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George Papasavvas

Cult diversity is an important feature of Iron Age Crete. Cretan sanctuaries show great variety in their landscape settings, their votive assemblages and their architectural forms, and many of them display unique features.[1] Hence the effort to discuss the variable cult practices of the island in the Iron Age in a short paper seems to be unpromising. It will appear even more so, if I confess from the beginning that this paper will draw primarily from one sanctuary, that of Hermes and Aphrodite at Symi (FIG. 16.1).[2] This selection is, however, justified by the fact that this cult site presents some important features that are essential for this discussion, such as its prolonged use and undeniable continuation from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, and also its major importance in both periods and its radiance beyond its immediate territory.

Since the work of Vallet on Sicilian sanctuaries in the 1960s,[3] cult sites of the Greek world have been defined according to their topographical relation with settlements, whether as urban, suburban, or extra-urban. This latter group, the *extra-urban* cult sites, was extremely important for both the Bronze and the Iron Ages on Crete, as evidenced by the continuance of cult from one period to the other at some of these sanctuaries.[4] Four major Cretan sanctuaries of the Bronze Age, the caves at Patsos, Psychro and on Mt Ida and the sanctuary at Symi continue into the Iron Age, and all four share the same characteristic, i.e. they all operated beyond the limits of any urban centres.[5] Since these cult sites belong to different types, it is clear that their assessment should not be based simply on their form or location, but on the socio-political developments discernible in the dedication and cult practices over the closing years of the Bronze Age and the early part of the Iron Age.

The persistence of cult in these places and their lavish votive offerings in comparison to urban and sub-urban sanctuaries suggest that it is perhaps this feature, that is independence from settlements, that was attracting the attentiveness of worshippers. The fact that cult in these places did not experience any break between the two eras, despite the disruption in the settlement patterns and the changes even in cult activities, indicate that this persistence was a deliberate act rather than a simple perpetuation of Bronze Age cult sites.[6]

Visitors to the extra-urban sanctuaries, such as Symi or the Idaean Cave began to be commemorated by names and ethnics by the Archaic and particularly in the Hellenistic period.[7] For the earlier periods, however, the epigraphic record is elusive, if at all present. For these periods, the study of the votives of each sanctuary, their types and styles, and the comparisons with relevant finds from other cult sites and also from cemeteries remains the only criterion for the identification of the origin of the pilgrims.

The abundance of finds, and in particular of expensive offerings, the large variety of their types and styles, and the comparable finds from other places of Crete suggest that the Symi sanctuary and the Idaean Cave were visited by pilgrims originating in various parts of the island.[8] The source of votives, however, if

1   Sjögren 2003, 109.
2   For the site and for an outline of the development of the sanctuary, Lebessi 1985, 17–18; Lebessi and Muhly 1990; Lebessi 2002, 3–5, and for the recent evidence: 2003.
3   Vallet 1968.
4   Sjögren 2003, 12, 55–8, 66.
5   Cf. Prent 2005, 311, 554–610 for some other cult sites where continuation of cult from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age is attested, although not in an unbroken sequence and not at the same intense scale.
6   Wallace 2003, 262–3.
7   Lebessi 1972, 202; 1985, 17, n. 4; Chaniotis 1988, 28, 33–5.
8   Chaniotis 1988, 29–32; Watrous 1996, 102.

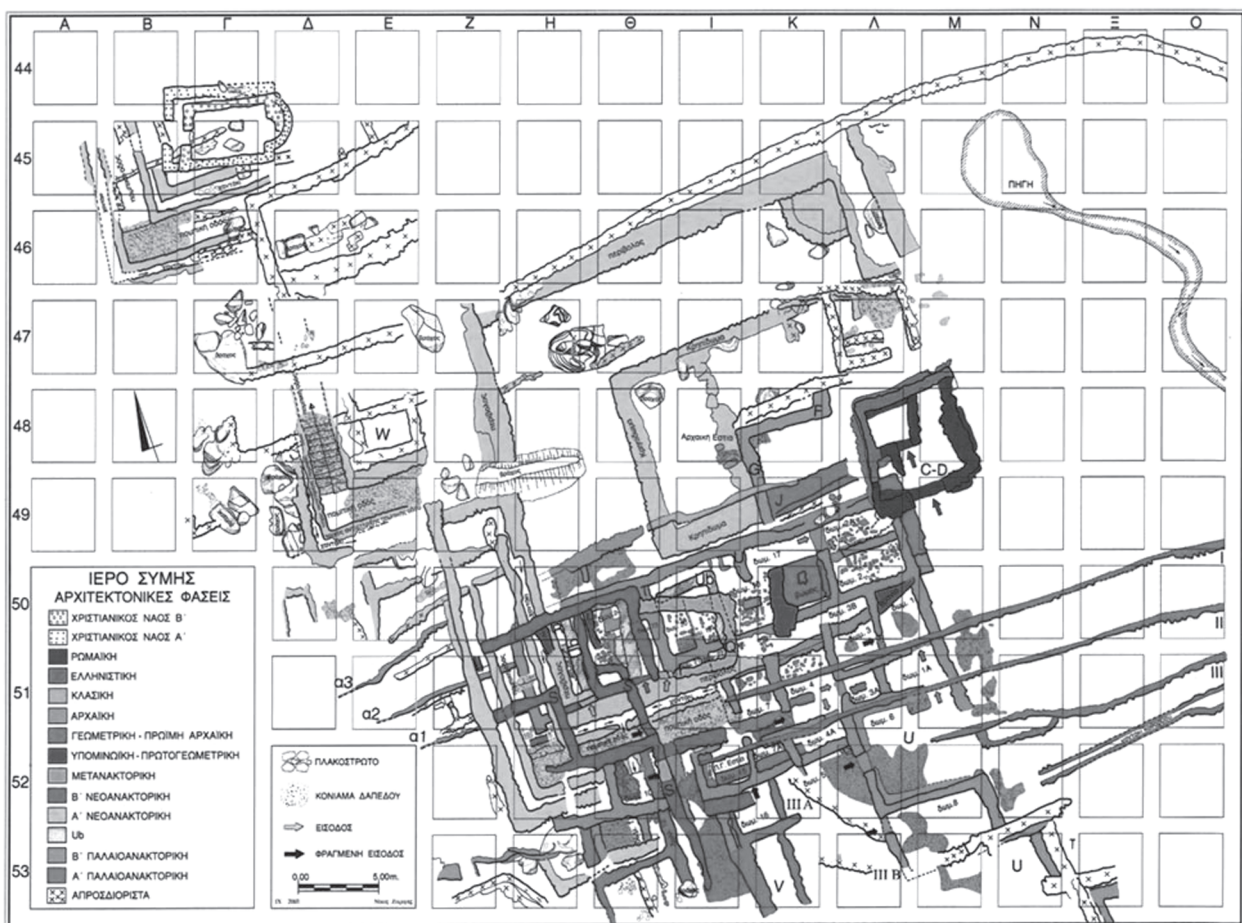*Fig. 16.1. Crete: general view of the Symi sanctuary, from the north.*

Fig. 16.2. Crete: general plan of the Symi excavations with all the architectural phases, drawn by N. Zarifis.

it can be established on the basis of type and style, does not necessarily point to the origin of the votary.[9] The foreign, imported items are, for one, not inevitably related to the provenance of the dedicant.[10] If, however, more styles than one, that can be proven to be indicative of different geographical sections of the island, can be detected in the same category of votives in one sanctuary, then this can be taken as a sign that the sanctuary was visited by votaries from those places. The issue of workshops operating within the sanctuaries on a temporal basis is also of some relevance to this problem.[11] If some of the offerings were manufactured in the sanctuaries by itinerant craftsmen, as seems to be the case for many sanctuaries, including Symi, then their style and type could be taken to reflect the origin of the craftsman, not of the votary. Even in this case, however, the mobility of the craftsmen provides a strong indication for the inter-regional significance attached to some of these sanctuaries.

These questions on the origin of the votaries, who chose to display their piety and wealth in distant sanctuaries rather than in cultic contexts within their settlements, are linked to the issue of the emergence of the polis on Crete, since civic identity and cult activities are two interdependent spheres.[12]

Cult activities conducted in a standard, ritualised form beyond the limits of the habitation zone of a single community, and embracing more communities on an inter-regional scale, did necessitate an administrative authority to regulate the rituals and to conduct cult.[13] This assumption could already be taken as an indicator of the emergence of the polis, and it could be postulated that the participants in those rituals must have originated in a civic background, which could be identified as that of a polis. The real problem in these discussions is, how does one typify a polis, and what are the signs of this political institution in the surviving material record. Many problems arise from the fact that there is no single definition for the polis and its archaeological manifestations.

Opinions on when the emergence of the polis happened on Crete range from the PG period down to the late 7th and 6th centuries BC.[14] Some have suggested that this institution appeared on Crete earlier than in mainland Greece.[15] The archaeological evidence shows that there was no single process for the formation of urban centres, although one must remember that urbanisation is an indication of the emergence of the polis, but not synonymous with it.[16] Despite the famous Homeric references to 100 or 90 poleis,[17] the epics themselves in fact only name seven Cretan poleis. Of this Homeric catalogue, only Gortyn and Dreros are archaeologically manifest as poleis as early as the 7th century BC. A few others follow in the 6th century, as attested by the occurrence of the term polis, or of terms that are traditionally associated with the administrative functions of a polis, such as *agora*, *kosmos* or *andreion* in some 7th century and 6th century inscriptions.[18]

These inscriptions are all associated with sacred contexts, as they were found carved either on the walls of cult buildings or in the vicinity of them.[19]

Cult patterns, comprising the rituals, the types of votives, the spatial organisation of the cult sites and their architectural evolution appear to have been closely interrelated with the evolution of settlement patterns and of the mortuary record throughout the history of Crete.[20] As the one changed, the other was affected, and different patterns can be distinguished in different periods. Of particular importance for the issues discussed here is the multi-faceted period spanning the later 2nd millennium to the Archaic period, where three major phases can be roughly distinguished in the evolution of cult. The first comprises the LM IIIC period.

LM IIIC was a crucial era for Crete, marked by dislocations of population, the abandonment of long-lived settlements and the establishment of new ones in dispersed locations on mountain ranges.[21] Some of the new settlements are not very far away from each other (e.g. the settlements of the Kavousi area)[22] and, despite the deduced insecurity, there is evidence that they were not isolated from each other.[23] In fact, the ceramic evidence demonstrates a cultural homogeneity all over the island in this period, to be contrasted with the phenomenon of regionalism from the PG period onwards.[24] However, although contacts were not affected, social organisation was. The social and political organisation of these settlements presents no uniform patterns and, as indicated by the spatial analysis of the buildings, their architecture and portable finds, some of these settlements were probably

9   Cf. De Polignac 1996*a*, 60.
10 See the discussion in Prent 2005, 363–6.
11 Risberg 1992; Lebessi 1985, 200–1; 2002, 186–9; Shürmann 1996, 189–94.
12 De Polignac 1984, 1996*a*; cf. Watrous 1996, 78–9; Morgan 1998; Erickson 2002, 82–5.
13 Watrous 1996, 28.
14 See Wallace 2003, esp. 276–7, and 2004 for the former view, and Kotsonas 2002, 50–61 for the latter; for the 8th–7th centuries, see: Perlman 2000, esp. 63–77; 2005; Sjögren 2003, 38–9; Haggis *et al.* 2004, 391–3; Prent 2005, 221–5; Lefèvre-Novaro 2007.
15 Perlman 2000, 59; Camp 2000, 48–9; cf. Wallace 2003, 276–7.
16 Haggis *et al.* 2004, 346; cf. Sjögren 2003, 112; Kourou 2003.
17 Perlman 1992, 193.
18 Kotsonas 2002, 54; Sjögren 2003, 62, 97–101, 106–7.
19 Perlman 2000, 60–2, 72–4; 2004*b*.
20 Cf. Sjögren 2003, 38.
21 Comprehensive overviews: Nowicki 2000; Prent 2005, 102–209.
22 Haggis 1993.
23 Prent 2005, 206.
24 D'Agata 2001, 354; see, however, Day and Snyder 2004, 73, 78.

administrated by a single authority, while others show signs of the dispersal of power among more groups.[25]

These new settlements had each at least one cultic centre or a shrine, with an external space attached to them, possibly meant for assembly, as in the cases of Vasiliki–Kephala and Kavousi–Vronda.[26] The array of finds from these shrines is homogeneous, including clay goddesses with uplifted arms, snake tubes, fenestrated stands, and clay kalathoi and plaques etc.[27] The large size of the shrines and the amount of cult equipment shows that religion was a centralised function, important for the members of the community. These features demonstrate that a degree of cult formalisation was achieved, although the differences in the architectural forms of the various cult buildings indicate that this was not extended beyond the communal level of each settlement.[28]

The earliest ritual activity that becomes archaeologically visible in these shrines consists of evidence for feasting and drinking in common meals.[29] The excavation of large amounts of ceramic drinking equipment also in domestic contexts and in houses that are differentiated from others in size and contents further shows that shared consumption was an important function for these communities. The finds from these shrines indicate that access was restricted to a few participants, probably representing the elites of each site.[30] However, no exceptional personal offerings can be detected either in the shrines or in the large houses. This indicates a strict attachment to communal patterns of ritual activities, with no scope for individual display.[31]

Settlements were thus not providing the essential framework for elite display, at least not beyond the local level. At a regional level, there were comparable buildings in neighbouring settlements, which could not promote the display of distinct groups beyond their territories. Metal finds are also rare in these contexts, although metal is present in LM IIIC tombs, which continues the Minoan preference for the deposition of bronze items with the dead. The cemeteries continued thus to offer space for some sort of individual display.[32]

Most of these new settlements did not continue into the 1st millennium. By the end of the 2nd millennium they were abandoned for the plains, a situation that probably reflects more settled conditions by this period. Their sanctuaries were also discontinued.[33]

The sanctuary of Symi is located at a distance from these settlements and in a mountainous landscape that makes access difficult, especially during winter (FIG. 16.1).[34] Symi was not abandoned in LM IIIC, as it was not exclusively attached to any single Minoan palatial or other centre.[35] A new, modest building (Building Q) was constructed in this period on the ruins of the extensive Protopalatial and Neopalatial edifices of the sanctuary (FIG. 16.2).[36] Clay goddesses are absent from this site, but some of the remaining equipment, such as the fenestrated clay stands, kalathoi, snake tubes and clay plaques match the finds from the LM IIIC

settlements.[37] The emphasis on dining and drinking as part of ritual activities, although on a less massive scale than in the earlier periods, presents a further link between Symi and these settlements. The possibility appears that those who were successful in establishing their authrority in the newly established settlements were perhaps involved in the maintenance of rituals at the Symi sanctuary, which could offer the background for a wider, inter-regional context for interaction and power display. Common meals are considered as a factor for enhancing the unity of one region,[38] while instability and changes of political institutions in this period might have created the need for a wider communal integration at an inter-regional level. It seems that cult activities provided the means for maintaining group identity.[39]

If the rituals were partly similar in both the urban and extra-urban sanctuaries, the maintenance of sanctuaries like Symi must mean that they had presented the worshippers with potentials that the urban ones did not supply.

According to one explanation favoured for the Panhellenic sanctuaries, it is exactly their distance from the major Greek city states that bestowed on them an inter-regional importance.[40] Crete appears, however, to be different. The consolidation of the extra-urban sanctuaries on the island was a much older phenomenon than it was in Delphi or even Olympia.[41] These Cretan sanctuaries had an acclaimed Minoan past and, whatever the reasons for their establishment in marginal points were, this decision had been made for some reasons by the Minoans; Iron Age Cretan just adopted it, even if in a different context.[42]

Many Minoan sanctuaries, such as Symi, offered magnificent landscape settings and impressive natural features, such as caves and springs, always taken to indicate the benevolence of a deity. More importantly,

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25 D'Agata 2001, 346; Day and Snyder 2004, 77–8.
26 Day and Snyder 2004; Eliopoulos 2004.
27 Tsipopoulou 2001; Eliopoulos 2004, 86–8; Prent 2005, 174–84.
28 Day and Snyder 2004, 77; Eliopoulos 2004, 85.
29 See, for example, Wallace 2005, 253–72.
30 Prent 2005, 193–4.
31 D'Agata 2001, 351–2, 354.
32 Prent 2005, 118–20, 178, 367.
33 Nowicki 2000, 241–2; Wallace 2003, 256–62.
34 Lebessi 2002, 186.
35 Lebessi and Muhly 1990, 335–6.
36 Lebessi 1981, 14–15; Zarifis 2008.
37 Prent 2005, 176.
38 Schmitt-Pantel 1992, 53–113.
39 Cf. Watrous 1996, 78–80, based on De Polignac 1984; Morgan 1998, 74; Prent 2005, 359.
40 See Morgan 1990; De Polignac 1996a; Prent 2005, 562–5.
41 Lebessi et al. 1995, 76–7.
42 Cf. Watrous 1996, 74–8; Wallace 2003, 272–7.

however, they provided glorious architectural settings, in many cases monumental in scale and in form, something that even the largest urban shrines could not compete with (FIG. 16.2). Many of these buildings were in a battered condition in the Iron Age, but they must have been visible, even if in ruins, and they must have been treated with respect.[43] The collapsed Minoan buildings at Symi were covered by large amounts of ash and burnt wood, bones, pottery and other finds, while every re-arrangement of this mass to make room for new activities must have brought relics of the past to the surface.[44] This offered the inhabitants of the surrounding regions and those from even further afield a pilgrimage destination that was clearly connected with a glorious, tangible past, and offered the dispersed communities a means to be integrated into an established cult institution. The effort of these latest Minoans to keep in line with a Minoan ancestry is a remarkable phenomenon of the LM IIIC period despite, or because of, the socio-political disruptions.[45] Moreover, since these sanctuaries seem to have been visited only on a seasonal basis,[46] as they were inaccessible for much of the year, and since the finds point to the conduct of specific rituals, it is perhaps the determination of the dislocated communities to carry on these rituals that secured the continuous use of the sanctuary, although it is not possible to tell if these were the same rituals as those we know from the 1st millennium.[47]

A change occurred, however, in comparison with the previous ritual activity and dedication practices. Although some votives, such as the gold ring[48] and the three magnificent bronze swords,[49] dedicated most probably by Knossians in LM I and LM III respectively, or the few Minoan bronze statuettes of adorants,[50] can be defined as personal, exclusive offerings by individuals, these remained rather exceptional cases throughout the long time of Minoan use. Minoans preferred to communicate with the divine sphere through rather impersonal offerings and in communal activities,[51] such as the sacrifices followed by shared consumption of the sacrificial victims and drinking, as indicated by the vast amounts of animal bones and cooking vessels and the deposition of large quantities of drinking cups.[52] Although communal feasting continued into LM IIIC from the previous period, a new feature emerged in the extra-urban sanctuaries that is not discernible in the contemporaneous urban cult sites.

This new feature was the appearance of votive offerings of a more personal character, and mainly products of specialised crafts.[53] Although the dedication of bronze figurines of men was practiced in Minoan times, these examples were very restricted in their iconography, showing for their larger part various versions of adorants. The bronze statuette of an arms-bearer dated to LM IIIC on stylistic grounds, has been shown by A. Lebessi to reflect the introduction of personal offerings hinting to some specific, individual concerns of the votaries.[54] It is this particular

iconography that can be associated for the first time with the initiation rites celebrated at this sanctuary.[55] Similar types of offerings are not present in urban sanctuaries. Different rules were in operation at home and away from it, and the latter context was preferred for the purposes of display.[56]

The second stage in the evolution of cult practices on Iron Age Crete is a long and complex phase, including different but interrelated developments and comprising the PG and the G periods, and even extending well into the 7th century.[57] This is marked by a gradual increase in sanctuary activity,[58] which involved important qualitative changes, as indicated by the rising numbers of portable finds, particularly of the expensive ones, such as the bronze figurines of animals and men, but also of the cheaper ones, such as the terracotta figurines. However, tombs continued to be furnished with luxurious objects, including imports and locally produced bronzework, and still played an important role in marking personal status.[59]

The Symi sanctuary was reorganised in the PG period, during which it shows novel features, such as the construction of an open air altar just south of the monumental Neopalatial podium, where ritual activity in the sanctuary seems to have concentrated throughout the Iron Age (FIG. 16.2).[60]

The 8th and early 7th centuries, besides the general increase in votive output, and in particular of exclusive, personal offerings,[61] and the establishment of new sanctuaries within settlements and away from them, are also marked by a tendency for the monumentalisation of the sacred space.[62] Monumental buildings and even larger open air spaces for the gathering of many people

43 Cf. D'Agata 1998, 23; Sjögren 2003, 33; Wallace 2003, 264–8, 272–7; Prent 2005, 508–54.
44 Lebessi 1985, 19–20; 2002, 5.
45 Wallace 2003.
46 Lebessi *et al.* 1995, 75; Lebessi 2002, 186.
47 Lebessi *et al.* 1995, 77; Lebessi 2002, 280.
48 Lebessi *et al.* 2004.
49 Papasavvas *et al.* 1999.
50 Lebessi 2002, 32–49.
51 Lebessi and Muhly 1990, 323–4, 334–5; Lebessi 2002, 281–2; Prent 2005, 179.
52 Day and Snyder 2004, 73.
53 Cf. Watrous 1996, 104; D'Agata 1998, 23–4; Sjögren 2003, 58–9.
54 Lebessi 2002, 4, 280–1, and cf. 1991, 162; Sjögren 2003, 59–60; cf. Tyree 2001, 47–8.
55 Lebessi 1985, 188–98.
56 Cf. Sjögren 2003, 61; De Polignac 1996*a*, 60.
57 For an overview see Prent 2005, 211–353.
58 Wallace 2003, 263.
59 Morris 1997, 33; Prent 2005, 359; Kotsonas 2006.
60 Lebessi 1985, 12, 17–19; Lebessi and Muhly 1990; Zarifis 2008.
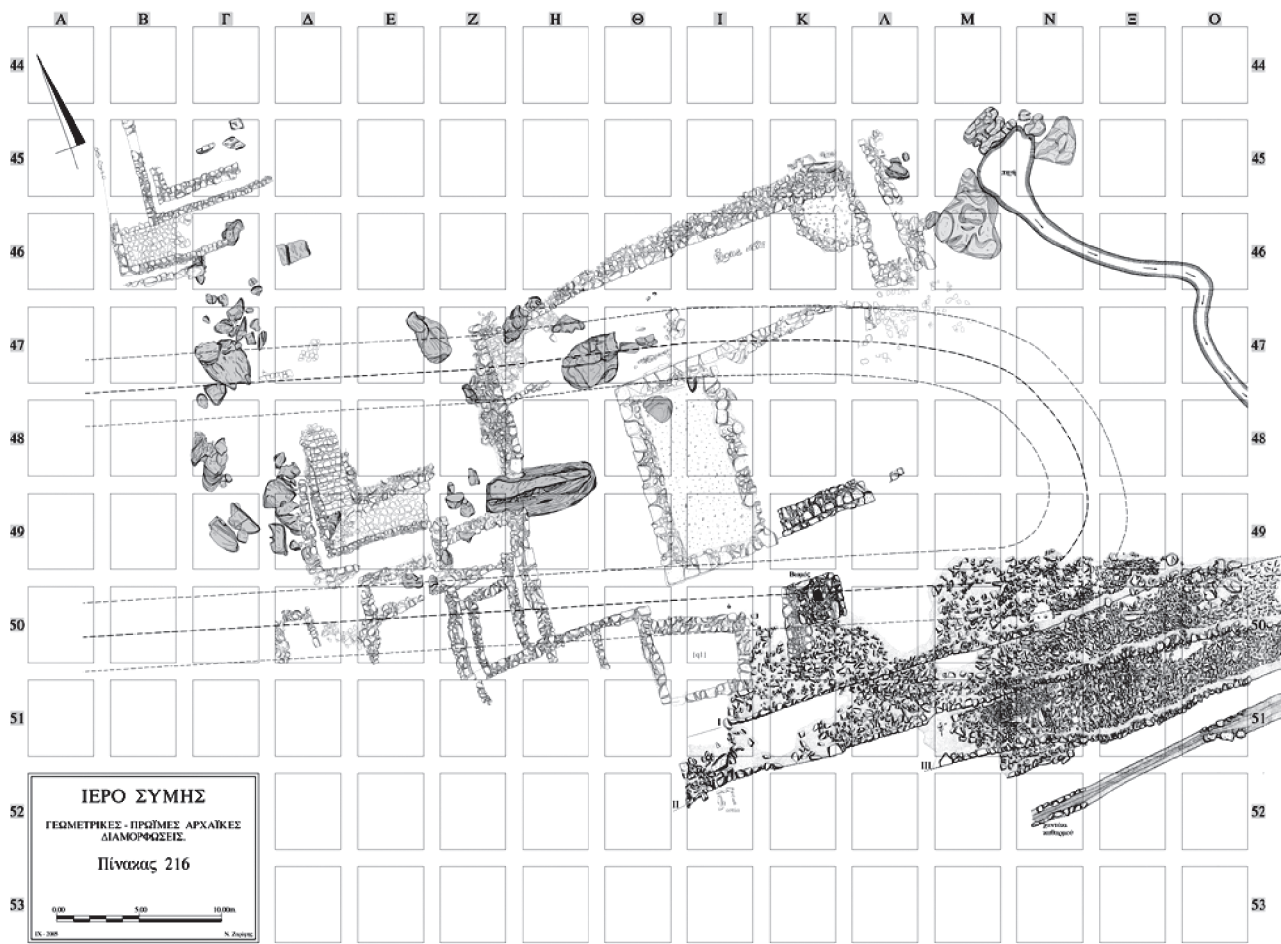61 Sjögren 2003, 58–61, 109–10; cf. Morgan 1998, 78.
62 De Polignac 1996*a*.

Fig. 16.3. Crete: the Symi sanctuary from the Geometric to Early Archaic periods, after Zarifis (2008, pl. 216).
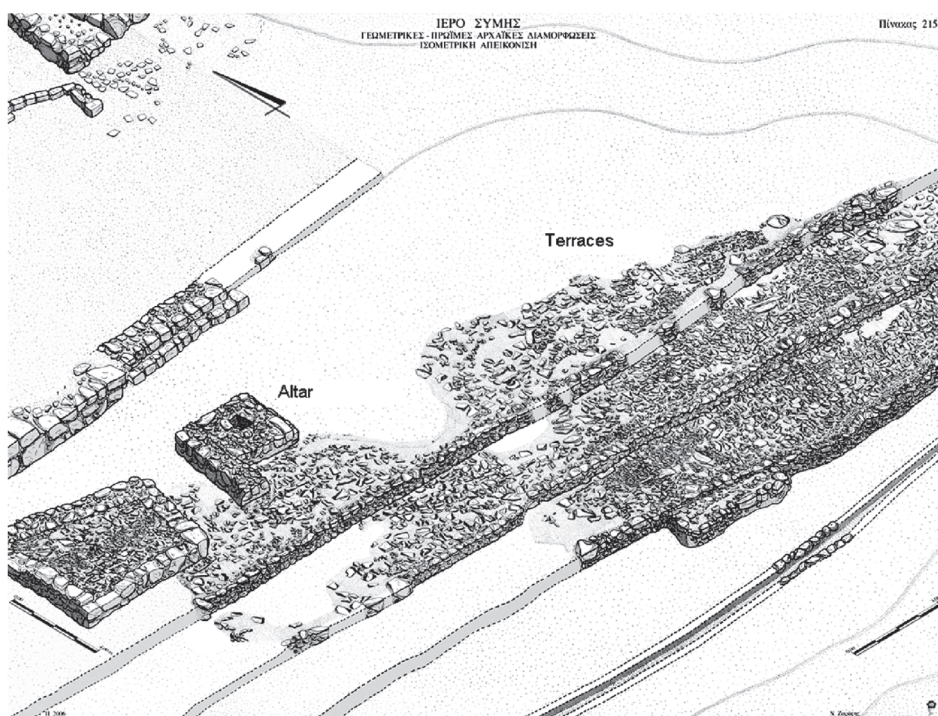

Fig. 16.4. Crete: the Symi sanctuary: Geometric–Archaic altar and terraces, after Zarifis (2008, pl. 215).

constitute a new priority for some communities, whether in urban or extra-urban settings.[63] At Symi the new layout of the sanctuary in this period included a new, larger altar that incorporated the older one, keeping the focus of cult activities in the same area. Just south of the altar, three massive stepped terraces were constructed, always to the south of the Minoan podium (FIGS. 16.2–16.4). That this structure was visible in the Iron Age and use made of it is shown by the strong retaining wall built in this period as an attachment to the podium just north of the altar.[64] This area, comprising the three terraces and the podium up to the north wall, measures about 2000 m²,[65] a clear indication that provision was made for accommodating large crowds. Its scale and significance become even more obvious if we compare its size with the much smaller open air areas elsewhere intended for the assembly of crowds, as at Dreros, Phaistos, Prinias, Kommos and Gortyn,[66] which were intended for the gathering of the members of their local communities only.

The construction of these terraces at Symi high up in the Dikti range must have required considerable energy and manpower, as well as much administrative work.[67] This implies a common enterprise and a consensus between several communities,[68] which could in theory be taken as a sign of the emerging polis.[69] It sounds as a paradox, however, that it was the beginning of the decline of the major, extra-urban sanctuaries rather than their prosperity that seems to designate more clearly the emergence of the polis.

At the end of the 8th century and in the 7th the settlement pattern throughout the island shows a clear tendency to nucleation.[70] By this time several urban centres began to display distinct communal features that could signify the first steps towards polis formation on Crete.[71] In some instances, buildings with a distinct sacred character were erected in urban centres such as Dreros, Prinias and Phaistos.[72] If these accommodated rituals led by the local elites, this is only reflected in their architectural forms, since they do not contain any rich votives of exclusive character. The communities acquired monumental means of display at home, but individual display among the elites, was either still not needed in this context, or was expressed by other activities. In this period, including a large part of the 7th century, display of personal wealth was not yet a concern at a civic level.[73] But graves and sanctuaries did provide a means of display.

The graveyard and the sanctuary were ideologically parallel contexts with comparable potentials for display over a large part of the Iron Age.[74] However, display though mortuary practices was seriously hampered by Cretan conservatism. The prevailing customs in Iron Age Crete are cremation and collective burials in large tombs. Despite the use of impressive constructions for this purpose, such as the new tholos tombs or reused Minoan ones, display was probably disadvantaged because of the custom of multiple burials.[75]

Commemoration of the individual was also less effective in cemeteries, since even the burials furnished with luxurious objects were only securing a temporal remembrance of the funeral ritual, which ceased to be visually effective when the tomb was sealed. The opposite effect is the essence of dedicating lavish votive offerings in sanctuaries.[76] Funeral and cultic display started at some point, possibly already by the 8th century, to diverge from each other, with the emphasis placed on the sanctuaries.[77] Crete, however, seems in many cases to have preserved the same types of objects for both spheres.

It is particularly the distribution of bronze[78] and, to a lesser extent, iron and gold, that called for choices between various secular and ritual contexts. An exceptional case of prestigious offerings found both in extra-urban sanctuaries and tombs are the bronze stands of Cypriot type, but almost exclusively of Cretan manufacture found in several places on the island. The earliest example, a Cypriot original, is a fragmentary

63 Perlman 2000, esp. 69–77; Sjögren 2003, 53, 65–6.
64 Lebessi 1981, 9–11; 1985, 19; Lebessi and Muhly 1990, 336.
65 For this figure, I am indebted to N. Zarifis, architect of the Symi excavations.
66 Perlman 2000, 69–77; cf. Sjögren 2003, 32–4, 36, 61–4, 110–11; Prent 2005, 255, 284–7. The large stepped area at Dreros, for example, is around 1000 m² (Perlman 2000, 73; Prent 2005, 285).
67 Cf. Lebessi and Muhly 1990, 335 for the Bronze Age operations at the site.
68 In a similar way, the numerous bronze cut-out plaques of the 7th and 6th centuries found almost exclusively at Symi (Lebessi 1985) denote a common cultic behaviour, accepted by many worshippers and over long periods. Here the visual presentation and commemoration of a specific rite concerning the education of young Cretans through a period spent on the mountains had reached a consensus, implying that some authority had clearly standardised the dedication of these offerings (cf. Sjögren 2003, 51, 65).
69 For discussions of the management of these operations by a polis or various poleis, see Perlman 2000, 77; Erickson 2002, esp. 75–87; Sporn 2002, 88–9; Lebessi and Stephanakis 2004, 187.
70 Perlman 2000, 71–7; Kotsonas 2002, 50–1.
71 Haggis *et al.* 2004, 390–3; Sjögren 2003, 55–8.
72 Cucuzza 1998; Kotsonas 2002, 46–7; Sjögren 2003, 112.
73 Sjögren 2003, 59–60, 62, 66, 110.
74 For a discussion of this issue for the Greek mainland, see Morgan 1998, esp. 76–8, 82–90; also De Polignac 1996*a*, 60–1, 63, 65; for Crete, Kotsonas 2002, 42–5; 2006; and cf. Watrous 1996, 73–5 for the Bronze Age.
75 See Wallace 2003, 268–71, 275, for the mortuary evidence and also for the later use of Minoan tombs as a form of group definition by appropriation of the Bronze Age past; cf. Coldstream and Catling 1996, 651–74, 718–19.
76 Van Straten 1981; cf. De Polignac 1996*a*, 63.
77 Snodgrass 1980, 52–6; 1990; see, however, De Polignac 1996*b*.
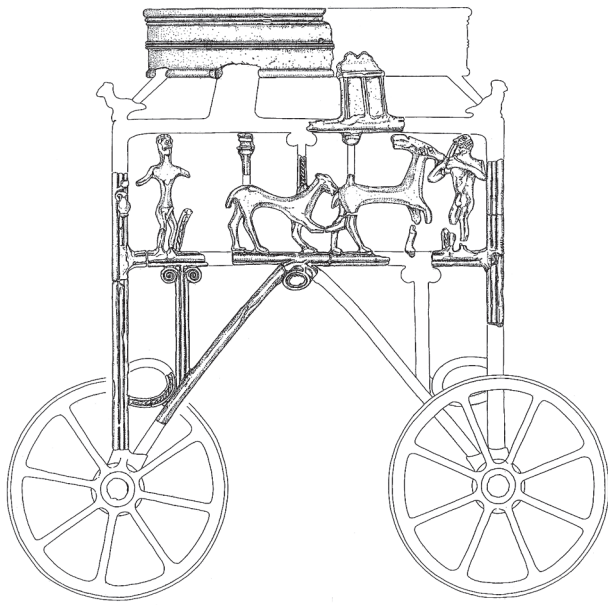78 Prent 2005, 354–6.

*Fig. 16.5. Crete: bronze four-sided stand from Symi.
Drawing by M. Skouloudi.*

bronze four-sided stand from the SM T. 201 of the North Cemetery at Knossos.[79] The sanctuary of Symi has produced two bronze four-sided stands of the 9th and 8th centuries (FIG. 16.5)[80] and the Idaean Cave one of the 8th century.[81] Two further examples, coming from the workshop that produced the Idaean Cave stand, were found in the rich tholos tomb of Khaniale Tekke near Knossos and in the sanctuary of Zeus Thenatas at Amnisos, established in the 8th century on the Minoan ruins of the site.[82] These finds serve to illustrate the blurred boundary between cultic and mortuary display.[83]

The same distribution among tombs and sanctuaries is to be observed in the case of the bronze rod tripods, also of Cypriot type but of Cretan manufacture, which are closely related to the four-sided stands.[84] A related phenomenon is also the use of bronze tripod cauldrons as grave goods on the island of Crete. Although the majority of bronze tripods comes from sanctuaries, such as at Palaikastro, the Idaean Cave and Symi,[85] some pieces, including an example of monumental scale associated with a grave at Tekke near Knossos,[86] were clearly used for mortuary display.

The deposition of these items in tombs, all of which were collective, was a very significant act, designed to mark the personal status of individuals. The display effect was, however, restricted to a regional and temporal sphere. In contrast, the votaries of the stands in the sanctuaries of Symi, Amnisos, Palaikastro or the Idaean Cave, some of which might have come from Knossos, were more successful in making their prosperity explicit by investing part of their wealth away from home and in a cultic context that ensured a wider recognition on the inter-regional level.[87] To date, no such stand has been found at an urban cult site.

These sanctuaries were, however, not exclusively associated with elite display, as they were not only receiving rich offerings. More modest objects, such as terracotta figurines of animals and men are found in large numbers at almost all of them.[88] Extra-urban sanctuaries were apparently accessible to many people. This also explains the need for large, open-air spaces for ritual activity, which is a totally different perception from the rituals conducted within buildings where, in addition, the archaeological evidence seems to indicate a restricted access.[89] The rites of maturation celebrated in the sanctuary of Symi,[90] as all initiation rites on Crete, in contrast to the rest of the Greek world, were not any mystical celebrations preserved for small groups of people. Instead they comprised the entire community, and all worshippers, from the more prosperous to the less affluent.[91]

From the late 7th century onwards, following the developments that had begun a century earlier, urban centres started to invest their recourses in monumental display within their city limits,[92] at the expense of the extra-urban sanctuaries.[93] This is directly reflected in the decrease of prestigious votives in these sanctuaries after *c.* 600 BC.[94] Rich offerings, especially those made of bronze and requiring craft specialisation, drop dramatically, both in quality and quantity, and as a rule cheaper offerings were from now on offered to the

79   Coldstream and Catling 1996, 194, 517–18, figs. 165–6, pl. 276: 1; Papasavvas 2001, 82–5, 241–2, figs. 53–4a: 26.

80   Lebessi 1973, 190, pl. 188α; 1974, 227, pl. 168α; Papasavvas 2001, 254–5, figs. 160, 162: 54, 56.

81   Papasavvas 2001, 249–52, figs. 132–45: 48.

82   Papasavvas 2001, 252, figs. 146, 148: 49–50.

83   See Prent 2005, 359; see also the bronze finds from the Idaean Cave and the parallels from the cemetery of Eleutherna (Stampolidis 1998). I am indebted to Polly Muhly, who discusses these issues in her publication (2008) of the terracotta animals from Symi, for providing me with an advance copy of the relevant chapter and discussing this with me.

84   For rod tripods found in PG and G tombs (Fortetsa, Tekke, the North Cemetery, Vrokastro) and in sanctuaries (Symi, Palaikastro and Amnisos) see Papasavvas 2001, 246–9, figs. 113–23, 125–9, 131: 37–47.

85   Benton 1935; Maass 1977; Prent 2005, 379–83. The material from Symi is in preparation for publication.

86   Catling 1983, 51; see also Andreadaki-Vlazaki 1993, 475 for a bronze tripod in a Geometric tomb in western Crete; for a terracotta tripod cauldron from the North Cemetery, Knossos (although this is not unparalleled in tombs on the Greek mainland), see Coldstream and Catling 1996, 134, fig. 102: 3.

87   Watrous 1996, 80; Sjögren 2003, 61.

88   Prent 2005, 357–8.

89   Sjögren 2003, 58–9, 61, 65, 109–10.

90   Lebessi 1985, 188–97; 2002, 269–82.

91   Lebessi 1985, 191–2.

92   Perlman 2000, 77–8.

93   Watrous 1996, 104, 111.

94   Sjögren 2003, 59, 66.

gods.[95] Although this situation can be compared with the developments in cult practices in the rest of the Greek world,[96] it is not without connection to the general decline of Cretan art from the 6th century onwards, accompanied by the regression of Cretan economy, for which various reasons have been proposed.[97] Whatever the reasons were, this coincides with the beginning of a lack of interest in extra-urban sanctuaries, such as Symi, which was partially reversed only in the Hellenistic period.[98]

Gortyn offers a matching case for this state of affairs. By the end of the 7th century the Acropolis sanctuary was abandoned, sometime after the settlement itself had been deserted. A temple of Apollo was built in the plain and was thus contained within the settlement.[99] This setting is now considered as a place where cult could be carried out. This is when large open spaces, the so called *agorai*, were laid out in the vicinity of the cult buildings at other sites, too, serving the assembly of the local community.[100] These did not need to be so large as the terraces of Symi, since they were meant only for the local community. The gathering of people was now conducted within a civic context. The display of prosperity in a sacred context becomes a priority of the community, as a result of a procedure that had started almost a century earlier. It is evident that these edifices do not represent any dedications by individuals, but were the result of a new organisation of public life.[101] The display of personal wealth and individual status receded in the face of a newly formulated civic identity. Even tomb offerings decline in numbers and quality from this period.

This clear tendency for the centralisation of cult within the urban centres eventually eroded the popularity of the extra-urban sanctuaries.[102] From this period important cult activities were primarily celebrated in the civic contexts of the urban sanctuaries, which had by now become interdependent with the political institutions of the community. These developments probably also affected the choice of votives as well as the rituals. The new socio-political structures most probably incorporated the rites belonging to extra-urban environments into the network of the polis system. According to Lebessi, the initiation rites celebrated at Symi, probably from LM IIIC onwards, were dispersed tp the civic centres in the regions around Symi, following the gradual decline of the sanctuary, triggered in the 6th century. Indeed, several rites, similar to those practiced at Symi, although with different names, are recorded as celebrated in sanctuaries within settlements such as Lato, Phaistos and Knossos.[103]

In conclusion, two points may be stressed. First, this discussion was based on a highly selective presentation of cult features and sites and is consequently inapplicable to the entire island. Regional variations and social and political diversity are characteristic of Crete,[104] to the point that it can be postulated that Crete

is not one island but many and should not be treated as a single entity. Things were different from period to period in the same area, and from area to area in the same period. Second, Crete and Cyprus differ totally in their material attitudes to religion, their dedication practices and the means of social display. The juxtaposition and evaluation of these differences, however, can be extremely instructive.

VOTIVES FROM CYPRIOT SANCTUARIES: REGIONAL VERSUS ISLAND-WIDE INFLUENCE

Sabine Fourrier

Continuity of cult in Cypriot sanctuaries from the LBA into the Iron Age is dubious.[105] Very few sanctuaries from the CG period have been found. Most of them date from the early (beginning of CG I) or late (end of CG III) parts of the period,[106] without clear evidence of continuous occupation. One exception may be the Zeus sanctuary at Salamis located close to the Campanopetra site, which was apparently founded in the 11th century and abandoned towards the end of the 6th century BC.[107] As a result, very few votive assemblages from the CG period have been found. These Geometric votives have remarkably similar

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95   Erickson 2002, 77–9. At the same time, a sharp decrease in the amount of wealth deposited in tombs can also be observed (Perlman 2004*a*, 131).

96   Snodgrass 1980, 52–6, 62; 1990; Lebessi 2002, 293–6.

97   Whitley 1997, 659–60; Lebessi 1985, 218–19; 2002, 279–80, 294–6; Erickson 2002, 75–81; 2005; Perlman 2004*a*, esp. 118–22; Haggis *et al.* 2004, 344–5, 393.

98   Lebessi 1985, 197.

99   Perlman 2000, esp. 60, 69–77; Kotsonas 2002, 45.

100 Kourou 2003, 86.

101 Sjögren 2003, 60, 65.

102 Watrous 1996, 111; see, however, Sjögren 2003, 112.

103 Lebessi 1985, 197; 2002, 272; cf. Watrous 1996, 108–9; Erickson 2002, 75–6. It has also been proposed that the civic authorities under the name of *kosmoi*, known from Classical and later sources and epigraphically and iconographically attested by the 7th century BC at Symi, who were responsible for the administration of Cretan cities and also for the conduct of these rites in the cities, originated in cult management and were later used in a civic context as a means for competition in the acquisition of political offices by the elites, who no longer offered lavish dedications at distant sanctuaries (Willetts 1955, 120–3; Lebessi 1985, 146; Kotsonas 2002, 47).

104 Perlman 1992, 195.

105 On Cypriot sanctuaries of the LBA, see Webb 1999.

106 There is evidence for CG I cult activity in some LBA sanctuaries, as at Enkomi (Webb 1999, 146–9). Newly founded sanctuaries of the CG I period, like the Limassol–Komissariato site (Karageorghis 1977, 65), are exceptional and short-lived.

107 Yon 1993, 142–4.

characteristics, and only a few types can be distinguished, which are encountered on all sites without regional variations.[108]

A complete change occurs at the end of CG III and beginning of CA I. Sanctuaries spread and develop throughout the island, not only in the major urban settlements but in the countryside as well. Those sanctuaries, which were founded or re-founded at the dawn of the CA period, are continuously in use throughout the entire Iron Age.[109] They can be roughly classified as follows:

1) Urban sanctuaries are found in the major urban settlements (capital cities) of the Cypriot kingdoms. The most important of them occupy a central location, inside the city walls, often on a prominent position, as in the case of the Aphrodite sanctuary at Amathous and the Athena sanctuary at Idalion, which are both at the summit of their town acropolis, above the terrace occupied by the king's palace. The urban sanctuaries are closely linked to royal authority: Androkles, last king of Amathous, had statues of his sons set up in the Aphrodite sanctuary;[110] and the bronze tablet recording the award granted by the king and the *ptolis* of Idalion to Onasilos and his brothers specifies that it is to be kept in the Athena sanctuary.[111]

2) Peri-urban sanctuaries are located in the city outskirts, sometimes separated from the town by a river, as in the case of the Salamis–Toumba or the Tamassos–Phrangissa sanctuaries. Some of them are of the highest importance, as evidenced by the Apollo sanctuary at Kourion.[112]

3) Extra-urban sanctuaries are located in the countryside. They are often called 'rural sanctuaries', but this does not stress the close relationship between the city and its territories. As a matter of fact, 'rural' sanctuaries only developed after city-kingdoms intensified political control over their territories.[113]

VOTIVE ASSEMBLAGES FROM CYPRIOT SANCTUARIES

Votive assemblages vary greatly from one sanctuary to another. For example, metal artifacts are quite common at Idalion.[114] However, they are almost unattested at Amathous, and this cannot be due to a lack of copper, since Amathous was known as *fecunda metallis* by Ovid (*Met*. x. 220). The absence of metallic offerings at Amathous may be due to the diverging fates of the sanctuaries: the Athena sanctuary at Idalion was destroyed at the beginning of the 5th century BC, whereas the Aphrodite sanctuary at Amathous was still in use in the 7th century AD when an early Christian basilica was erected on its site. Also, the metallic offerings may have been re-melted during antiquity. More likely, the difference between the Idalion and

Amathous votive assemblages could be due to different cult uses or customs. For example, the Paphos region has yielded many enigmatic stone blocks or basins bearing the votary's name. Those stone votives are particularly numerous at the Rantidi sanctuary, and also among the votive offerings found in the so-called 'Persian siege ramp' at Kouklia.[115] They are barely known elsewhere on the island.

Votive assemblages may differ between sanctuaries in the same city. No stone sculpture was found in the Zeus sanctuary at Salamis, but they are common in the nearby sanctuary at Ayios Varnavas.[116] At Amathous, very few stone sculptures were discovered in the Aphrodite sanctuary, and most of them are small.[117] In the lower city, where a sanctuary dedicated to a male god was located, a colossus and parts of other colossal statues were found.[118] As a matter of fact, this situation exists at most Cypriot sites: only small offerings were dedicated in the main urban sanctuaries of the city. For example, only small terracottas were found in the Zeus sanctuary at Salamis,[119] but many large-size terracottas were found in the peri-urban sanctuary at Salamis–Toumba (FIG. 16.6). The same is true when comparing terracottas from the Athena and the Aphrodite sanctuaries at Idalion, or the finds from the Demeter sanctuary at the heart of the ancient city of Tamassos and those of the peri-urban sanctuary at Tamassos–Phrangissa.[120] One possible explanation is that peri-urban sanctuaries had a demonstrative role: a massive number of large stone or terracotta statues probably made a strong impression on visitors entering the city, as well as demonstrating the power and wealth of the city-kingdom.

Although votive offerings from a particular kingdom may differ in scale or iconography, they all share common stylistic features. As of the CA I period, the art of Cyprus is marked by the development of local styles, the so-called 'regional' or 'provincial styles' of Gjerstad.[121] These local styles reflect the consolidation

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108 See, for example, the corpus of CG terracottas: Karageorghis 1993.

109 Fourrier 2007*a*, 121–4.

110 Aupert 1996, 120.

111 *ICS*² 217.

112 Buitron-Oliver 1996. The Apollo Hylates sanctuary may however be a special case: no major urban sanctuary, which should be located on the Kourion bluff where the Iron Age city presumably was, has been found.

113 Fourrier 2007*a*, 121–4.

114 See, for example, the metallic bowls now in the Louvre (Caubet *et al*. 1992, 74–7).

115 Mitford and Masson 1983; Masson and Mitford 1986.

116 Yon 1974.

117 Hermary 2000.

118 Hermary 2007.

119 Monloup 1984.

120 Fourrier 2007*a*, 39–42, 45–7.

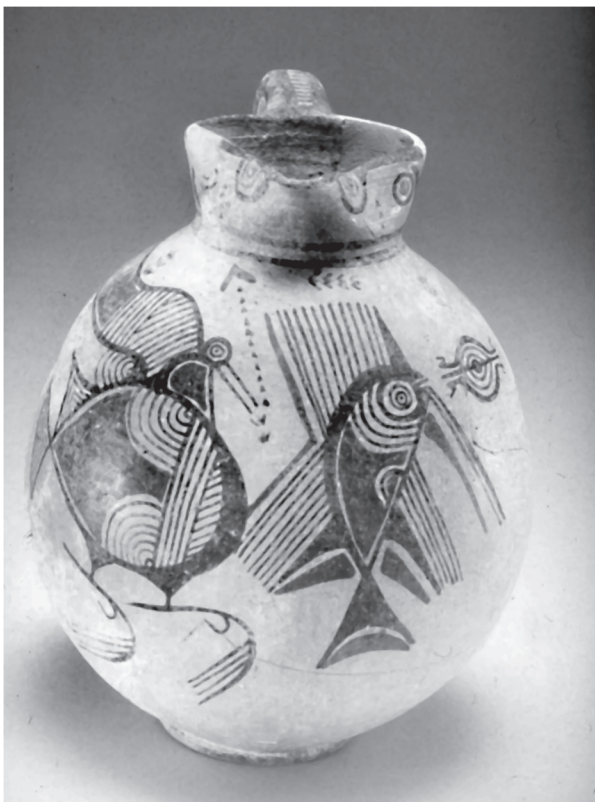121 Fourrier 2007*b*.

Fig. 16.6 (above). Terracotta head from Salamis–Toumba (CM). Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

Fig. 16.7 (right). Terracotta head from Idalion (Louvre). Photograph by Fourrier.

Fig. 16.8 (left). Bichrome jug (Eretz Israel Museum), after Karageorghis and Olenik (1997, 123).

Fig. 16.9 (above). Bichrome jug from Amathous. Photograph by P. Collet.

of cultural, and therefore political, entities. The existence of different styles is particularly obvious in ceramics and terracottas. Compare the elongated shapes and luxurious decoration of the Salaminian vases with the squat Amathousian shapes on which the figurative decoration, when it exists, is reduced to a simpler geometric figure (FIGS. 16.8–16.9). Similarly, although the workshops of Idalion and Salamis produce the same large-size moulded terracottas, the smooth features of the Salaminian heads with almond-shaped eyes and fleshy lips widely differ from the Idalian heads with their peculiar features, big nose and bulging eyes (FIGS. 16.6–16.7).

For the most part, votives from Cypriot sanctuaries are locally produced. Very few ceramic imports were dedicated in the Aphrodite sanctuary at Amathous,[122] but they were found in large numbers in contemporary tombs or in the nearby palace. Salaminian-style terracottas dominate the findings in sanctuaries not only at Salamis and its surroundings, but in a vast area across the eastern part of the island.[123] This distribution pattern gives important clues regarding the extension of Salaminian cultural influence, and may reflect the territorial extension of the Salaminian kingdom.

Does all this imply that Cypriot sanctuaries had no extra-regional influence, and that they were frequented only by locals? The distribution pattern of cultic epithets may provide some insights. The great goddess of Golgoi, the *Golgia*, was worshipped at Chytroi, Idalion, Arsos and Achna.[124] A stone chest from Chytroi–Skali is inscribed in Cypro-syllabic script 'of the *Golgia*'.[125] A silver spoon, presumably discovered in the Aphrodite sanctuary at Idalion, carries the Cypro-syllabic inscription: 'Dedication of Ammys to the Goddess the Golgian'.[126] Four additional dedications to the *Golgia,* in alphabetic script, were discovered, three at Arsos, one at Achna.[127] One may argue that Golgoi, Idalion and Arsos are close together, that they probably belonged to the same kingdom of Idalion in Archaic times, and that the influence of the Golgian goddess did therefore not spread beyond kingdom boundaries. This may even apply to the site of Chytroi, which displays mixed Idalian and Salaminian influences. However, this cannot be true for Achna, whose material culture demonstrates close connections with Salamis. Besides, although Chytroi never belonged to the kingdom of Paphos, stone chests were discovered at Chytroi with dedications to the *Paphia*.[128] The offerings found in the Chytroi sanctuaries are Salaminian and Idalian in style, and they show that Chytroi was probably located on the borders of the kingdoms of Salamis and Idalion in Archaic times.[129] But Chytroi sanctuaries also display Paphian influence through their cult practices: dedications are inscribed on stone chests or basins, following a custom barely attested outside the Paphos region; and two other inscriptions from Chytroi are dedicated to the god *Hylates*, well known in the region of Paphos.[130] Who

then were the votaries? The number of inscriptions suggests that they were not dedicated by Paphians but rather by locals worshipping Paphian divinities and conforming to Paphian rites. Prototimos, priest of the *Paphia*, who made a dedication to the Paphian Aphrodite at Chytroi, was certainly a local.[131] At Paphos, Aphrodite is *Wanassa* and her priest is the Paphian king.[132] However, the case of the Chytroi sanctuaries is an exception. When in foreign sanctuaries, foreigners usually seemed to conform to local customs. The Aphrodite sanctuary at Paphos probably attracted many foreign votaries, who must have followed Paphian rites, since the votives dedicated in the sanctuary are of local production.

VOTIVES AND VOTARIES

Most importantly, votives give no clue as to the ethnic origin of the votaries. Vermeule suggested, some time ago, that the dresses and hairstyle of the Archaic stone sculptures reflected the ethnic origin of the votaries.[133] But Cypriots readily adopted foreign iconographies. For instance, there was a pan-Cypriot royal model adopted by the Cypriot elite, Phoenician, 'Eteocypriot' or Greek. They were buried in monumental tombs, with horse inhumations in the dromos. They consecrated royal-type statues in sanctuaries, wearing Assyrian dress or Egyptian crown, both symbols of royal power. As Hermary has recently demonstrated, the beautiful statues found in the Apollo sanctuary at Idalion, wearing Greek dress and hairstyle, must belong, because of their date, to the royal Phoenician dynasty of Kition and Idalion.[134] The same is true for votives representing gods and goddesses. At the same time and at the same place (for example at Amathous), votaries chose to dedicate representations of the Egyptian goddess Hathor and of a naked goddess of Syro-Palestinian origin.[135] Votaries did not worship Hathor or a Phoenician goddess; on

122 Fourrier and Hermary 2006, 95.
123 Fourrier 2007*a*, 24, fig. 2.
124 On cultic epithets of the great goddess in Cypro-syllabic script, see Karageorghis 1997.
125 *ICS*² 250c.
126 *ICS*² 219.
127 *ICS*², 275.
128 *ICS*², 259–65; Karageorghis 1997, 112–14.
129 Fourrier 2007*a*, 36–7.
130 *ICS*² 250, 250a.
131 *ICS*² 234.
132 Karageorghis 1997, 115–18.
133 Vermeule 1974.
134 Hermary 2005.
135 The Amathousian goddess can appear in both images even when assuming the same function. For instance, as protector of the king, she is 'Hathor' on stone capitals (Hermary 2000, 144–9) and 'Astarte' on a royal sarcophagus now in the Metropolitan Museum (Karageorghis *et al*. 2000, 201–4).

the contrary both images adapted well to the personality of the Amathousian goddess.

Votive inscriptions again provide important insights. Greek- and Phoenician-speaking votaries made the same dedications in the same sanctuaries. Translations of the divinities' Greek names into Phoenician are quite common. The goddess of Idalion is called Athena on the bronze tablet and on votive inscriptions in Greek. She was called Anat by Phoenician worshippers.[136] A bilingual inscription from the Apollo sanctuary at Idalion provides *Rashap Mikal* for the Greek *Apollo Amyklos*.[137] The votary, father of king Milkyatôn, but certainly not king himself, bears the title *adon*, which is an exact translation of the Greek *wanax*. This honorific title was reserved to the king's relatives, as Isocrates informs us (ix [*Evag.*]. 72). Some time later, at Paphos, a Phoenician votary makes a dedication to *Astarte Papa*, which is the exact translation for the contemporary Greek *Aphrodite Paphia*.[138]

Inscriptions from Paphos demonstrate that the kings dedicated the same stone blocks or basins as did other, more ordinary, votaries.[139] Of course, royal type statues, because of their cost, were reserved for the elite. Some dedications, for example, the *thesauros* dedicated to the *Kypria* by king Androkles, are special and rare offerings.[140] But, generally, all votaries, kings or ordinary people, conformed to local customs. The Cypriot elite did not show their connections with foreign countries or their ability to acquire rare and expensive works in the sanctuaries.

VOTIVES IN CYPRIOT SANCTUARIES AND OTHER CONTEXTS

This conclusion is obvious if we compare votives from sanctuaries with tombs or palace finds. The dearth of foreign imports in sanctuaries is striking, when compared to the numerous finds from the contemporary tombs or palaces. At Amathous, only a few Greek ceramic imports have been discovered in the sanctuary. Many, however, were found in the palace: not only commercial amphorae, but fine vessels as well, some of the highest quality.[141] The palace also yielded some East Greek terracottas, barely known among the sanctuary finds.[142] Besides, in the sanctuary the syllabic script is used until the late 4th century BC, and then an Eteocypriot version, written in syllabic script, is added to the Greek alphabetic text, as on the two dedications made by the last king of Amathous, Androkles.[143] On the contrary, at least two fragmentary vases from the palace bear inscriptions in the Greek alphabetic script.[144] Both are certainly of Archaic date and were inscribed locally, since they were painted before firing on locally produced vases. Thus, the sanctuary appears as a conservative place, which reflects the cultural traditions of a community. It is not there that the Cypriot elite display its relationship with the Greek world, but in the spheres of tombs and palaces. Architectural

monumentality is also reserved to those 'private' spheres. With the exception of the Kouklia and Kition–Kathari sanctuaries, which reuse LBA ashlar buildings, most Cypriot sanctuaries are of the open-air type, with only altars and small chapels.

We possess several inscriptions from Greek Panhellenic sanctuaries, which are dedications by Cypriot votaries. The earliest is of the 7th century BC on a bronze tripod foot found at Delphi.[145] We do not know the social status of the votary called Hermaios, but we may infer from the quality of his offering that he belonged to the Cypriot elite. One century later, king Evelthon of Salamis dedicated a bronze *thymiaterion* to Apollo, as Herodotus (iv. 162) informs us, whereas later on king Nikokreon offered a rare stag to the same god (Ael. *NA* xi. 40). Inscriptions from Delos are more explicit. We learn that the king of Amathous, Androkles, dedicated a crown to Apollo.[146] The kings Pnytagoras and Nikokreon of Salamis made dedications to the Delian god as well.[147] So why did the kings of Salamis make dedications to the Apollo of Delphi and Delos and not to the Aphrodite of Paphos? The answer seems obvious: because Cypriot kingdoms were not Greek cities. Relationships between Cypriot kingdoms were relationships between kings; they did not use the sanctuaries as intermediaries. One possible archaeological illustration of such a relationship between kings is the two golden bracelets, presumably found at Kourion, belonging to Etewandros, king of Paphos.[148] If not part of some booty, they may have been given as a gift from the Paphian king to his Kourian counterpart (FIG. 16.10). Contact, emulation, and competition between Cypriot elites took place in the private spheres, on the occasion of funerary ceremonies or during banquets in the palaces. They did not take place in the public space of sanctuaries.

The development of sanctuaries and, accordingly, of votive offerings in Iron Age Cyprus is certainly linked to the consolidation of the Cypriot kingdoms.[149] Accelerated by the kingdoms' submission to the

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136 Masson and Sznycer 1972, 108–11.

137 *ICS*² 220; Lipinski 1987.

138 Masson and Sznycer 1972, 81–6.

139 Masson and Mitford 1986.

140 Fourrier and Hermary 2006, 152–4.

141 For the Archaic period, see the fragments discovered in the palatial deposit on the west terrace: Thalmann 1977.

142 Hermary 2000, 103–5.

143 Hellmann and Hermary 1980, 259–66; Masson and Hermary 1982.

144 Aupert 2003.

145 Rolley and Masson 1971.

146 *IG* xi. 135. 39–41.

147 Chavane and Yon 1978, 141: 295–6; 147: 311–12.

148 Mitford 1971, 7–11.

149 Iacovou 2002.

Fig. 16.10. Modern reproduction of the gold bracelet of Etewandros, after Mitford (1971, 8).

Assyrian empire, this evolution led to the development of neatly distinct cultural entities. Inserted into a vast inter-regional trading network, Cypriot kingdoms had to exert a stronger control on their territories and they evolved into centralised polities. The numerous extra-urban sanctuaries played a vital role in this new organisation, as public places where the community gathered around common cults, and as economic stations of the city-capital.

This political model is completely different from the Greek city-state. In Aegean Greece, major urban and political centres developed only after scattered settlements had united into polis, as in the well known case of Athens. The reverse happened in Cyprus: secondary sites are an offspring of primary urban settlements, which were already established in the 11th century BC.[150] There was no shift in Cyprus from the private sphere to the public one, as it occurred during the formation of the Greek city-states, from the Geometric necropolis to the Archaic sanctuaries. The existence of a pan-Cypriot royal model, regardless of the ethnic origin of the elite, confines exotic and prestigious items to the private sphere of the tombs or in the palace. Cypriot sanctuaries preserved a common cultural tradition, and this function is epitomised by the major urban sanctuaries, which must have played a symbolic role in defining the community's identity. Contrary to many Greek sanctuaries, they were not showcases where individuals could demonstrate their wealth and *xenia* relationships with the world overseas.

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150   Iacovou 1994.

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