B.C. found in the southeast corner of room 1. Photo courtesy Department of Classics, University of Cincinnati

points and arenas of symbolic and physical competition among surrounding communities and their elites. During the Geometric period, the Heraion at Prosymna was a "rural, even rustic, cult place with no notable building" at a "halfway house" location, which probably functioned as a point of mediation for the communities in the Argive plan.[54] According to Polignac,

> most of the major rural cults can be considered . . . to have been rallying and meeting points for the local populations. They were the locations of festivals that it is tempting to liken to fairs, those ritual gatherings that Louis Gernet has shown to have been occasions for exchanging hospitality and for sharing between the neighboring communities, which participated in them on a relatively equal footing and which found in them an opportunity to settle trade deals, arrange alliances and marriages, and compete in rustic games.[55]

Although the sanctuary at Ayia Irini never attained the scale of the sanctuaries discussed by Polignac, it is fair to say that it played a similar role as a point of mediation among the communities of the island and beyond. It is noteworthy, for example, that an inscribed cup of the 6th-century B.C. (Fig. 7), which has been taken as evidence that the sanctuary of the historical period was dedicated to Dionysos, was offered by Anthippos, a citizen of Ioulis—an inland community—rather than Koressia, the nearest of the Classical cities to Ayia Irini.[56] The fact that the shrine never developed into a fully equipped Classical sanctuary with canonical monumental temples should be understood within the context of local historical conditions.

54. Polignac 1994, pp. 4–5.

55. Polignac 1994, p. 5.

56. Caskey 1964, pp. 333–334. The inscription on the base of the cup reads ΕΥΧΣΑΜΗΝΟΣ ΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ ΔΙΟΝ[Υ]-ΣΟΙ ΑΝΕΘ[Η]ΚΗΝ ΤΗΝ ΚΥΛΙΚΑ ΤΗΝΔΗ (Anthippos, having prayed, dedicated this kylix to Dionysos); the statement of citizenship, ΗΟ ΙΟΥΛΙΕ-ΤΗΣ (from Ioulis) was added to the right of the dedication. The cult of Dionysos was very popular in the poleis of Ioulis and Karthaia, which in the Hellenistic period issued coins bearing the head of the god or his insignia (Mantzourani 1991, pp. 157, 159; Reger and Risser 1991, p. 307).

What distinguishes Ayia Irini from other Iron Age sites with a Bronze Age ancestry is its unique manner of maintaining a concrete connection with its heritage. To my knowledge, Ayia Irini offers the only case of the reuse of a Bronze Age religious artifact in an Iron Age context in a focused and intentional way. What did the head dug out of the ruins represent to those who preserved it? I suggest that it was a tangible representation of lost ancestors, and thus a focal point where the communities of the island would gather to celebrate their common ancestry.[57] At Ayia Irini, that celebration would have taken the form of cult activity in the temple, specifically at the shrine in room 1.[58] At the center of the cult was the statue head on its ring base, and perhaps other heads as well. The archaeological evidence for ritual behavior includes the shrine, votive gifts in the form of pottery and burnt offerings, and the reuse of a monumental building, namely, the temple. The actual form of the ritual can, of course, be questioned, since details of such activities are usually unrecoverable by archaeologists.[59]

Despite the uncertainties, it is safe to say that the statue head became the focus of ritual activity predicated on the perceived sacred character of the object. For the inhabitants of the island, the statue head would have alluded to the lost ancestors whose abode lay in ruins but whose lingering memory led people from the surrounding area back to this abandoned settlement to worship. This veneration was supported by a long oral tradition that included accounts of a union between the Kean princess, deep-girdled Dexithea, and King Minos of Crete, which marked the beginning of a royal lineage that flourished on the island. The remnants of this oral tradition have survived the centuries in the words of Pindar and Bacchylides,[60] and, last but not least, in the work of Konstantinos Manthos, a local antiquarian of the 19th century who reported the presence of a Minoan colony in the bay of Ayios Nikolaos.[61]

57. An alternative interpretation endorsed by the excavators views the head as a representation of Dionysos. Following the discovery of the cup dedicated to that god by Anthippos (n. 56, above), J. Caskey (1964, p. 332) identified room 1 as a sanctuary of Dionysos. "Working back in time from the shrine of ca. 500 B.C.," wrote M. Caskey (2009, p. 151), ". . . with no significant breaks in the pottery sequence, there is every reason to believe that the same divinity was worshipped in the temple during Geometric and Protogeometric times as well." This theory is plausible: the appearance of the name Dionysos in Linear B texts (KH Gq 5, PY Ea 102, Ea 107, Xa 06, Xa 1419; Ventris and Chadwick 1973, pp. 127, 411; Melena 2000–2001, esp. p. 358; Duev 2008, esp. pp. 226–227) suggests the presence of the god elsewhere in Greece in the Late Bronze Age, and M. Caskey has established continuity of ritual behavior at Ayia Irini from the Late Bronze Age onward. Nevertheless, the conclusion has yet to be corroborated by other types of evidence, and the interval between the Iron Age shrine and the dedication of the cup is long enough to have permitted a change in the identity of the deity or deities worshipped there.

58. Antonaccio (1994a, p. 398) defines cult as "a pattern of ritual behavior in connection with specific objects, within a framework of spatial and temporal coordinates"; the broader category of ritual behavior may "include (but not necessarily be restricted to) prayer, sacrifice, votive offerings, competitions, processions, and construction of monuments."

59. Antonaccio 1994a, p. 398.

60. According to Bacchylides (1.112–128), after Minos arrived at the island and "tamed" Dexithea he sailed off, leaving part of his crew behind. The association between Crete and Kea is reiterated by Pindar (*Pae.* 4.1–53), who reports that after the death of Minos, Euxantios, the fruit of the union, declined his share of his father's estate.

61. Manthos ([1877] 1991, p. 32), probably influenced by the Classical tradition of the colonization of the island by Cretans, reported the existence of a colony founded by Minos himself in the bay of Ayios Nikolaos. He located the colony at Koressia in the southernmost lobe of the bay, however, rather than at Ayia Irini, and connected it with the remains of the Classical acropolis of Koressos.

GODDESSES AND DOLLS: THE MODERN EPIPHANY

The latest chapter in the life history of the statues began in 1960 when they surfaced during the very first season of excavation at Ayia Irini. In this phase, the statues were first transformed into archaeological objects, and eventually into exhibits in a museum. Such a dramatic change of context, character, and audience has a strong impact on the meaning of artifacts and their perception by the public, as has been strikingly illustrated by Richard Davis's examination of audience responses to Hindu religious images.[62]

Davis demonstrates that the "appropriation, relocation, and redisplay of an object" dramatically alter the perception of the object by different audiences. Setting and presentation play integral and constructive roles in the way an object is perceived, since they guide the attention of the viewer in the act of observation and establish parameters for the range of physical actions that can be directed toward the object.[63] Moreover, according to Davis, the viewer's frame is not just a set of interpretive strategies but something more global and diffuse, related to the viewer's perspectives on the cosmos, divinity, and expressions of identity.[64]

In one of his test cases, Davis contrasts and explicates audience responses to images in a Hindu religious setting and in a North American museum.[65] In India, images enveloped in the religious aura and the colorful sensual surroundings of the temple stand as the embodiment of a god who transcends them and touches the viewer. In the North American museum, however, the statues are stripped of all the ritual paraphernalia of their original setting and set on a pedestal in an "austere exhibition mode."[66] The only item that contextualizes them is the label, which itself transforms the statues into objects of art meant to appeal to the audience's aesthetic sensibilities. The differences in visual presentation and placement in these two contexts, Davis notes, correspond to very different ontological and moral premises held by the respective audiences: Indian cosmology versus a Western, Cartesian outlook on the world, tempered by colonialism.[67] Thus their "meanings," as well as the comportment of the spectators, are entirely different.[68]

Similarly, the transformation of the statues of Ayia Irini into archaeological objects exposed them to an audience far removed from the worshippers of the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age. Nevertheless, the treatment of the statues following their discovery evoked reactions from modern viewers and handlers that were in some ways quite similar to those we attribute to their ancient counterparts.

In the twenty years that elapsed between the completion of work at the site in 1983 and the first exhibition of the statues, they were in storage and hidden from the public eye. During this time the archaeologists, local and foreign alike, played a role remarkably similar to that of the shaman.[69] A shaman is a revered person who is personally connected with the divine and communicates this knowledge and experience for the benefit of a larger audience. In a similar way, archaeologists functioned as mediators between the sacred (the statues) and the profane (the people); they were the ones who remained in contact with the statues, either studying them or safeguarding

62. Davis 1997.
63. Davis 1997, p. 9.
64. Davis 1997, p. 9.
65. Davis 1997, pp. 14–50.
66. Davis 1997, p. 20.
67. For the relationship between colonialist perspectives and the museum, see Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002, pp. 2–5.
68. Davis 1997, p. 21.
69. See Hamilakis 2007, pp. 125–167.

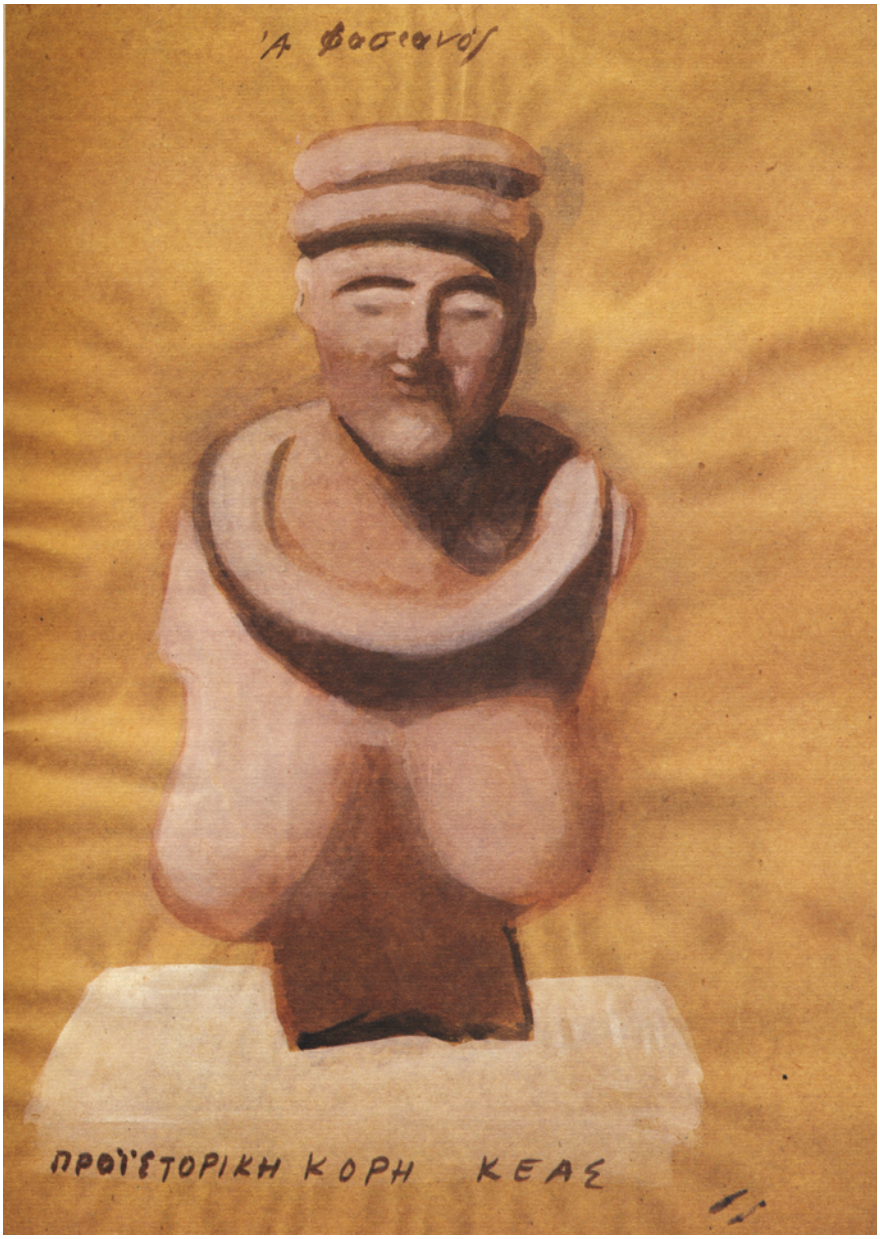

Figure 8. Watercolor painting of terracotta statue 1-2 by Alekos Phasianos. Phasianos 1988, p. 21

them, but certainly controlling access to them. During these two decades, apart from their detailed publication in a volume of the final excavation report on the site,[70] the statues made fleeting appearances in conference papers and in paintings, such as the watercolors by the well-known Greek artist Alekos Phasianos, which he later published in a book dedicated to the antiquities of the island (Fig. 8).[71] This prolonged seclusion of the cult images intensified public longing for the κούκλες (dolls), as the locals call them, which was evident in pleas from the Kean community to the local archaeological authorities and excavators for their permanent display.[72]

70. *Keos* II.

71. Phasianos 1988, pp. 21, 61.

72. See, e.g., the comments by local authorities during the discussion that followed the presentation of a paper on the statues at a conference in 1994 (Mouzakis 1998).

Since 2001 the statues have been exhibited in a simple yet elegant museum in Ioulis.[73] The museum itself is largely devoted to Ayia Irini; the second floor is dedicated exclusively to the presentation and explanation of the site, while the first floor hosts a display of local artifacts from later periods of ancient history (Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman). The most prominent feature of the exhibition is the statues themselves. After walking through a hall containing pottery and other artifacts from the excavations at Ayia Irini and the nearby Neolithic site of Kephala, one enters a second hall where the statues are on display. Twelve of the best-preserved figures are presented in a transparent case in the middle of the room so that visitors are able to view them from all sides (Fig. 9); a separate case houses the head from the Iron Age shrine. Approaching the exhibit, the visitor sees the statues against the background of a large photograph of the temple on the wall. This alignment of the artifacts with an image of the building in which they were found is meant to remind the visitor of their original context. The display of the statues together as a group and their location in the second, inner room of the museum further evoke their presumed placement in room 1 of the temple.

The effort made by the designers of the museum to preserve the link between the statues and their original setting invites the visitor to perceive the statues as sacred. This effort is reinforced, especially in the case of Greek tourists, by the national perception of antiquities in general, according to which the statues are indeed sacred by the mere fact of their antiquity. From the beginning of the formation of the modern Greek state in the 19th century, antiquities were taken out of the private (and thus commercial) sphere. Greek antiquities by law are the property of the state, regardless of where they are found, whether on public or private land.[74] Thus, the Greek state has prevented antiquities from becoming commodities by making them literally priceless, and by including them, along with the flag and the Orthodox Christian religion, in the symbolic inventory of Greek society, thereby bestowing on them a "sacred" character.[75]

Perhaps the most evocative illustration of the equation between antiquities, the state itself, and cultural identity is an anecdote in the memoirs of Yiannis Makriyannis (1797–1864), a general in the Greek war of independence and subsequently a major contributor to the first Greek constitution. Learning that some Greek soldiers were planning to sell two ancient statues to Europeans, Makriyannis took them aside and admonished them not to sell the antiquities at any price, because "it is for these that we fought."[76] With that simple utterance, which became legendary, Makriyannis transformed antiquities from commodities to be sold into singularized artifacts that symbolically belonged to the same category as such concepts as "freedom" and "fatherland," for which the fighters were ready to sacrifice their lives.

In modern Greece, as Yannis Hamilakis and Eleana Yalouri have demonstrated, antiquities are viewed within an ideological framework dominated by religious overtones and connotations.[77] They argue that the process of nation building in the 19th century often generated narratives that combined seemingly opposite forces, such as Christianity and the pagan culture manifested in artifacts of the past. This peculiar mix of opposing forces has turned antiquities into an "indispensable apparatus

73. Venieri 2002.

74. Nomoi 5351/1932, art. 1, par. 1; 3028/2002, art. 21, par. 1. See also Petrakos 1982, p. 16 and passim.

75. Kopytoff 1986, p. 73. See also Hamilakis 2007.

76. Makriyannis [1907] n.d., book Γ′, chap. 1, p. 355.

77. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999, p. 127.

Figure 9. The terracotta statues on display in the Archaeological Museum of Kea. Choremi-Spetsieri, Vlassopoulou, and Venieri 2002, pp. 18–19, fig. 13

for ritual [and] commemorative ceremonies, and . . . stages for powerful emotive icons in performances of national memory."[78] In support of their claim, Hamilakis and Yalouri show that the official rhetoric surrounding antiquities is charged with religious expressions, which have in turn imbued the objects with such immense symbolic capital that they actually sacralize whatever place they happen to occupy.[79]

Likewise, Giorgos Hourmouziadis has expounded the similarities between archaeological sites and museums on the one hand and sacred locations (e.g., churches) on the other: both evoke formalized behavior characterized by notions of respect and often silence.[80] For instance, although museums operate within the context of the tourist industry, modest dress is required for admission and visitors who exceed the acceptable noise levels (usually teenagers in packs) are reminded by disapproving guards that they are in a museum.[81]

The exhibition of the statues from Ayia Irini generates emotional reactions in most who see it. In the visitors' book at the museum, people record their impressions, which resonate with a sense of mystery inspired by the ancient figures. Many tourists, Greeks and foreigners alike, describe the encounter as a discovery. Among the general public, the finds from Ayia Irini are not widely known, and the initial assumption that this is another provincial museum with a nondescript collection is proved wrong by the epiphany of the statues. Moreover, among Greek visitors, a commonly expressed emotion is a sense of pride in local Kean and national history. In this setting the statues play the same role in ancestor worship as they probably did during the Iron Age, albeit for a very different audience.

CONCLUSION

Objects that escape the ravages of time and capture the interest and imagination of diverse audiences, from pharaonic mummies to the kula rings of the Trobrianders, undergo a transformation more far-reaching than a simple change of environment or context.[82] Group consensus usually ascribes to the objects an alternative function or meaning in their new setting. It follows, then, that as audiences or "communities of response" change, the meaning of the objects is amended accordingly.[83] It matters not whether the new audience fully understands the former meaning(s) of an object; in most cases the new meaning, value, and function bear only a tangential relationship (or none at all) to its perceived values and functions in former societies or contexts, since the meaning of an object is assigned on the basis of cultural interpretive strategies that are learned, shared, and susceptible to change.[84]

78. Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999, p. 132.

79. See also Hamilakis and Yalouri 1996; Plantzos 2008, pp. 15, 23.

80. Hourmouziadis 1984, p. 18; Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999, p. 118; Golemis 2000. Hamilakis (2001) has also discussed the case of public exhibition of antiquities in the Metro stations in Athens, where again the very presence of antiquities determines acceptable public behavior, which is structured by notions of purity and pollution as well as respect.

81. Plantzos (2008, pp. 15–16) refers to the recent ban on posing for pictures in front of antiquities in museums as a "show of veneration" to the objects themselves.

82. See Kopytoff 1986, p. 83; Lubar 1993, p. 197; Maquet 1993, p. 35.

83. Maquet 1993, p. 35. For the phrase "communities of response," see Fish 1980, p. 171.

84. Davis 1997, p. 9.

In the case of the Ayia Irini statues, it is interesting that although their "communities of response" and contexts have changed substantially over time, their sacred inflection has remained a salient feature throughout their biography. In the three contexts I have examined—their original display or storage in the Late Bronze Age temple, the redisplay of at least one head in the makeshift Iron Age shrine set in the rubble of the destroyed temple, and their exhibition in the modern museum—the statues are signs of "memories of experience" enveloped in an aura of religious mystery constructed by the respective worldviews of each group of viewers.[85]

In the Bronze Age, the statues were the timeless embodiments of the many guises of the goddess or goddesses of the Minoan pantheon associated with agriculture, renewal, fertility, and the prosperity of the settlement. The figures were kept in a room sheltered from profane gazes and were probably regularly accessible to only a few. Although we are unsure about the details of their display and the rituals in which they were involved, their careful preservation within the temple indicates that they were perceived as sacred. On another level, these figures and the temple itself were the tangible representations of the divine favor and prosperity that the community enjoyed in the early stages of the Late Bronze Age because of its role within the Aegean exchange networks.

Despite the abandonment of the site and the destruction of the temple, the figures did not lose their sacred character. As the reuse of at least one head in a cult setting indicates, they continued to command reverence in the Iron Age. The recovered head became the focus of a religious ritual that functioned as a link to the lost ancestors who had inhabited the site in years past and performed the great deeds commemorated in local mythological tradition. Finally, the head anchored the local community in the landscape, thus providing it with a sense of place while serving as a mediation point for the communities of the island and beyond.

In their modern setting, even after their designation as archaeological artifacts and objects of art, the statues still have religious overtones. The resilience of their sacred character, even in the museum context, might seem odd, especially in comparison to the changes in the perception of the Indian cult images discussed above when placed in a similar setting. In this case, however, the secret lies in the conceptual intersection of the interpretive strategies shared by both past and modern audiences. The centrality of antiquities in the building of the Greek nation has transformed the statues into objects of veneration to be curated by specialists and guardians and displayed to the public in a way that is emotionally engaging and meaningful, since they constitute symbolic capital for the nation-state and a focus of pride for an entire community.

85. Prown 1993, pp. 9–10.

REFERENCES

Antonaccio, C. M. 1994a. "Contesting the Past: Hero Cult, Tomb Cult, and Epic in Early Greece," *AJA* 98, pp. 389–410.

———. 1994b. "Placing the Past: The Bronze Age in the Cultic Topography of Early Greece," in *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece,* ed. S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne, Oxford, pp. 70–104.

Atkinson, T. D., R. C. Bosanquet, C. C. Edgar, A. J. Evans, D. G. Hogarth, D. Mackenzie, C. Smith, and F. B. Welch. 1904. *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos* (*JHS* Suppl. 4), London.

Barber, R. 1974. "Phylakopi 1911 and the History of the Later Cycladic Bronze Age," *BSA* 69, pp. 1–53.

Bittel, K. 1970. *Hattusha: The Capital of the Hittites,* New York.

Broodbank, C. 2000. *An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades,* Cambridge.

———. 2004. "Minoanization," *PCPS* 50, pp. 46–91.

Caskey, J. L. 1960. "The Early Helladic Period in the Argolid," *Hesperia* 29, pp. 285–303.

———. 1962. "Excavations in Keos, 1960–1961," *Hesperia* 31, pp. 263–283.

———. 1964. "Excavations in Keos, 1963," *Hesperia* 33, pp. 314–335.

———. 1966. "Excavations in Keos, 1964–1965," *Hesperia* 35, pp. 363–376.

———. 1968. "Lerna in the Early Bronze Age," *AJA* 72, pp. 313–316.

———. 1971. "Investigations in Keos, Part I: Excavations and Explorations, 1966–1970," *Hesperia* 40, pp. 359–396.

———. 1972. "Investigations in Keos, Part II: A Conspectus of the Pottery," *Hesperia* 41, pp. 357–401.

———. 1979. "Ayia Irini, Keos: The Successive Periods of Occupation," *AJA* 83, p. 412.

Caskey, J. L., and E. G. Caskey. 1960. "The Earliest Settlements at Eutresis: Supplementary Excavations, 1958," *AJA* 29, pp. 126–167.

Caskey, M. E. 1998. "Ayia Irini: Temple Studies," in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian 1998, pp. 123–138.

———. 2009. "Dionysos in the Temple at Ayia Irini, Kea," in *ΔΩΡΟΝ: Τιμητικός τόμος για τον Καθηγητή Σπύρο Ιακωβίδη,* ed. D. Danielidou, Athens, pp. 143–163.

Cherry, J. F., J. L. Davis, and E. Mantzourani, eds. 1991a. *Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement until Modern Times* (Monumenta Archaeologica 16), Los Angeles.

———. 1991b. "Greek and Roman Settlement and Land Use," in Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991a, pp. 327–347.

Choremi-Spetsieri, A., C. Vlassopoulou, and G. Venieri. 2002. *Kea: History and Antiquities*, Athens.

Davis, J. L. 1979. "Minos and Dexithea: Crete and the Cyclades in the Later Bronze Age," in *Papers in Cycladic Prehistory* (*UCLAMon* 14), ed. J. L. Davis and J. F. Cherry, Los Angeles, pp. 143–157.

———. 1980. "Minoans and the Minoanization at Ayia Irene," in *Thera and the Aegean World. Papers Presented at the Second International Scientific Congress, Santorini, Greece, August 1978,* ed. C. Doumas, London, vol. 2, pp. 257–260.

Davis, J. L., and E. Gorogianni. 2008. "Potsherds from the Edge: Defining the Limits of Minoanized Areas of the Aegean," in *ΟΡΙΖΩΝ: A Colloquium on the Prehistory of the Cyclades* (McDonald Institute Monographs), ed. N. J. Brodie, J. Doole, G. Gavalas, and C. Renfrew, Cambridge, pp. 339–348.

Davis, J. L., E. Schofield, R. Torrence, and D. F. Williams. 1983. "Keos and the Eastern Aegean: The Cretan Connection," *Hesperia* 52, pp. 361–366.

Davis, R. H. 1997. *Lives of Indian Images,* Princeton.

Dickinson, O. T. P. K. 1994. "Comments on a Popular Model of Minoan Religion," *OJA* 13, pp. 173–184.

Duev, R. 2008. "Zeus and Dionysus in the Light of Linear B Records," in *Colloquium Romanum. Atti del XII Colloquio Internazionale di Micenologia, Roma, 20–25 febbraio 2006* (*Pasiphae* 1–2), ed. A. Sacconi, M. Del Freo, L. Godart, and M. Negri, Pisa, vol. 1, pp. 223–230.

Fish, S. E. 1980. *Is There a Text in This Class? The Authority of Interpretive Communities,* Cambridge.

German, S. C. 2000. "The Human Form in the Late Bronze Age Aegean," in *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record,* ed. A. E. Rautman, Philadelphia, pp. 95–110.

Golemis, C. 2000. "Ο αβάσταχτος καθωσπρεπισμός του κάτω κόσμου," *Ο Πολίτης* 77, pp. 11–12.

Goodison, L., and C. Morris. 1998. "Beyond the 'Great Mother': The Sacred World of the Minoans," in *Ancient Goddesses: The Myths and the Evidence,* ed. L. Goodison and C. Morris, London, pp. 113–132.

Gosden, C., and Y. Marshall. 1999. "Cultural Biography of Objects," *WorldArch* 31, pp. 169–178.

Gullberg, E., and P. Åström. 1970. *The Thread of Ariadne: A Study of Ancient Greek Dress* (*SIMA* 21), Göteborg.

Hägg, R., and N. Marinatos, eds. 1984. *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 31 May–5 June, 1982* (*SkrAth* 4°, 32), Stockholm.

Hamilakis, Y. 2001. "Antiquities Underground," *Antiquity* 75, pp. 35–36.

———. 2007. *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece,* Oxford.

Hamilakis, Y., and E. Yalouri. 1996. "Antiquities as Symbolic Capital in Modern Greek Society," *Antiquity* 70, pp. 15–60.

———. 1999. "Sacralising the Past: The Cults of Archaeology in Modern Greece," *Archaeological Dialogues* 6, pp. 115–135.

Hershenson, C. 1998. "Late Helladic IIB at Ayia Irini, Keos," in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian 1998, pp. 161–168.

Hourmouziadis, G. 1984. "Σχόλια στην ελληνική μουσειολογία," *Επιστημονική Σκέψη* 18, pp. 15–20.

Isthmia VIII = C. Morgan, *The Late Bronze Age Settlement and Early*

Iron Age Sanctuary (*Isthmia* VIII), Princeton 1999.

Keos = Keos: Results of Excavations Conducted by the University of Cincinnati under the Auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens

II = M. E. Caskey, J. L. Caskey, S. Bouzaki, and Y. Maniatis, *The Temple at Ayia Irini, Part I: The Statues,* Princeton 1986.

III = W. W. Cummer and E. Schofield, *Ayia Irini: House A,* Mainz 1984.

IV = A. H. Bikaki, *Ayia Irini: The Potters' Marks,* Mainz 1984.

V = J. L. Davis, *Ayia Irini: Period V,* Mainz 1986.

VI = H. S. Georgiou, *Ayia Irini: Specialized Domestic and Industrial Pottery,* Mainz 1986.

VII = J. C. Overbeck, *Ayia Irini: Period IV. Part I: The Stratigraphy and the Find Deposits,* Mainz 1989.

IX = D. E. Wilson, *Ayia Irini: Periods I–III. The Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Settlements,* Mainz 1999.

X = E. Schofield, *Ayia Irini: The Western Sector,* Darmstadt 2011.

XI = L. Morgan, *Ayia Irini: The Wall Paintings from the Northeast Bastion,* in prep.

XII = E. Gorogianni and R. D. Fitzsimons, *Ayia Irini: Northern Sector: Stratigraphy and Architecture,* in prep.

Knappett, C., T. Evans, and R. Rivers. 2008. "Modelling Maritime Interaction in the Aegean Bronze Age," *Antiquity* 82, pp. 1009–1024.

Knappett, C., and I. Nikolakopoulou. 2008. "Colonialism without Colonies? A Bronze Age Case Study from Akrotiri, Thera," *Hesperia* 77, pp. 1–42.

Kopytoff, I. 1986. "The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process," in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective,* ed. A. Appadurai, Cambridge, pp. 64–91.

Laffineur, R. 2000. "Dress, Hairstyle, and Jewellery in the Thera Wall Paintings," in *The Wall Paintings of Thera. Proceedings of the First International Symposium, Petros M. Nomikos Conference Centre, Thera, Hellas, 30 August–4 September 1997,* ed. S. Sherratt, Athens, pp. 890–906.

Laffineur, R., and E. Greco, eds. 2005. *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean. Proceedings of the 10th International Aegean Conference, Athens, Italian School of Archaeology, 14–18 April 2004* (*Aegaeum* 25), Liège.

Lee, M. 2000. "Deciphering Gender in Minoan Dress," in *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record,* ed. A. E. Rautman, Philadelphia, pp. 111–123.

Lubar, S. 1993. "Machine Politics: The Political Construction of Technological Artifacts," in Lubar and Kingery 1993, pp. 197–214.

Lubar, S., and W. D. Kingery, eds. 1993. *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture,* Washington, D.C.

Lyons, C. L., and J. K. Papadopoulos, eds. 2002. *The Archaeology of Colonialism,* Los Angeles.

Makriyannis, I. [1907] n.d. *Απομνημονεύματα,* ed. G. Vlachogiannis, repr. Athens.

Malkin, I., C. Constantakopoulou, and K. Panagopoulou, eds. 2009. *Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean,* London.

Manthos, K. [1877] 1991. *Αρχαιολογία και ιστορία της νήσου Κέας,* ed. L. G. Mendoni, Athens.

Mantzourani, E. 1991. "Coins and Commentary," in Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991a, pp. 157–159.

Maquet, J. 1993. "Objects as Instruments, Objects as Signs," in Lubar and Kingery 1993, pp. 30–40.

Marinatos, N., and R. Hägg. 1981. "Anthropomorphic Cult-Images in Minoan Crete?," in *Minoan Society. Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium, 1981,* ed. O. Krzyszkowska and L. Nixon, Bristol, pp. 185–201.

Marthari, M. 1988. "The Mycenaean Expansion in the Cyclades," in *The Mycenaean World: Five Centuries of Early Greek Culture, 1600–1100* B.C., ed. K. Demakopoulou, Athens, pp. 56–57.

Melena, J. L. 2000–2001. "24 Joins and Quasi-joins of Fragments in the Linear B Tablets from Pylos," *Minos* 35–36, pp. 357–369.

Mendoni, L. G., and A. I. Mazarakis Ainian, eds. 1998. *Kea-Kythnos: History and Archaeology. Proceedings of an International Symposium, Kea-Kythnos, 22–25 June 1994* (Meletemata 27), Athens.

Meskell, L. 2004. *Object Worlds in Ancient Egypt: Material Biographies Past and Present,* Oxford.

Miller, D. 2005. "Materiality: An Introduction," in *Materiality,* ed. D. Miller, Durham, N.C., pp. 1–50.

Morenz, S. 1973. *Egyptian Religion*, trans. A. E. Keep, Ithaca.

Morgan, C. 1995. "From Palace to Polis? Religious Developments on the Greek Mainland during the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age Transition," *BICS* 40, p. 250.

Morgan, L. 1998. "The Wall Paintings of the North-East Bastion at Ayia Irini, Kea," in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian 1998, pp. 201–210.

Morris, C., and R. Jones. 1998. "The Late Bronze Age III Town at Ayia Irini and Its Relations," in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian 1998, pp. 189–199.

Moss, M. L. 2005. *The Minoan Pantheon: Towards an Understanding of Its Nature and Extent* (*BAR-IS* 1343), Oxford.

Mouzakis, G. 1998. "Discussion," in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian 1998, p. 139.

Nilsson, M. P. 1950. *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and Its Survival in Greek Religion* (*SkrLund* 9), 2nd rev. ed., New York.

Oppenheim, A. L. 1977. *Ancient Mesopotamia: Portrait of a Dead Civilization,* Chicago.

Papadopoulos, J. K., and E. L. Smithson. 2002. "The Cultural Biography of a Cycladic Geometric Amphora: Islanders in Athens and the Prehistory of Metics," *Hesperia* 71, pp. 149–199.

Petrakos, V. 1982. *Δοκίμιο για την αρχαιολογική νομοθεσία,* Athens.

Phasianos, A. 1988. *Αρχαιότητες Κέας,* Vourkari, Kea.

Plantzos, D. 2008. "Archaeology and Hellenic Identity, 1896–2004: The Frustrated Vision," in *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic*

Identity in Twentieth-Century Greece (Benaki Museum Suppl. 3), Athens, pp. 11–30.

PM = A. J. Evans, *The Palace of Minos,* 4 vols., London, 1921–1935.

Polignac, F. de. 1984. *La naissance de la cité grecque: Cultes, espace, et société, VIIIe–VIIe siècles avant J.-C.,* Paris.

———. 1994. "Mediation, Competition, and Sovereignty: The Evolution of Rural Sanctuaries in Geometric Greece," in *Placing the Gods: Sanctuaries and Sacred Space in Ancient Greece,* ed. S. E. Alcock and R. Osborne, Oxford, pp. 3–18.

Prown, J. D. 1993. "The Truth of Material Culture: History or Fiction?," in Lubar and Kingery 1993, pp. 1–19.

Psyllas, I. 1921. *Η ιστορία της νήσου Κέας,* Athens.

Rawson, J. 1993. "The Ancestry of Chinese Bronze Vessels," in Lubar and Kingery 1993, pp. 51–73.

Reger, G., and M. Risser. 1991. "Coinage and Federation in Hellenistic Keos," in Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991a, pp. 305–315.

Renfrew, C., N. Brodie, C. Morris, and C. Scarre, eds. 2007. *Excavations at Phylakopi in Melos 1974–77* (*BSA* Suppl. 42), London.

Romano, I. 1988. "Early Greek Cult Images and Cult Practices," in *Early Greek Cult Practice. Proceedings of the Fifth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute at Athens, 26–29 June, 1986* (*SkrAth* 4°, 38), ed. R. Hägg, N. Marinatos, and G. C. Nordquist, Stockholm, pp. 127–133.

Sauneron, S. 1960. *The Priests of Ancient Egypt,* trans. A. Morrissett, New York.

Schallin, A.-L. 1993. *Islands under Influence: The Cyclades in the Late Bronze Age and the Nature of Mycenaean Presence* (*SIMA* 111), Jonsered.

———. 1998. "The Nature of Mycenaean Presence and Peer Polity Interaction in the Late Bronze Age Cyclades," in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian 1998, pp. 175–187.

Schofield, E. 1982. "The Western Cyclades and Crete: A 'Special Relationship,'" *OJA* 1, pp. 9–26.

———. 1998. "Town Planning at Ayia Irini, Kea," in Mendoni and Mazarakis Ainian 1998, pp. 117–122.

Scholes, K. 1956. "The Cyclades in the Later Bronze Age: A Synopsis," *BSA* 51, pp. 9–40.

Shafer, B. E. 1997. "Temples, Priests, and Rituals: An Overview," in *Temples of Ancient Egypt,* ed. B. E. Shafer, Ithaca, pp. 1–30.

Stephani, L. 2002. "Η γυναικεία ενδυμασία στην ανακτορική Κρήτη," *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 82, pp. 19–29.

Sutton, R. F. 1991. "Ceramic Evidence for Settlement and Land Use in the Geometric to Hellenistic Periods," in Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991a, pp. 245–263.

Venieri, G. 2002. "Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Κέας," *Αρχαιολογία και Τέχνες* 85, pp. 148–151.

Ventris, M., and J. Chadwick. 1973. *Documents in Mycenaean Greek,* 2nd ed., Cambridge.

Welter, G. 1954. "Von Griechischen Inseln: Keos I," *AA* 1954, cols. 48–93.

Whitelaw, T. M., and J. L. Davis. 1991. "The Polis Center of Koressos," in Cherry, Davis, and Mantzourani 1991a, pp. 265–281.

Wiener, M. H. 1991. "The Nature and Control of Minoan Foreign Trade," in *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean. Papers Presented at the Conference Held at Rewley House, Oxford, in December 1989* (*SIMA* 90), ed. N. H. Gale, Jonsered, pp. 325–350.

Evi Gorogianni

University of Akron
department of anthropology and classical studies
244 olin hall
akron, ohio 44325-1910

eg20@uakron.edu