Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens · II

Edited by Søren Dietz & Signe Isager

Aarhus Universitetsforlag
Langelandsgade 177
8200 Århus N

The publication was sponsored by:
The Danish Research Council for the Humanities.
Consul General Gösta Enbom's Foundation.
Konsul Georg Jorck og hustru Emma Jorck's Fond.

Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens

General Editor: *Søren Dietz* and *Signe Isager*
Graphic design and Production by: *Freddy Pedersen*

Printed in Denmark on permanent paper

ISBN 87 7288 722 2

Distributed by:
AARHUS UNIVERSITY PRESS
University of Aarhus
DK-8000 Århus C
Fax (+45) 8619 8433

73 Lime Walk
Headington, Oxford OX3 7AD
Fax (+44) 865 750 079

Box 511
Oakvill, Conn. 06779
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The drawing reproduced as cover illustration represents Kristian Jeppesen's proposal for the restoration of the Maussolleion, in particular of the colonnade (PTERON) in which portrait statues of members of the Hecatomnid dynasty said to have been carved by the famous artists Scopas, Bryaxis, Timotheos, and Leochares were exhibited.
Drawing by the author, see p. 173, Abb. 5, C.

The Early Sanctuary of the Argive Heraion and its External Relations (8th - Early 6th Cent. B.C.)

Bronze Imports and Archaic Greek Bronzes

Ingrid Strøm

Abstract

The present article continues my studies of the Greek Geometric Bronzes from the Argive Heraion (IS IV) which concluded that until the early 7th Cent. B.C., the Greek bronzes of Argos and the Argive Heraion differed to such a degree as to indicate the sanctuary as independent of the settlement of Argos.

Similar results concerning the bronze imports having been reached earlier (IS II), the significance of Near Eastern imports of bronze vessels in wine sets is now stressed, suggesting that the introduction of banquets with wine shortly before 700 B.C. to some Greek sanctuaries was influenced via Phrygia. The banquet implements in general emphasize the cult correspondance of the two North East Peloponnesian Hera sanctuaries, the Argive Heraion and the Heraion of Perachora.

Until the early 6th Cent. B.C., the Archaic Greek bronzes at the Argive Heraion are sporadic apart from fibulae and some banquetting vases, and in contemporary Argos they are almost absent. However, from the second quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C., a rich production of banquetting implements, a beginning of local bronze mirror manufacture and, in particular, several fine bronze statuettes indicate a revival of the cult life at the Argive Heraion. From now on, the bronze sculptures at the Argive Heraion and Argos appear inseparable, continuing a stylistic tradition which developed at Argos already in the LG Period, but previously was unidentified at the Heraion, and showing a correspondance of the two sites, also in their outside relations, especially to the Corinthia and Laconia. The Archaic Greek bronze sculptures, in particular, suggest that by the early 6th Cent. B. C., the Argive Heraion formed an integral part of the territories of the city-state of Argos, presumably having been appropriated sometime between the years 675 and 575 B.C.

I. Introduction

The present paper should be seen as an immediate continuation of my article on the Greek Geometric bronzes from the Argive Heraion which concluded that its Greek Geometric and early 7th Cent. bronzes differed in so many respects from the contemporary bronzes of the sanctuaries and tombs of the settlement of Argos as to give the impression of two sites independent of each other.[1] Previously, similar conclusions were reached from the studies of the early monumental architecture of the Argive Heraion compared with that of Argos as well as for the early Near Eastern connections of the two sites.[2]

As stated in these papers, the ultimate purpose of my studies is a deeper understanding of the relations between the Argive Heraion and Argos during the period of the emerging city-states with a view to a more general insight into the role played by the sanctuaries in this crucial development.[3] The present paper deals with the imported bronzes and their close Greek imitations as well as with the Early Archaic bronzes of the 7th and the first half of the 6th Centuries B.C. The bronzes may provide a chronological frame for the time, when the bronzes of the two sites – and thus the relations they represent – appear inseparable, possibly an indication that the Argive Heraion was no longer an independent establishment, but had passed under direct control of the city of Argos, such

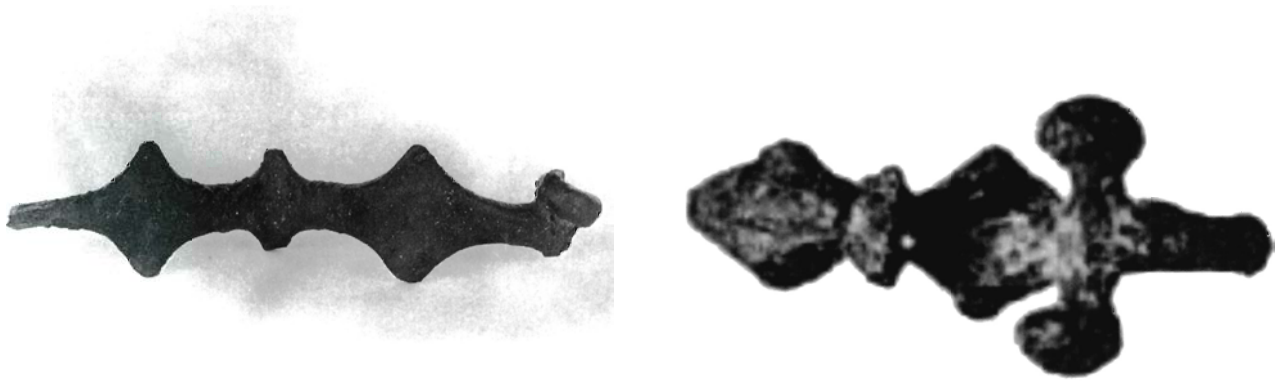

Fig. 1 A - B. Athens. National Museum. NM 23082 and 14032. Italic Bronze Fibulae "a serpeggianti". A. AH 853. Museum Photo. B. AH 854. From AH II, pl. LXXXVI.

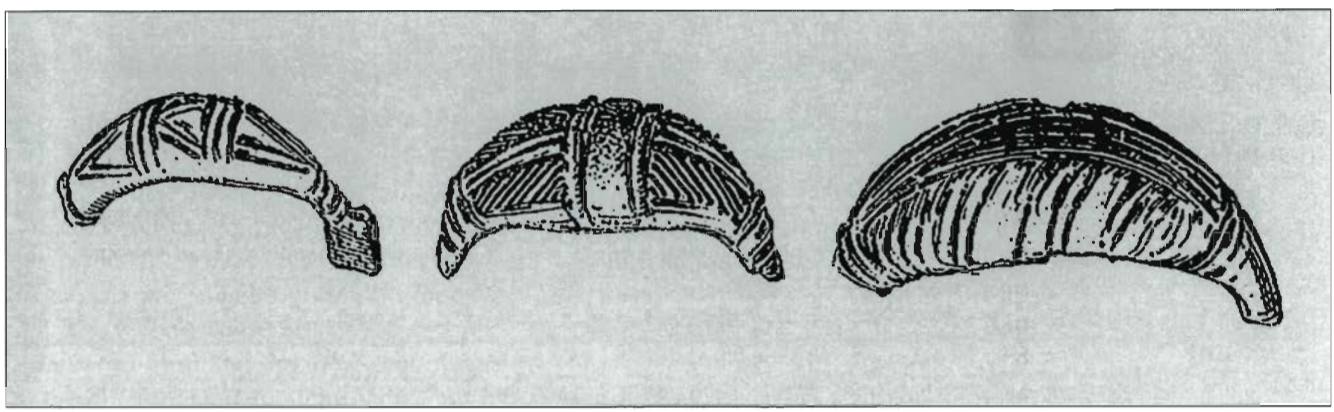

Fig. 2. AH 855 - 857. Italic Bronze Fibulae "Navicella/Sanguisuga". Drawings. From AH II, pl. LXXXVI.

as was definitely the situation in the Classical Period.

The paper will be divided into two main parts, one dealing with the bronze imports and the other with the Archaic Greek bronzes. The lettering of the sections is continued from my article on Geometric bronzes, the first three sections of which apply to both papers.[4] As in my previous paper on the Geometric bronzes, material from the votive deposits near the Heraion will be included and the studies of the Argos bronzes will primarily be based on the finds in the sanctuaries, only secondarily on the bronzes in the Argos tombs.

The Bronze Imports and their Close Greek Imitations

J. Italic Bronzes

The Argive Heraion

The few Italic bronzes at the Argive Heraion comprise five fibulae, AH 853 - 857, only one of which, AH 855, had a known find spot, the Back of South Stoa. They are all fragmentary, only their arches being preserved.

AH 853 - 854 (NM 14032 and 23082) are fibulae "a drago ", of which only AH 854 has one of its pair of globes preserved. In their fragmentary state, they measure 6 and 4.35 cm., respectively (Fig. 1).[5]

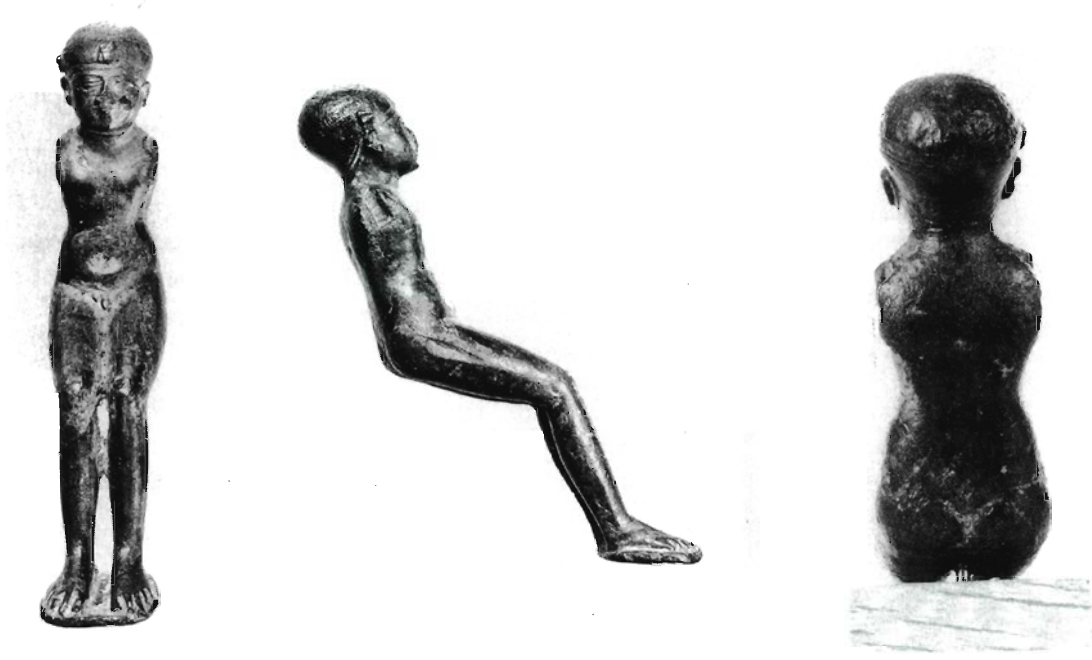

Fig. 3 A - C. Athens. National Museum. NM 16554. Egyptian Bronze Statuette of Harpocrates. Argive Heraion. A - B. Photo American School of Classical Studies. C. Museum Photo.

AH 855 - 857 are of sanguisuga/navicella fibula types. Judging from their description, AH 855 is a sanguisuga fibula, its arch measuring 2.45 cm. in length, while AH 856 and AH 857 are navicella fibulae, their arches measuring 2.5 and 3.35 cm. respectively. All three fibulae have engraved Geometric ornamentation (Fig. 2).[6]

According to Kilian, the " a drago" fibulae in Greece were of South Italian or Sicilian origin and this observation may apply also to the sanguisuga/navicella fibulae.[7] As in Italy the former type was connected with male, the latter with female dress,[8] their dedicators may perhaps be differentiated accordingly. Without knowledge of the length of the pins, the exact chronology of the Argive Heraion Italic fibulae is not easy to establish, but they are dated within the period of the second half of the 8th Cent. B.C. and the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C.[9] Genuinely Italic fibulae are known in Greece from many sanctuaries as well as from one tomb, in Exochi on Rhodes.[10]

Of the arched fibulae with disks of bone, amber or ivory, there are several examples at the Argive Heraion, all Greek imitations; one has preserved some of its bone disks, while one separate ivory disk shows remnants of the arch. Amber disks of imported Italic fibulae were found on Samos, but most examples in Greece are imitations, known from many islands as well as the Mainland sanctuaries of Olympia, Perachora, Pherai and Sparta.[11]

AH 1800 (NM 20689) is a small fragment of a basin rim with raised points, measuring 9.2 × 4.8 cm.[12] There are similar Etruscan bronze vessels in Olympia, Perachora and Kerkyra; they were produced from the early 7th Cent. until the 5th Cent. B.C. and had a very wide distribution area, which besides Central Italy included Magna Graecia and Northern Italy as well as Europe north of Italy.[13] Although of Central Italic origin, the basin may have reached the Argive Heraion via Magna Graecia.

In general, the Italic bronze offerings at the Argive Heraion are of humble character and as such would have been given by private persons, in most cases probably Greeks.[14]

The neighbouring votive deposits and Argos

No early Etruscan/Italic fibulae or other bronzes are published from either of these sites. There is thus no reason to assume that the Italic fibulae at the Argive Heraion reached the sanctuary via the settlement of Argos and its trading relations.

K. Egyptian Bronzes.

The Argive Heraion

Only one Argive Heraion bronze is definitely of Egyptian origin, the statuette of the Horus child or Harpocrates from Blegen's excavations of the Southern Slope (NM 16554) (Fig. 3). It is a seated, nude, young male, his feet resting on a plinth. It measures 9. 3 cm. in height. Like several other Egyptian bronze figures, it was apparently hollow cast, still with its casting core inside. It has a fine greenish-black patina and is comparatively well preserved, although the head which measures 1.75 cm. in height is somewhat damaged, the nose and the facial features badly rubbed. Except for its lower part in very low relief, the Uraeus is missing. The head wears a veil, visible in front and behind the ears; its border is rendered in a double line and it is decorated with an 0.1 cm. broad ribbon with grooved outline and engraved transverse strokes. The hair lock on the right-hand side of the head is missing, only remnants being observable just above the right ear. The head is oval, the fore-head low. The naturalistic left ear is well preserved, of the right ear only the lobe remains. The eyes and eye-brows are elongated and delicately formed; the mouth is small, but full. The details of the childish body are rather soft and vague. The arms which are missing were made separately and placed in rectangular sockets, 0.55 cm. high and 0.3 cm. wide. In general, it is a very fine, small sculpture.[15]

Similar Harpocrates statuettes were found in Greece on the Athenian Acropolis and in the Heraion of Samos.[16] Blegen dated the Argive Heraion statuette to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664 - 525 B.C.). However, according to Bianchi, the separately cast arms attached by a mortise-and-tenon system represent a tradition of the Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1070 - 656 B.C.). Judging from technical and stylistic criteria as well as from its very fine execution, a work of the Nubian Twenty-fifth Dynasty (719 - 656 B.C.) seems a more likely date,[17] taking into account also the general absolute chronology of Egyptian bronze figures found in Greece. Many are definitely products of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, as e.g. the nude female figures with movable limbs, two of which come from Rhodes and two from the Heraion of Samos, besides fragments of several others.[18]

The largest collection of Egyptian bronzes in Greece, that of the Samian Heraion, numbers more than 130 items, dated from the second half of the 8th Cent. B.C. onwards; most are of Twenty-fifth Dynasty date, others at least produced and dedicated before 600 B.C.[19] Even though Egyptian bronzes arrived in Greece from the Second Millenium B.C. until Hellenistic times[20] and several Egyptian bronze vases from Crete and Lefkandi on Euboea can be dated to the 9th Cent. B.C.,[21] most Egyptian bronzes found outside Samos are of the same types as the Samian Heraion ones and presumably have the same general absolute chronology. This applies to Egyptian bronzes from Rhodes, either from the Athena Sanctuary of Kameiros or without exact provenance, as well as to the mirror with Mut inscription from the Heraion of Perachora, dated to the early 7th Cent. B.C., whereas the chronology of the fragmentary Ibis figure at the Athena Sanctuary of Miletos is uncertain.[22]

Although the Argive Heraion Harpocrates statuette was not found in a secure context, it seems likely to be dated within the same period as the majority of Egyptian bronzes from Greece, i.e. in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the late 8th Cent. or the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C.

The neighbouring votive deposits

There are no genuinely Egyptian bronzes at any of the two neighbouring votive deposits, the Hera sanctuary west of the Heraion and the deposits of the Mycenaean tombs of Prosymna. However, in one of the latter deposits, that of Tomb IX, probably dated to the early 7th Cent. B.C., a seal ring of silver was found, in form imitating an Egyptian ring, its incuse decoration of Geometric character.[23]

Argos

I do not know of any Egyptian bronzes from Argos during the period in question.

There is thus no reason to assume that the two representatives of early Egyptian contacts at and near the Argive Heraion, the Harpocrates statuette and the model for the seal ring from Prosymna Tomb IX, both presumably dated to not later than the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C., arrived via Argos. On the contrary, the distribution pattern of the Egyptian bronzes in 8th - 7th Cent. B.C. Greece, rather points to specific relations between Egypt and certain Athena and Hera sanctuaries in Greece, most Egyptian bronzes of that period apparently having been found in sanctuaries of one or other of the two goddesses, the Athenian Acropolis and the Athena Sanctuary of Kameiros, on the one hand, the Argive Heraion and the Heraia of Perachora and Samos, on the other. The two mirrors with Mut inscriptions from the Heraia of Perachora and Samos, dated to ca. 700 - 670 and ca. 650 - 620 B.C., respectively, suggest an early identification of Mut with Hera, and thus an insight into the Egyptian religious milieu which may have existed among the officials of the two distant Greek Hera sanctuaries. The identification of Neith with Athena may also be early.[24] The extremely large number of Egyptian bronzes at the Heraion of Samos signify a central role for this sanctuary in the Egyptian/Greek contacts of the late 8th and first half of the 7th Century B.C.

L. Near Eastern Bronzes

The Argive Heraion.

The imported Near Eastern bronzes at the Argive Herion chiefly consist of two main groups, North Syrian/Assyrian and Phrygian.

To the former group belong a fibula, AH 882 (NM 20894), two fragmentary rib phialai, dated to the late 8th or the 7th Cent. B.C., AH 2017 and 2018 (NM 20589 α and β)[25] and three fragments of attachment plates or handles of *North Syrian* cauldrons.

Of one attachment plate, only the tail feathers of a siren is preserved, slightly curved for the placing on the shoulder of the cauldron, AH 49 (NM 13988). The fragment measures 5.9 cm. in length, 8.9 cm. in largest width and 0.65 cm. in thickness; the one preserved nail hole is centrally placed in the upper row of the engraved tail feathers, some of which have a double central line, while others, like the feathers of the lower row, have single lines; all feathers have small, irregular, transverse strokes. As normal for the sirens' attachments, the tail feathers form an edge of irregular semicurves. Apart from a few attachments of presumably Assyrian/Babylonian origin, all Near Eastern siren atttachments are considered North Syrian in origin. According to Herrmann, AH 49 belongs to his early "Werkstatt A", with counterparts in Gordion, Tumulus MM.[26]

Another fragment consists of the end piece of the left wing of a siren attachment with the hand of the siren preserved and a solid cast standing bull on top of the plate, NM 16552 (Fig. 4). The object was found NE of the Argive Heraion, the cauldron apparently being originally placed on the Old Temple Terrace. The length of the plate is 5.3 cm., its width 5.1 cm, its largest thickness 0.7 cm. (at the siren's hand one cm); the length of the bull is 10.5 cm., its height 7. 5 cm. The outermost one cm. of the plate is almost flat, but underneath the

Fig. 4. Athens. National Museum. NM 16552. Fragmentary Siren Attachment with Standing Bull. Argive Heraion. Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Athen. Neg. Nos. 72/1680 - 72/1677 and NM 4285.

bull figure the plate is slightly curved, adapted to its position on the shoulder of the cauldron. The lower edge has irregular semicurves like the tail feathers of AH 49. The front hooves of the bull end in a one cm. broad flange at 90 degrees to the plate, indicating its fastening to the rim of the cauldron. Only one nail hole is partly preserved, at the break just below the siren's hand, ca. 0.5 cm. in diameter. The engraved details of the plate are less complicated than those of the former attachment; chiefly, they consist of irregular, small strokes, but just at the break, the outline of one obliquely placed feather can be observed. Nor does the hand of the siren show as many details as the siren attachments in general; for example, apart from the separate thumb, there is no indication of fingers. However, these differences may be due to difficulties in engraving underneath or close to the bull figure to which the engraved details in general pay regard. Just at the break, the siren's arm seems to be of a higher relief; possibly it is wearing an arm ring. In accordance with most other scholars, I cannot see this fragment as anything but part of a siren attachment plate, as first identified by Kunze.[27]

The horns and right ear of the bull are broken, the right hindleg is damaged,and there are several cavities in the surface; otherwise the figure is well preserved. The bull stands leaning forward and asymmetrically placed on the plate, its head and slanting forelegs inclined towards the siren, thus indicating a counterpart at the other end of the plate. The head of the bull was presumably originally almost square, but because of damage in the mould at its left-hand side, the muzzle is misshaped. The eyes are large and oval, with raised lids and brows; only one bored nostril is preserved; the mouth is a horizontal groove. The head shows a rich engraved decoration: between the horns are two parallel lines and below them a triangular, crosshatched mane lock, ending between the eyes. On the right-hand side of the head, the muzzle is bordered by two parallel, semicircular grooves. The body is heavy and, except for its underside, engraved overall with lines, in series of small points and transverse strokes, which sometimes, e.g. on the ridge of the back and the front of the neck, form a herring bone pattern. Although essentially schematic, the engraving indicates neck folds, shoulder and ribs. The long tail which is slung on the back of the bull also shows transverse strokes and ends in long vertical lines. Only the hooves have no engraved details.

Stylistically, the bull with its square face, large, oval eyes with raised surroundings and, in general, heavy build corresponds well with other North Syrian bull renderings and, as observed by Kunze, its many incised details are of the same character as those of the North Syrian sirens. I see no reason to doubt that the bull was attached to a siren attachment plate of a North Syrian cauldron.[28]

Fig. 5. Delphi. Inv. No. 8399. Fragmentary Siren Attachment with Standing Bull. Photo. Ecole Francaise d'Archéologie. Athènés. Neg. Nos. 31259, 31260 and 31217.

An apparent counterpart to NM 16552 was found in Delphi, Inv. No.8399 (Fig. 5), also a standing bull on a fragmentary plate.[29] However, this object has many strange traits, as recognized by Muscarella. The solid cast bull is placed on the plate in such a way that its hindlegs are considerably longer than the forelegs and their lower parts are shapeless. Except for a missing small triangle, the plate is whole, its edge at both sides forming a series of small semicurves. The plate measures 13.2 cm × 9.2 cm. its thickness varying between 0.7 and 0.9 cm. The plate has no nail hole; on the contrary, to the left of the bull, there is a raised, round irregularity of about half a cm. in diameter, corresponding with an irregularity on the unworked underside of the plate. The forelegs of the bull end in a flange like that of the Argive Heraion plate, but the plate is not adapted to the curvature of a cauldron. There are faint traces of transverse strokes on the top of the plate, but only on its left-hand side, terminating under the body of the bull, in a line between its forelegs and hindlegs.

From the plate a left human arm reaches up, grasping the bull's right foreleg with the thumb in front of the leg, but otherwise almost shapeless. The bull itself is considerably larger than the Argive Heraion bull, measuring 14. cm. in length. Because of the strange way of its fastening to the plate, with the much larger hind legs, the head and forepart of the body forms a slanting line. Like the Argive Heraion bull, it is asymmetrically placed on the plate, presupposing a counterpart, for which, however, there is no room. Its general appearance corresponds well with that of the former bull, only its details are much vaguer, and although the tips of the horns are missing, they were not broken.

Taken into account all these anomalies, I cannot reach any other conclusion than that the Delphi plate was formed over a fragmentary attachment plate of the same type as the Argive Heraion bull plate, but with only the forelegs of the bull still attached, the break running between fore- and hindlegs. Not only the larger dimensions point in this direction. The original plate fragment (the left side), with remnants of one nail still preserved, was evidently added to and a corresponding edge of semicurves formed on the new part. The hindlegs of the bull, apparently twisted in breaking, had to be prolonged to reach the reconstructed flat plate. The bull was partly left unaltered, with its horns broken, the surface worn, and the engraved details vaguely visible, partly reshaped with prolonged hindlegs. The new, clumsy human arm indicates at least a memory of an arm on the original plate. In contrast to the Argive Heraion bull plate, this object could not possibly decorate a cauldron. Remodelled into a new, separate object, the Delphi dedication at any rate offers evidence of the one-time existence of one more siren attachment plate with a standing bull similar to the Argive Heraion

plate and of the same origin, in my opinion North Syrian. Whether the original may come from the same cauldron as the AH attachment plate I do not find it possible to determine.

The close stylistic and typological relationship between the standing bull on the Argive Heraion attachment plate and the animal handles of Near Eastern bronze cauldrons, speaks for the North Syrian origin also of the latter group, as suggested by Kunze and Herrmann.[30] Herrmann proposed the existence of more than one workshop and other scholars question the theory of North Syrian origin of the animal handles. However, for the majority, their close stylistic correspondance with the Argive Heraion bull speaks for the same origin.[31]

The solid cast animal handle of a goat, AH 21 (NM 13970), found buried in a sort of pocket at the Archaic Temple foundations, also fits in well with North Syrian animal figures. It measures almost 12 cm. in length and 9.6 cm. in height; it is rather worn and its comparatively sturdy body is without details, but its head with its curved, knobbed horns, its large oval eyes with raised lids and brows, finds parallels in North Syrian goat renderings.[32]

The North Syrian cauldrons with either siren attachments or animal handles are dated to the late 8th Cent. B.c., reaching into the 7th Cent. B.C.[33] Judging from their find places at the Argive Heraion, both North Syrian cauldrons of which NM 16552 and AH 21 formed part, were presumably originally placed on the Old Temple Terrace. My suggestion that the ten metre wide terrace west and south of the Archaic Temple was meant for display of such monumental objects has been favourably received by J. Hall and I still find it a reasonable explanation for this large open area.[34] However, the acquisition and primary function of the North Syrian bronze cauldrons I now see in connection with the introduction in some Greek sanctuaries of banquets of Near Eastern tradition including wine.[35]

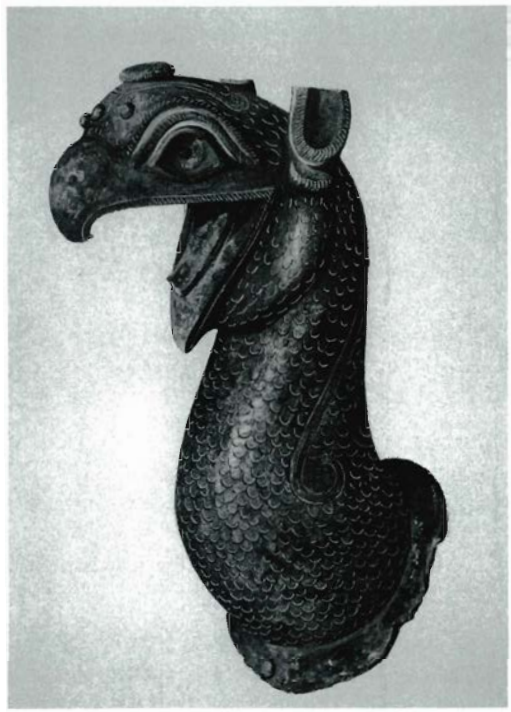

Fig. 6. Athens. National Museum. NM 16563. Cast Griffin Protome. Argive Heraion. Photo. American School of Classical Studies. Athens.

The hollow cast griffin protome, NM 16563 (Fig. 6), found together with NM 16552, decorated the rim of another bronze cauldron of the same function. The protome is well preserved, with only the tips of its ears and tongue missing; it has a fine green patina and its eyes were inlaid in another material. The protome measures 14 cm. in length and 6.5 cm. in lower diameter; two of its original rivets are still in situ. It forms part of the series of Samian cast griffin protomes and must be a Samian work of the early second quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C.[36] The Argive Heraion example is the only known griffin protome from the Argolid and there is no evidence, at all, for an Argive production of the early griffin cauldrons, a hypothesis which is based on Herodotus' much later mention of a griffin cauldron as an Argive type.[37]

The Near Eastern bronze cauldrons with bulls' heads which had three main production centres, Urartu, North Syria and Phrygia[38], are not represented at the Argive Heraion, except as Greek imitations. Two, possibly three bulls' head attachments are known from the Argive Heraion. One from Rangabé and Bursian's excavations is

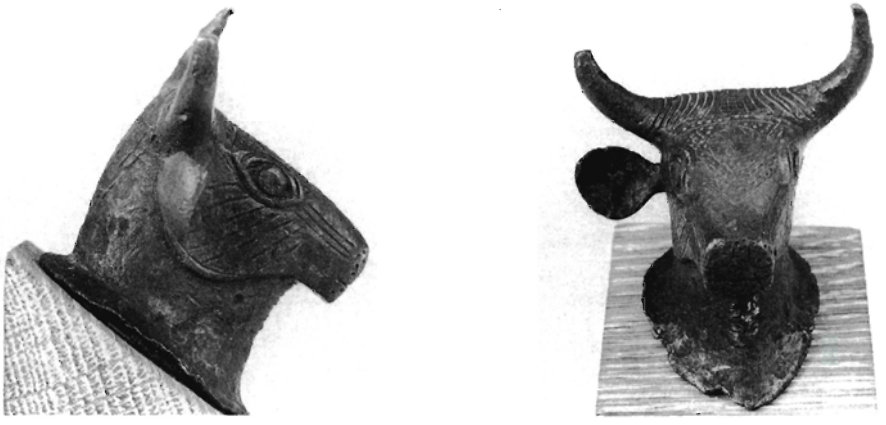

Fig. 7. Athens. National Museum. NM 13972. Bull's Head Attachment. AH 23. Museum Photos.

lost; the two others are AH 23 and AH 25, the former found in the West Building, the latter on the Southern Slope.[39]

AH 23 (NM 13972) (Fig. 7) is a solid cast bull's head, with hollow neck, measuring 5.6 cm. in height and ending in a 0.5 cm. wide elliptical plate, by which it was soldered to the cauldron. The tip of its right horn is missing as well as its left ear which had been soldered to the head. The head is of a very angular form and with a rich, engraved Geometric decoration. From the whirligig on its forehead, Kyrieleis identified it as definitely a Greek work. Although some of its details, as e.g. its large, oval eyes and its triangular mane lock, are reminiscent of those of the North Syrian bull, NM 16553, the immediate model for its triangular head and schematic eye surrounds is more likely to be found in a Phrygian type of bull's head attachments, also with triangular mane lock and a rich engraved decoration, known e.g. from Gordion, Tumulus MM.[40]

AH 25 (NM 13973), is also solid cast; it has a depression at the back, where its attachment plate was soldered to it. The head measures 4.9 cm. in height. The plate has a preserved height of 5.5 cm. and a width of 9.1 cm. The horns were soldered to the head. The muzzle was sharpened in modern times, giving it a rather disturbing front view. Apart from its simple, broad mane lock and the eyes which are formed as two extra lumps of metal, it shows hardly any detailed rendering. However, its very narrow muzzle and the concave outline of its cheeks, giving the head an almost triangular shape, is, acccording to Kyrieleis (who points out a counterpart in Delphi), another sign of Greek workmanship. For AH 25 also, the type of its model is found in Gordion, Tumulus MM[41] which is dated to around 700 B.C.[42] Both

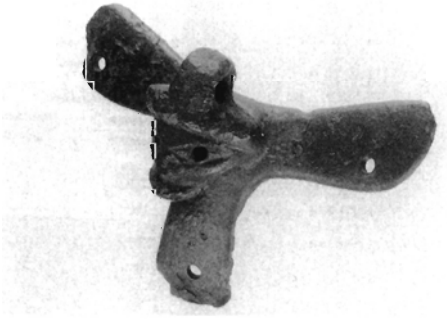

Fig. 8. Athens. National Museum. NM 14018. Lion's Head Attachment. AH 2204. Museum Photo.

Fig. 9. Athens. National Museum. NM 14018. Griffin's Head Attachment. AH 2205. Museum Photo.

bulls' heads, Greek imitations of Phrygian types, are thus presumably dated to the early 7th Cent. B.C.

Two miniature attachments are also definitely Greek. One is AH 2204 (NM 14018) (Fig. 8), a hollow cast lion's head with a solid cast band ring on its top and a T - formed attachment plate; the head measures 2.25 cm. in length and the plate, including the ring 6 cm. in height and 8 cm. in width. With three rivets, the plate was fastened to the oblique shoulder of a bronze vase, the diameter of which cannot be calculated. The lion head, which was outwards facing, has small, triangular ears of which only the left one is preserved; its mane is raised; its eyes are extraordinarily large, almond-shaped and with deeply bored pupils; the nostrils are indicated on the right-hand side of the head and above the mouth are two semicircular grooves. Possibly still of 7th Cent. B.C. date, the lion's head is far removed from any Near Eastern model. There are several rather close counterparts in Delphi.[43]

AH 2205 (NM 14018) (Fig. 9) is a small griffin; its tail is broken off, as well as the tip of its right wing (originally it was definitely T - formed) and the left-hand side of its head is damaged. Its mouth is closed, the beak downwards slanting; its knob and right eye were made of extra lumps of metal. It is preserved at a length of 5 cm. and the plate has a width of 8.7 cm. There are no details and the surface is worn. Its underside has a depression, showing that the head of the griffin, facing inwards, rested on the rim of a vase, the diameter of which can be estimated to ca. 45 cm.; two of its three small nail holes are preserved. Its model is Phrygian and it may be dated to the first half of the 7th Cent. BC, although its exact chronology is uncertain.[44]

The Greek, Orientalizing bronze attachments at the Argive Heraion seem for the greater part to be imitations of Phrygian bronzes, while Phrygian bronze imports amount to a considerable number, comprising fibulae as well as bowls, both groups of objects being represented in Greek imitations also.

The *Phrygian fibulae* are characterized by a semicircular arch with heavy mouldings and an elaborate form of catch. The classification used here is that of Blinkenberg with a revision by Muscarella.[45] For genuinely Phrygian fibulae I follow Kilian's definition: Symmetrically segmented ends of the arch and usually a vertically grooved, winged catch.[46] According to Blinkenberg/Muscarella's classification and Kilian's definition, the imported Phrygian fibulae at the Argive Heraion are, in my opinion, the following: AH 883, 886, - 889, 891, 894 - 896 and 901 - 904 (NM 14031, 14032 and 23097 - 23099) of Groups XII, 5; XII, 9; XII, 13; XII, 14; XII, 14 A and possibly XII 7 A, as well as a Western Asia Minor variety, AH 905, of XII, 10.[47]

Muscarella has suggested that *AH 903*, a fragment of a flat crescent-shaped arch tapering towards the end, is a *XII, 7 A* fibula. If correctly identified (and in spite of its extremely bad preservation, the classification seems convincing to me), it is the only one of its type found outside Asia Minor and the earliest Phrygian fibula at the Argive Heraion. In Gordion, fibulae of type XII, 7 A were found in Tumuli W and G, dated to ca. 750 and 725 B.C., respectively; apparently XII, 7 A fibulae were not produced after the Kimmerian invasion around 700 B.C.[48]

AH 895 belongs to Class *XII, 5*, characterized by a large abacus at each end of the arch and is closely related to fibulae found in Gordion, Tumulus K III, which was dated to ca. 725 B.C., and in the Kimmerian destruction level of the city, from around 700 B.C.[49]

The fibulae *XII, 9* have a flat arch decorated with hemispherical studs, which, however, are lost in all the Argive Heraion examples, *AH 901, 902 and 904*. The type is known from pre-Kimmerian levels at Gordion, but continued into the 7th and possibly even the 6th Cent. B.C. However, as

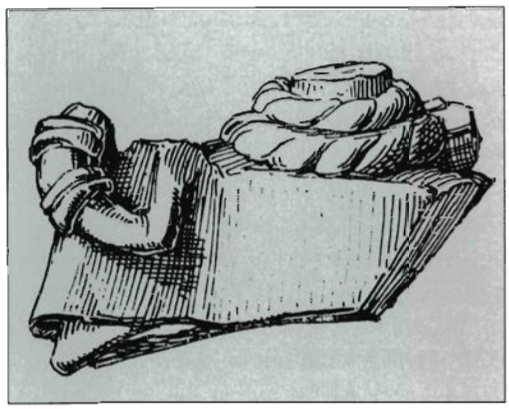

Fig. 10. Athens. National Museum. Terracotta Figurine. Argive Heraion. Drawing. From AA 1973, 150, Fig. 1.

the greater part of the Gordion examples are late 8th or early 7th Cent.B.C., it is quite possible that the imports at the Argive Heraion started early.[50]

The Phrygian fibulae *XII, 13*, have a central moulding of the arch, usually of the same type as at the ends. At the Argive Heraion, *AH 883, 886 - 888 and 896* are, in my opinion, genuinely Phrygian. The type is long-lived,the earliest examples coming from Gordion, Tumulus W, from about 750 B.C., but the type continues into the 6th Cent. B.C.[51]

Like *XII, 13*, the fibulae *XII, 14* have a central ornament, but also an extra disk or another kind of small decorative element between the central ornament and the similar ends. They are represented by *AH 889 and 891*. The type begins before 700 B.C., having been found in Tumulus MM in Gordion; but it is essentially of 7th Cent. B.C. date.[52]

One Argive Heraion fibula, *AH 894*, is of Muscarella's type *XII, 14 A*, having several decorative elements between the centre and the ends. The earliest examples in Gordion come from Tumulus S 1, dated to the first quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C., but in Bogazköy, the type is known from a late 8th Cent. B.C. context. AH 894 is possibly early and thus presumably to be dated in the early 7th Cent. B.C.[53]

Blinkenberg's Class *XII, 10* has a transversal bar which in some cases, as e.g. on *AH 905*, is fixed. Such fibulae were found neither in Gordion nor at Bogazköy, although there is one example in Alicar Hüyük. It is a Western Asia Minor product, its distribution area comprising the Troad and Ephesos as well as several other Greek sanctuaries. The fibula type is dated to the 7th Century B.C.[54]

The genuinely Phrygian fibulae have a large distribution area outside Phrygia, in Asia Minor including Troy, Central Asia Minor and Lycia; further east they are represented on reliefs and they reach as far west as Latium.[55] Although the genuineness of several Phrygian fibulae found in Greece is still discussed, there seems to be a reasonable agreement as to which sanctuaries yielded imported Phrygian fibulae: besides the Argive Heraion, the Delion on Paros, the Artemisia of Ephesos, Sparta, and Thasos, the Athena sanctuaries of Ialysos and Lindos on Rhodes as well as of Tegea and Pherai, and the Heraia at Olympia and Samos.[56]

The absolute chronology of the Phrygian fibulae in Greece is still under debate, especially by Boehmer and Muscarella.[57] However, there seems no reason to doubt that at least some of the Argive Heraion Phrygian fibulae are dated earlier than 700 B.C., a few perhaps even considerably earlier, and that several others appear to have an early 7th Cent. B.C. date.[58]

At the Argive Heraion there is also a large group of Greek, Phrygian-imitating fibulae of Blinkenberg Groups XII, 13 - 15: AH 885, 890, 892 - 893 and 897 - 900 (NM 14032 and 20880)[59], as well as the so-called "Scharnierfibeln", which Kilian separated as a group from Blinkenberg's XII, 13 (q - s), XII, 14 (q) and XII, 15 - 17.[60] Most Argive Heraion "Scharnierfibeln" are characterized by their mouldings forming two joined semiglobes. They can be divided into two main subgroups. One consists of AH 906 - 909 and AH 911 - 915; their arches are round in section and have one central moulding, identical with that of the ends; they appear to be a Pelopon-

nesian variety, in Greece known also from Lusoi, Olympia and Perachora. The other subgroup, AH 910 and AH 916 - 918, with an angular section and two central mouldings, have parallels only in Perachora and in the Hera sanctuary west of the Argive Heraion; both subgroups were probably locally manufactured at the Argive Heraion. They may imitate a specific type of XII, 13 fibulae known from Gordion Tomb S 1, dated to the early 7th Cent. B.C., and are presumably of 7th Cent. B.C. date.[61] The central groups of the "Scharnierfibeln" which are considered of North Greek origin are sparsely represented at the Argive Heraion; their chronology covers the Archaic and Classical Periods.[62]

In contrast with the multiple use of fibulae in the Gordion tumuli,[63] the Phrygian fibulae outside Phrygia apparently were used only singly, as seen e.g. on the relief from Khorsabad which according to Boehmer represents a tribute bearer in a Phrygian embassy to Sargon II in 709 B.C., or on the somewhat earlier Ivriz relief with a Royal personage.[64]

One of the female terracotta statuettes at the Argive Heraion wears on her shoulder a Phrygian fibula of type XII, 13; whether genuine or imitation cannot be decided (Fig. 10).[65] Although there are no recorded finds of Phrygian type fibulae on the Old Temple Terrace, the one primary find spot being the Altar area, this fibula rendering may indicate the use of Phrygian or Phrygian-imitating fibulae for the dress of the wooden cult statue of Hera.[66] There is no evidence of Phrygian dress offerings in Greek sanctuaries. Nevertheless, there is more in favour of this hypothesis than for that of Italic dress dedications: Luxurious dresses or textiles are known as Near Eastern Royal gifts; already around 700 B.C. Greek vase-painting appears to be influenced by Phrygian textiles which, therefore, must have reached Greece about that time; and Phrygian bronze belts were presumably worn by another Greek cult statue, that of Artemis Ephesia.[67] Phrygian belt buckles are known also from the Samian Heraion, Delphi, and Olympia; however, they are not among the Argive Heraion bronzes,[68] where the only other Phrygian or Phrygian imitating bronzes are bowls.

Two rim band fragments with spool-shaped vertical elements of *Phrygian shallow bowls* with swivelling ring handles were found at the Argive Heraion, AH 2215. - 2216 (NM 20628 α and β), both cast in one piece. Each "spool" has a central nail hole and upper globular protrusions, reaching 1.2 - 1.5 cm. above the rim of the bowl. In details they differ. The band of AH 2215 measures 14. 2 cm. in length, 0.5 cm. in diameter and has a very rough surface; its spool-shaped element, measuring 4.7 cm. in height and 0.5 cm. in largest width, is almost cylindrical with flaring ends; about 1 cm. from the top, it has an incised horizontal line and below the globe, its inside is slightly hollowed to adapt it to the rim of the bowl; the "spool" forms the end of the rim band. The fragment AH 2216 which is well polished measures 5.25 cm. in length and 0.5 - 0.65 cm. in diameter; its "spool" is of the "waisted" type, measuring 3.75 cm. in height and 1.9 cm. in largest width and it has a ca. 0. 5 cm. deep inner, vertical cutting to facilitate its fastening to the rim. The band continues on either side of the "spool", showing just at the break a raised ring, 0.9 cm. in diameter, perhaps a transition to the handle attachment (although I do not know of any other Phrygian spool-shaped element placed so near the handle). The diameters of the two bowls cannot be decided; but the known Phrygian shallow bowls measure between ca. 20 and ca. 30 cm. in diameter, their height varying between ca. 6 and ca. 9 cm.[69]

15 such bronze bowls were found in the Royal Tomb at Gordion, Tumulus MM, from ca. 700 B.C. The bowls are cast and polished and have either two or four rim bands. However, their "spools" had an upper termination of vertical bronze studs, not globular protrusions as the Argive Heraion rim bands which in this feature

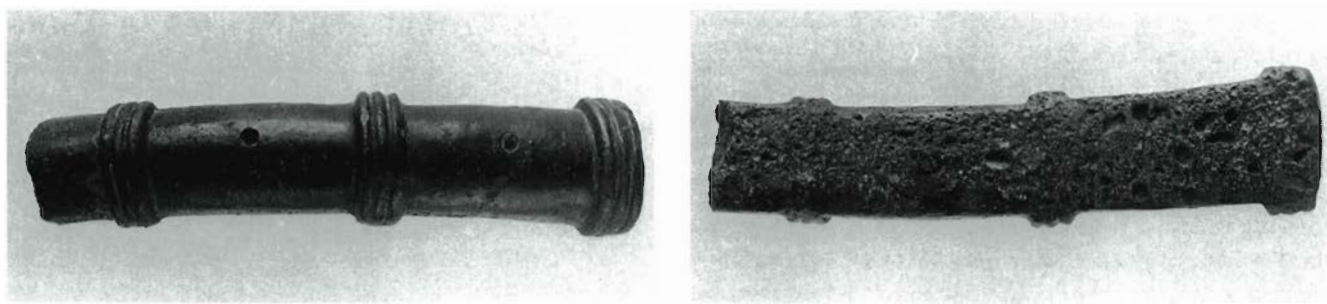

Fig. 11. Athens. National Museum. NM 14009. Bronze Rim Band. AH 2788. Museum Photo.

resemble bowls from post-Kimmerian Gordion. AH 2215 seems almost a replica of Tum. J 20, on which two pieces of rim band were notched into the ends of the bolster. Tumulus J is dated to the last quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C., but the bowl is considered earlier, only slightly later than the Kimmerian destruction. AH 2216 may be compared to rim bands with deep cuttings from the 6th Cent. B.C. Tumulus A.[70]

Phrygian shallow bronze bowls of this type are found at other sites in Asia Minor (Ankara and Magnesia on Hermos) as well as in Greece, in the Heraion of Samos and the Zeus-Hera Sanctuary of Olympia, while the Hera sanctuary of Perachora had Phrygian bronze bowls of other types. Since one whole shallow bowl from Olympia as well as one of the separate spool-shaped elements has bronze studs like the Gordion Tumulus MM bowls, the Greek imports presumably started shortly before or around 700 B.C.[71]

The Gordion find contexts leave no doubt that the bowls were drinking vessels. However, in Greek sanctuaries they were used for libations, as suggested by their limited numbers and demonstrated by the 6th Cent. B.C. ivory figure in Ephesos of a priestess holding such a bowl in one hand, a libation jug in the other.[72]

A large number of bolster handle attachments and ring handles at the Argive Heraion have Phrygian handles as their models, but they do not comprise secure imports.[73] Two fragments of bronze rim bands are reminiscent of the shallow bowls with spool-like elements. AH 2217 (NM 20628 γ), is a close imitation, formerly regarded as an original[74].

AH 2788 (NM 14009)(Fig. 11). is a 21. 5 cm. long fragment of a 4.8 cm. wide and 2.7 cm. thick, solid cast bronze band, semi-curved and with three, vertically grooved, relief parts, one of which forms the end of the band; the relief parts measure between 1.6 and 1.8 cm. in width; the band diminishes in width towards the break, close to the swivel handle attachment. The outside of the rim band is carefully polished, with a black patina, its inside is left rough; between the raised parts are a large iron nail with a flat head, 0.6 cm. in diameter, and a nail hole. Presumably the rim band was rivetted to a wooden bowl. Its diameter is exceptionally large, measuring 99.5 cm.[75]

There are parallels in Samos and Olympia, but with diameters of only about 30 cm. In the Olympia publication they are regarded as imitations of Cypriot bowls with rim bands and swivel handles and since the relief parts of the bands are lacking on the Cypriot bowls, this trait is interpreted as an Archaic Greek innovation. However, I am more inclined to see the bowls as developed out of Phrygian-imitating bowls with a series either of vertical, spool-shaped elements or of deeply grooved bolster attachments like those at the Phrygian handles.[76]

The size of AH 2788 suggests a perirrhanterion. These often measure about 1 m. in diameter, and several early Greek stone perirrhanteria were inspired by another

kind of Phrygian shallow bowl, the type with wishbone handles, as A. Knudsen first observed, while there are early Greek terra-cotta perirrhanteria with bolster-shaped decorative elements.[77] The Greek stone and terra-cotta perirrhanteria are dated from ca. 650 B.C. onwards. The Isthmia stone perirrhanterion in function apparently succeeded the iron tripod close to which it was placed at the entrance to the Temple. AH 2788 cannot be dated exactly, but must be Early Archaic like the Olympia examples. Nor is its exact position in the sanctuary known, but nevertheless the fragment should perhaps be viewed in the light of the above perirrhanteria.[78]

Of more importance is the large number of petalled bowls with ringed omphaloi in Greek sanctuaries, the so-called *lotus bowls*, closely imitating Phrygian models. At the Argive Heraion, they were mostly found in fragments, apparently numbering about 70, of which about 50 were discarded. Apart from one fragment from the Upper Hill, their find spots were secondary, AH 1975 - 1978, AH 1985 - 1986, AH 1988, AH 1990 - 2000 (NM 20485, 20576 and 20579 - 20584) and NM 49.64,[79]

The Greek lotus bowls are hammered bowls, decorated with rows of petals incised from the front so deeply as to give an impression of relief (Fig. 12, cf. Fig. 16). The Argive Heraion bowls vary in height between ca. 2 and ca. 4 cm. and in diameter between ca. 10 and ca. 17 cm.; however, most are too damaged for exact measurements. In a few cases, the omphalos is partly preserved, made in one piece with the bowl. The omphalos is surrounded by one or two relief rings between incised circles, the stand rings forming a flat surface. The sides of the bowls are straight; the types of rim differ, often outwards flaring, sometimes straight, but thickened. The slight differences in form do not correspond to decorative variations. The petals vary in numbers, but because of the bad preservation of the Argive Heraion bowls, their numbers are difficult to determine. They rise from a series of single or double

Fig. 12. Athens. National Museum. M 49.64. Lotus Bowl. Argive Heraion. Photo. American School of Classical Studies. Athens.

semicurves, separated from the standrings by a plain part; they radiate towards the rim, where their pointed tips are intertwined with other petal tips. Essentially this decoration is a debased version of a lotus flower and is usually rendered in a comparatively naturalistic way in which each petal divides into several tips (AH 1975 - 1976, Figs. 13 - 14). The petals, very varied in numbers, thus multiply considerably near the rim, where the tips form a row of triangles. A more simplified version shows just single petal tips at the rim sometimes accompanied by incised points (NM 49.64, Fig. 12, cf. Fig. 16). Another version is schematic with straight, narrow petals, giving the impression of reeds, not leaves (AH 1995 and 1998). The rim itself is normally decorated with one or two rows of raised points and an incised chequer pattern.[80]

The lotus bowls developed in Phrygia, presumably in Gordion, during the second half of the 8th Cent. B.C. as a hybrid be-

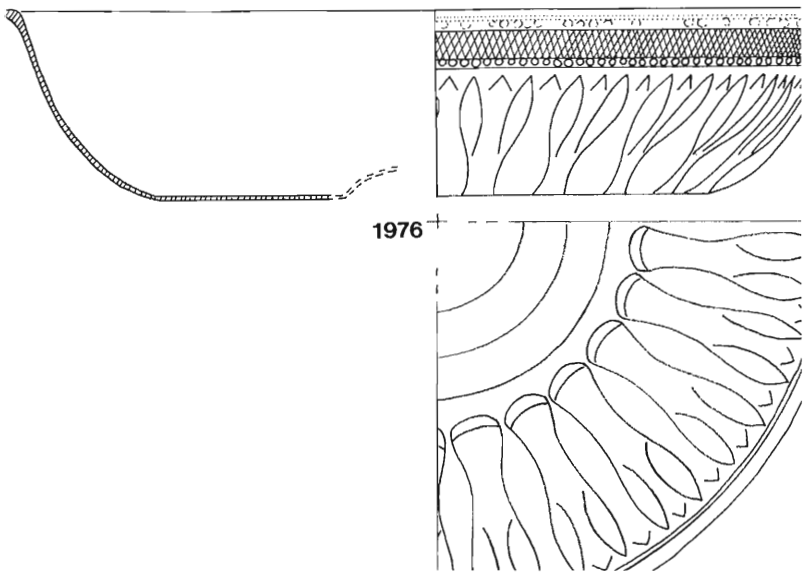

Fig. 13. Athens. National Museum. NM 20485. Lotus Bowl. AH 1976. Museum Photo.

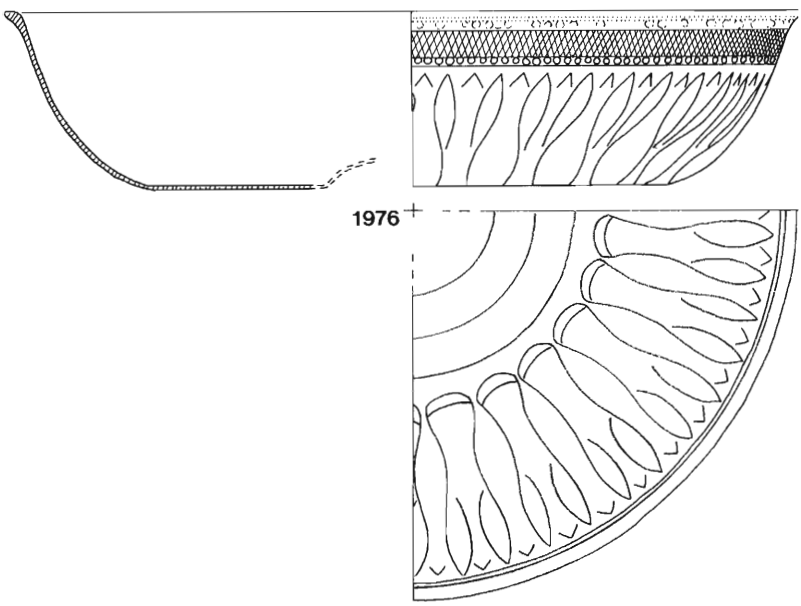

Fig. 14. Athens. National Museum. NM 20485. Lotus Bowl. AH 1976. Drawing.

tween the ringed omphalos bowl and the Near Eastern blossom bowls, the earliest attempts at a variety of which were found in Tumuli W and P (W 9 - 10 and P 11) from ca. 750 B.C. and the last quarter of the 8th Cent. B.C., respectively.[81] Before 700 B.C. the lotus bowl was fully developed, 50 being known from the Royal Tumulus MM at Gordion as well as in some examples from the destruction level of one of the terrace buildings, both structures datable to around 700 B.C.[82] Their number and context in Tumulus MM confirm their function as drinking vessels, their hollow omphalos – in contrast with the solid one of Assyrian phialai – offering a safe finger grip.[83]

The Gordion Tumulus MM lotus bowls are generally both larger and deeper than their Greek imitations, measuring between ca. 4 and ca. 7 cm. in height and between ca. 15 and ca. 26 cm. in diameter. They may have as many as seven inner rings around the omphalos, not showing on the outside, but normally they had fewer. The main areas of petals were hammered over a form, giving petals of such high relief that they below formed a kind of standring. The petals tapered, radiating towards the rim, here interleaving with other petal tips, forming an upper pattern of triangles. The rim was left undecorated, except for occasional zigzags or arched punchlike marks over the incised tips of the petals. The basic number of petals are 16, but the numbers vary between 12 and 18 below, multiplying to from 48 to 72 near the rim. The bowls have a slight outturning at the rim.[84]

The type continued in post-Kimmerian Gordion tombs, showing small changes in form and decoration. The outturning at the rim is now absent and although the naturalistic decoration continues, it is in a slightly more simplified version, while simultaneously other bowls develop a new kind of decoration with straight and very narrow petals like reeds. Both post-Kimmerian kinds of decoration are represented already in Tumulus S 1, from the first quarter of the 7th cent. B.C.; the simplified naturalistic version continues in bowls from Tumulus Z and Tumulus J, of the 7th Cent. B.C., while the "reed" version lasted into the 6th Cent. B.C. where such bowls were excavated in Tumulus S 2.[85] The latter type must be the model for the "reed" version of the Greek lotus bowls[86]. In Anatolia lotus bowls are found in tombs at Ankara, Bogasköy and Kerkenec Dağ and they are known also from Cyprus.[87]

The one original Phrygian lotus bowl in Greece, from Olympia, is of the Tumulus

MM type and probably reached Greece shortly before or around 700 B.C.[88] The Greek lotus bowls with naturalistic design are close imitations of these rather short-lived Gordion MM bowls and presumably their production must have begun almost immediately.[89] The first Greek examples of the "reed" bowls may be dated within the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C., whereas the Greek bowls with simplified naturalistic design have no immediate parallels in Gordion and may represent a Greek decorative invention. Judging from the find at the Eastern Retaining Wall (Fig. 12), the Argive Heraion lotus bowls were still being manufactured in the first half of the 6th Cent. B.C.[90]. There is no evidence that the production continued into the Classical Period.[91]

There are also Greek lotus bowls in the Hera – Zeus sanctuary of Olympia and at the Heraion of Perachora as well as an unpublished example from the Heraion of Samos. Others come from the Athenian Acropolis, the Athena Pronaia Sanctuary at Delphi, the Apollo Oracle of Abas in Phocis, the sanctuary of the Ismenian Apollo at Thebes and the Artemis sanctuary of Lusoi. Payne mentions two bowls without secure provenance, one said to have come from Corinth and the other from the Troad. Of three bowls in the Demeter and Kore Sanctuary in Tocra, one comes from a deposit in the second half of the 6th Cent. B.C. Five bowls were placed in a Late Archaic deposit in the Nemesis sanctuary in Rhamnous. Outside Greece they have also been found in 6th Cent. B.C. tombs in South Italy and Trebenischte north of Greece. Judging from their distribution pattern, the lotus bowls are essentially of Greek Mainland production, principally Peloponnesian.[92]

The above bowls all are of the same technique and general form and essentially they follow the same decorative scheme, although there are variations. E.g., according to Payne, the Perachora bowls had their omphalos executed separately, a feature which I have not noticed in the Argive Heraion bowls or the other lotus bowls I have seen. In addition the forms of the bowls differ at the two sanctuaries. At the former, they have a curved outline, at the latter their sides are straight. Such local variations may indicate local production at the two sanctuaries. Also at other sites, the lotus bowls show slight differences. E.g. the Delphi and at least one of the Olympia bowls lack the incised decoration at the rim and the simplified decoration of one

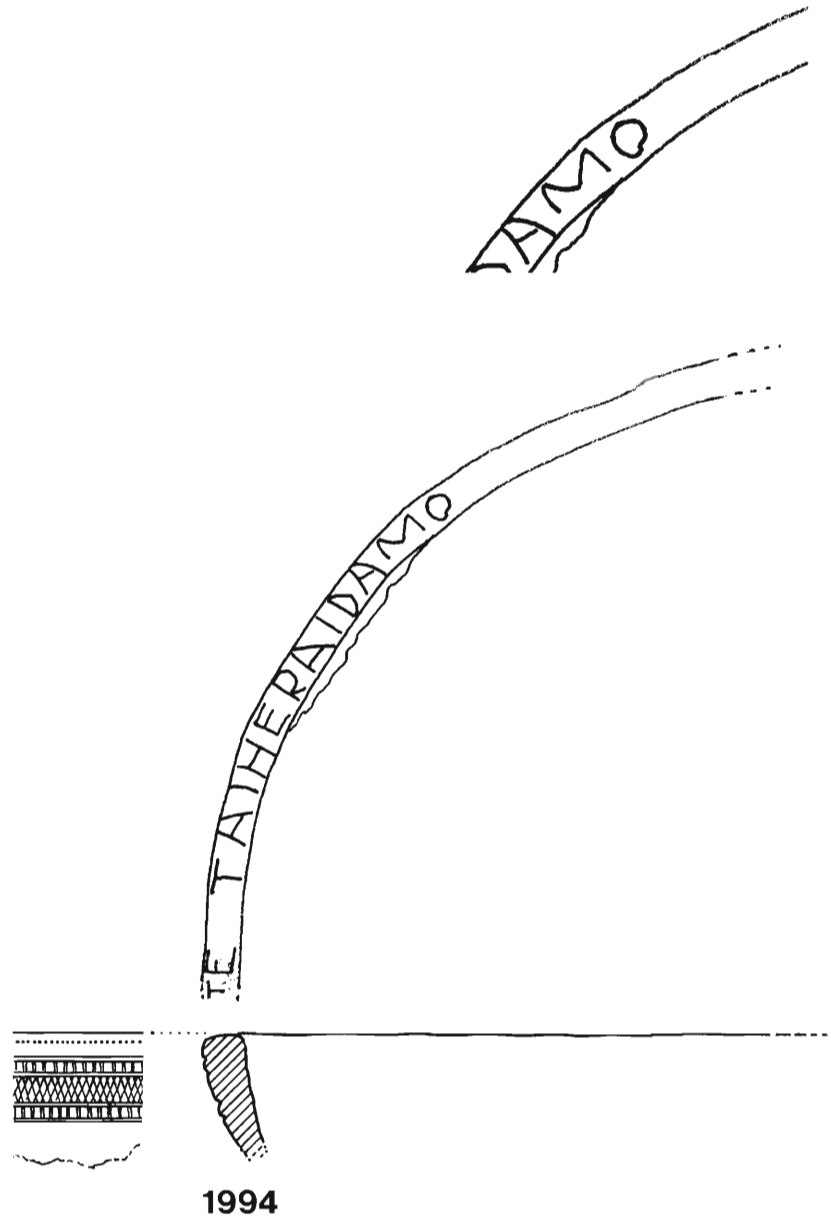

Fig. 15 A+B. Athens. National Museum. NM 20582ε Lotus Bowl. Rim Fragment with Inscription. AH 1994. Museum Photo and Drawing.

of the Tocra bowls seems without counterparts.[93]

One of the Argive Heraion lotus bowls, AH 1977, was found on the Upper Hill and must be regarded as a votive offering, while two others have inscriptions marking them as the public property of the Hera Sanctuary: AH 1985 an engraved H and AH 1994 a longer inscription, containing the words: ΤΑΙ ΗΕΡΑΙ ΔΑΜΟ (Fig. 15). Some of the lotus bowls from the Athenian Acropolis also have inscriptions signifying their belonging to the cult equipment of the sanctuary, i.e. they had a cult function.[94]

By far the largest number of lotus bowls come from the Heraion of Perachora, where more than 200 bronze phialai, for the greater part lotus bowls, were found in the so-called "Sacred Pool".[95] Tomlinson interprets them as drinking vessels, suggesting that originally they were connected with the hearth building which he earlier had identifed with the Archaic hestiatorion.[96] Although having accepted this latter identification, Blanche Menadier for various reasons refutes Tomlinson's interpretation: because of the many unsolved problems of the "Sacred Pool"; because of finds there of other bronze vases as well as of objects of definitely votive character and because of the late date of the closing of the deposit, the end of the 5th Cent. B.C. Presumably the whole "Sacred Pool" deposit was discarded in connection with a major building program of the sanctuary in the early 4th Cent. B.C.[97]

Though recognizing Blanche Menadier's objections to the Perachora find spot in itself bearing evidence of a connection between phialai and hestiatorion, I nevertheless basically agree with Tomlinson's views. Phialai are used as drinking vessels as well as for libations.[98] The very large collection at the same find spot of lotus bowls and other Archaic phialai mesomphaloi point to their having been used together and from the Argive Heraion as well as the Athenian Acropolis we have evidence for a cult function of the lotus bowls. To collect a total of 200 Archaic bronze phialai for libations in a sanctuary the size and significance of Perachora seems exaggerated. From their numbers alone, they are more likely to be drinking vessels and the cult function for which they were collected would be the banquets with wine drinking which from the late 8th Cent. B.C. took place in a certain groups of sanctuaries, including those of Hera.[99] Also, there is general agreement that at Archaic Perachora the banquets took place in connection with the hearth building.

Tomlinson refers to Gordion Tumulus MM, the Royal Tumulus, for a corresponding overwhelming number of phialai mesomphaloi, stating that the tomb contained a complete symposion equipment: "Three large cauldrons, two small cauldrons, thirty-one jugs, two situlae, twenty-one bowls with handles,but no less than ninety-eight phialai mesomphaloi".[100]

In general, there are such close similarities in the Geometric/Archaic finds at the two nearby Hera sanctuaries, Perachora and the Argive Heraion, that the situation at one sanctuary may contribute to the clarification of problems at the other.[101] At the Argive Heraion also, the large number of lotus bowls some of which were definitely of cult function, speak for their use as drinking vessels in the banquets.[102] In particular, the correspondance in the symposion equipment of Tumulus MM at Gordion shortly before or around 700 B.C., on the one hand, and on the other, the contemporary imported Near Eastern bronze vessels or close Greek imitations at the Argive Heraion is striking. Both comprise a couple of large North Syrian cauldrons (Tum MM 2 - 3 and AH 49, AH 21 and NM 16552), while other bronze cauldrons at the Argive Heraion are close imitations of Phrygian cauldrons of types known from Gordion Tumulus MM (Tum. MM 1 and 12 - 13 and AH 23 and AH 25) and the large number of lotus bowls correspond at both sites, the typologically earliest Argive Heraion lotus bowls imitating the types

found in Gordion Tumulus MM.[103] The Near Eastern bronze vessels, acquired or imitated at the Argive Heraion shortly before or around 700 B.C., form a complete wine set, all made for either holding or drinking wine, and the wine set is so similar to the symposion equipment in Gordion Tumulus MM, that, in my opinion, they illustrate closer ties than merely identical trade routes. They represent the same tradition in communal meals. However, although there are examples of communal meals in early Greek cult buildings, there is no evidence that they included wine drinking prior to the import of the Near Eastern bronze cauldrons shortly before 700 B.C. in the group of Greek sanctuaries of Apollo, Artemis, Athena, and Hera.[104] On the evidence of these bronze vessels, I find the Near Eastern banquetting tradition with wine drinking at the Argive Heraion so similar to the Phrygian symposion tradition as observable in Gordion Tumulus MM that I am inclined to suggest that it was modelled on it. The considerable numbers of lotus bowls at the Heraion of Perachora indicate that the two sanctuaries followed an identical pattern of banquetting tradition.[105]

At the Argive Heraion, there are a few bronze vases or fragments with Cypriot models, AH 2022 (NM 13981), AH 2055 (NM 20644) AH 2074 (NM 20602 α) and AH 2077 (NM 20602 β). However, not one is a Cypriot original and they are of either so widely distributed types or so late a date that they cannot be taken as evidence of Argive Heraion contacts with Cyprus during the period in question.[106]

Nor do the four bronze swivel rings with wire, AH 969 - 970 b, indicate direct Phoenician contacts. One has remains of an ivory seal, while another, of bronze, has a Late Archaic intaglio decoration of a fly; they seem all to be local imitations of a Phoenician type, used for the setting of Phoenician scarabs.[107] However, the Phoenician scarabs in both the Argive Heraion and the Heraion of Perachora have their parallels not in the Near East, but in Italy and in a few Greek sanctuaries, primarily the Athena Lindia sanctuary on Rhodes, where such swivel rings also were common. Possibly the scarab production took place in the last-mentioned sanctuary, the Argive Heraion swivel rings imitating the setting of these scarabs; at any rate they do not signify contacts with Phoenicians in the Near East and probably they should be regarded as evidence of interrelations between Greek sanctuaries.[108] A similar type of swivel ring with a small suspension ring on its back was used also for the North Syrian Lyre-Player seals and is more correctly called Levantine.[109]

Fig. 16. Athens. National Museum. Lotus Bowl. Prosymna. Tomb VIII. Photo. American School of Classical Studies.

The Neighbouring Votive Deposits

Greek imitations of the Phrygian lotus bowls are found at both neighbouring deposits. At the Hera sanctuary west of the Heraion there are considerable numbers of the same types as in the Argive Heraion and Perachora; here also they may have served as drinking vessels in banquets.[110] Tomb VIII of the Mycenaean chamber tombs of Prosymna with a very rich deposit of the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C.[111] had at least one lotus bowl (Fig. 16).[112] At the former sanctuary there are also two "Scharnier"- fibulae of the local varieties,[113] as well as a Phoenician type silver swivel ring of the same origin as those in the Argive Heraion.[114]

At the neighbouring deposits there are

thus no secure Near Eastern bronze imports, but Greek imitations of the same types as in the Argive Heraion, and in some cases of local manufacture.

Argos

There do not seem to be any Near Eastern bronze imports in Argos during the period in question. The Geometric so-called "Kalotten-Schalen" imitated Cypriot bowls and in a Late Geometric tomb there is a miniature bowl with swivel handles of Cypriot type.[115] There are three Phrygian-imitating fibulae, two from the Athena Sanctuary on top of the Larissa, of the types of Blinkenberg XII, 11 and XII, 14, and one in the Aphrodision, of type XII, 13. The XII, 11 fibula, with a large central swelling of the arch, is presumably a Western Asia Minor product, dated to the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C.; it has no counterpart at the Argive Heraion. Also the XII, 13 and XII, 14 fibulae imitating Phrygian fibulae of a wide distribution area, may be of 7th B.C. date, although the former type continues into the 6th Cent. B.C.[116]

M. Near Eastern Bronzes. Conclusions

The Near Eastern bronze imports at the Argive Heraion and the models for their close Greek imitations point to a beginning of the Near Eastern relations of the sanctuary not later than around 725 B.C., a culmination period in the late 8th Cent. B.C. and the years around 700 B.C., and a gradual fading out in the course of the 7th Cent. B.C. possibly setting in around 675 B.C.[117] During this long period of time, the strongest Near Eastern relations evidently are with Phrygia, in the culmination phase only comprising also North Syria.[118]

This pattern of Near Eastern relations forms a definite contrast to the one characteristic of Argos in the Late Geometric Period and the early 7th Cent. B.C. At Argos there were no Near Eastern bronze imports and no indications of direct contact with either North Syria or Phrygia. Its relations outside the Greek Mainland point toward Cyprus as well as to the Aegean islands and the Western coast of Asia Minor, i.e. a pattern similar to that observable for Geometric Argos.[119] Although the material from Argos is very limited, the evidence for Near Eastern contacts at the two sites confirms the impression received from the Greek Geometric bronzes that until some time after 700 B.C. the outside connections of the two sites differed significantly.[120]

The North Syrian, Phrygian and Phrygian-imitating bronze vases of the culmination period at the Argive Heraion were strikingly similar to the symposion equipment of Gordion Tumulus MM, possibly the tomb of King Midas, or at any rate an aristocratic tomb of his time.[121] I have formerly advocated the idea that in the late 8th Cent. B.C., some Greek sanctuaries of Apollo, Artemis, Athena and Hera (including the Argive Heraion) adopted the Near Eastern tradition of banquets with wine.[122] The similarities in the complete wine sets of the years shortly before or around 700 B.C. at the Argive Heraion and in Gordion Tumulus MM, respectively, call, in my opinion, for another explanation than commercial ties or a vague formula of Near Eastern influences.[123] I am inclined to interpret them in the light of an adoption at the Argive Heraion of the Phrygian symposion tradition as observed in Gordion Tumulus MM. Such a conclusion implies close cultural ties between the aristocracy of King Midas' court at Gordion and the priesthood of the group of sanctuaries in question.[124]

To this group of Greek sanctuaries belongs also the Apollo sanctuary in Delphi, the recipient of King Midas' gift of a wooden throne (Herodotus I 14), presumably a throne of the same type as the wooden furniture in Tumulus MM in Gordion.[125] Muscarella views this gift in terms of political interests, suggesting that King Midas consulted the Delphic oracle – possibly even personally presented his gift to

Apollo – in connection with some of the international affairs in which he was involved. At any rate, that King Midas must have been acquainted with and believed in the oracle of Apollo in Delphi and its political power.[126]

Neither the distribution pattern of the Near Eastern bronze wine sets in Greece, nor the history of King Midas' gift to Apollo in Delphi imply a Greek ruler or settlement having been involved. One gets the impression that the court of King Midas at Gordion saw the political power in Greece as situated in the sanctuaries.

Apparently the alphabet which was adopted in Phrygia was the Greek one; which may be another sign of Greek-Phrygian cultural interchanges on a high level,[127] not necessarily indicating mercantile interests.[128]

In the wave of Phrygian – Greek cultural ties around 700 B.C. we should perhaps view not only the bronze wine sets, but also the Phrygian fibulae at the Argive Heraion, since genuinely Phrygian fibulae and belt buckles are found in the same group of Greek sanctuaries as the equipment for banquets in the Phrygian fashion. Friendly Phrygian – Greek cultural interchanges on a high level may have resulted in actual Phrygian dress offerings in some major Greek sanctuaries.[129]

Presumably, the majority of the Near Eastern imports in Greece went by ship from Syrian-Phoenician harbours. However, the North Syrian bronze vessels with siren attachments at the Argive Heraion most probably reached Greece by the land route, which via Gordion ended at the west coast of Asia Minor at either Smyrna or Ephesos, the vessels at the latter part of the route travelling together with the Phrygian bronzes with which they form a functional whole.[130] As the Greek contacts with Phrygia survive the Kimmerian invasion, this event can hardly be responsible for the apparent termination of North Syrian bronze imports in Greece around 700 B.C.;[131] probably this should be viewed in the light of Sargon II's conquests.

Although I see the early bronze wine sets at the Argive Heraion as due mainly to non-commercial Phrygian relations with a specific group of Greek sanctuaries, the Heraion of Samos – with at least partly different banquet traditions – seems also to have played a central role in the outside connections of the Argive Heraion as reflected in its imported bronzes. There is a much larger variety of Near Eastern imports in the Samian than in the Argive Heraion, but nevertheless a certain similarity in the pattern of imported bronzes. E.g. in the Phrygian shallow bronze vessels, until now found in Greece only in Hera sanctuaries(although known also in the Artemision of Ephesos), in the North Syrian bronze cauldrons with animal handles, apparently not known in Gordion, in the Egyptian bronze figures of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty and, surprisingly enough, taking into acccount the overwhelming numbers of Near Eastern bronzes at the Samian Heraion, in the apparent lack at both sites of Phoenician relief bowls.[132]

Unfortunately, there is a tendency among modern scholars to call all items of Levantine origin "Phoenician",[133] thereby obscuring the pattern of varying Near Eastern-Greek contacts. A distinction between North Syrian and Phoenician art objects is often difficult to make, but in such cases the term "Levantine" is preferable. Recently W. Röllig has clarified the cultural differences between the North Syrian states under Mesopotamian domination and the Phoenician coastal cities, strongly influenced by Egypt. The distinction is essentially the same as that given in 1953 by H. Frankfort for identifying specific art objects of the two regions and should be used wherever possible.[134]

The same lack of Phoenician contacts that characterized the Near Eastern bronzes at the Argive Heraion is observable for the Heraion of Perachora. The imported

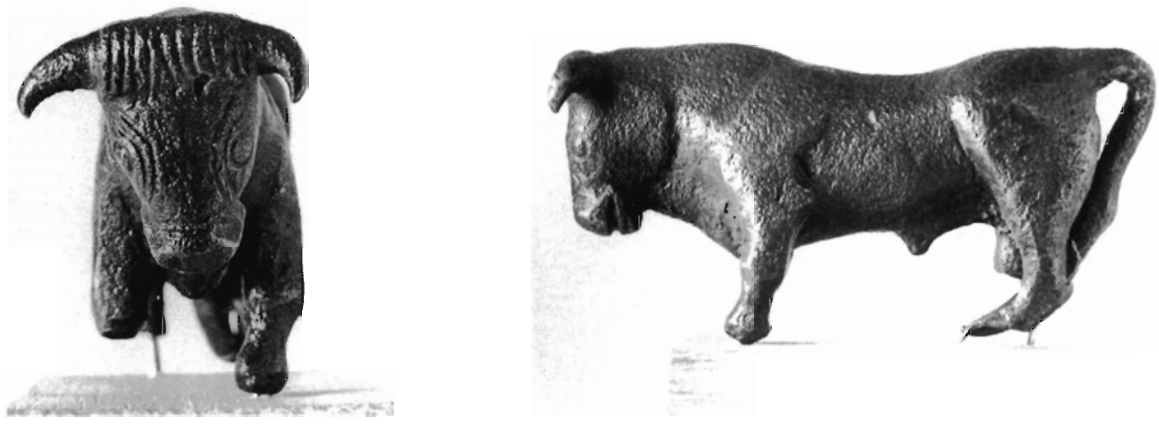

Fig. 17. Athens. National Museum. NM 13942. Bull Statuette. AH 24. Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Athen. Neg. Nos. 72/1675 and 72/1673.

bronzes at both sites include Italic fibulae, Egyptian bronzes of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, North Syrian cauldrons, North Syrian/Assyrian rib phialai as well as Phrygian vessels and show correspondance in the banquetting equipment, in the obeloi as well as in the imitations of the Phrygian lotus bowls. At neither site are there any certain Phoenician bronze imports.[135] It is, therefore, confusing that Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier for Perachora reached the conclusions that 78 % of the foreign objects in the sanctuary were Phoenician. However, the Phoenician foreign objects at Perachora are for the greater part faiences of types known also from the Argive Heraion and not produced in the Near East, but probably in the Athena Lindia sanctuary on Rhodes.[136] Instead of indicating Phoenician connections, at both North East Peloponnesian Hera sanctuaries they are more likely a sign of close contacts between a group of Greek sanctuaries, which had developed a certain specialization of crafts.[137]

In general, one gets the impression that there was a close correspondance between the two North-East Peloponnesian Heraia, in cult traditions[138] as well as in outside relations. Presumably the route by which the imports arrived was the same. Blanche Menadier regards the harbour at Perachora as significant for the foundation of the sanctuary[139] and my studies of the Greek Geometric bronzes have shown that around 700 B.C. the Argive Heraion in its outside Greek relations was still turned towards the east more than towards the south, keeping up very close ties with the Corinthia.[140] Several finds indicate the importance of ships in Hera cults, even at the inland sanctuary of the Argive Heraion.[141] One reason for the great similarity in the Archaic finds of the two sanctuaries may have been that the small harbour of Perachora served the needs for access to the sea of the Argive Heraion.[142] The situation of the harbour at Perachora is not suitable for direct journeys to and from the Near East, but would facilitate any traffic westwards, e.g. to Magna Graecia, and – much nearer – to the two great Panhellenic sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia.

The imported bronzes place the Argive Heraion as part of a group of sanctuaries which show particularly close contacts with the Phrygian aristocracy shortly before and around 700 B.C., contacts which apparently mutually influenced both societies. In the adoption of the Phrygian banquet tradition, the two North-East Peloponnesian Heraia seem to have been particularly involved, while presumably the political power of Apollo at Delphi is the very cause of the Phrygian interest for Greece; it started earlier, but accelerated during King Midas' reign, continuing also in the following decades.

In this net of cultural influences between

Phrygia and Greece in the two quarter centuries on either side of 700 B.C. in which the Argive Heraion seems to have been centrally placed among other Greek sanctuaries, there is no sign of Argos or the sanctuaries of Argos having taken any part.

Archaic Greek Bronzes

N. Figures in the Round, in Relief and Cut-Out Figures

The Argive Heraion

It is not possible to decide the original placing of the Archaic bronze statuettes, as they are all found in a secondary position, near the East Stoa, in the North West Building, at the Back of South Stoa, on the Southern Slope or at the Eastern Retaining Wall.[143]

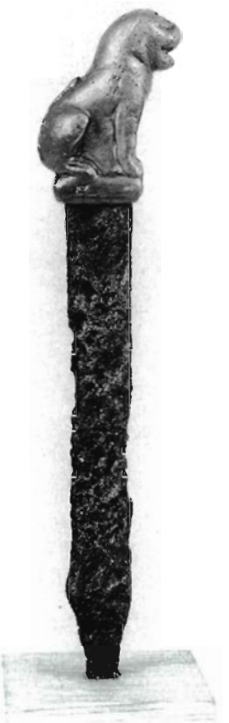

Fig. 18. Athens. National Museum. NM 13968. Lion Statuette. Bronze on Iron Rod. AH 29. Museum Photo.

Animal Statuettes

The two Early Archaic bronze horses, AH 17 (NM 13984 + 13986) and AH 18 (NM 13944), in direct continuation of the local Geometric bronze statuettes, are presumably dated to the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C.[144]

Of the bovide figures at the Argive Heraion,[145] only one is Early Archaic, AH 24 (NM 13942) (Fig. 17), a small, solid cast bull, measuring 3.3 cm. in height and 6.85 cm. in length. It is comparatively well preserved; there is a repair of its forehead and the hooves of its right legs are missing. The hoof of its left foreleg is rather swollen; the hindleg ends in a thin plate, not an ordinary base plate. The animal decorated another object, possibly the rim of a vase. The rather stout, short animal has a long tail trailing between the hind legs. The one characteristic trait of its body is the schematic, curved shoulder rendering, reminiscent of that of Phrygian animals. Its head is triangular; it has forward pointing horns, outward curving mane locks, triangular, raised eyebrows over the circular eyes and its muzzle is indicated by two curving grooved lines with small transverse strokes. It shares some of its facial features with the Phrygian-imitating bull's head of an early 7th Cent. bronze cauldron, AH 23; not finding any immediate counterpart in other collections of bronze statuettes, I am inclined to see it as a local work at the Argive Heraion.[146]

Two figures decorate iron rods. One is a human right hand with a mouse on its upper side, AH 30 (NM 13969); the whole object, which I cannot explain, measures 11. 6 cm. in length, the mouse 3 cm. in length; the hand is clenched round a circular hole, 0.6 cm. in diameter. Presumably an Archaic object, it may reflect Near Eastern influences. The seated lion, AH 29 (NM 13968) (Fig. 18), which is hollow cast, measures 3. 5 cm. in height, and is placed on an iron rod, measuring 13. 4 cm. in height. It has a square head, off-set mane and open mouth, where the eye teeth and the lolling tongue are just visible. Stylistically it belongs with a group of Laconian lions of the first half of the 6th Cent. B.C.[147]

Several other bronze figures at the Argive

Fig. 19. Athens. National Museum. NM 13974. Bronze Figure of Bearded Man. AH 4. Photo. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Athen. Neg. Nos. NM 6053 and 6054.

Heraion are Late or Post Archaic. Some are too badly preserved to give much information, others decorate various objects, with which they will be studied.[148]

Human Figures

The cult statue of Hera in the Archaic Temple was most likely a wooden statue of a seated goddess.[149] In a general sense, the many terra-cotta statuettes of seated females at the Argive Heraion are representations of the cult statue.[150]

Like other Archaic sanctuaries, the Argive Heraion must have had many lifesize statues in stone and terra-cotta, but only a few fragments in the former material have survived.[151] Of large bronze statues only two fragments of free hair locks remain, both presumably of Late Archaic or Early Classical date.[152]

Except for the Geometric tripod handle figure (NM 16551),[153] we have no evidence of human bronze figures at the Argive Heraion before the 6th Cent. B.C., where they comprise a few leg fragments of kouros statuettes, AH 6 - 7,[154] and four fragmentary Archaic statuettes.

A 6 cm. high, solid cast statue of a bearded standing man, in a kouros-like posture, with his arms at his side and the legs close together, presumably decorated the rim of a vase or another object, judging from the slanting position of his feet, AH 4 (NM 13974)(Fig. 19). Two similar, bearded figures from the Menelaion are dated to the early 6th Cent. B.C. The Argive Heraion statuette is undoubtedly of the same workshop and must be a Laconian work of the same date.[155]

Of the bronze kouros, Athens NM 16357 (Fig. 20), only the lower part of the solid

Fig. 20. Athens. National Museum. NM 16357. Bronze Figure of Kouros. Argive Heraion. Museum Photo.

cast figure is preserved; it is broken at waist and ankles and measures 14 cm. in height.[156] Its surface is still in excellent conditions. In its rather slender proportions as well as in details such as the abdomen – hip – thigh line and the rendering of knees and thigh musculature, the kouros is closely related to the so-called Kleobis and Biton statues in Delphi (Fig. 27), dated to around or shortly after 600 B.C., as Caskey observed in his excavation report. The Argive Heraion kouros is somewhat later, presumably a work of the second quarter of the 6th cent. B.C.; from its find context, it cannot be later and, in my opinion, it may well be early in that quarter-century.

Stylistically it forms a further link in the line of development which Croissant observed, leading from the late 8th Cent. B.C bronze cuirass in Argos to the Delphi kouroi, in the early part of which development the Late Geometric bronze and terra-cotta sculptures of Argos also fit well.[157] Rolley placed the Argive Heraion kouros in a group of bronze figures, the assumed stylistic correspondance of which I do not see; but in this group he also included a lead kouros of Argos production, to which it certainly has similarities (Fig. 30).[158] Most likely, the Argive Heraion bronze kouros was manufactured in the city of Argos itself, in the stylistic development of the kouroi of which settlement it finds a natural position.

AH 5 (NM 13975) (Figs. 21 - 22) is the upper part of a solid cast woman's figure measuring 9. 4 cm. in height.[159] The standing woman was naked to the waist, but presumably wore "briefs" or a loin cloth visible just at the break, below the navel.[160] Her left arm was raised, the hand missing; her right arm was stretched downward, missing from the elbow and below.[161] On top of her head is a plate with a lotus ornament in relief and part of an open work volute. The hair dressing which is indicated as curly by a mass of short punch strokes, forms a low curved line towards the fore-

Figs. 21 - 22. Athens. National Museum. NM 13975. Mirror support. AH 5. Photo. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Athen. Neg. Nos. NM 6056 and 6058.

head and a semicircle on either side of the neck; at the back it is dressed in an attempt at krobylos. From irregularities in the rendering of the eyes it is evident that the figure was turned slightly to the left. Head ornament and brows are incised as well as the navel and a zigzag line at the neck, the rendering of a necklace. The surface is well preserved, although the figure has several scratches and small damages, especially at the right-hand side of head and neck.

Jenkins had already recognized the figure as a mirror support and Rolley suggested that it formed an intermediary between Egyptian hand mirrors and Archaic Laconian stand mirrors with a naked woman.[162] However, in my opinion, the mixture of styles observable in this figure has another explanation, namely that given by Herfort-Koch, that it is a local Argive imitation of a Laconian mirror.[163] The Argive Heraion mirror support imitates Archaic Laconian stand mirrors with naked women as supports, dated to the 6th Cent. B.C, and, in particular, the group of mirror figures of slender youthful bodies, the earliest of which are dated to shortly before 550 B.C.[164] It also copies characteristic Laconian traits as e.g. the volute ornament on top of the head and the symmetrical arrangement of the shoulder locks on either side of each breast, features which are seen in Laconian figurative art of the second and third quarters of the 6th Cent. B.C.[165]

On the other hand, in the rosette ornamentation of its hair and ears, in its round face with delicately rendered features, its large oval eyes and prominent chin, the figure corresponds well with Argive terracotta figures of the second half of the 6th Cent. B.C., Jenkins' Class F of the so-called "Ornate Style", while it also shares stylistic traits with terra-cotta heads of Jenkins Class C. In particular, one notes the specific Argive trait of a "grooved U-shaped line passing through the roots of the nose, the corners of the mouth and curving above the point of the chin" which

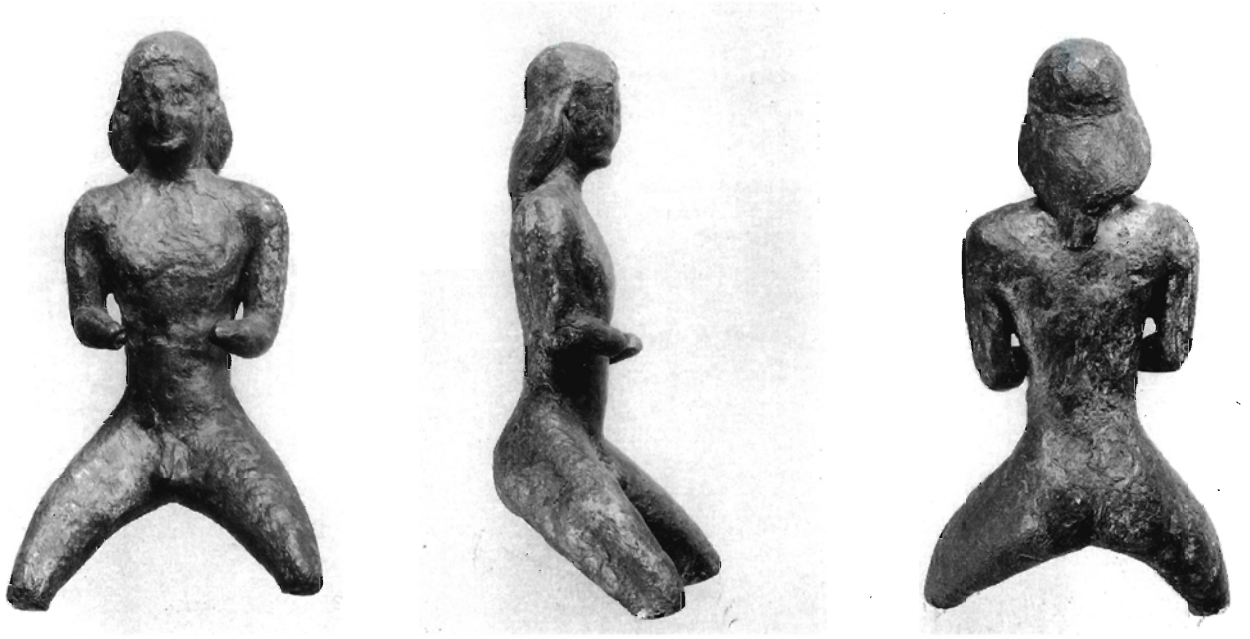

Fig. 23. Athens. National Museum. NM 13974. Rider's Statuette. AH 3. Photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Athen. Neg. Nos. NM 4280 and 4281.

Jenkins observed in the Argive terra-cotta heads of his Classes C and D, dated to the first half of the 6th Cent. B.C.[166] As first observed by Gjødesen, AH 5 is Argive[167] and judging from its stylistic parallels in Laconian sculpture and Argive figured terra-cottas presumably dated to ca. 550 B.C. or shortly afterwards. Since some of the above-mentioned Laconian traits, such as the shoulder lock arrangement, are not general in Laconian art, I am inclined to see the figure as an Argive imitation of a specific Laconian mirror.

An almost contemporary bronze mirror support of a fully dressed woman in the Louvre (Br 4395) is likewise considered Argive; However, some details, in particular of the top plate, indicate another origin.[168]

The solid cast rider statuette, measuring 12.75 cm. in height, AH 3 (NM 13974) (Fig. 23), is well preserved except for the missing hands and missing legs from below the knees. However, the surface of the figure is extremely damaged, not allowing observations of any subtly detailed features.[169] Nevertheless, in the oval outline of the head, the large oval eyes, in the definitely rounded facial features and the U-formed groove from nose to below the mouth one sees characteristics of the Argive 6th Cent. B.C. sculpture, contrasting with the angularity of contemporary Corinthian heads, in spite of the general similarities between the two regional styles.[170] The head of the mirror support, AH 5, is somewhat broader, but there are features of close similarity, e.g. in the hair dressing. The rider wears a fillet round his head and a krobylos at the back of the neck, where the hair falls in exactly the same way in the two figures, even to the narrowing at the place of the fillet, just as the rounded border line of the hair at the forehead and the two semicircles which the hair dressing forms at either side of the neck are identical.

Nor is the body with its broad shoulders, slim hips and a gently curving outline in any way incompatible with those of other Argive statuettes, as. e.g. the Argos lead kouroi (Fig. 30) or the boyish figure of the mirror statuette, AH 5 (Figs. 21 - 22). The basically rounded lines of both figures are quite different from the large angular planes of the bodies of Corinthian figures, expressing an essentially different statuary

conception.[171] A comparison with the front view of the Argos lead kouroi (Fig. 30) and the side view of the Argive Heraion kouros statuette (Fig. 20) make an identical origin probable, in spite of the battered surface of the statuette. Definitely younger than the latter statuette, the Argive Heraion rider, AH 3, presumably should be dated to the third quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C.

Summing up, while the Early Archaic animal bronze statuettes are mostly dated to the 7th Cent. B.C. and continue earlier stylistic trends of either local Late Geometric style or imitations of Near Eastern imports (AH 17 - 18 and AH 24, respectively), the very few Archaic human bronze statuettes at the Argive Heraion, which are all dated to the 6th Cent. B.C., represent a stylistic innovation, showing closer contacts with both Sparta and Argos than observed for the late 8th - early 7th Centuries B.C.[172] There are two Laconian imports, AH 4 and AH 29, while the mirror support, AH 5, because of its surprisingly strong Laconian influences may be interpreted as an Argive imitation of a specific Laconian bronze mirror. The Argive Heraion human bronze figures are of excellent quality and at least one, the kouros NM 16537, is so closely related to the sculpture of Argos that it most likely had its origin in that city; the same may apply to other Argive Heraion statuettes.[173] Although the material is limited, the indications of close contacts with both Argos and Sparta point to a radical change in the outside relations of the Argive Heraion between the years around 700 B.C. and those around 550 B.C.

Figured Reliefs and Cut-Out Figures

There are no Archaic figured reliefs at the Argive Heraion, but there is a collection of figures cut out in thin bronze sheet, with details in raised points; they comprise fabulous creatures and animals such as fish, cocks, other birds, lions etc.; the largest fragment measures ca. 10 cm. in length (Fig. 37). They were mostly found in the southern and eastern part of the sanctuary. The cut- out figures presumably cover the greater part of the Archaic period, since some were found in the deposit at the Eastern Retaining Wall. At the Argive Heraion, there is no evidence for continuation into the Classical Period.[174]

Cut-out figures of the same types are known from several Arcadian sanctuaries (Asea, Lusoi and Tegea) as well as from the Athenian Acropolis, but apparently not from other sanctuaries in the Argolid or from the Corinthia.[175]

Neighbouring Votive Deposits

In the neighbouring votive deposits there are no finds of Archaic bronze statuettes, only of cut-out figures, coming from Tomb VIII as well as from the Hera sanctuary west of the Heraion.[176]

The most impressive find of the latter sanctuary is the 46. 3 cm. long fragment of bronze plate broken at both ends and with figure decoration in repoussé technique with incised details (Fig. 24).[177] The bronze plate, less than half a millimetre thick, measures 18 cm. in width at the upper break and is sligthly tapering downwards, measuring about 1 cm. less at the lower break. Two vertical rows of small nail heads show that it was fixed to a back in a different material and the edges along the sides are bent round a wire. Probably it decorated one leg of a wooden tripod.[178]

The figure relief is of excellent workmanship. The plate is divided into two large figure scenes by a horizontal guilloche between two horizontal rows of raised points. The lower panel with the figures fully preserved measures 23.5 cm. in height.

Each panel has two figures. Of the upper panels only the lower part of the figures is preserved, a warrior to the left and a woman to the right, both turned right. The warrior, of whom only the head is missing, is fully equipped with helmet –

the tip of the crest of which is seen behind the shoulder – body cuirass, greaves and a sword in its sheath at his side. Both cuirass and greaves represent metal armour, the former, with thorax rendering, shows a horizontal band of incised circles, possibly for holding the sword; the greaves have incised points along the edge indicating the fastening of the leather back, and a band behind the calves of the legs. The chiton is decorated with small incised points and a row of rings below, identical with that of the lower hem of the woman's dress. The woman, preserved from the waist down, is standing spinning, the lower part of her distaff seen in front of her; she is wearing a long dress with irregularly incised circles and a Daedalic belt. The warrior walks towards the woman, holding his right arm at his side, his hand clenched, and extending his left hand towards her, possibly catching hold of her elbow. The whole scene gives a homely and peaceful impression.

This is not the case with the lower scene, where one woman is murdering another with a sword. Both women are fully preserved, except for the feet of the right-hand person, and both are standing, turned to the right. They are clad in long dresses, in all details identical with that of the woman in the upper panel and apparently they wore the Daedalic small shoulder cloak, chlaina. The hair of the woman to the left is tied with a band behind the ears and falls in five, comparatively thick, straight locks, a much simpler hair-dressing than that of the other woman, with curls at the forehead and long curling tresses falling down over her shoulders, in a kind of pearl locks. The woman behind her grasps one of her forehead locks, at the same time thrusting the sword into her side; thus she has her head pulled backwards and at the same time she lifts both hands in evident amazement.

The most convincing interpretation of the latter scene is that of Kassandra being murdered by Klytaimnestra. The upper scene is presumably thematically connected with the lower one; Agamemnon and Kassandra

Fig. 24. Athens. National Museum. Bronze Relief. Hera Sanctuary West of the Heraion. Photo. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Athen. Neg. Nos. 4288 and 4289.

is one of several proposals for identification.[179]

The figure drawing is well accomplished except for the hands; only the thumb is drawn separately, the four fingers are placed inside a semicircle.

The women's dresses and hair styles are of Daedalic type and they have the low foreheads of Daedalic sculpture as well as the schematic ear rendering of 7th Cent. B.C. figures. Their eyes are oval with circular pupils, only that of Kassandra shows a rendering of the eye brows. Both have a long curving, unbroken profile line of the fore-

Fig. 25 A. Athens. National Museum. NM 14020. Terra-cotta Relief. Argive Heraion. Photo Courtesy of the British School at Athens.

Fig. 25 B. Athens. National Museum. NM 2869. Limestone Relief. Mycenae. Hirmer Photo Archiv. München. No. 5610401.

head and nose; their mouths are small and horizontally incised, that of Cassandra slightly protruding and both have firm chins. The figures are long and slender with a rather short upper part of the body, corresponding with the proportions of 7th Cent. B.C. figure rendering, although they all have rather broad buttocks. An absolute date around the middle of the 7th Cent. B.C. appears most likely.

The closest stylistic parallel to the man's body I see in the winged daemon on two terra-cotta reliefs, at the Argive Heraion and the Heraion of Perachora, respectively; they are made in the same mould, the former in Argive clay (Fig. 25 A), the latter in Corinthian.[180] Although Payne observed that the head was not Corinthian, he did not consider it Argive either, for the one reason that Jenkins did not recognize an Argive Daedalic style. However, as pointed out by Croissant, the limestone relief of a woman from the Acropolis of Mycenae (Fig. 25 B) is Argive Middle Daedalic, stylistically related to the Delphi kouroi; in head form and features it also resembles the head of the daemon of the terra-cotta plaque and both represent Argive Middle Daedalic style of the third quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C.[181] In proportions and general outline of the two men's bodies with their rather broad buttocks, there is close similarity, although Menelaos of the bronze relief is in a less vigorous attitude than the winged daemon in "Knielaufschema".

Stylistically the female figures on three small fibula plates of lead form the closest counterparts to the three women of the bronze relief. In spite of their miniature size, measuring 5.4 × 2.8 cm., the extremely good quality of the lead reliefs allows a comparison with the large figures of the bronze relief. The three rectangular lead plates, the pins of which are missing, are cast from the same mould; one comes from the Heraion of Perachora and another from a sanctuary on top of the Profitis Ilias

about 10 km. NE of Nauplion, while the third and best preserved one was found in 1960 during cleaning activities at the Second Temple of the Argive Heraion. The mould seems to have been new and the fibula unused before the Argive Heraion dedication; the right-hand lower corner of the plate is missing and there is some slight other damage, but the details are easily distinguishable, in contrast with those of the two other plates in a more worn condition. (Fig. 26)[182]

The rectangular figure panel is framed above by vertical indentations and below by a kind of tassels. In the figure scene a standing man and woman are facing each other, he grasping the tassels of his himation, she holding a pomegranate in her left hand and a distaff in her right one. She wears a high polos as a goddess and has her hair falling in long twisted locks on to the shoulders, somewhat like the hair-dressing of Klytaimnestra on the bronze relief; her long dress as well as his himation are all decorated in chequer pattern, while the front of her dress has horizontal panels, possibly panels for animal figures as often seen in Archaic painting and sculpture;[183] the panels are divided by a guilloche pattern which also decorates the lower hem of his himation. His hair-dressing is the normal Daedalic "Etagen-Perücke" which together with her Daedalic belt, the low forehead of the figures and their disproportionately long legs characterize them as 7th Cent. B.C. figures.

Alexandri's date to the early part of the third quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C. appears convincing, as does her interpretation of the scene as Zeus and Hera, taking into account that two, possibly all three, of the fibulae were found in Hera sanctuaries.[184] Against her attribution of the plates to a Laconian workshop, Fittschen advocated a North-East Peloponnesian regional style which, in my opinion, is correct.[185]

The women of the two reliefs, the bronze plate from the Hera sanctuary west of the Argive Heraion and the lead fibulae from

Fig. 26. Museum of Nauplion. Fibula Plate of Lead. Argive Heraion. From BCH 1964, 527.

other Hera sanctuaries, are very similar, as to hair style, profile line of forehead and nose, protruding mouth and chin, proportions and outline of their slim figures as well as the curving fall of their dresses, which are rendered in the same way; e.g. the lower hem of the dress in both reliefs form the same curved line, leaving the feet free in front, while reaching the ground behind.[186]

In my opinion, the three lead fibula plates and the bronze tripod relief are representatives of the same regional style, to which also belongs the Middle Daedalic terracotta plaque, i.e. they should be considered Argive works of around 650 B.C. or the third quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C. Judging from the provenances of all these objects, found in Hera sanctuaries only, I am temp-

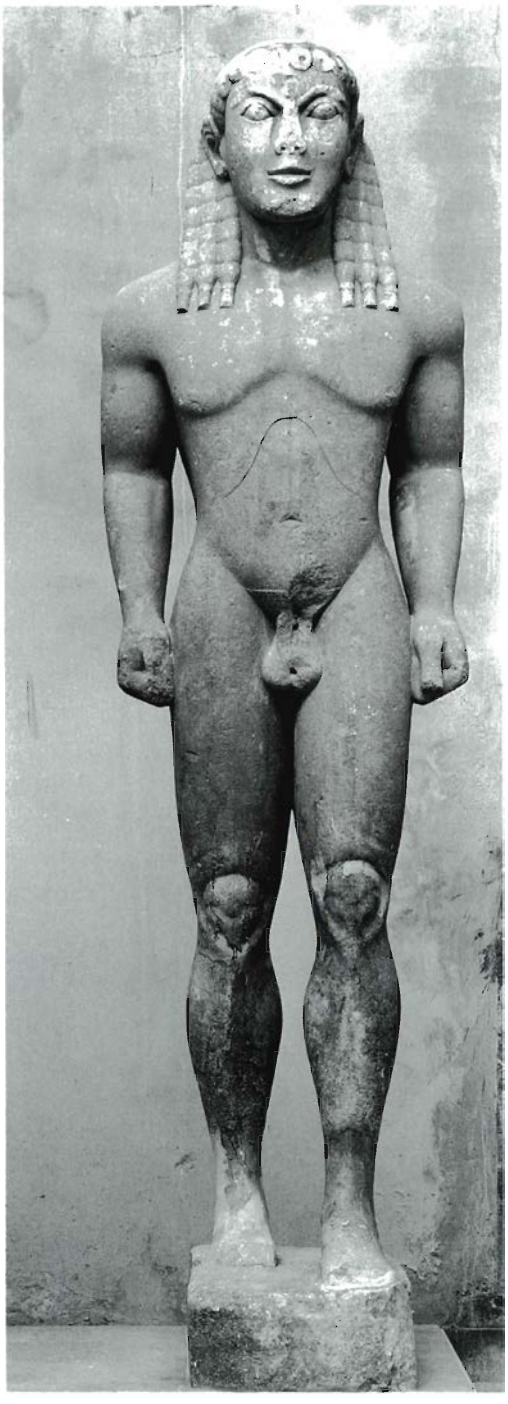

Fig. 27. Delphi. Inv. No. 1524. Kouros Statue. So-called Kleobis. Hirmer Photo Archiv. München. No. 5920516.

ted to conclude that they were all manufactured at the Argive Heraion, by far the most important of the Hera sanctuaries in question, and the one centrally placed in the distribution area of the reliefs. However, the comparison material is too limited for a definite conclusion at present.[187]

Argos

Statuettes

Male as well as female bronze figures are published from the sanctuaries of Argos, all of 6th Cent. B.C. date. Recently Croissant has reconstructed an Argive regional school of male figures in the 7th Cent. B.C., down to the Delphi kouroi of Kleobis and Biton.[188] His comparison material is Argive Late Geometric vase-painting; but although I find his observations impressive, I am sceptical of his results concerning the early part of the period, since none of the bronze statuettes in question was found in Argos; nor do they conform well with the Late Geometric Argive regional style, as based on sculptural finds in Argos, which Croissant himself points out.[189]

The Delphi kouros statues from around or shortly after 600 B.C., the Argive origin of which is secured from their artist's signature, must as an official dedication represent the Archaic school of sculpture situated in the city of Argos (Fig. 27). Closely connected with them are the Argive Heraion bronze kouros, NM 16357 (Fig. 20) and a fragmentary bronze kouros statuette in the Museum of Berlin of which only the feet are preserved, wearing the same kind of boots as the Delphi kouroi. The statuette was found in the Dioskouros sanctuary between Argos and Lerna and has an Argive inscription on its base plate. It must be a work of the city of Argos,[190] whereas another bronze kouros with an Argive inscription was recognized long ago as East Greek, probably Samian.[191]

In all, only four Archaic bronze statuettes have been published as coming from Argos or its immediate vicinity; besides the above-mentioned base plate, a fragmentary kouros statuette, most probably from the Apollo Pythaios Sanctuary, a kouros figure from Kephalari SW of Argos and a female statuette from the Athena sanctuary on the Larissa. The last-mentioned figure, however, is published only in an old drawing and cannot be used for stylistic studies.[192]

Fig. 28. Athens. National Museum. NM 14410. Bronze Statuette of Kouros. Argos. Apollo Pythaios Sanctuary. Museum Photo.

The kouros statuette from the Apollo Pythaios Sanctuary, now in Athens, NM 14410 (Fig. 28), is a 3.7 cm. high fragment of the head and upper part of the body of a solid cast bronze figure of a standing young man with both arms stretched downwards, bent at the elbows. The hair style is that of a krobylos and the figure wears a round polos on its head; presumably it functioned as a support for another object.[193]

Krystalli-Votsi recognized the Corinthian style of the figure: its bodily characteristics such as the broad triangular torso, built up of planes meeting at sharp angles as well as its almost square head, with angular detailed features and the hair style in pearl locks which form a triangle or gable over the forehead. Krystalli-Votsi observes close similarities with the Tenea kouros from the second quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C. which seems a likely date also for the Apollo Pythaios bronze.[194]

Krystalli-Votsi, however, makes the same comparisons for the Argive Heraion rider, AH 3 (Fig. 23). I fail to see more than a superficial likeness to the Apollo Pythaios statuette. In contrast with the prevailing angularity of the latter figure, all features of the Argive Heraion rider are basically rounded; the shoulders, the gently curving outline of the torso and above all, its facial features. Also as regards the hair style the differences are obvious; although essentially the same for the two figures, the front hair of the Apollo Pythaios figure forms a central triangle or gable and has an almost straight fall, as opposed to the semicurves which characterize both these traits in the Argive Heraion rider. Although the face of the latter is badly battered, its essentially rounded features speak for an Argive origin as opposed to the Corinthian essentially angular ones of the Apollo Pythaios kouros.[195]

The third figure which Krystalli-Votsi uses for her comparative studies is a small, solid cast bronze kouros, found at Kephalari, 8 km. SW of Argos, where Pausanias saw a sanctuary for Dionysos (Fig. 29).[196] The Kephalari kouros measures today 9 cm. in height; only the right foot and the left leg from above the knee are missing. It stands in the normal kouros position and has essentially the same hair style as the other figures, a krobylos and a head band. It is badly worn, but was originally a fine piece of art. The hair is naturalistically wavy; the head band is rendered with two horizontal, fine relief lines and a row of incised points in between. In spite of its bad condition, the oval head form of a considerable depth, the large oval and slightly pro-

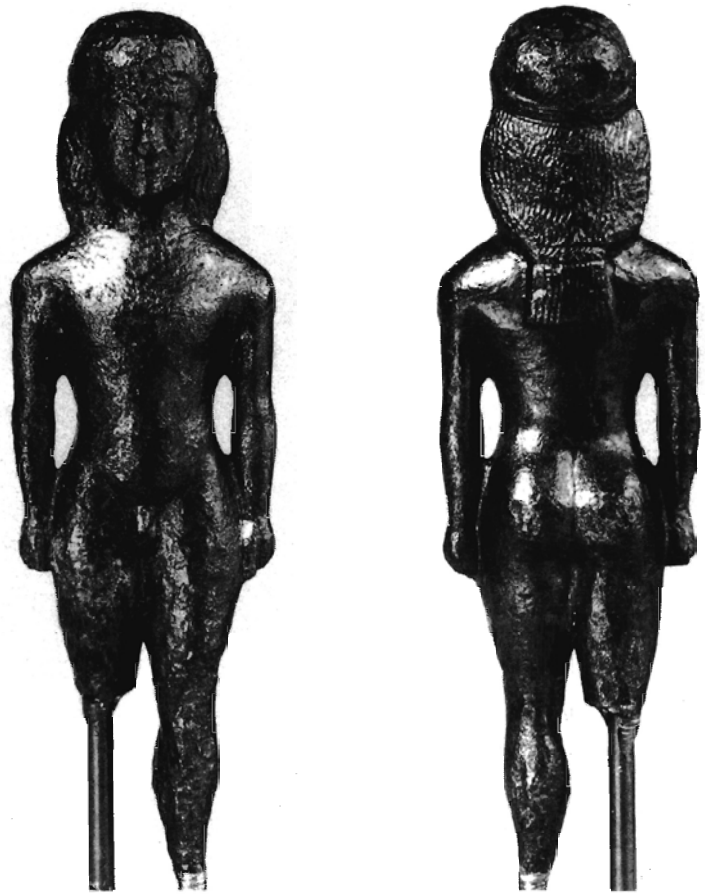

Fig. 29.
Museum of Nauplion.
Inv. No. 36087.
Bronze Statuette of Kouros.
Kephalari. Museum Photo.

truding eyes and the protruding chin are discernible as well as – in particular, when viewed from the left – the U-formed groove from nose to above the chin, facial features which conform well with the Argive regional style. The hair style with its curving line at the forehead and the semicircles at either side of the head is also similar to that of the above Argive Heraion figures, AH 3 and AH 5. On the other hand, the body of the Kephalari kouros differs from these figures as well as from the Apollo Pythaios kouros; it is much fuller, the shoulders are sloping, the body rounded, the thighs almost semicircularly curving, bodily characteristics which are neither Argive nor Corinthian, but close to some East Greek kouroi, in particular those of Samos, and reminding me also of the above-mentioned East Greek bronze kouros with an Argive inscription.[197] In my opinion, the Kephalari kouros is an Argive work but under East Greek, probably Samian influences.

The Archaic bronze statuettes found in Argos are difficult to use for a reconstruction of the Argos bronze sculpture in the 6th Cent. B.C, as they are either inadequately published or badly preserved or else they show close connection with other regions; one is apparently an import from Corinth, (the Apollo Pythaios figure), another seems to be strongly influenced from East Greece, (the Kephalari kouros). However, two of the Argive Heraion male figures, NM 16357 and the rider, AH 3, are works of the city of Argos, stylistically related not only to the Delphi kouroi, but also to the other sculptures of Argos origin, the lead kouroi, the production of which is securely located to Argos, because of the many finds of these in the Aphrodision.[198]

The lead figurines present a definite indication of early Laconian influences on the metal work of Argos. Lead reliefs of very varied types were produced in Sparta from the late 8th Cent. B.C. until the 4th Cent. B.C.[199] In the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia lead reliefs have been found to the number of about 100,000; they are known in large quantities also from the Menelaion and turn up in almost all Laconian sanctuaries,[200] as well as several other Peloponnesian ones.[201] From stratigraphical criteria, Wace classified the Menelaion and Artemis Orthia lead reliefs into Groups 0 - VI, Group 0 being the only one found with Protocorinthian pottery and presumably dating back to the late 8th Cent. B.C., while Lead I - VI correspond to the same classes of Laconian pottery. Wace dated Lead I - II before 600 B.C. and Lead III/IV and following after that date, a chronology which in the main is confirmed by the Menelaion excavations, the crucial date now being given as 590 B.C.[202] All Laconian lead reliefs are made in single moulds; in types they comprise a large variety of human figures, animals, fabulous creatures, ornaments etc.

In contrast to the very varied Laconian production of lead reliefs, the Argos lead figure production is more restricted in types, apparently represented only by

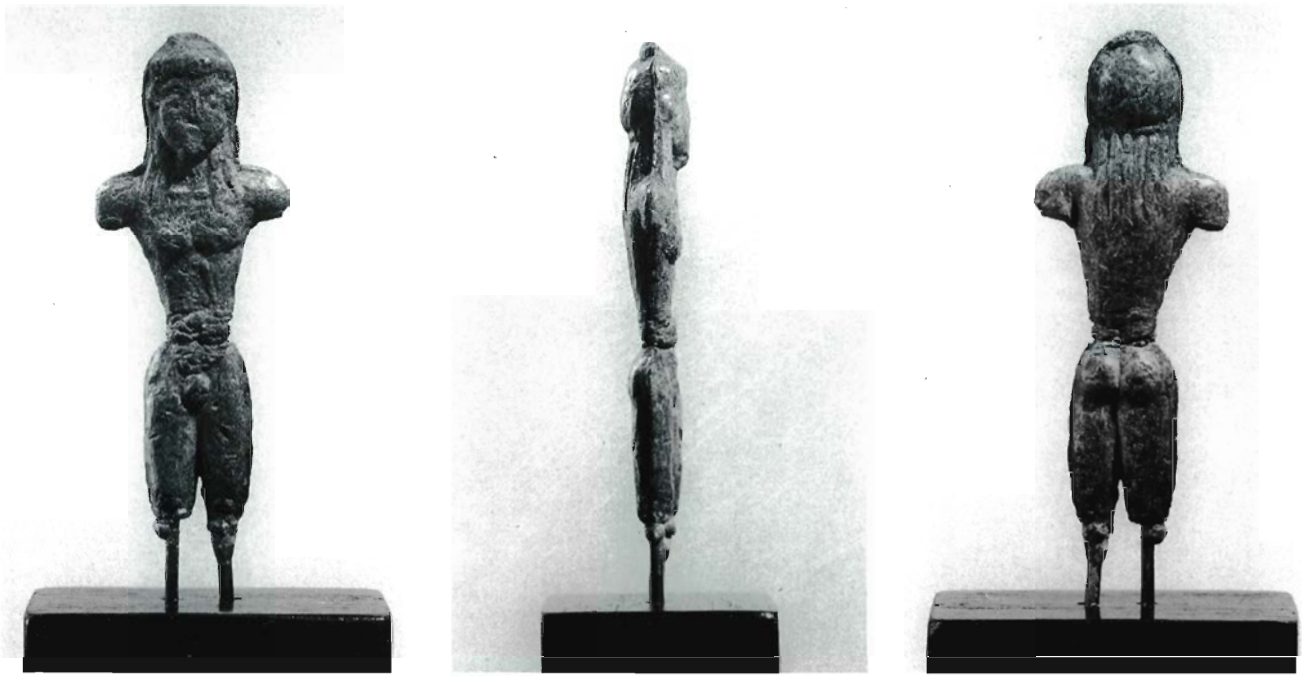

Fig. 30. Athens. National Museum. Collection Hélène Stathatos. Lead Statuette. Kouros. From Bassai. Photo. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Athen. Neg. No. ATH. V. 1170 - 1171 - 1172.

kouroi and korai (Figs. 30 and 32), the former in at least three varieties, the latter in two. In contrast with the single moulds of Laconian lead reliefs, all Argos figures are made in double relief moulds, one for the front and one for the back, soldered together vertically at the sides. In some cases a flat base plate is preserved. The height of the figures varies between 4 and 6 cm.; the kouroi are apparently naked, although some seem to wear a Daedalic belt; the korai wear Daedalic belts and peploi with horizontal panels imitating the woven friezes of animals of the real peplos. All have long hair falling in symmetrical locks over the shoulders in front and in a mass of long tresses at the back. The korai have a high polos on their heads. The faces are rather broad with oval protruding eyes and distinct eyebrows, whereas other facial details are difficult to distinguish in the published photographs.[203]

The Argos lead kouroi and korai are found in sanctuaries all over the Peloponnese.[204] In Argos, besides the Aphrodision figures, there is one lead kore figure from the Athena sanctuary on top of the Larissa.[205] One or two examples are known from various sanctuaries of the Argolid and the Corinthia.[206] Except for the Aphrodision, where both main figure types are represented, there seems a tendency in these two regions to have lead kouroi in the sanctuaries of male deities, korai in those of female deities, a tendency which is not to be observed in the other Peloponnesian sanctuaries with Argive lead figurines.[207] The extremely large number of lead figurines at the Aphrodision of Argos, in contrast to the isolated finds in other sanctuaries, point to the Aphrodision of Argos as their place of production, possibly at a very early date of the existence of the sanctuary. From two closed find contexts in the Aphrodision, the main production period can be assigned to the 6th cent. B.C. a chronology which is confirmed by the Nemea find. However, the production must have been fully developed not later than ca. 600 B.C., as one kouros figure was found in the stratum of Laconian Lead II reliefs in the Artemis Orthia Sanctuary.[208]

Although somewhat slimmer in appearance, the proportions and general bodily structure of the lead kouroi harmonize well with those of the Delphi kouroi as

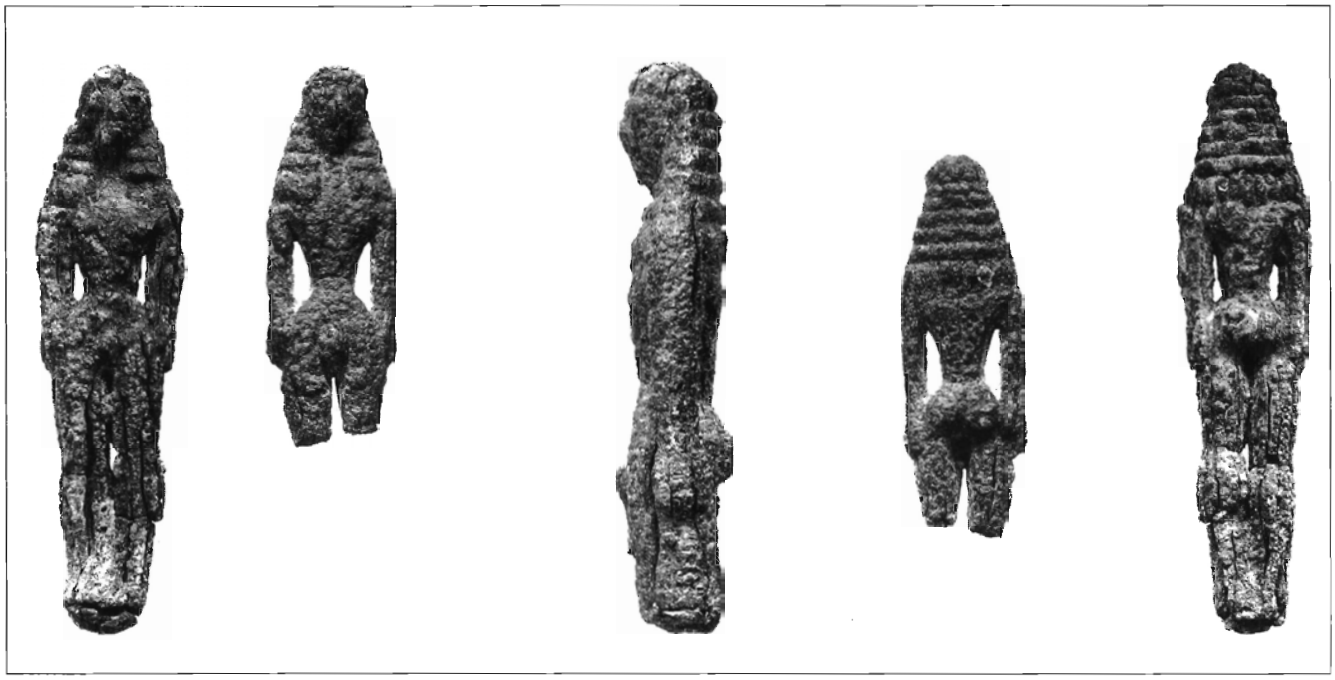

Fig. 31. Delphi. Inv. Nos. 7624 and 7547. Bronze Statuettes. Kouroi. Photo. Ecole Francaise d'Athènes. Neg. Nos. 31275 - 31276 - 31277.

well as with the Argive Heraion bronze rider, AH 3 which was stylistically related to the mirror AH 5, (Figs. 30, 27 and 21 - 23).

Five identical bronze kouros statuettes from Delphi, the best preserved one measuring 14.5 cm. in height, are of the same technique as the Argos lead figurines, front and back formed in two separate moulds and soldered together vertically at the sides. (Fig. 31). They are naked, but have the Daedalic hair-dressing of "Etagen-Perücke".[209] Technically Rolley compared them with a lead kouros figure from Samos,[210] where the technique of using intermediate negative moulds for the wax model, one for the front and one for the back side, was well-known in the Archaic Period,[211] and chronologically with the Mantiklos Apollon. Although, as Rolley points out, the very technique may account for their more conservative appearance, his absolute chronology of the figures within the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C. appears convincing.[212] Stylistically, however, the Delphi bronze statuettes have little in common with either the Mantiklos Apollo or the Samos figure.

As observed by Rolley, the existence of five identical statuettes in the same sanctuary indicates local manufacture. On the other hand, such a small mould is easily transported. Rolley suggested a Boiotian origin because of the similarity with the Mantiklos Apollo, which I, however, find superficial and linked only chronologically. After the finds of lead figurines in the same technique in Argos, this settlement presents itself as a likely candidate for their origin. In their broad faces with large protruding oval eyes as well as such bodily characteristics as the broad shoulders and slim hips, the Delphi bronze statuettes are reminiscent of the later Argos lead kouroi and may represent a preceding stylistic phase. Technically they could have served as models for the Aphrodision lead figures, differing in this respect from the Laconian lead reliefs.

The Aphrodision lead korai (Fig. 32) confirm the attribution of a 14.1 cm. high, solid cast kore figure in the University Collection, Heidelberg (Inv. no. F 160) to the Argive regional school, observed in 1975 by Gropengiesser (Fig. 33). Except for her missing left underarm and right hand, the

Fig. 32 A. Argos Museum. Lead Figurines of Korai. Aphrodision. Photo. Ecole Francaise d'Athènes. Neg. No. L 2038. 30.

kore figure is well preserved, although the surface is extremely damaged. Like the lead korai, she wears a peplos without apoptygma which according to Gropengiesser and Borell does not show any sign of figured decoration.[213] In proportions, hair style, form of head, facial features, her comparatively slim body, where the full breasts are indicated behind the thick woollen material of the peplos, and the slightly outswaying skirt, the Heidelberg kore statuette may well be compared with the Argos lead korai and is most probably also a work of art from the city of Argos, dated to the second quarter of the 6th cent. B.C.

From the above, it seems possible to follow the sculpture in the round manufactured at the settlement of Argos from at least the late 7th Cent. B.C. until the third quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C., i.e. to a date when Argive sculpture is generally well known. The Argos lead figurines take up a crucial position in the above line of development and a full publication of the lead korai and kouroi from the Aphrodision is much needed for confirmation of the above attributions as well as for the studies of early Argive sculpture, in general.

Although Argive contacts with Corinth in the late 7th and the 6th Centuries B.C. are striking to anyone looking at Argive and Corinthian terra-cotta sculpture, they are not immediately felt in the stone and metal sculpture in the round during the same period. At Argos two other trends of influences are stronger, one of which leads from Samos, the other from Laconia, two regions which had close interrelations in the Archaic Period. Contacts between Argos and Laconia were observable already in the Late Geometric sculpture,[214] a period when Argos also showed connections to the islands, although not in particular to Samos.[215]

Reliefs and Cut-Out Figures

As far as I know, no Archaic bronze reliefs nor cut- out figures are found in any of

Fig. 32 B - C. Lead Figurine of Kore. Perachora. Photo Courtesy of the British School at Athens.

the sanctuaries of Argos, the only published figured representation in bronze plate being the plaque with a dedicatory inscription to the War God, Enyalios, excavated in a mixed stratum with votives of the Athena Sanctuary on the top of the Larissa.[216]

Very few Enyalios sanctuaries are known. Plutarch mentions one in Argos, which because of the provenance of this plaque must have been situated on the Larissa, close to the Athena Sanctuary, while other Enyalios sanctuaries were placed near Mycenae, at Tiryns and in the Eastern Argolid at Hermione.[217]

The plaque measures 5.3 cm. in height and 7 cm. in length and has an incised decoration on the one side of a horse and a rider, framed by an irregular line and circles, and on the other a standing warrior. The plaque is dedicated in a re-used state, its upper part cut-away, damaging the warrior's head leaving only a centre piece with a hole for hanging it up. The dedicatory inscription which cuts into the warrior's figure and is deeper than the original decoration, can be dated to the 7th Cent. B.C., the figure scene probably being only slightly earlier. For stylistic reasons I agree with Foley who attributes the plaque to Corinth.

The Argive shield straps with relief decoration of mostly mythological subjects were to a large degree found in Olympia, not a single fragment coming from the Argolid.[218] Nevertheless there is no reason to doubt that the majority were of Argive manufacture, Argive inscriptions having been made already in the moulds,[219] and the most plausible location for an Argive workshop of bronze shields must be in Argos itself, taking into account also the Argos tradition of bronze armour manufacture reaching back at least into the Geometric Period.[220]

The Archaic bronze shield straps with relief decoration still present many problems. However, the shield strap reliefs with Corinthian inscriptions seem to differ slightly stylistically and although the moulds of Argive type reliefs were used also for definitely Corinthian handle plates for

Fig. 33. Heidelberg. Antikenmuseum und Abguus-Sammlung. Archäologisches Institut der Universität. Inv. No. F 160. Bronze Statuette of Kore. Museum Photo. Neg. No. N.S. 2156 f + g + h.

mirrors, it now seems possible to distinguish between the two production centres.[221] Such a close collaboration of Argive and Corinthian bronze workers is reminiscent of that known for the manufacture of Archaic terra-cotta statuettes and terra-cotta reliefs.[222]

The earliest Argive shield straps from datable contexts are from the early second quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C. and presumably the production started in the beginning of the century. However, the main production period spans the second half of the 6th cent. B.C., reaching into the early 5th Cent.B.C.[223], and thus falls outside the period relevant for this study. Nor are there any close stylistic or thematic connections observable between the Argive shield straps and the only Early Archaic bronze figure relief in the Argive Heraion area, the Kassandra-Klytaimnestra relief; the one shield strap which may remind us of the tripod leg relief is identified from its inscription as a Menelaos-Helena scene and bears a Corinthian inscription.[224]

The early tradition in Argos of bronze armour manufacture was apparently handed down through the Archaic Period into the Early Classical times and such a specialization is known also from Corinth.[225]

Conclusions

The early locally manufactured handle attachments in the form of animals' heads or fabulous creatures and the early bull figure from the Argive Heraion, types without parallels in the sanctuaries of Argos, are signs of a renewal under Near Eastern influences of the production of figured animal bronzes known from the Late Geome-

tric/Subgeometric Argive Heraion; this production probably lasted throughout the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C., local traditions at the same time continuing, e.g. in the two bronze horses, AH 17 and AH 18.

Towards the end of this period, around 650 B.C., the tripod leg from the Hera Sanctuary west of the Heraion presents a highly skilled and fully developed Archaic figure style. If I am correct in assigning this bronze relief as well as the lead relief plates with corresponding mythological scenes to a workshop at the Argive Heraion, it implies that the production of figured bronzes at the Argive Heraion continued throughout the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C. on a very high artistic level. The relief plates represent contacts with other Hera sanctuaries in North East Peloponnese, apparently still independent of Argos, from which settlement we do not have similar works of art. On the other hand, on the present limited evidence the attribution of the reliefs is in no way certain.

In the second half of the 7th Cent. B.C. we have no examples of figured bronzes at the Argive Heraion and when they come to light again in the second quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C. they are of a very different aspect. The Argive Heraion bronze sculpture in the round, dated to the two quarter centuries on either side of 550 B.C., represent a continuation of stylistic characteristics which in Argos were followed from the Late Geometric sculpture to the Delphi kouroi around or shortly after 600 B.C., official dedications of Argos.

Judging from the Archaic figured bronzes, the Argive Heraion was part of the cultural sphere of Argos at a date not later than the second quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C. As there are almost no bronze figures from the immediately preceding ca. 75 years we have no information of a possible period of transition.

Another characteristic of this relationship is given by Laconian influences, observable in the bronze and terra-cotta statuettes of Late Geometric Argos and in its Early Archaic lead figure production, but also in the 6th Cent. B.C. Laconian figured bronzes or imitations of such found at the Argive Heraion, where they are in contrast with the scarce signs of Laconian connections at the Geometric sanctuary.[226] Possibly to be seen in the same light are the signs of relations with Samos which apparently influenced the 6th Cent. B.C. sculpture in the round in Argos and earlier, maybe even the innovation of double reliefs in the lead figure production.[227]

About the same time, in the early 6th Cent. B.C. the shield strap reliefs with mythological figure scenes manufactured in Argos show the beginning of a close collaboration with Corinthian bronze workers which was not felt in the Geometric or early 7th Cent. Argos.[228] and thus indicate a widening of the cultural sphere of the city.

From the second quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C., the differences in bronze figure production and the outside relations which were of influence on it are no longer observable between the Argive Heraion and Argos. However, from the long line of development of figured bronzes of Argos there is no doubt that it is the Argos tradition which now prevails at both sites.

O. Mirrors

The Argive Heraion

Besides the support for the Laconian-imitating stand mirror, AH 5 (Figs. 21 - 22), there is a second partially preserved stand mirror at the Argive Heraion, AH 1588, which judging from its incised decoration is Late Archaic.[229]

The other mirrors are all hand mirrors of either normal or miniature size.[230] Like the stand mirror, the Greek hand mirror may derive from Egyptian hand mirrors; however, they do not imitate the women's figures of the Egyptian mirrors, nor their elliptical disk form. Near Eastern mirrors

may be another possible model.[231] On the other hand, in spite of a considerable time lag, Greek hand mirrors could perhaps be seen in the light of Mycenaean tradition. At any rate, there are hand mirrors with a bronze disk and either an ivory handle or a wooden handle in the Late Mycenaean tombs in both Mycenae and Prosymna as well as in other parts of the Mycenaean world,[232] and Greek hand mirrors existed at least as early as the Late Geometric Period. Zimmer publishes two LG bronze mirrors with Geometric figure motives in matrice technique and a miniature bronze mirror was found in a late 8th Cent. B.C. grave in Delphi.[233]

The Archaic Greek hand mirrors, consisting of a circular disk, a rectangular handle plate and as a rule a circular end piece to the handle were usually made of bronze, all in one piece.[234] Except possibly for one mirror, AH 1586,[235] this applies also to the mirrors of normal size at the Argive Heraion. AH 1561 - 1566 and 1580 - 1584 and 1586 (NM 14012, 20453, 20456 and 20458) and NM 49.63 are of the same general type, with a rectangular or slightly incurved handle plate, showing two small protrusions or "ears" at the transition to the circular disk, while the circular end piece has a hole for hanging up the mirror.[236] End piece as well as handle plate may have incised decoration, the former usually a palmette, the latter a circle on each "ear" and sometimes a figured or ornamental decoration; a dancing satyr, AH 1566 (Fig. 34), a standing woman, AH 1581 (Fig. 35), and a palmette ornament of a rather specific type, AH 1565, an imitation of a Laconian mirror handles (Fig. 36). AH 1581 has a dedicatory inscription, dated to the third quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C. which seems later than the style of the figure-drawing.[237]

The complete hand mirrors at the Argive Heraion measure between 14 and 23. 5 cm. and are usually made of a very thin bronze plate, indicating that they were meant for votive use only.[238] Oberländer dates the beginning of the Argive Heraion

Fig. 34. Athens. National Museum. Hand Mirror. Inv. No. 14010. AH 1566. Museum Photo.

mirror type to around 550 B.C. However, one mirror, NM 49.63 (Fig. 37), was found in the deposit at the Eastern Retaining Wall, closed around 550 B.C. and the production cannot have begun later than the second quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C.; judging from the dedicatory inscription of a Perachora mirror it lasted into the 5th Cent. B.C. For most mirrors, however, a definite absolute chronology cannot be established.[239] This mirror type is almost exclusively found at the Argive Heraion, except for one fragment at Troizen and two from the Heraion of Perachora, as well as a possible handle fragment from the Aphrodision of Argos.[240] As observed by Oberländer, the production must be Argive. The distribution pattern points more precisely to the Argive Heraion.[241]

Only one mirror is of a different type, the handle ending in a solid disk, M 49.94 (Fig. 37).[242] The Laconian mirror type, where the handle ends in a palmette, was imitated in one Argive Heraion mirror,

Fig. 35. Athens. National Museum. Hand Mirror. Inv. No. 14010. AH 1581. Drawing from AH II, pl. XCVI.

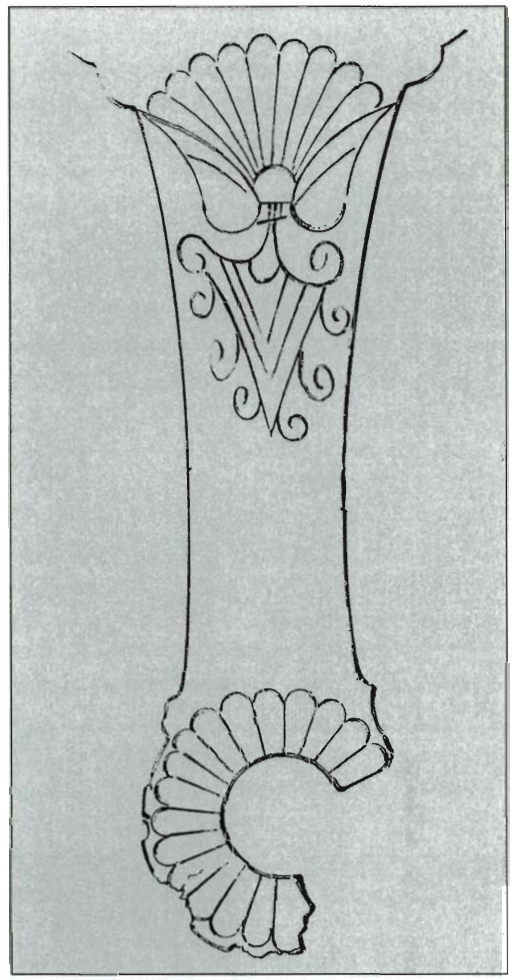

Fig. 36. Athens. National Museum. Hand Mirror. AH 1565. Drawing. From AH II, pl. XCIV.

AH 1565 (Fig. 36).[243] However, the typical Corinthian hand mirrors with a solid end piece, a broad rectangular plate at the transition from disc to handle, and extra decorative relief plates, often taken from the same moulds at the Argive shield bands are not represented at the sanctuary.[244]

The few Argive Heraion mirrors of normal size, for which the find spots are known, all came from a secondary position[245], whereas of the miniature mirrors, AH 1560 and 1567 - 1579 (NM 14013, 20457, 20459 and 20526), two were found on the Upper Hill in their original position together with other votives; and another, M 49.77, was found at the Eastern Retaining Wall (Fig. 37).[246]

Like the above mirrors of normal size, the miniature mirrors usually have a hole at the end of the handle for hanging them up; they generally measure between 3 and 5 cm. in length, although a few examples are larger. They were made of very thin bronze plate, often decorated with a row of raised points along the rim of the disk. They were made exclusively for votive purposes and like the votive mirrors of normal size they must be local products. The find at the Eastern Retaining Wall indicates the beginning of their local production as not later than the mirrors of normal size.[247]

Although mirrors are not usually connected with the cult of Hera, they were definitely ordinary votive gifts in the Archaic Period at the Argive Heraion and in normal as well as miniature size. Mirrors

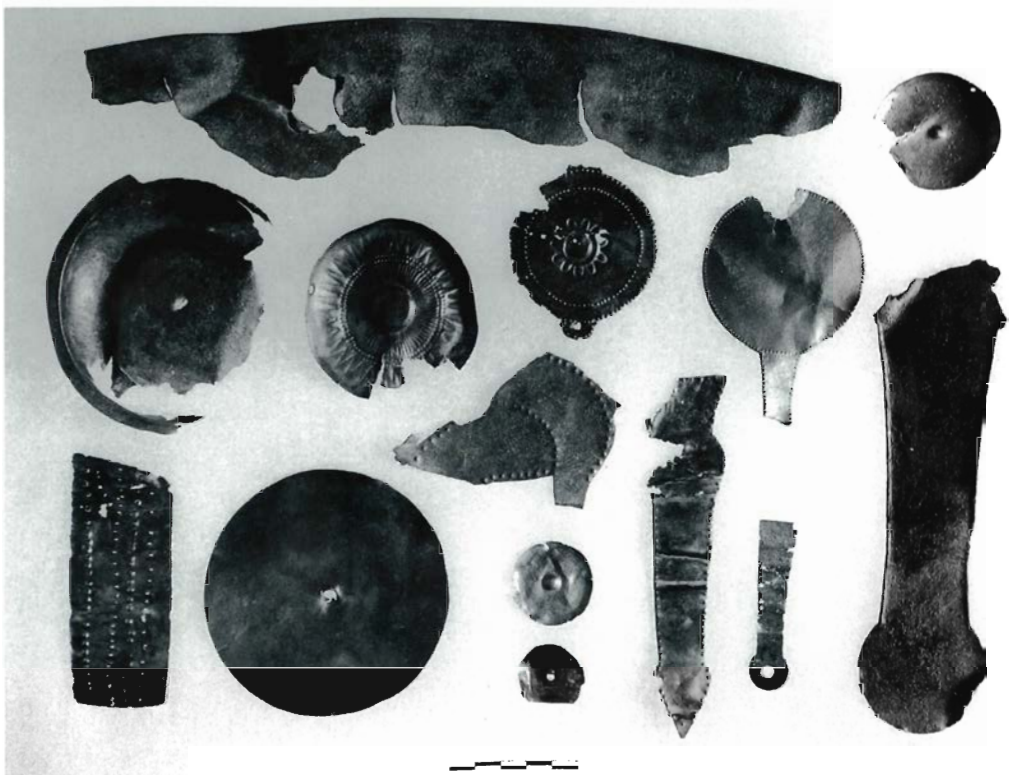

Fig. 37. Athens. National Museum. Bronze. Miniature Vases, Mirrors, Cut-Out Relief and Sheet with Raised Points. Argive Heraion. Photo American School of Classical Studies.

are known also from other Hera cults in the Argolid/Corinthia, and recalling the finds of Egyptian mirrors at the Heraia of Perachora and Samos,[248] mirrors may after all have played a role also in Hera sanctuaries. Miniature mirrors in bronze which are known at least from the late 8th Cent. B.C. onwards seem to have been in general favour throughout the Peloponnese in the 6th Cent. B.C. and later, chiefly in sanctuaries of female deities.[249] Like the stand mirrors, the hand mirrors at the Argive Heraion also show examples of influences from Laconia.[250]

The Neighbouring Votive Deposits

At the Hera Sanctuary West of the Heraion, there are mirrors of normal as well as miniature size of the main Argive Heraion types, definitely made for votive purposes and most likely at the Argive Heraion.[251]

Argos

A fragmentary and badly damaged bronze handle in the Aphrodision, 73/658, may be a mirror handle of the Argive type with a hole in the end disk; another badly preserved bronze object was registered as a mirror in the excavations which yielded at least one miniature mirror, 73/552.[252] The studies of the Aphrodision bronzes may identify other mirrors, since mirrors are normally connected with Aphrodite.[253]

P. Vases

At the Argive Heraion more than a thousand fragmentary bronze vases or separate fragments were found, including miniature vases as well as equipment connected with the function of the vases, such as low stands, sieves, ladles etc.[254] By far the majority of vases of normal size were found in a secondary position.[255] A few, such as the cup with a seated sphinx on the handle, AH 2034 (NM 13974)(Fig. 42), and possibly AH 2005 (NM 20587 β), an ornamented rim of a large vessel, as well as several phialai were mentioned among the objects of the Western fill, which came from the Old Temple Terrace and the Altar area,[256] two spots which had also fragments of large cauldrons, while a

Fig. 38. Athens. National Museum. NM 20620. Bronze Handle. AH 2177. From AH II, pl. CXXII.

Fig. 39. Athens. National Museum. NM 20667 b. Bronze wish-bone handle. AH 2067. Museum Photo.

lotus bowl was placed on the Upper Hill.[257]

There are many fragments of cauldrons, but only one with all parts of the vessel preserved, AH 2039 (NM 20658). Several have parallels in Olympia and Perachora,[258] including the Archaic spool cauldron handle AH 2226 (NM 20631 α).[259]

However, most Argive Heraion cauldron handles are connected with bolster attachments of the Phrygian-imitating type, known from many Greek sanctuaries. The type continued into the Classical Period, decorating also other kinds of implements such as stand mirrors, but since most of the Argive Heraion examples seem too straight for a curved mirror rim and since stand mirrors are almost absent at the site, the bolster attachments at the Argive Heraion presumably were chiefly connected with handles of large bronze vessels.[260]

The bolster attachments with a lead core, measuring 1 - 4 cm. in length are according to Gauer the earliest Greek type, definitely of 7th Cent. B.C. date and most likely of the first half of the century; they are of straight form, their relief parts usually of equal width. Apparently almost contemporary with them are the solid attachments with the same relief decoration.[261] According to Gauer, they were followed by a type, the relief parts of which gives the impression of astragaloi, a decoration which begins slowly in the course of the 7th Cent. B.C. AH 2141 and AH 2142 (NM 20611/ 6 - 7) compare well with the two early astragalos attachments in Olympia, from 7th Cent. B.C. contexts, and are presumably dated to the second half of the 7th Cent. B.C.[262] However, the greater part of the bolster attachments at the Argive Heraion, gradually developing into a double concave form, belong to the 6th Cent. B.C.

The handles connected with the Argive Heraion bolster attachments are usually plain, but there is one solid cast handle of rectangular form with an octagonal bar and two flattened globes AH 2177 (NM 20620) (Fig. 38), while another, AH 2170 (NM 20617) of rounded form is of essentially the same type. Both are presumably of 6th Cent. B.C. date. They have parallels in several Peloponnesian sanctuaries (Apollo at Korynthos in Messenia, Hera/Zeus at Olympia, Poseidon at Isthmia and the Heraion of Perachora) as well as at Delphi and the latter type is represented also in the tombs of Trebenischte.[263] In the above-mentioned Peloponnesian sanctuaries, the handles often were connected with palmette or epheu plates of open cauldrons, but such plates are not preserved among the published Argive Heraion bronzes, in spite of Gauer's suggestion of their Argive origin.[264] It is also possible that the handles from the Argive Heraion decorated the shoulders of a different form of cauldron with bolster handle attachments that became particularly favoured in Attica in the first half of the 5th Cent. B.C.[265]

The wish-bone handles with a central knob, AH 2061 - 2067 (NM 20666 - 20667) (Fig. 39), varying in length between 5.8 and 9.5 cm. have almost the same distribution area and are also chiefly of 6th Cent. B.C. date. However, considering their close similarity with the more elaborate wish-bone handles of the Greek 7th Cent. B.C. stone perirrhanteria, their production may have started earlier.[266] In a tomb at Ezerovo in Southern Bulgaria, wish-bone handles were still in situ on an open bronze bowl, measuring 20 cm. in diameter and 12 cm. in height; wish-bone handles may have been generally connected with this type of vessel. In Trebenischte a wish-bone handle was found together with fragments of a large open bronze bowl inside a low tripod stand with lions' paws, on which the bowl must have rested.[267]

Fig. 40. Athens. National Museum. NM 14019. Tripod Stand with Lion's Paw. AH 2230. Museum Photo.

Fig. 41. Athens. National Museum. Hydria Handle. AH 2206. From AH II, pl. CXXIII.

At the Argive Heraion are fragments of two low tripod stands with lions' paws, AH 2228 (NM 14020) and AH 2230 (NM 14019) as well as two lions' paws from miniature objects, AH 2227 and 2229 (NM 20631 β and γ).[268] The lion's paw of AH 2228 was hollow cast and soldered to the underside of a stand ring, of which a third is preserved at a length of 11. 3 cm.; the stand ring with a notched outside had a diameter of 19 cm.; the whole object measures 4. 65 cm. in height, the width of the ring is 2 cm. and its thickness is 0. 35 cm. The lion's paw, measuring 4. 3 cm. in height, has four toes in high relief and rests on a small base plate.[269]

Such low tripod stands are widely distributed in sanctuaries all over Greece, in South Italian tombs, in several Trebenischte tombs as well as in a deposit in Novi Pazar in Bulgaria[270] of the same general character and the same date, late 6th to early 5th Cent. B.C., as the Trebenischte tombs.[271] In spite of the generous possibilities of comparative material, only a stand ring from the dromos of Prosymna Tomb II forms a direct counterpart to the Argive Heraion ring (Fig. 46). Both are presumably of local manufacture, since lions' paws as part of larger objects definitely were produced in the Archaic Argive Heraion.[272], whereas most Olympia and Trebenischte stands are considered of Corinthian manufacture.[273] Judging from the chronology of one of the Olympia tripods of the same heavy fabric the two Argive Heraion stands should possibly be dated to around 600 B.C.[274]

According to the Trebenischte and Novi Pazar finds, the low tripod stands usually carried an open shallow bowl, the diameter of the stand being about half the diameter of the bowl resting on its top.[275] The bowl connected with AH 2228 thus presumably measured about 40 cm. in diameter. Gauer does not interpret the function of the stand rings and their bowls; however, a plausible interpretation was given already in 1944 by M.J. Milne, namely that of a foot bath, for which the comparatively large dimensions and the low position of the bowls seem appropriate.[276] Such an identification is supported by the general context of the Trebenischte tombs, definitely one of symposion equipment.

The lion's paw of AH 2230 (NM 14019) is solid cast, but like the above it has four toes in full relief; it measures ca. 3 × 3 cm.

Fig. 42. Athens. National Museum. NM 13980. Mug with sphinx on Handle. AH 2034. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Athen. Neg. No. NM 4286.

Fig. 43. Athens. National Museum. NM 13982. Tankard. AH 2240. Museum Photo.

and 4.5 cm. in height. The stand which measures 7. 75 cm. in height and ca. 16 cm. in diameter, differs in type; it is made of rather thin bronze plate, forming a flat upper part and a curved side.(Fig. 40),[277] The stand ring is decorated in the tongue pattern characteristic, in particular, of North East Peloponnesian bronzes of the 6th Cent. B.C.[278] The tongue pattern decorates many bronzes at the Argive Heraion, including a fragment of an unfinished vase, which may be another indication of local manufacture of the low stand rings.[279]

Four examples of double lions' paws connected with a bar which shows traces of iron rivets, AH 2231 - 2234 (NM 14024) are presumably parts of furniture, but I have no suggestion of their function.[280]

A rather large part of the Argive Heraion Archaic bronze vases seems to belong to banquetting services, comprising cauldrons and foot baths as mentioned above, but also kraters, hydriai, oinochoai, skyphoi and other drinking vessels, ladles, sieves and other implements for scooping, as well as plates.[281] The only vase type connected with banquetting services as known from Olympia and Perachora which I do not see represented at the Argive Heraion is the situla.[282]

AH 2002 (NM 20584 δ), AH 2003 (NM 20586) and AH 2005 (NM 20587 β), all with a vertical rim and a profiled outside, are presumably krater fragments, the largest diameter being that of AH 2003, ca. 55 cm.;[283] AH 2005 has an engraved lotus palmette frieze, assigning it to the first half of the 6th Cent. B.C.; AH 2002 and 2003 a punched ornamentation, the latter in the characteristic North-East Peloponnesian 6th Cent. B.C. tongue pattern.[284]

Only one horizontal hydria handle is preserved at the Argive Heraion, AH 2206, a cast handle with incised palmettes and volutes (Fig. 41), very close to a handle in Perachora; these handles, the Olympia counterparts of which are in relief decoration, are considered Corinthian by Gauer, and dated to before 550 B.C.[285]

There are some rim fragments of jugs, AH 2024 - 2029 and possibly AH 1989 (NM 20581) while several of the vertical handles, AH 2192 - 2198 (NM 20623), may come from oinochoai;[286] but I cannot determine the vase forms of the many ring

feet, AH 1529 - 1539, similar in type to some Perachora finds.[287]

Apart from a few Corinthian skyphoi and the lotus bowls which I consider drinking vessels, there are fragments of several cups or bowls in the Argive Heraion.[288] The best preserved is the two-handled mug, AH 2034 (NM 13980) (Fig. 42). It measures 8 cm. in height and 5.5 cm. in diameter and is very thin-walled; its sides are decorated in the tongue pattern characteristic of the Argive Heraion workshops, but also of other Peloponnesian bronzes. Only one of its two vertical band handles is preserved, terminating below in a palmette, and with a seated sphinx on top, an elegant and careful work of around 550 B.C.[289]

AH 2034 is a smaller and more delicate version of the two-handled mugs, AH 2033 (NM 20597 γ) and AH 2035, (NM 20705 α+β) Their heavy handles with a central ridge and high edges are preserved including their fastening plates to the rim, the diameter of which (for AH 2033) can be estimated at about 8 cm. They have counterparts in Perachora, where the fastening nails have the same exaggerated decorative effect; only the Argive Heraion handles lack the rolled up ends characteristic of the Perachora handles and represented also in an example from Mycenae and a vertical handle from Olympia.[290] The Argive Heraion mugs, AH 2033 and 2035, are local variations of an ordinary North East Peloponnesian vase form, presumably mainly produced in the Corinthia. However, the small and very fine mug, AH 2034, with its different handle form looks foreign in this group and was most likely a votive offering brought from elsewhere, probably produced in some other Peloponnesian region.

AH 2037 (NM 20656) is the rim of a one-handled, very fine Archaic cup, decorated in engraved horizontal lines framing vertical strokes, and with a series of raised points below, presumably not later than the middle of the 6th cent. B.C., while the rim fragment of an open bowl, AH 2011 (NM 20588) has an incised guilloche pattern at the rim besides a row of incised triangles and leaves, reminiscent of the decoration of the lotus bowls which it may imitate.[291]

Fig. 44. Athens. National Museum. NM 14027. Handle of Bronze Plate. AH 2071. Photo. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Athen. Neg. No. NM 4244.

There are several ladles, one of which is well preserved; of others only the handles are kept; they have counterparts in Perachora.[292] Of one sieve, AH 2239 (NM 14022), the central straining part is missing and the upper part of the bowl itself is damaged; it has a flat handle ending in a duck's head and with a 6th Cent. B.C. inscription, designing it as the property of Hera.[293]

AH 2240 (NM 13982) is a tankard presumably meant for scooping (Fig. 43). It consists of a cut cylinder, 6.7 cm. in height, 5.1 and 5.3 cm. in largest diameter at top and bottom, respectively; the thickness of its walls varies between 0. 25 and 0. 35 cm. The lower part with three feet was made separately, apparently soldered to the sides of the vase, which had one vertical handle on which only one of its eyes remains. Both top and bottom are profiled, the former decorated in a tongue pattern like several Argive Heraion 6th Cent. B.C. bronze vases. A counterpart in Olympia, about double in size, was found inside a cauldron, Le 13, which was dated to the second quarter of the 7th cent. B.C. Gauer suggests that such tankards were used for pouring water into the wine, but they may also have been used for serving the wine, and considering their solid manufacture, perhaps even as a fixed measure.[294]

The many bronze vases at the Argive Heraion connected with wine drinking

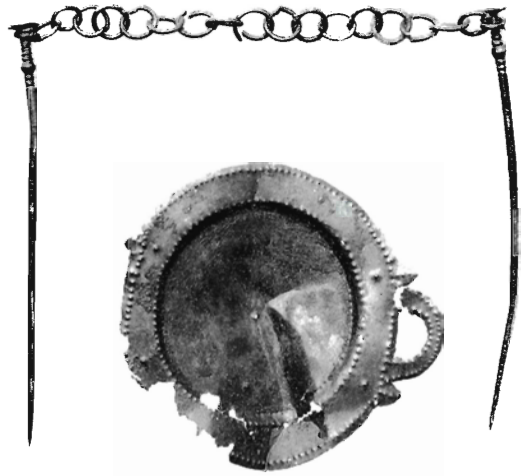

Fig. 45. Athens. National Museum. Miniature Plate and Archaic fibulae. Archaic A. Prosymna Tomb VIII. Photo. American School of Classical Studies.

once more stress the prominent role played by the banquets in the cult life of this sanctuary. In general, the bronze vases which form part of the banquetting services find their closest counterparts at Olympia and Perachora as well as in the local tombs of the Northern Balkans, Trebenischte and Novi Pazar, the Greek bronzes of which chiefly seem to be of Corinthian manufacture. However, in spite of general similarities, there are several differences in detailed features,[295] presumably because the two North East Peloponnesian Hera sanctuaries each had their local manufacture of banquetting equipment which had proved functional in their common banquetting tradition. In general, the Olympia vases are closer to the Perachora ones and may to some extent be of Corinthian manufacture. In spite of a fairly even chronological distribution throughout the 7th and 6th Centuries B.C., so many Argive Heraion bronze vessels connected with banquets are datable to the second quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C. or around 550 B.C., a period which is well represented at the Argive Heraion also in bronze figures and mirrors; in all, they seem to indicate a revival of the cult life of the sanctuary. Some of the banquetting implements have inscriptions designating them as the property of Hera, but in no case an actual votive inscription is found; possibly such cult vessels were manufactured or acquired in an organized way, dependent on the needs of the sanctuary.[296]

The plates also formed part of the banquetting service, meant for the serving of solid food. At the Argive Heraion, the plates are represented by a few plain handles, such as AH 2057, AH 2070 and AH 2071 a,[297] riveted to the plate which may have been hammered, as e.g. was the case of the handle of AH 2071 (NM 14027) (Fig. 44). AH 2071 is an angular, flat, cast handle, measuring 2. 25 cm. in width and 22. 8 cm. in length; at each end is a curved recession, allowing an estimate of the diameter of the plate at 43. 8 cm. The handle has an incised decoration of hatched triangles and maeanders and at each end is a horse's head in the round; they have long, incised mane locks and their harness (without bits) is incised, the eyes and ears plastically rendered.[298] The type of plate was popular in the 6th Cent. B.C., especially in Magna Graecia[299]; but the Argive Heraion plate is definitely very early, as observed by Jantzen, who considered it Argive and dated it to the second half of the 7th Cent. B.C. Considering its subgeometric/Geometric ornamentation and the style of its horses' heads, resembling AH 18 as well as two Proto-Archaic Olympia horses, I am more inclined to place it in the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C.[300] I agree with Jantzen as to its probably local manufacture; although unique for its time, it would fit in well with early 7th Cent. Argive Heraion horse figures.

Only a few Greek bronze vases of normal size at the Argive Heraion are not connected with banquets: the Protocorinthian pyxides, the alabastron handle or lekythos handle, AH 2202 (NM 20624) and the body fragment of a closed vase, possibly a lekythos with an outside decoration of horizontal double relief lines, AH 2012 (NM 20588 ε); I am inclined to see it as Protocorinthian.[301]

Miniature Vases

A few miniature vases are made of normal thick-plated bronze, AH 2201 (NM 14021), a handle of a jug ending in a lion's

head, and two plates, AH 1877 (NM 20454) and AH 1878, both with 6th Cent. B.C. dedicatory inscriptions, one of them by a Boiotian.[302].

However, for the greater part the miniature vases at the Argive Heraion are made of very thin plate and measure between 2 - 3 and 10 - 14 cm. in diameter, in most cases with a stamped or engraved decoration of rosettes, tongue pattern, triangles etc. or with raised points along the rim like the miniature mirrors. Obviously locally manufactured with the one purpose of providing votive offerings for the visitors to the sanctuary, they represent a mass production like that of the miniature mirrors; in most cases, the miniature vases have a suspension hole. There are different kinds of phialai mesomphaloi, plain phialai, miniature lotus bowls, AH 1893 - 1898, AH 1900 - 1972 and M 49. 47 - 48, M 49. 75, M. 49. 80 and M. 49. 95 (Fig. 37) as well as two-handled plates, AH 1854 - 1875 and M 49. 73, which in some cases are distinguishable from miniature disks, such as AH 1601 - 1701 and AH 1890 - 1899, only by their tongue pattern or their central rosette decoration (Fig. 37).[303]

There are miniature vases of the same types in other Greek sanctuaries such as e.g. the Heraion of Perachora and the Athena Alea sanctuary of Tegea, but apparently not in such an abundance as at the Argive Heraion.[304]

The Neighbouring Deposits

At the Hera Sanctuary west of the Heraion are a few examples of pyxides and skyphoi, at least some of which are of Protocorinthian types; several handles of different kinds of vessels, one of which presumably a plate; and a few mesomphalic phialai, of the lotus bowl variety as well as plain ones.[305] Only one bronze vessel is of a type not known at the Argive Heraion, a shallow bowl with a spout, but without handles, measuring 13. 4 cm. in diameter and made of thick bronze plate.[306] There are several miniature vases made of sheet metal, mostly phialai, as well as some disks with small suspension holes.[307]

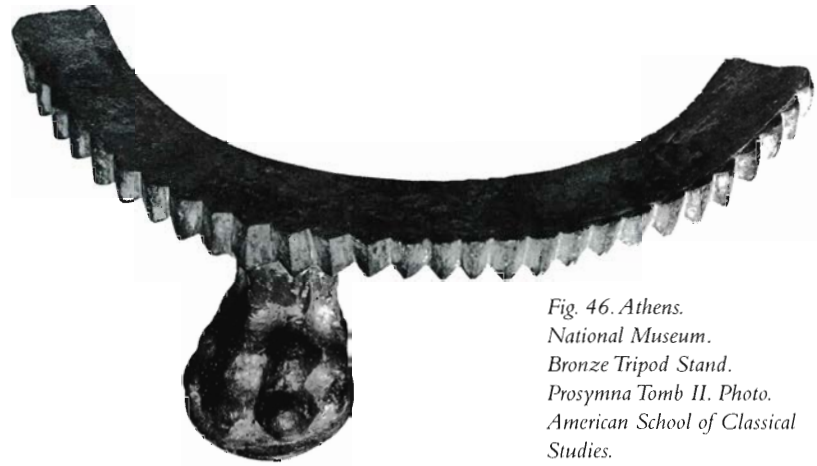

Fig. 46. Athens. National Museum. Bronze Tripod Stand. Prosymna Tomb II. Photo. American School of Classical Studies.

Apart from the lotus bowl (Fig. 16), Prosymna Tomb VIII also contained a small Phrygian type bolster handle attachment which Blegen compared with AH 2133, one of the early examples with a lead core, dated to the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C.[308] The most impressive fragment from the Prosymna tombs is the low stand with a lion's paw (Fig. 46) from Tomb II, i. e. in a secondary, late context. It must be a local work at the Argive Heraion, corresponding with AH 2228 in construction, dimensions and all details[309] There were fragmentary phialai mesomphaloi in several tombs and in Tombs VIII and IX Protocorinthian bronze vases; in the former also a shallow dish and a deeper bowl, both without omphalos.[310] There is only one miniature vase, a plate, in Tomb VIII (Fig. 45), but there were several votive disks in the tombs, for the greater part very small; like the Argive Heraion votive disks, they measured between ca. 3 and ca. 6 cm. in diameter, although one, in Tomb VIII, was larger, with a diameter of 15. 3 cm. and a decoration of five concentric circles and raised points. Most disks had a central hole for attachment.[311]

Although more limited in numbers and variety, the same kinds of bronze vases as at the Argive Heraion are represented at the neighbouring deposits.

Argos

There are very few fragments of Archaic bronze vases in the Argos sanctuaries, but both the Athena Sanctuary on the top of the Larissa and the Aphrodision have fragments of handle plates with palmette-volute ornaments.[312] At the latter site there are a few fragments of other bronze vases, including a vertical handle with a central ridge and raised edges like some of the Argive Heraion handles;[313] bronze phialai, of normal size and fabric as well as miniature phialai and a miniature disk with a tongue pattern.[314]

The bronze vases in the Archaic sanctuaries of Argos are so few that a comparison with the material from the Argive Heraion does not seem worth while; but at any rate, there is no decisive sign of banquetting equipment having played the same role as at the Argive Heraion.

Q. Personal Ornaments

Pendants

Several Geometric pendant types continue into the 7th Cent. B.C. and sometimes later and no new types are recorded either at the Argive Heraion or in Argos.[315]

Rings

The types of hoop ear rings at the Argive Heraion and the Hera sanctuary to the west of the Heraion lasted into the 7th Cent. B.C. [316] At neither site are there examples of the Archaic pendant ear rings with an inverted pyramid or cone, a type which appears in Argos in the 7th Cent. B.C., continuing throughout the Archaic and into the Classical Period and recorded from tombs as well as from the sanctuary of Athena on top of the Larissa and the Aphrodision.[317]

The bronze arm rings which might be either Geometric or Early Archaic and were known from the Argive Heraion as well as from the Hera Sanctuary west of it had no counterparts in Argos.[318]

Some of the plain finger rings at the Argive Heraion as well as at the neighbouring deposits may be Archaic and there are band rings which continue the Geometric types,[319] but there are also new types, as e.g. the swivel rings, imitating Levantine rings and presumably not dated earlier than the late 7th Cent. B.C.[320] The seal rings with intaglio decoration and the other types of finger rings seem to be later than ca. 550 B.C.[321] I have seen no counterparts in the sanctuaries of Argos.

Fibulae

Several of the Geometric fibulae types at the Argive Heraion continue into the 7th Cent. B.C.[322], ring fibulae, some of which have tongue patterns, definitely into the 6th Cent. B.C. A plain example comes from Prosymna Tomb VIII[323]. According to J.M.Cook, one of the ring fibulae with a threading of wire, AH 947 (NM 20908), is a Western European type with a counterpart in the Archaic deposit of the Agamemnoneion at Mycenae.[324] AH 946 (NM 14034) a fibula in the form of a crouching lion, the pin of which is missing, is a well-known Laconian type, dated to the first half of the 6th Cent. B.C.[325] Again I do not know of parallels in the sanctuaries of Argos.

Pins

Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier divides the greater part of the Archaic pins into classes A - F. Archaic A pins, with a single disk and globe, are again subdivided into four groups; they were produced throughout the 7th Cent. B.C. and have a distribution area comprising the whole of the Peloponnese, although at most sites in limited numbers and with only a few finds outside the Peloponnese. However, at the Argive Heraion, Archaic A pins are popular, with about 70 representatives; a local production seems possible (cf. Fig. 45).[326]

The production of Archaic B pins, with two globes and an end knob above the disk, which often has a supplementary decoration, began before 700 B.C. The Archaic B pins, which were first studied by Jacobsthal, are subdivided into six groups. B I started early, but continued alongside the other subtypes until around the middle of the 6th Cent. B.C. B I - III have a limited representation at the Argive Heraion as well as at Perachora and other North East Peloponnesian sites. Judging from their distribution pattern, they are presumably of Laconian origin. B IV -VI which are more elaborate, are extremely well represented at the Argive Heraion with in all up to 200 pins; they are found also at other North-East Peloponnesian sites, including Perachora. There may be several production centres, including that of the Argive Heraion, but some of the B IV -VI pins found here may actually be Laconian.[327]

Archaic C pins have three or more globes; their production may have started in the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C., but the few datable contexts are from the second half of the 7th Cent. B.C. and around 600 B.C. Kilian-Dirlmeier subdivides the pins into C I and C II; the former group is apparently Laconian, the latter presumably Corinthian with a rich representation at Perachora and elsewhere in the Corinthia besides Olympia and the Ghortsouli sanctuary near Mantinaea. There are a few examples of C I pins at the Argive Heraion, but the Corinthian type C II is not represented. However, the F IV pin AH 720, (NM 20720) (Fig. 48), terminating in a lion's head, shows exactly the same construction and is most likely of the same origin.[328]

Archaic D pins, with one or two globes and an eye at the top, may also be of 7th Cent. B.C. date, as they are close to Archaic A pins. This rather small group is known all over the Peloponnese, but with only one example at the Argive Heraion.[329]

Archaic E pins, with two globes of different size and an eye at the top, are subdivided into E I - E IV; they have no exact absolute chronology, but morphologically they are close to Archaic B pins and presumably started very early in the Archaic Period, since one was found in Prosymna Tomb IX. Judging from the many finds in Arcadia (Lusoi, Ghortsouli and Tegea), as well as in Olympia, they are presumably Arcadian. The type is fairly well represented at the Argive Heraion with about 30 examples.[330]

Fig. 47. Athens. National Museum. NM 20810. Archaic F Pin with Floral Head Ornament. AH 2764. Museum Photo.

Archaic F pins with a floral or figurative end motif are subdivided into F I - F IV; they definitely lasted into the Classical Period. The first three subgroups have a finial in the form of some kind of fruit or flower. F IV ends in an animal head. F I is known from one example at Lusoi, otherwise only at the Corinthia, including Perachora, and at Olympia. F II - III are well represented at Olympia, in Arcadia, in the Corinthia as well as in the Argolid, including Tiryns and the Argive Heraion.

There are two F III pins at the Argive Heraion, AH 719 (NM 20719) and AH 2764 (NM 20810) (Fig. 47); the latter is uncleaned, a floral upper termination of a pin. Its base, which is quadrangular in section, measures 1. 2 cm. at each side and 2. 8 cm. in height; there are traces of an iron pin at the bottom. The base shows

Fig. 48. Athens. National Museum. NM 20720. Archaic F Pin with Lion's Head. AH 720. Museum Photo.

three horizontal rows of relief pearls, while the flower has a conical bud with a white centre surrounded by pointed petals. Its closest counterparts (F III A) are from Olympia and the Ghortsouli sanctuary as well as from an Archaic grave at Vitsa, where it was found together with a Corinthian aryballos, the burial thus probably dated to the Early Archaic Period.

The Archaic F IV pins which end in a lion's head, are known in only four examples, two of which come from the Argive Heraion, one from the Classical Demeter and Kore sanctuary at Corinth and one from Ghortsouli. AH 720 (NM 20720) (Fig. 48) must be of Early Archaic date, judging from the style of its lion's head as well as its correspondance with the Corinthian pin type of C II; it is probably also of Corinthian origin.[331]

Several pin types, in particular those of Archaic C II, E and F III - IV, seem to indicate rather close relations between the Hera sanctuaries in the North East Peloponnese and the Ghortsouli sanctuary near Mantinea, with votives of Geometric and Archaic date. The female deity of the Ghortsouli Sanctuary is unidentified, but usually interpreted as Artemis.[332]

The loop pins, which continue into the Classical Period, are represented with only one example at the Argive Heraion and a few at Perachora and Corinth, while they are especially favoured in Olympia and Arcadia.[333] A few pins ending in a ring head come from the Argolid, Tiryns as well as the Argive Heraion, but basically it is apparently a Central Peloponnesian type.[334] The Argive Heraion material also comprises a pin with an ordinary eye like a sewing needle.[335]

The local production of bronze pins at the Argive Heraion, of considerable importance in the Geometric Period, continues into the Early Archaic Period, supplemented by votive offerings of pins of Arcadian, Laconian or Corinthian origin. Although some pin types were manufactured also in the Classical Period, the majority of the Archaic pins at the Argive Heraion seem to be of Early Archaic date.[336]

Neighbouring Deposits

At the Hera Sanctuary west of the Heraion as well as at some Prosymna tombs were found pins of Archaic A, B and E (Fig. 45), i.e. a less varied representation of the same types as at the Argive Heraion. In Prosymna they come from the early tomb deposits, Tombs VIII, IX and XL.[337]

Argos

At Argos, there are no examples of pins of Archaic A, whereas Archaic B pins, Class B I, which begins before 700 B.C., although lasting through the greater part of the 7th Cent. B.C., were found in the Athena Sanctuary on top of the Larissa as well as sporadically. A considerable representation of Archaic pins is seen only for Class F, but chiefly in Classical contexts.[338]

For the relevant period, Archaic pins are thus almost non-existent at Argos and offer no material for the comparison with the Archaic pins at the Argive Heraion.

Other Objects

Most of the bronzes connected with horses or carriages found at the Argive Heraion are difficult to date; there are some fragments of Macedonian horse trappings, AH 1555 and AH 2783, presumably of Early Archaic date,[339] and fragments of Greek horse bits, AH 2772 and 2759 - 2761, as well as votive wheels, AH 2253 - 2254 (NM 14025 - 14026), and parts of

carriages, AH 2252 (NM 20633) and AH 2255, the former an antyx with an Archaic votive inscription.[340] There are no certain finds of weapons[341]; but several bronze implements of different types, but uncertain date, including two crotala, AH 2258 - 2259, two votive bells, knives and other instruments.[342] Two legs of miniature furniture, AH 2251 (NM 14002) and AH 2787 (NM 14001), of a chair and a kline respectively, are possibly of Late Archaic/Early Classical date.[343]

Several Archaic bronze sheets have decoration of raised points, sometimes forming dedicatory inscriptions to Hera, AH 1880 - 1889, but usually only placed in horizontal rows, AH 1752 - 1778. The former group are presumably votive plaques, the latter which have parallels in Tegea, Sparta, and Olympia, have been interpreted as diadems or bracelets, while some may just be coatings.[344]

Apart from knives and other simple instruments there are no counterparts to the above objects in the neighbouring deposits or in the Argos sanctuaries. On the other hand, the manufacture of shields and other parts of the military equipment at Argos is a very important side of the bronze work of the Archaic city; but apparently objects of military character were not dedicated at the Argive Heraion.[345]

R. Archaic Greek Bronzes. Conclusions

In contrast with the Late Geometric Period, when a few bronzes in the votive deposits of the Mycenaean Prosymna tombs differed significantly from the bronzes at the Argive Heraion,[346] the Archaic bronzes of the Prosymna tombs as well as those of the Hera sanctuary west of the Heraion now all seem to correspond with those of the Heraion, the locally manufactured bronzes presumably having been produced at the main sanctuary.

The Early Archaic bronzes of the Hera sanctuary west of the Heraion included the outstanding figure relief dated to ca. 650 B.C. (Fig. 24), but the more humble bronze offerings are of the same types as the Heraion bronzes, cut-out figures, a mirror of normal size as well as a miniature mirror, several phialai including lotus bowls, as well as some miniature vases and disks, Phrygian-imitating "Scharnier"- fibulae, rings and pins of Archaic A, B and E.[347] From its foundation in the Late Geometric Period, the Hera Sanctuary always gave the impression of being subordinate to the Argive Heraion. The large tripod bronze relief may also be a local work, but at any rate, it implies a growing importance of the small sanctuary during the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C. Since most of its bronzes are duplicates of known types at the Heraion they indicate the same cult sphere for the Early Archaic Period with vases presumably used for banquetting and mirrors of normal as well as miniature size.

The deposits in the Mycenaean tombs did not contain any bronze object as spectacular as the tripod relief of the Hera Sanctuary, but Tomb VIII, in particular, was richly equipped with Early Archaic bronzes which were presumably all of Argive Heraion manufacture, as e.g. the lotus bowl (Fig. 16), a shallow dish and a deeper bowl, the bolster attachment handle of an early cauldron, the cut-out relief of a griffin, a rather large votive disk as well as two miniature disks, a miniature plate, two pins of Archaic A (Fig. 45) and one of Archaic B type, and a ring fibula; other tombs contained various vases, including phialai mesomphaloi, miniature disks, rings and pins of Archaic B and E types.[348] The richness of Tomb VIII, with Early Archaic material only, surpasses that of the slightly earlier Tombs IX and XL, both deposits presumably dated to around 700 B.C. For Tomb VIII at any rate, there are reasons to assume the presence of a banquetting or symposion equipment of Argive Heraion character, i.e. differing from that represented by the separate Late Geometric "Kalottenschale" of Argos type in Tomb XL or the ceramic drinking vessels of other Pro-

symna tomb deposits.[349] Although the Early Archaic bronzes of the Prosymna tomb deposits correspond closely to the Argive Heraion material, there were definitely bronze objects not considered suitable for offerings here. E.g. it can hardly be by chance that there are no mirrors in the Prosymna deposits.

Compared with the Geometric Period, some of the outside connections of the Argive Heraion as represented in its bronzes seem to continue unaltered, e.g. the contacts with Macedonia and Thessaly.[350] On the other hand, it is no longer possible to observe the same close relations with Central Greece,[351] as only a few figured bronzes have counterparts in Delphi.[352]

As regards the Arcadian sanctuaries, the close ties of the Geometric Period apparently still exist, but they are of a different character. There is no sign of influences from Arcadian bronze work, nor many Arcadian bronze imports in the Argive Heraion, except for Archaic E pins, presumably of Arcadian manufacture.[353] However, there is some correspondance in the types of votive offerings, in particular the more humble ones, such as the cut-out reliefs, the miniature vases and disks and the bronze sheets with raised points.[354] It seems that the cult sphere of the Ghortsouli sanctuary, close to Mantineia, is influenced from the cult koiné of the two North-East Peloponnesian Hera sanctuaries, the Argive Heraion and the Hera Sanctuary of Perachora. The pin types, especially those of more specific character, are strikingly similar at the three sites and Karagiorga observes that the Archaic terracotta statuettes at Ghortsouli are strongly influenced by the North-East Peloponnesian types.[355] Whatever way these connections should be interpreted – and the case for an Artemis Sanctuary at Ghortsouli may perhaps be questioned – there is no published evidence that the banquetting tradition which appears fundamental to the Archaic cult life in the two North East Peloponnesian sanctuaries played a similar role in the Arcadian ones.

There are striking similarities in the Geometric/Archaic finds, terracottas as well as bronzes and other metals, at the Argive Heraion and Perachora.[356] There may be close collaboration in the manufacture of humbler bronze dedications such as miniature mirrors, vases and disks, fibulae and pins;[357] and there are definite signs of identical cult traditions, not only in these dedications, but also e.g. in the offering of the lead relief fibulae and of mirrors at both sites, and, in particular, in the Archaic banquetting equipment, which is of local manufacture, but from the very beginning of closely corresponding types in the two Hera sanctuaries as well as in Olympia.[358] One may speak of an almost identical cult life.

However, the general ties of the Argive Heraion with the Corinthia, which characterized the whole of the Geometric Period,[359] in the Archaic Period seem to have taken on another aspect. Now they comprise the whole of the Argolid, including Argos, which in the Geometric Period was isolated from the Corinthia.[360] In the 6th Cent. B.C., the bronze workers of military equipment in Argos and Corinth appear to be closely collaborating;[361] there is stylistic correspondance also in the sculpture in the round of Argos and Corinth and among the few Archaic figured bronzes found at Argos are more than one Corinthian import.[362] The estrangement between the two settlements which was observable on the basis of the Geometric bronzes even as late as around 700 B.C. is in the 6th Cent. B.C. a thing of the past.[363]

For the relations with Laconia one gets a correspondant impression. In the Geometric Period they differed considerably for the Argive Heraion and Argos, the Laconian contacts of the Heraion being restricted, while the Argos bronzes were under Laconian influences,[364] whereas in the 6th Cent. B.C., there are not only many Laconian bronzes at the Argive Heraion, but also local imitations,[365] in part at least products of the city of Argos, which throughout the Archaic Period continued

to be influenced by Laconian metal work, as seen e.g. in the lead figure production.[366]

It seems as if the outward relations of the two sites, the Argive Heraion and Argos, in the Geometric Period going in divergent directions, by the first half of the 6th Cent. B.C. have fused into an identical pattern.

The Geometric contacts of Argos with the islands now appear to have focussed especially on Samos, as one may deduce from the technique used for the lead figurines and from some 6th Cent. B.C. bronze sculptures.[367]

A comparison between the local bronzes of the Argive Heraion and Argos is more difficult for the Early Archaic than for the Geometric Period, mainly because of the very limited Archaic bronze finds at Argos, not only in the sanctuaries, but in particular in the tombs, which after the early 7th Cent. B.C. seldom had burial equipment of metal. Of the personal ornaments only the ear rings, differing in types at the two sites, are well represented in Argos, while the very few examples at the Argive Heraion may belong to the Geometric Period.[368] Some of the differences observable may be due to different cult traditions; e.g. the rich collection of Archaic bronze vases in the Argive Heraion appears almost exclusively connected with banquets, for which there is no evidence in the Argos sanctuaries.[369]

A detailed comparison between the bronzes of the two Archaic sanctuaries, the Argive Heraion and the Aphrodision of Argos, will not be possible until the important excavations of the latter sanctuary are published; however, there are certain similarities in their votive material, with mirrors and miniature mirrors, miniature vases and disks at both sites and offerings at the Argive Heraion of the lead korai which presumably were produced at the Aphrodision.[370]

Only the sculpture of the 6th Cent. B.C. is so well represented both at Argos and the Argive Heraion, that a meaningful comparison could be made, showing that by the second quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C. at the latest, an Argive stylistic koiné had been established, including the bronzes at the Argive Heraion in a sculptural tradition which had developed in Argos from the Late Geometric Period onwards.[371] The 6th Cent. B.C. bronze statuettes at the Argive Heraion may all be dedications by citizens of Argos, but at the Heraion, there is no longer any sign of a school of bronze sculpture independent of that of Argos, although at exactly this time the sanctuary provides evidence for local bronze work with figurative details.[372] I find it hard to interpret the material in any other way than that at this time the Argive Heraion formed part of the immediate sphere of influence of the city of Argos and thus that the annexation of the Argive Heraion by Argos presumably had taken place earlier.

Judging from the early bronzes of the Argive Heraion compared with those of Argos, the Argive Heraion in the early 7th Cent. B.C. still was independent of Argos in its outside relations as well as in its local arts and crafts,[373] whereas about a century later, in both respects it formed part of an Argive koine, which continued the characteristics of an Argos tradition of long standing, reaching back into the Late Geometric Period.[374] From the only available archaeological comparison material of a certain quality and quantity, the bronzes, I find it reasonable to see the Argive Heraion by the second quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C. as placed within the territories of the city-state of Argos, the appropriation of the sanctuary by Argos presumably having taken place between the early 7th Cent. B.C. and the early 6th Cent. B.C., in absolute dates, between ca. 675 B.C. and 575 B.C.

While the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C. represents a very active period in the cult life of the Argive Heraion, observable not only in the bronzes,[375] but in particular in such major constructions as the Old

Temple Terrace and the Archaic Temple,[376] the second half of that century gives an impression of stagnation and comparative poverty, in the bronzes[377] as well as in the building activity until the time of erection of the North and North East Stoai around 600 B.C.[378]

On the other hand, the bronzes of the first half of the 6th Cent. B.C., in particular those of the second quarter and the years around 550 B.C., definitely indicate a revival of the cult life at the Argive Heraion with e.g. several fine bronze statuettes, a beginning of local bronze mirror manufacture and a rich production period of banquetting implements.[379]

Judging from the archaeological material available for comparative studies of the early Argive Heraion and Argos, the Argive Heraion, in my opinion, was annexed by Argos sometime between the early 7th Cent. B.C. and the early 6th Cent. B.C. and possibly the second half of the 7th Cent. B.C. is the most likely period. In which way the appropriation took place, it does not seem possible to determine today. The implications of this conclusion for the status of Argos as a major city-state (possibly seeking a consolidation of its territory as suggested by other scholars[380]) for the change of the status of the Argive Heraion as well as for the role played by this sanctuary in the urban development of Argos, are problems which cannot be solved on the basis of bronzes alone. Other kinds of study material must be included. It is my hope that with the preceding studies of strictly archaeological character I have created a chronologically sufficiently reliable and archaeologically sufficiently varied basis for further more general studies of the relations between the early Argive Heraion and Argos, in particular, and sanctuaries and settlements in general during the period of early Greek urbanization.

Notes

NOTE 1
IS IV, 92, Conclusions.

NOTE 2
IS I, 290 and IS II, 57 - 60. Cf. also below pp. 55-58.

NOTE 3
Cf. IS I, 200 and IS IV, 92.

NOTE 4
IS IV, 37 - 40, A - C and notes 1 - 42 are relevant also to the present paper, while sections D - H dealt exclusively with the Geometric bronzes. Cf. especially op.cit. note 3 for reference system to the objects in the National Museum of Athens.

NOTE 5
AH 853 - 854 (NM 14032 and 20892).
AH II, 242, pl. LXXXVI.
Blinkenberg, 200, nos. XI 4 d and 5 a; Kilian 1973, 4 and note 24; Gras 1985, 661.
I have no information about the two fibulae which Furtwängler 1906, 404 mentions at No. 125 (quoted by Philipp, 289), as unpublished in AH II. They may actually be identical with AH 853 - 854.
In IS I, 202, I misinterpreted Philipp's note for a reference to silver fibulae.

NOTE 6
AH 855 - 857, AH II, 242, pl. LXXXVI.
The fibulae are not in the National Museum of Athens and I know them only from the drawings in AH II.
Kilian 1973, 4 and note 22; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978, 120; Gras 1985, 657.
Both Kilian and Gras use the term "fibulae a cuscinetto". (The latter adds "with long pins"; the pins, however, are missing).

NOTE 7
Kilian 1973, 4, cf. Philipp 1981, 292 - 293.

NOTE 8
Bartoloni 1989, 199.

NOTE 9
Kilian 1975, 82, v. Hase 1979, 69 and Philipp 1981, 291 - 293 (who here and on p. 286 refers to Fulvia lo Schiavo's forthcoming publication in PBF of South Italic fibulae for more precise information on regional location and chronology).

NOTE 10
Kilian 1973, 4 (with notes 21 - 26), 27 - 28 and maps 1 - 2; v. Hase 1979, 69 and Gras 1985, 655 - 662. The fibulae are mostly of bronze, apart from one silver fibula in Perachora, Payne 1940, pl. 84, 18, cf. Philipp 1981, 289.
For the Delphi fibulae, cf. also Kilian 1977, fig. 3 f. The Olympia fibulae are republished, Philipp, 286 - 295, pls. 20 and 63 - 65. For the Lusoi fibula, cf. now Voyatzis, 217 (Bonn. Akademisches Kunstmuseum C 55). The Exochi fibula, Friis Johansen 1957, 73 - 74, 184 and fig. 16 (Tomb Z 27).

NOTE 11
IS IV, 113, note 244 and AH II, 352, Ivories, no. 25, pl. CXXXIX.
Cf. Perachora I, 439 - 441; Kilian 1973, 11; Kilian 1975, 103 and notes 8 - 9; Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978, 117 - 118.
For the amber disks from Samos, cf. Kyrieleis-Kienast-Weisshaar 1985, 429, fig. 67 with reference to Kilian 1975, 104.

NOTE 12
AH 1800. (NM 20689).
AH II, 272 and pl. CIV.

NOTE 13
Ol. IV, 94, no. 646, pl. XXXV with reference to a fragment, said to have come from the Menekrates Tomb in Kerkyra; Perachora I, 159 - 160.
Gras 1985, 501 - 506, figs. 57 and 59, cf. Romualdi 1981, 33 and fig. 31. According to Gras, the basins found in Magna Graecia were imports, not local products.

NOTE 14
There is no evidence for the Italic fibulae having been given as part of dress offerings, cf. Kilian 1973, 4 - 6; Kilian 1975 b, 119 - 120; v. Hase 1979, 69 - 71 and note 36. (For dress offerings in Greek sanctuaries cf. references IS IV, 111, note 218 and here p. 48 and below note 67). Nor does it seem possible to decide whether the Italic fibulae were dedicated by Italic/Etruscans, by Greeks resident in or travelling to Italy, bringing them as souvenirs (Karo 1937, 371), or whether they reached Greece by way of trade (Herrmann 1983, 358).
Italic weapons and larger Italic bronzes in Greek sanctuaries as well as Italic bronze votives of official character raise problems of a different kind, irrelevant to the present studies.

NOTE 15
Blegen 1939, 237 and fig. 24; **NM 16554**
Boardman 1980, 113 and IS IV, 95, note 24.
For the difficulty in distinguishing solid cast figures from hollow cast ones with their casting core preserved, cf. Roeder 1956, 515.

NOTE 16
Cf. Roeder 1956, 119 - 126, §170 - 173 and pls. 18 - 20 for Harpocrates statuettes of the same type.
Pendlebury 1930, 78, no. 159 and pl. IV (Athenian Acropolis) and Jantzen, 13 and 15 - 16, no. B 437 and pl. 13 (Samian Heraion). The Harpocrates statuette, Jantzen, 22 - 23, no. B 1064, pl. 25 is of a different type, solid cast and wearing a crown.

NOTE 17
Bianchi 1990, 73 - 74. The head of the figure conforms well with the stylistic characteristics stated by Śliwa 1983, 387 - 388, concerning the Twenty-fifth Dynasty head from Samos, no. 5.

NOTE 18
Rhodes: Br. Mus. Inv. nos. 47986 and 40959 = Walters 1899, 10 - 11, nos. 132 and 138; Jantzen, 16, note 18, cf. Roeder 1956, 320, fig. 415, pl. 12 d and p. 323, fig. 420; Trolle 1978, 146 -147 with notes 43 - 44.
The two figures were found in 1864 in Salzmann and Billiotti's excavations; they came from a well under the foundations of the Athena Temple of the Acropolis, cf. Higgins 1954, 23 with note 8.
Samos: Walter - Vierneisel 1959, 36 - 37 and Beil. 76 and Jantzen, 17, B 1216 and B 1517 (and fragments: B 243, B 516, B 1078, B 1237, B 1119, B 1183 and B 1141), pls. 13 - 15. Cf. Bianchi 1990, 74.

NOTE 19
Jantzen, 5 - 37 and pls. 1 - 36. Chronology, p. 88 - 89; Śliwa 1983, publishes the Egyptian bronzes at the Samian Heraion from Wiegand's and Schede's excavations (1910 - 1914) which were transferred to Berlin: His Cat. nos. 4, 6, 8 and 9 are not included in Jantzen and his nos. 5 and 6 are with great probability of Twenty-fifth Dynasty date, cf. Sliwa 1983, 380 - 381;
According to Bianchi 1990, 72 - 76, the majority of the Samos Heraion Egyptian bronzes are of Twenty-fifth Dynasty date. Apart from the women's figures, above note 18, Bianchi especially refers to the following figures with this chronology: B 204, (fragment of dressed figure), Jantzen, 8 and 10, pl. 6; B 354 (Neith), Jantzen, 23, 27 and pls. 27 - 28; B 1287, (female figure), Jantzen, 23, 28 and pl. 29; B 1312 (with joining fragments, male figure with leopard's skin) Jantzen, 7, 9 and pls. 1 - 4.
The Egyptian bronzes found in either Well G, beneath the South Stoa or in strata earlier than the South Stoa have the same chronology, i.e. they were discarded before 640/630 B.C., cf. Walter 1968, 85 - 89 and Jantzen, 12 - 14, 19 and 88, e.g. B 1212, B 117 (belonging with the Bes statuette, B 353), B 353, B 1087 and B 1139.
The following are dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty or at least the 7th Cent. B.C. from stylistic or technical criteria: the Mut statuette, B 148, Jantzen, 23, pl. 28, cf. Walter - Vierneisel 1959, 37 - 38; the kneeling Nubian, Jantzen, 23 and 26 - 27, B 1210,pl. 26: three cat figures, Jantzen, 21 - 22, B 445, B 791 and B 1608 (for B 445, cf. Parlasca 1953, 127); the Samos mirror with an inscription to Mut is also dated to before 600 B.C., cf. below note 24.
More recent finds of Egyptian bronzes at the Samian Heraion, Kyrieleis 1986, 189, a bronze situla, and Kyrieleis 1990, 24 - 25, a priest statuette, B 2611, of 7th Cent. B.C. date, at the latest.
For one figure only a 6th Cent. B.C. date seems adopted, the Neith figure, Jantzen, 23, B 1287, and pl. 29, cf. Kopcke 1968, 293,
(I do not understand the remark by Jantzen, 89, that the two Harpocrates statuettes in Samos must belong to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, because they have only one Uraeus; Roeder 1937, 249, to whom he refers, speaks of a specific type of Harpocrates figures (Type 348), stating that for this type two Uraeus snakes are a sign of a Twenty-fifth Dynasty date. He does not say that one Uraeus is a sign of a Twenty-sixth Dynasty date).

NOTE 20
A New Kingdom bronze statuette in the Dictaean Cave may have reached Crete in the Second Millenium B.C. (Pendlebury 1930, 12 - 13, no. 15, frontispiece, and Boardman 1961, 74), whereas a statuette found in Ephesos with an inscription of the time of Psammetich II (595 - 589 B.C.) may have arrived in the Hellenistic Period, presumably belonging to the nearby Serapeum (Winter 1971, 154, Orientalia 42, 1973, 437 - 438 and Trolle 1978, 146).
Boardman 1980, 274, note 7, regards the Pherai situla (Pendlebury 1930, 92, no. 227 and pl. III) as late. The Apis figure from Vathy, Samos, (Pendlebury 1930, 106, no. 294), is not securely dated, cf. Parlasca 1953, 135, note 61, who also mentions three Hellenistic/Roman Egyptian bronzes in Greece.
The Tegea statuette, to which Boardman 1980, 274, note 7, refers, is now considered Near Eastern, cf. Voyatzis, 122 - 123, B 7, pl. 59. For Tegea cf. also below note 21.

NOTE 21
The lotus handle jugs from Crete and Lefkandi, are genuinely Egyptian characterized by the central of the three rivets of their handles being decorative only, not functional, cf. Culican, 448. The Lefkandi contexts are 9th Cent. B.C. (Catling 1980, 249 - 50 and pl. 243 (T 33.15); Popham - Touloupa - Sackett 1982, 239, fig. 8 and pl. 33 a and h (T.42.17) and Popham - Calligas - Sackett 1989, 118 - 119 and fig. 7 (T. 47), cf. Popham 1994, 17 and fig. 2.5). From their contexts the Cretan finds may be of 8th or 7th Cent. B.C. date, cf. Boardman 1961, 152, but considering the secure chronology of the Lefkandi finds, a 9th Cent. B.C. date appears likely. Cf. Catling 1996, 565 for the nore recent Knossos finds with a reference also to a fragment from Tegea.
(The Amnisos lotus handle, Matthäus 1985, 195 - 196, no. 472 b, pl. 51, comes from a Cypriot type bowl, cf. Schäfer 1992, 248 - 249, no. D 1, B 12, pls. 75 and 103, 2 and below note 106).

NOTE 22
For the Egyptian bronze finds in Greece, cf. in general, Jantzen, 5 - 6.
Two of the 10 Egyptian bronze figures from Rhodes are nude woman statuettes, cf. above note 18, while four are hawks' feet and one a Uraeus, all with counterparts in the Heraion of Samos, cf. Walters 1899, 11, no. 147 and Trolle 1978, 146, note 43 (Uraeus) and Jacopi 1932/33, 346, nos. 15 - 18 and fig. 80 (Hawks' feet from Cameiros), first noted by Jantzen, 6 (note 14) and 21; for counterparts from Samos, cf. op. cit. pp. 19 - 21 and pls. 21- 22 and Śliwa 1983, 391, Cat. nos. 8 - 9, figs. 17 - 18.
For the Perachora mirror, cf. below note 24 and for the Pherai situla and the Vathy Apis, cf. above note 20.
The Ephesos figure is possibly a Hellenistic acquisition, cf. above note 20. The fragmentary Ibis figure from the Athena Sanctuary of Miletus seems to be without either a secure context or close stylistic parallels (Weickert 1957, 128, pl. 40, 2). (The Ibis figures from Samos, Jantzen 1972, 30 - 31 and pl. 32, are fragments of different and very large figures).

NOTE 23
Cf. Blegen 1937, 378 - 379 and fig. 1 and IS IV, 104, note 150. Antonaccio 1995, 61, with note 109, re-discusses the contents of Tomb IX.

NOTE 24
The mirrors with Mut inscription in the Heraia of Samos and Perachora (Munro 1969; Jantzen, 33 - 35 (Munro), B 432, pl. 33, and Perachora I, 142 - 143, pl. 46.) For their absolute chronology and religious significance, cf. Munro 1969, 100 and 108 - 109,respectively; Trolle 1978, 147 - 148 and IS II, 57; for the identification of Neith with Athena, cf. Trolle, loc. cit. At the Heraion of Samos are two Neith statuettes and one Mut statuette, B 148, B 354 and B 1287, Jantzen, 27 - 28, pls. 27 - 29.

As suggested by Parlasca 1953, 135, note 62, occasionally dedications may have been by Egyptians, not Greeks.

NOTE 25
Cf. IS II, 58 (with note 50) and 50 (with note 20 and figs. 3 - 4), respectively.
For the rib phiale, cf. also v. Hase 1995, 273, fig. 30.

NOTE 26
AH 49 (NM 13988).
AH II, 206, pl. LXXVII; Kunze 1950, 101 and pl. 18,3; Herrmann 1966, 58 (no. 50), 74 (with a list of "Werkstatt A" cauldrons), 76 and 148; IS II, 52 with further references, and pl.VII a.
The Gordion siren cauldrons, Tum MM 2 - 3, cf. Gordion I, 104 - 110, figs. 69 - 70 and pls. 51 - 57, and for the absolute chronology of the tomb, cf. below note 42.
For the location of the workshop to North Syria, cf. Herrmann 1966, 59 - 67 and 174 - 183; Strøm 1971, 132 - 134; and more recently, Muscarella 1993, 21 - 24, with other earlier references. In contrast to other scholars, Muscarella considers also the Copenhagen (Delphi) and the British Museum siren attachments as North Syrian. Recently, his views were refuted by Curtis 1994, 11 - 14, cf. figs. 23 - 25, who suggests that the former may be an Assyrian provincial work, the latter, indisputably Mesopotamian, may be Babylonian.
For absolute chronology, cf. p. 44 and references below note 33.

NOTE 27
NM 16552. Blegen 1939, 429 - 430, fig. 16; Kunze 1950, 96 - 98 and pl. 16, 1 and 17, 1 - 2; cf. IS I, 192 (with other references, notes 135 and 137) and IS II, 52 with note 28 and pl.V c - d. Muscarella 1992, 18 (with other references in the text and in note 9), cannot see the hand which Blegen had previously identified and does not accept the object as part of a siren's attachment. Kunze refers also to the feather rendering of the plate. For the bull, cf. below note 28.

NOTE 28
I follow Kunze and Herrmann in their North Syrian location, cf. references IS I, 192, note 137. (In Kunze's article: The "Van" type). For Muscarella's objections, cf. references above note 27. For comparisons with North Syrian bulls, cf. e.g. the Tell Halaf reliefs, Moortgat 1955, pls. 48 - 50). For absolute chronology, cf. p. 44 and references below note 33.

NOTE 29
Delphi Inv. no. 8399.
Perdrizet 1908, 56, no. 178 and pl. XIV, 3; Rolley 1969, 94 - 95, note 2; Rolley 1984, 282 - 283, referring also to the local bronze cauldron from Salamis on Cyprus with griffins placed on the wings of sirens; Muscarella 1992, 18, note 9.

NOTE 30
Kunze, 1950, 96 - 99 (the "Van" type, cf. above note 28) and Herrman 1984, 26.
Cf. also IS I, 192 - 193, note 137 and IS II, 52. For divergent views, cf. below note 31.

NOTE 31
Herrmann 1984, 33, modifies his views of p. 26 in the same article, cf. above note 30. Cf. Rolley 1969, 94 - 96, and Muscarella 1992, 18; for the latter, cf. also above note 27.

NOTE 32
AH 21 (NM 13970), Cf. IS I, 192, fig.14 and notes 133, 134 (with earlier references) and 137 and IS II, 54 and pl.VII b. For North Syrian goat renderings, cf. e.g. the Kerameikos bowl, Kerameikos V, 1, 201 - 203, fig. 5 and pl. 162 (Inv. no. M 5), cf. Markoe 1985, 203 and 313 - 314, Cat. no. G 1. For its North Syrian origin, cf. references IS II, 47, note 5 (the best illustrations are Akurgal 1966, 148, fig. 39 a and pl. 40) or the Carchemish stone reliefs, Woolley 1921, pls. B 23 and B 24.
For absolute chronology cf. p. 44 and below note 33.

NOTE 33
Cf. references, IS I, 192 - 193, note 137.

NOTE 34
IS I, 193 - 194, cf. Hall 1995, 603.

NOTE 35
Cf. IS II, 52 - 56 and IS III, 50 and cf. pp. 53-54 and below note 104.

NOTE 36
NM 16563.
Blegen 1939, 428 - 30 and fig. 16; Jantzen 1955, 17, no. 53;
Herrmann 1979, 164, no. 170; cf. IS I, 192 - 193, fig. 16, and note 138, for references regarding origin and date.
For Samian production of cast griffin protomes, cf. Jantzen 1955, 48 and 57 - 60. Among the earliest are three protomes made in three piece-moulds, one for the head and one for each side, Jantzen 1955, 57 - 58, nos. 47 - 48, pl. 17 and 18, 1 - 2; Kopcke 1968, 285, no. 101, pl. 113, 4 - 5, cf. Bol 1985, 49 - 50 and fig. 50 and Haynes 1992, 43 - 46, pl. 5.
The production of hollow cast griffin protomes presumably began around 700 B.C., not much later than that of the hammered ones, cf. Jantzen 1955, 84 - 86 and Herrmann 1979, 146 - 155. Herrmann, however, is apt to date his comparative material too early; e.g. the Aigina griffin jug (Herrmann 1979, 151) should be dated to around 675 B.C. or shortly after (cf. this volume p. 386 and note 22) and the Bernardini and Barberini Tombs in Palestrina (Herrmann 1979, 150 with note 28) to around 675 B.C. and the second quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C., respectively. (Cf. Strøm 1971, 150 - 154; 157 - 159 and 170 - 171 and for the former tomb, Canciani - v. Hase 1979, 10.) On the other hand, since these tombs are dated from their imports, including the cauldrons with griffin protomes, they ought not to be used for establishing an absolute chronology of the same imports. (Cf. Strøm 1971, 131 - 134).

NOTE 37
Herodotus IV, 152.
Cf. Jantzen 1955, 48 - 49; Herrmann 1979, 155 - 160 and Floren, 208 and 235, all three supporting the theory of several production centres, including the Argolid, and pointing

to this region for the earliest griffin cauldrons.
However, Kyrieleis 1990, 22, states (about the Olympia griffin protomes) that "hardly a piece.. could be assigned with certainty to a workshop outside Samos".
The griffin cauldrons cannot be seen as successors to the Geometric tripods, in typological or in functional sense. Nor is there any evidence that the production of monumental Geometric bronze tripods was specifically connected with the Argolid, two arguments advanced in favour of the above hypothesis by Herrmann and Floren. For the possible function of the Geometric bronze tripods as perirrhanteria and for their production centres, cf. IS IV, 50 and 51, respectively, and for the function in banquets of the griffin cauldrons, cf. IS II, 55 - 56 and IS III, 50.

NOTE 38
Cf. most recently Muscarella 1992, 25 - 35 and Egg 1993/ 94.

NOTE 39
For the Bursian-Rangabé bull's head, cf. IS IV, 38; for the two other heads, cf. below notes 40 - 41.

NOTE 40
AH 23. NM (13972)
AH II, 201 - 202 and pl. LXXV, cf. IS IV, 94, note 21 (West Building) and 106. note 170.
Kunze 1950, 98 and note 14 and pl. 16, 2; Amandry 1956, 249; Rolley 1963, 94 - 95, fig. 33; Herrmann 1966, 123, note 28; Kyrieleis 1977, 81 and Muscarella 1992, 32 and 33.
For the Phrygian model, cf. Gordion I, 102 - 104, MM 1, figs. 67 - 68 A, pl. 47 A and 50 and Prayon 1987, 121, (fig. 20 f), 124 - 125 and 211, Cat. nos. 79 - 80, Type B.

NOTE 41
AH 25 (13973).
AH II, 202 and pl. LXXV, (cf. IS IV, 95, note 24 (Southern Slope), and 106, note 170).
Herrmann 1966, 129; Kyrieleis 1977, 87, and pl. 31, 4 - 5 reference to Delphi, Inv. no. 2351; Muscarella 1992, 32 and 35.
Cf. Gordion, 112 and 222, MM 12- 13, pl. 59 A - C and another head, pl. 95 B from a terrace building of the destruction level (cf. below note 42). Cf. Prayon 1987, 124 - 126 and 211, Cat. nos. 81 - 86, Type B.

NOTE 42
For the absolute chronology of pre-Kimmerian tombs and levels at Gordion, cf. Gordion IV, 194 - 196: Tumulus W, ca. 750 B.C.; Tumulus G, ca. 725 B.C.; Tumuli K III and P, the last quarter of the 8th Cent. B.C. and Tumulus MM, ca. 700 B.C. contemporary with the Kimmerian destruction level of the city.
Tumulus K IV is pre-Kimmerian, but later than Tumuli K III and P.
The relevant post-Kimmerian dates are the following:
Tumulus A, ca. 525 B.C., cf. Kohler 1980, 69; Tumuli F and J the last quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C., cf. Kohler 1980, 67 and Gordion II 1, 59, respectively.
Tumulus M, ca. 575 B.C., cf. Kohler 1980, 67.
Tumulus N, the second quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C., cf. Gordion II 1, 86.
Tumulus S 1 is later than MM, close to Z, i.e. the first quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C., and Tumulus S 2 is dated to the first half of the 6th Cent. B.C., cf. Gordion II 1, 156 and 144, respectively.
Tumulus Z, ca. 670 B.C., cf. Gordion II 1, 156.

NOTE 43
AH 2204 (NM 14018)
AH II, 293 - 294, pl. CXXIII; Herrmann 1966, 137, note 1 and Muscarella 1992, 32, note 73.
For counterparts in Delphi, cf. inv. nos. 3513, 2583, 4128, Perdrizet 1908, 77 - 78, nos. 334 - 336, figs. 266 - 67.

NOTE 44
AH 2205 (NM14018).
AH II, 294, pl. CXXIII; Herrmann 1966, 136, note 10
Muscarella 1970, 114, is inclined to see the Olympia griffon attachments as Phrygian, although concluding by referring to them as, in general, of Near Eastern origin.
For the Phrygian types, cf. Gordion I, 201, Tum. W 3 - W 4, fig. 118 and pl. 88 B - C and Prayon 1987, 127 - 129 and 211, Cat. nos. 90 - 93, pl. 20 d. For the date of Tumulus W, cf. above note 42.

NOTE 45
Phrygian Fibulae.
Blinkenberg 1926, 210 - 226, XII, 2 -14; Muscarella 1967; Muscarella 1988, 425 - 427; and Muscarella 1989, 338 - 339. Cf. also Gordion I, 239 - 240, with fig. 30, and 269 - 270 and Gordion II 1, 211 - 213.
Boehmer 1972, 46 - 66, does not always agree with Muscarella's classification and Caner 1983, 50 - 193, uses a different one. A recent summary is given by Donder 1994, 86 - 95.

NOTE 46
Kilian 1975, 151, cf. IS II, 58 and note 51.

NOTE 47
Phrygian fibulae.
AH 883, 886 - 889, 891, 894 - 896 and 901 - 905 (NM 14031, 14032 and 23097 - 23099).
AH II, 244 - 247, pl. LXXXVII.
In my present conception of the genuinely Phrygian fibulae at the Argive Heraion, there are a few changes from IS II, 58, note 52.

NOTE 48
XII, 7 A, AH 903. Cf. Muscarella 1989, 338, note 21. For the type, cf. Muscarella 1967, 17 - 18 and Boehmer 1972, 54 and Gordion I, 210 - 211, W 35 - 55, cf. p. 244 and pls. 91 - 92.
For the absolute chronology of Gordion, Tumuli W and G, cf. above note 42.
This type is not represented at Bogazköy, presumably because it belongs to a period before Phrygian exports expanded cf. Gordion I, 269, and Boehmer 1972, 49 and 54.

NOTE 49
XII, 5. AH 895.
Blinkenberg, 212, XII, 5 h; Muscarella 1967, 15 - 16 and note 9. However, both Boehmer 1972, 50 - 51 and note 323, and Caner 1983, 104 and notes 6 - 7 believe that AH 895 may just as well belong to

Class XII 2; however, according to Muscarella 1988, 425 - 426, no XII 2 fibulae have been reported outside Western Anatolia.
For the type see also Kilian 1975, 151 - 152; Gordion I, 243 and Muscarella 1989, 338.
For the Gordion absolute chronology, cf. above note 42.

NOTE 50
XII, 9, AH 901, 902, and 904. Blinkenberg 1926, 216 (AH 901 = XII, 9 o); Muscarella 1967, 19 - 20 and note 25, and p. 49 with note 2 (AH 901 cast in an open mould); Boehmer 1972, 57, notes 392 and 396, AH 901 (and possibly also AH 902) late 8th Cent. B.C. For the type, cf. also Kilian 1975, 152 - 153; Caner 1981, 69 - 78, A IV (= XII 8 and 9); Gordion I, 244 - 246 and Muscarella 1989, 338.
There are no examples at the Argive Heraion of the Olympia-Samos variety of XII 9 fibulae, Jantzen 1962; Jantzen, 48 - 49 and Philipp, 305 - 310, nos. 1104 - 1114.

NOTE 51
XII, 13, AH 883, 886 - 888 and 896. Blinkenberg, 221, XII 4, 13 p, here also fibulae of type XII 14 (cf. below note 52):(fig. 252 = AH 888).
Muscarella 1967, 22; Boehmer 1972, 60, note 430; Caner 1983, 122 and note 32 (AH 883) and 119 and note 123 (AH 885 and 896 (Class H). However, AH 885 does not have the genuinely Phrygian type of catch.
For XII 13, in general, cf. Blinkenberg, 219 - 222; Muscarella 1967, 21 - 24; Kilian 1975, 153 - 154; Gordion I, 246 - 247; Philipp 311 - 312, regarding nos. 1116 - 1119, and Muscarella 1989, 338 - 339.
For the Gordion chronology cf. above note 42.

NOTE 52
XII, 14, AH 889 and 891. Blinkenberg, 225, XII, 13 p (cf. above note 51) and XII, 14 r; Muscarella 1967, 24 - 25; Boehmer 1972, 63, note 496 (includes also AH 892 and 893, which I accepted in IS II, 58, note 52. However, they do not fulfil the criteria given by Kilian, cf. above p. 46 and note 46, since the ends of the arch differ and the catches are not winged); Caner 1983, 131, note 6 (classified as J - L); Gordion I, 247 and Muscarella 1989, 338 - 339.

NOTE 53
XII, 14 A, AH 894. Muscarella 1967, 25 - 26; Boehmer 1972, 65, note 504 and Muscarella 1989, 339. For the chronology of Tomb S 1, cf. above note 42. Boehmer 1979, 6, refers to the Bogazköy find.

NOTE 54
XII, 10, AH 905. Blinkenberg, 218, XII, 10 d; for the type cf. also Muscarella 1967, 20 - 21; Boehmer 1972, 57 - 58, note 398 (not one from a certain 8th Cent. B.C. context), and Kilian 1973, 153.

NOTE 55
Muscarella 1967, 80 - 81 (Appendix C), Boehmer 1983, fig. 8 and Caner 1983, pls. 74 - 75..The provenance of the so-called Assur fibula is not correct, cf. Boehmer 1984; for Lycia, cf. Boehmer 1979, 4, note 18, and for Marino in Latium, references, Boehmer 1972, 57, note 394. For Phrygian fibula renderings on Near Eastern reliefs, cf. p. 48 and below note 64.

NOTE 56
Many of the Phrygian fibulae in Greece recorded by Muscarella 1967, 80 - 81, Appendix C, are left out as Greek imitations by Boehmer, 1972, 50 - 51, note 323. This applies e.g. to all Phrygian fibulae from Perachora. Although Boehmer here also leaves out fibulae from e.g. Ephesos and the Delion on Paros, he elsewhere refers to other genuinely Phrygian fibulae at these sites, cf. Boehmer 1972, 48, note 294; 54, note 359; and 57, note 390. I have seen no references to Phrygian fibulae from Delphi, although there are Phrygian belt buckles there, cf. below note 68.
For later publications see Jantzen, 48 - 49, B 1513, pl. 44 (Samos); Kilian 1975, 151 - 154, pl. 58 (Pherai, presumably an Athena Enodia sanctuary, cf. op. cit. p. 7); Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978, 124, no. 1617 and pl. 50 and p. 128, no. 1678, pl. 53 (Ialysos and Thasos, respectively; for the former site, cf. also Martelli 1988, 108 and note 43). (Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1978, 120 - 129, pls. 50 - 54, catalogues all Phrygian and Phrygian imitating fibulae from the Greek islands); Philipp 311 - 312, nos. 1116 - 1119 (Olympia); For the Tegea fibula, cf. Voyatzis, 213 - 214, B 256, pl. 167 (XII, 14). Voyatzis is not sure about its genuineness, but it seems to comply with the stated criteria, cf. above p. and note 46.

NOTE 57
Summary of the discussion, Muscarella 1989, 338 - 339.
As Muscarella points out, the Pithekoussai finds certify that Phrygian XII 13 fibulae were copied in the West before 700 B.C. Cf. Pithekoussai I, 403, and pls. 130 and CLIX (Tomb 355, nos. 7 - 8); cf. pp. 401 - 402 for the LG II date of the tomb and Ridgway 1992, 69, for the LG II chronology, last quarter of the 8th Cent. B.C.

NOTE 58
AH 895 and AH 901 are earlier than 700 B.C.; AH 894 and 902 - 903 are late 8th or early 7th Centuries B.C. (Groups XII, 5; XII, 7 A; XII, 9 and XII 14 A. cf. above pp. 46-47. Probably also some of the XII, 13 fibulae are early, cf. above p. 47 and note 57.

NOTE 59
AH 885, 890, 892 - 893 and 897 - 900 (NM 14032 and 20880).
AH II, 245 - 246, pl. LXXXVII, cf. Blinkenberg, 221 (XII 13 p), 225 (XII 14 r - s) and for AH 900, cf. IS II, 58, note 49.
For AH 883 and 887, cf. above note 51.

NOTE 60
Kilian 1975, 155 - 156, cf. Philipp, 315 - 317 and Donder 1994, 95 - 99.

NOTE 61
AH II, 247 - 248, pl. LXXXVIII.
Blinkenberg 221 - 222 (XII 13, q = **AH 906 - 909, 911- 912 and 914 - 915**)(**NM 14032**); cf. Perachora I, 171, pl. 17, 10 and pl. 73, 25, 29 and 32; Philipp, 315 - 316, nos. 1128 - 30, pl. 70 (Olympia); Voyatzis, 217, L 47, pl. 179 and note 292, and Mitsopoulos-Leon - Ladstätter 1996, 45, fig. 7 (Lusoi, five examples).

Cf. Muscarella 1967, 26 and pl. IX for the XII 13 fibula type in Gordion, Tumulus S 1; cf. above note 42 for chronology.
Blinkenberg, 226 - 227 (XII 15 c = **AH 910 and 916 - 918**) (NM 14031 and 14032); Perachora I, 171, pl. 73, 19 and cf. p. 54 and below note 113.

NOTE 62
References above note 60. **AH 884 (NM 20880/2)**, cf. Kilian, 155, note 1; close to Perachora I, pl. 73, 21 and 24, and Donder 1994, 95 - 100, Cat. no. 49, pl. 11; and possibly also **AH 2143 (NM 20612)** = AH II, 291 and pl. CXXI, a damaged fibula with an irregular arch and a melonshaped central moulding; its ends are cut off.

NOTE 63
Tumulus MM, cf. Gordion I, 101, 168 - 169 and 248 - 249; 30 fibulae were found either on the upper part of the body or on the bed, whereas 145 spare ones were wrapped in a linen cloth and placed on the floor at the head of the body.
For Tumulus S 1, cf. Gordion II 1, 116 - 117.

NOTE 64
Cf. Boehmer 1972, 46 - 47; Boehmer 1973, 150 - 152 and fig. 3; Boehmer 1983, 78 - 80, pl. 21.3; and Caner 1983, Tafel C, for the Ivriz relief with a representation of a XII,9 fibula; and cf. Boehmer 1972, 51, and Boehmer 1983, 75 and fig. 2, for the Khorsabad relief with a representation of a Phrygian wearing a XII, 7 fibula, with reference to Barnett 1948, 9, who was the first to interprete this person as a Phrygian.

NOTE 65
AH II, 24, Cat. Tc, no. 82, fig. 34, cf. Hadascek 1902, 211 and fig. 65; Boehmer 1972, 53 and Boehmer 1973, 149 - 50, fig. 1.
Hadascek's other atttempts at identifying specific fibula types on the terra-cotta statuettes of the Heraion are less convincing.
The so-called spectacle fibulae, AH II, 20, tc. nos. 45 - 46, pl. XLII, 9, are not spiral ornaments, but bosses surrounded by circular relief lines; for the so-called serpeggianti fibulae, Hadascek 1902, 211 - 212, figs. 66 - 67, cf. below note 141.

NOTE 66
For the Argive Hera cult statue, cf. p. 59 and below notes 141 and 149 - 150.
AH 883, 887, and 901 were found at various places east of the Second Temple and thus in the Altar area; AH 890, 897, 905, 907 and 915 were found either in the West Building, at the Back of South Stoa or on the Southern Slope, cf. AH II, 244 - 248.

NOTE 67
For the suggestion of Phrygian dress offerings in Greek sanctuaries, cf. Jantzen 1962, 42; Boehmer 1972, 53 and Boehmer 1973, especially pp. 166 - 172, with references to Phrygian dresses in Greek Archaic vase-painting with conclusions p. 172; Boehmer 1983, 75 - 80, especially fig. 4 and note 9, with references to luxurious textiles as Near Eastern Royal gifts or tributes. In particular, the ornamental XII 9 fibula with double pins, one of which was found in the Samian Heraion (cf. Jantzen 1962 and Jantzen, 48 - 49, pl. 44, no. B 1513). is regarded as an example of Royal gifts, Boehmer 1972, 53; Boehmer 1973, 151 - 152, and Boehmer 1983, 78 - 80 and fig. 5.
For Phrygian textiles influencing Cycladic vase-painting around 700 B.C. cf. this volume, p. 386 and note 20.
For the Artemis Ephesia cult statue, cf. below note 68.
For dress offerings in Greek sanctuaries, cf. references, IS. IV, 66 and note 218 and cf. above note 14.

NOTE 68
Phrygian and Phrygian-imitating belt buckles in Greece (the latter type from Chios, Ephesos, Samos, and Smyrna), Boardman 1962; Boardman 1967, 214 - 221; Muscarella 1989, 339;
Jantzen, 49 - 53, pls. 45 - 46 (imitations as well as Phrygian originals, Samos); Picard et. al. 1991, 158 - 159, no. 22 and fig. 22 (Delphi). I thank dr. Thomas Völling for information of an unpubished example in Olympia.
Bammer 1991/92, 35 - 43, nos. 12 - 13 (Inv. nos. 90/K 775, 777) figs. 27 - 33 and Bammer 1996, 78 and figs. 93 - 94, publishes Phrygian bronze belts from Ephesos, proposing that they were used for the cult statue and referring to a Roman copy of Artemis Ephesia wearing such a belt, Bammer 1991/92, 42, fig. 34 and Bammer 1996, 78 and fig. 95.

NOTE 69
AH 2215 - 2216 (NM 20628 α and β).
AH II, 294, pl. CXXIII, cf. IS II, 50 - 52 with other references, note 24, and pl. VI a - b. (AH 2215 is photographed from the inside, AH 2216 from the outside; the latter photograph is turned upside-down. AH II, pl. CXXIII has also an inside photograph of AH 2216). For the measures of the Phrygian bowls, cf. references, below note 70, to Gordion, nos. MM 55 - 69.

NOTE 70
Shallow bowls with spool-shaped attachments from Tumulus MM, cf. Gordion I, 125 - 131 and 229 - 233, MM 55 - 69, and pls. 65 - 67. (The wooden shallow bowls of Tumuli W and P, Gordion I, 171, 207 and 230, had only bolster-shaped attachments and ring handles in bronze, not the spool-like elements).
The bowl from Tumulus J, Gordion II 1, 59 and 64, pl. 37 and fig. 26 D (no. Tum. J 20), cf. Gordion I, 229 and 233, pl. 95 A. The bowls from Tumulus A are still unpublished, but described Gordion II 1, 64 (B 325 and 326). For the Gordion chronology, cf. above note 42.
The early date of the Argive Heraion bowls which I gave, IS II, 50, was thus not correct.

NOTE 71
Cf. Matthäus 1985, 135 and note 9; Muscarella 1989, 339 and 340 with detailed references, also to the Perachora bowls, Perachora I, pl. 55, nos. 2 and 4; cf. IS II, 52, note 24.
The whole Olympia bowl, BCH 1978, 683, fig. 86, The fragments in Olympia, Furtwängler 1890, 136, nos. 852, Inv. nos. 7612 and 12386 (the last with vertical bronze studs) are all regarded as genuinely Phrygian by Muscarella and other scholars. I have not

seen them, but the horizontally grooved decoration of the two first-mentioned "spools" appear strange to me.
For imitations from Cyprus and Italy, cf. below note 76.

NOTE 72
Floren, 390, with earlier references note 3, and pl. 34, 1. The best illustrations are Akurgal 1961, 206, figs. 167 - 173.

NOTE 73
Young, Gordion I, 230, refers to AH 2087 - 2190 and sees AH 2141 as a possibly Phrygian piece. AH II, 290 - 293, pls. CXXI - CXXIII, cf. p. 79 and below notes 260 - 262.

NOTE 74
AH 2217 (NM 20628 γ).
AH II, 294, pl. CXXIII, cf. IS II, 52, note 24 and pl. VI c.

NOTE 75
AH 2788 (NM 14009).
AH II, 329 and pl. CXXXV.

NOTE 76
Jantzen, 54 - 55, nos. B 1397 and B 1633, pl. 50, and Gauer 1991, 34 - 35 and 190, Le 72 - 75, pl. 19, for Samos and Olympia, respectively. For the Cypriot type rim bands, cf. below note 106 (AH 2074 and 2077), AH II, 329, reference to similar fragments from the Athenian Acropolis.
I see an intermediate stage between the original Phrygian bowls and AH 2788, in the Phrygian imitations from either Cyprus, Matthäus 1985, 134 - 136, nos. 372 - 375, pl. 26 - 27, or Greece, e.g. a similar Olympia bowl, B 10369, about 40 cm. in diameter and decorated along the rim with several such attachments.
The Vulci bowl, Br. Mus. Inv. no. 50. 2 - 27. 19, cf. Haynes 1977, 29, pl 19 d, is, in my opinion, Etruscan, having many detailed features which do not have parallels in the other examples.

NOTE 77
For early Greek perirrhanteria being modelled on Phrygian bowls, cf. Knudsen 1964, 68 and Isthmia IV, 28 with other references, note 55. Cf., in particular, the Isthmia perirrhanteria in stone or terracotta of about the same dimensions as AH 2788 and the Corinth perirrhanteria, imitating the bolster handles of the Phrygian shallow bowls. (The Isthmia stone perirrhanterion, Isthmia IV, 1 - 61, pls. 1 - 26 and plates A and B; the terra-cotta perirrhanterion, cf. Isthmia IV, 28, pl. 81 A - B and pp. 15 - 16, note 6 and cf. pp. 18 - 19 for a list of similar perirrhanteria in Greece and pp. 26 and 51 for their chronology. Cf. also Iozzo 1987, 356 and 361 - 362, nos. 10 - 11, pl. 64 and Kerrscher 1996, 63 - 70 for Corinthian terra-cotta perirrhanteria dated ca. 650 B.C. onwards and pp. 87 - 96 for stone perirrhanteria).

NOTE 78
For the iron tripod used as a perirrhanterion in Isthmia, cf. Isthmia IV, 27, and pl. 80 d, and for the possibility of a corresponding function of the hammered tripod found NE of the Argive Heraion, cf. IS IV, 50.
Kerschner 1996, 95 - 96, disccusses also metal perirrhanteria and, pp. 107 - 114, the placing of the perrrhanteria in the sanctuary. Wooden perirrhanteria are, however, not mentioned.

NOTE 79
Lotus Bowls.
AH 1975 - 1978, AH 1985 - 1986, AH 1988, AH 1990 - 2000(NM 20485, 20576 and 20579 - 20584) and NM 49.64.
AH II, 283 - 285 and 337 - 338, pls. CXIV - CXVI and Caskey - Amandry 1952, 179, no. 73, fig. 2, here fig. 12; presumably there are other lotus bowls among the phialai mesomphaloi mentioned here.
AH 1980, which was found in the Altar area, cf. IS I, 176, note 33, is not a lotus bowl, but a low open bowl on a ring foot; for AH 1981 - 1984 and 1987, cf. below notes 258 and 288; AH 1989 is possibly an oinochoe rim, cf. below note 286. The bowl from the Upper Hill, AH 1977, cf. IS I, 192, note 136. The other find spots were the West Building, the Back of South Stoa, the southern Slope and the Eastern Retaining Wall, cf. IS IV, 38 - 39.

NOTE 80
The Perachora lotus bowls have the same basic variations of decorative scheme, cf. Perachora I, pl. 52, 2 and pl. 52, 1, respectively. for AH 1995 (NM 20583 α) and 1998 (20583 δ), cf. AH II, pl. CXVI.

NOTE 81
Gordion I, 233 - 236; for Tumulus W 9 - 18, cf. pp. 204 - 205 and for Tumulus P, pp. 11 and 14 - 15. For absolute chronology, cf. above note 42.

NOTE 82
Gordion I, 233 and 235 - 236, cf. 131 - 141, MM 74 - 123, pls. 69 - 70 and figs. 86 and 90 A - B (MM 70 - 73 are slightly different, with a decorated omphalos); cf. Gordion II 2, 204 - 205. For the absolute chronology of Tumulus MM and the Kimmerian destruction level of Gordion, cf. above note 42.

NOTE 83
Cf. in particular, Gordion I, 233 and 236, with reference to Luschey 1939, 4, for the Assyrian phiale with a solid boss.

NOTE 84
References above note 82 and cf. Gordion II 1, 205: The form MC 198, pl. 83. I.

NOTE 85
Gordion II 1, 204 - 205 and 159 (form variations); 118 and 125 (Tum. S 1, 7 - 9, fig. 52 B, C, D, F and pl. 65 A - C); 159 (Tum. Z 12, fig. 68 B and pl. 81 D); 59 - 60 (Tum J 2, fig. 25 A and pls. 33 A and 35 B - C (earlier than the tomb context in general; p. 59 regarded as only slightly later than the Kimmerian destruction and p. 159 dated later than Z 12 because of lack of an incised out-line of its petal tips)); 144 - 145 (S 2, 3 - 4, fig. 60 B - C and pl. 75 C). For absolute chronology of the tumuli, cf. above note 42.

NOTE 86
Cf. above note 80.

NOTE 87
Gordion I, 235 - 236 (Ankara, Bogazköy and Kerkeres Dağ) and Matthäus 1985, 153 - 154, pl. 31, 415 (Cyprus)

NOTE 88
ADelt 19 B, 1964, 67 and pl. 171 and BCH 1966, 817, fig. 9.

NOTE 89
The chronology used to be based on the Perachora "Sacred Pool" deposit, cf. below notes 95 - 97.
Menadier 1996, 91 - 116, restudies all Perachora deposits, concluding that the absolute chronology often is considerably later than stated in the Perachora publication. I follow her results.

NOTE 90
The votive deposit at the Eastern Retaining Wall was closed around 550 B.C., cf. Caskey - Amandry 1952, 210 - 212.

NOTE 91
The latest primary context in Greece seems to be that of Rhamnous of early 5th Cent. B.C. date, cf. below note 92.
The inscription of AH 1977 is Late Archaic or Early Classical, but it may be secondary, cf. below note 94.

NOTE 92
For the Perachora bowls, cf. below note 93. References, in general, cf. Perachora I, 149 - 150. (The silver bowls to which Payne refers here are variations of the ordinary lotus bowl).
Cf. also below the neighbouring votive deposits, p. 54 and notes 110 and 112.
Athena Pronaia. Delphi, Inv. 8404, FdD II 3, 94, fig. 102.
Olympia Besides the bowl, Ol. IV, 141, no. 880, pl. LII, fragments of others are mentioned, loc. cit.
Of **Samos** B 1332, only a fragment of the omphalos bottom with part of the side is preserved, measuring 12.6 × 9.5 cm., showing the normal naturalistic lotus design.
In the Museum of Tripolis two lotus bowls are on exhibition, in a show case, labelled: "Various sanctuaries".
Rhamnous. Five bowls were found stacked, one inside the other, at the bottom of a vertical shaft more than 27 m. deep, under the temple, dug out in the first decades of the 5th Cent. B.C. and connected with a very deep spring; the shaft was filled up before the middle of the 5th Cent. B.C. Ergon 1984, 53 - 56, figs. 81 - 82, cf. AR 1985 - 86, 17 - 18.
Tocra I, 158 and 160, nos. 56 - 58, fig. 75. One bowl comes from Deposit III, closed at ca. 530 B.C.; another has an extremely simplified design for which I do not know of any parallel.
For the **Trebenischte** lotus bowls, cf. Filow 1927, 75 - 76, fig. 93, Tomb VI, 30 and VII, 25), and for the absolute chronology of Trebenischte, cf. below p. # and note 271.
At **Berbati** was found a fragmentary terracotta lotus bowl, which seems to have been formed over an original bronze bowl. Wells 1996, 200 - 201, no. 89, fig. 25. I thank Gunnel Ekroth for information about this piece.
Lotus bowls in private collections, cf. Antiken aus rheinischem Privatbesitz 1973, 146 - 147, no. 221, pl. 105 and AAA 3. 1970, 348, figs. 4 -5.

NOTE 93
Cf. **Perachora** I, 150, pls. 52 - 54; 134, 3 and 10 - 11 and 135, 2 - 3. Compare the outline drawings of the last-mentioned plates with figs. 14 and 16, here. I have seen some of the Perachora bowls in the Isthmia Museum, but they are so encased in plaster that technical details are not observable today.
The decorative scheme of the bowls at the two sites is very similar, cf. above p. # and note 80.
For the Delphi, Olympia and Tocra bowls, cf. above note 92.

NOTE 94
AH 1977, cf. IS I, 192 with note 136.
AH 1985 (NM 20579 α+β), cf. AH II, 84 and 337, pl. CXV.
AH 1994 (NM 20582 ε), cf. AH II, 284 and 337 - 338, pl. CXV (here fig. 15). Several of the letters I cannot read; others I read differently from the publication in AH II.
Jeffery 1961, 151. The H is definitely open. According to Jeffery's diagram other letters also point toward a Late Archaic/Early Classical date, A 3; M 2 or 3; O 1; R 2 or 4.
The inscription may be secondary.
Vollgraff 1948, 43, has a different reading (cf. SEG XI.(1954), 39, no. 308) which, however, does not correspond with the preserved letters.
The combination of Hera and Damos marks the object as the public property of Hera. Cf. Miller 1994 a, 95 (with reference to AH I, 217 and 218)
Of the Athenian Acropolis lotus bowls of which there apparently were a very large number, only the inscriptions are published, cf. de Ridder 1896, 72 - 73, nos. 219 - 223 and Bather 1892-93, 126, nos. 8 - 11, pl. VI, of which nos. 8 - 9 have dedicatory inscriptions, while nos. 10 - 11 have the inscriptions of: ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηναίας and ἱερὰ Ἀθηναίας.

NOTE 95
The Perachora lotus bowls, cf. above note 93.
The Sacred Pool, Perachora I. 120 - 122, cf. Menadier 1996, 83 - 84 and 100 - 104 with earlier references.

NOTE 96
Tomlinson 1990, 99 - 100 and Tomlinson 1992, 333 - 337 and 349 - 350. (Discussion).
For the identification of the hearth building (formerly the Hera Limenia Temple) as a hestiatorion, cf. Tomlinson 1977, 197 and Tomlinson 1992, 333.
Presumably the hearth building was built in the early 6th Cent. B.C., cf. Menadier 1996, 88 - 90, 110 - 111 and 118 - 119.

NOTE 97
Menadier 1996, 103 - 104, with reference to the conclusions of Sinn 1990, 103. However according to Menadier 1996, 104, the early 4th Cent. building program comprised not only the Upper Terrace, but also the area immediately west of the Archaic hestiatorion, the closing date of which was ca. 450 B.C., cf. Menadier 1996, 121 - 122.
This chronology makes it quite possible that the large "Sacred Pool" deposit of votives and cult objects contained discarded material from more than one cult building, thus perhaps including that of the Archaic hestiatorion.

NOTE 98
Cf. Richter- Milne 1935, 29. Tomlinson 1992, 350, with reference also to the Chostia/Chorsiai inventory list of banquetting equipment, Tomlinson 1980, 221. The very small number of drinking vessels at this sanctuary (1 phiale and 12 skyphoi, as compared to 35 cauldrons) may be due to a combination of metal and ceramic drinking vessels having been used, cf. the discussion, Tomlinson 1992, 350 (Schachter).
The initiation ceremony in which the Rhamnous bowls apparently were used before being stacked at the bottom of the shaft (cf. above note 92) may have been a drinking ceremony and not a libation, cf. Wells 1988.

NOTE 99
Cf. above p. 44 and references, note 35.

NOTE 100
Tomlinson 1990, 99 - 100 with reference to Gordion I and to deVries 1980 b.
Also the situla types in Tumulus MM were used as drinking vessels, cf. Reade 1995, 44, figs. 9 and 12 - 13.

NOTE 101
Cf. summary, Menadier 1996, 153 - 172.

NOTE 102
Cf. above p. and note 79. There were a large number of lotus bowls at the Athenian Acropolis, cf. above note 94.

NOTE 103
Cf. above pp. 41-45 and 50-51 and notes 26 - 28, 32 and 40 - 41 for the cauldrons and notes 79 and 82 for the lotus bowls.
AH 49 even is attributed to the same workshop as the Gordion cauldrons, while the incised decoration of the bull of NM 16552 reminds one of the incised decoration of the Gordion siren attachments.

NOTE 104
Cf. references above note 35. The role of the Zeus' sanctuaries in this respect is less certain.

NOTE 105
Menadier 1996, 160 - 164, refers to the cultic correspondance of the two sanctuaries as observable, in particular, in the phialai and in the banquetting tradition of the obeloi, cf. also IS III, 45 - 46 and 49.
The drachme inscription in the Archaic hestiatorion of Perachora is now dated to the 7th Cent. B.C. cf. Immerwahr 1990, 16, apparently accepted by both Tomlinson 1990, 333, and Menadier 1996, 111.

NOTE 106
AH 2022 (NM 13981).
AH II, 286, pl. CXVII.
A miniature jug, its vertical handle in the form of a snake, may ultimately derive from the Phoenician palmette jugs with vertical handles ending in snakes heads; Matthäus 1985, 252, note 1, compares it with nos. 552 and 554, pl.73, the latter dated to CA II, i.e. from shortly before 600 B.C. to shortly after 500 B.C., cf. op. cit. p. 11. As a miniature vase, it is presumably later than its model.
AH 2055 (NM 20664)
AH II, 288, pl. CXIX.
A bowl handle with a lotus bud on its top; the originally Egyptian type was imitated in Cyprus in the early first Millenium B.C.; it has a wide distribution area in the Near East, Greece and Italy.
Cf. Ol. IV, 146, at no. 911; Jacobsthal 1956, 47 - 49; Strøm 1971, 129; Matthäus 1985, 124 - 127, pls. 20 - 2; (for Amnissos, cf. above note 21) and Muscarella 1988, 667, fig. 3.
AH 2074 (NM 20602 α) and AH 2077 (NM 20602 β).
AH II 289 and pl. CXXI.
Two bronze bands with rings for swivel handles.
Matthäus 1985, 132, note 8.
These bands are ultimately of Egyptian origin; the Cypriot type which the Argive Heraion fragments imitate has a very wide distribution area in the Near East as well as in Greece in the first Millenium B.C., cf. Mathäus 1985, 132 and Gauer, 34 - 35 and 190 -191, in particular, 181, Le 81.
Cf. also p. 55 and below note 115.

NOTE 107
AH 969 - 970 b.
AH II, 251, pls. LXXXIX and CXXXVII; AH 969 comes from the Southeastern Slope, AH 970 from the Back of South Stoa.

NOTE 108
Cf. Perachora II, 462 and Hölbl 1979, 179 and 212 - 214, for the distribution of the so-called Perachora-Lindia scarabs (including the Argive Heraion and the Artemis Ephesia sanctuary) and their possibly Rhodian manufacture. Cf. also below note 136.
For swivel rings with wire at the Athena Lindia sanctuary, cf. Lindos I, 377 - 378, nos. 1365 - 1368, pl. 59.

NOTE 109
Caskey - Amandry 1952, 176, no. 70 (M 49,.97), pls. 46 - 47. Cf. Culican, 363 - 384; Boardman - Buchner 1966 and Boardman 1990.

NOTE 110
Blegen 1939, 420 and fig. 8; the left bowl in the illustration has a series of raised points in its outer omphalos ring, like some the Perachora bowls, cf. Perachora I pl. 54, 1 - 2.

NOTE 111
Cf. Antonaccio 1995, 59 - 60: To Prosymna Tomb VIII belongs also the so-called deposit north of Tomb VII, cf. here pp. 64 and 84-87, figs. 16 and 45 and notes 112, 176, 308, 323 and 337.

NOTE 112
Prosymna, Tomb VIII, Prosymna 164, cf. Blegen 1937, 380, fig.. 6, no. 1. Blegen does not state the types of the other mesomphalic bowls in this tomb as well as in tombs IX, XIX, XXVI, XXXIV and XL.

NOTE 113
Blegen 1939, 412 - 414, fig. 4, cf. IS IV, 71, fig. 35.

NOTE 114
Blegen 1939, 412, fig. 2, cf. above p. 54 and notes 107 -108. Cf. also IS IV 84 and fig. 47 for a "Kalotten-Schale" in tomb XL.

NOTE 115
Cf. IS IV, 84 and fig. 47 and note 326 for the "Kalotten-Schale" and Courbin 1974, 20 and 130, pl. 23, B 2, Tomb 6, 2, and Mathäus 1985, 132, note 8, for the bowl with swivel handles.

NOTE 116
Vollgraff, Br 1854 (both fibulae have the same number) and Aphrodision 73/633. Cf. IS II, 59, note 53. (The Aphrodision fibula is not a "Scharnierfibula" as stated there).
For XII, 11, cf. Blinkenberg, 218 and Muscarella 1967, 21. XII 11 fibulae are found in Gordion Tumuli S 1 and N. (Cf. Gordion II 1, 86 - 87, pl. 50 A (Tum. N 2) and p. 130, fig. 31, (Tum. S 1, 31) and above note 42 for absolute chronology); but the considerable swelling of the arch is characteristic of the Western Asia Minor production, cf. Caner 1983, 98 - 99, pls. 40 - 41 (E II 1), nos. 555 - 556 from Bursa and Ephesos and found also on Ithaca. I cannot see any swelling of the Ithaca fibula to which Caner refers loc. cit.

NOTE 117
The earliest Phrygian import, the fibula AH 903, above p. 46 and note 48.
For counterparts in Gordion Tumulus MM of North Syrian cauldrons, of Phrygian-imitating cauldrons and the imitations of the lotus bowls, cf. above pp. 53-54 and references note 103. For the early Phrygian fibulae in general, cf. above p. 47 and note 58 and for the early 7th Cent. B.C. Phrygian and Phrygian-imitating bronze vessels, cf. above pp. 48-51 and notes 69-70 and 85. The only definitely late Phrygian bronze is AH 2216, possibly of 6th Cent. B.C. date, cf. above p. 49 and note 70.

NOTE 118
Cf. above note 117 for Phrygian contacts. The North Syrian connections are observable in the large cauldrons with siren attachments or animal handles, AH 49, AH 21 and NM 16552, all dated to the late 8th Cent. B.C. or around 700 B.C., cf. above pp. 41-44 and notes 26 - 28 and 32; for absolute chronology, cf. p. 44 and note 33. The Assyrian/North Syrian 8th.- 7th Cent. B.C. fibula and rib phialai are not exactly dated, cf. above p. 41 and note 25.

NOTE 119
Cf. above pp. 85-86 and notes 115 - 116 and cf. IS IV, 61, 77 - 78, 84 - 85 and 88 - 89.

NOTE 120
IS IV, 92 (Conclusions), cf. IS II, 57 - 59.

NOTE 121
Cf. above pp. 85-86 and notes 100 and 103. Most scholars connected with the Gordion excavations identify Gordion Tumulus MM with the tomb of King Midas, cf. Gordion I, 271 - 272; Gordion IV, 176 and Gordion II 1, 228.
However, Muscarella 1986, 196, believes that the tomb was closed while King Midas was still alive.

NOTE 122
References above note 35, cf. note 104.

NOTE 123
In IS II, 60, I saw the bronze vessels in question as "acquired within a short period of time and possibly from a limited Near Eastern area" in " perhaps even a kind of coordination of acquisitions" and asked the question whether the group of Greek sanctuaries might have some "kind of organized dealings with the Near East?"

NOTE 124
De Vries 1980 b, advocates similar ideas, but in connection with the society of the Homeric poems, i.e. the aristocracy of the settlements (in the Greek Mainland and on Ithaca), where we do not have the same material evidence for late 8th Cent. B.C. contacts with Phrygia.

NOTE 125
Gordion I, 176 - 181 and 183 - 187, figs. 104 - 107 and 110 - 111 and pls. 44 - 45 for a wooden inlaid table and wooden inlaid screens in Gordion, Tumulus MM.

NOTE 126
Muscarella 1989, 333 - 334 and 342; cf. Muscarella 1992, 42.

NOTE 127
E.g. the following scholars see the Greek alphabet as transmitted to Phrygia, Muscarella 1989, 337; Gordion IV, 176(Sams); and Kuhrt 1995, 566.

NOTE 128
Non-mercantile relations may explain the scarcity of Greek pottery finds in Gordion. Cf. Muscarella 1989, 337 and Gordion IV, 176 for finds of early Greek pottery and Greek fibulae in Gordion.

NOTE 129
Cf. above pp. 47-48 and notes 56 and 68 and cf. the discussion on Phrygian dress offerings above p. 48 and note 67, and the Phrygian fibula of one of the terra-cotta statuettes at the Argive Heraion (fig. 10), see notes 65 - 66.

NOTE 130
Young 1963 and Birmingham 1961, in particular fig. 11, in which the latter part of the main route is divided, one branch ending at Smyrna, another at Ephesos. Cf. also Muscarella 1989, 337, with other references. Morris 1992, XV, remains sceptical about the land route, However, for the particular wine sets of Near Eastern bronze vessels and close imitations found at the Argive Heraion, I see no other possibility than the route.

NOTE 131
Cf. above p. 54 and references note 118.

NOTE 132
Cf., in particular, IS II, 49 - 55 and figs. 3 and 5.
For the Phoenician relief bowls, cf. also below note 133. Cf. also the Samian griffin protome at the Argive Heraion, NM 16563, Fig. 6, above p. 44 and notes 36 - 37 and for the Egyptian bronzes at both sites, above p. 40 and notes 15 and 16 - 19.
The banquet tradition at the Samian Heraion differs from the one at the Argive Hera-

ion in the obeloi with Cypriot counterparts, cf. IS III, 46, and in the very limited use of lotus bowls, cf. above p. 52 and note 92.
The Phrygian and Phrygian-imitating fibula types at both sites are not quite identical and e.g. the "Samos-Olympia" type of XII, 9 fibulae is lacking at the Argive Heraion, cf. above note 50.

NOTE 133
In particular, a distinction is required as regards the Near Eastern so-called Phoenician or Cypro-Phoenician relief bowls in bronze, which in Greece definitely include North Syrian bowls as e.g. the Kerameikos bowl, cf. references above note 32. E.g. Markoe 1985, does not distinguish between North Syrian and Phoenician bowls and his list comprises also at least one local relief bowl, Perachora I, 154 and pl. 133, cf. Markoe 1985, 209, G 11, with a rim decoration similar to that of the Greek lotus bowls.

NOTE 134
Röllig 1993, 93 - 94, cf. Frankfort 1953, 188; In my previous studies I have used Frankfort's distinction between North Syrian and Phoenician, cf. e.g. Strøm 1971, 237, note 163.

NOTE 135
Cf. above pp. 39-41 and 49-54 and notes 10, 24, 25, 71, 80 and 93 and 105. I regard the hammered griffin protomes as North Syrian, cf. Strøm 1971, 131 - 134 and IS II, 54 with note 31 with reference to Perachora.
There are no certain Phrygian fibula imports at Perachora, cf. above note 56, but the Phrygian-imitating fibulae at both sites indicate close connections in their manufacture, cf. above pp. 47-48 and note 61.
The so-called Phoenician Perachora bowl is local, cf. above note 133, and should be left out in distribution maps of Phoenician relief bowls, cf. v. Hase 1995, 270, fig. 27.

NOTE 136
Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 225 - 230. For the faiences cf. above p. 54 and note 108. I. Kilian-Dirlmeier does not refer to Hölbl. Several scholars have got the impression that. Kilian-Dirlmeier's Perachora studies refer to Phoenician bronzes, cf. e.g. Tomlinson 1992, 323. Cf, also IS IV, 60 and note 185.

NOTE 137
Cf. for specialization in Geometric bronzes in different sanctuaries, IS IV, 88, and for other signs of early specialization, e.g. the stone seals of the Argive Heraion (IS IV, 56, and references note 103); the iron manufacture of Athena Enodia in Philia (Kilian 1983); the Samian production of hollow cast griffin protomes (above note 36) and the regionally determined imitations of Phrygian fibulae (cf. above note 50, the Samos-Olympia type, and note 61, the Argive Heraion-Perachora types).

NOTE 138
Cf. above p. 54 and note 105.

NOTE 139
Menadier 1996, 216 - 217.

NOTE 140
IS IV, 86 - 88.

NOTE 141
Cf. A. Frickenhaus' identification of the large ornaments on the terra-cotta statuettes in the Heraia of Tiryns, Perachora and the Argive Heraion as illustrations of ships decorated with flowers of the holy Asterion (Tiryns I, 121 - 125, pl. III, cf. AH II, 25 - 26, nos. 83 - 84 and 93, figs. 35 - 36 and pl. XLV, 11, and Caskey - Amandry 1952, 185, no. 130, pl. 48, and cf.Perachora I, 243 - 244, nr.245 and pl. 110).
For the holy Asterion, cf. Pausanias II, 17, 2 and LIMC IV 1, 664 - 665, no. 31, pl. 405.
For wooden ship models at the Heraion of Samos, cf. Kyrieleis 1993, 141 - 143, Fig. 7. 10.

NOTE 142
Cf. references above notes 101 and 105. Menadier 1996, 170, summarizes the overall similar character of the finds in the two sanctuaries.

NOTE 143
Cf. IS IV, 38 - 39 and 94, note 17 (AH 17, near East Stoa), note 21 (AH 30 and AH 51, West Building), note 22 (NM 16357, East Retaining Wall), note 23 (AH 33, Back of South Stoa); p. 95, note 24 (AH 3, AH 5 and AH 27 - 28, Southern Slope)and note 26 (AH 24 North-West Building).

NOTE 144
Cf. IS IV, 58.

NOTE 145
AH 26 and AH 27 are later than the here relevant period, cf. IS I, 185, note 75; The date of AH 28 I cannot determine.

NOTE 146
AH 24 (NM 13942)
AH II, 202, pl. LXXV; cf. IS. IV, 106, note 170.
Cf, above p. 43, Fig. 7 and note 40; for the shoulder rendering of Phrygian animals, e.g. Prayon 1987, pl. 39.

NOTE 147
AH 30 (NM 13969)
AH II, 203, pl. LXXVI.
For Near Eastern parallels to the separate arm, cf. Curtis - Reade 1995, 102, nos. 46 - 48 (stone) and Aubet 1971, 142 - 144 (parallels for the ivory arms of the Barberini Tomb in Palestrina).
The mouse on the hand of AH 30 is considerably more schematic than the bronze figure of a mouse from the Menelaion coming from a fill, which mostly contained Archaic material, but also some early 5th Cent.B.C. sherds. Catling 1976 - 77, 38 and fig. 37.
AH 29 (NM 13968).
AH II, 203, pl. LXXVI, cf. Gabelmann 1965, 69 - 73 and Herfort-Koch 1986, 63 - 64 and cf. in particular, the lion fibulae, to which AH 946 belongs, p. 85 and below note 325.

NOTE 148
Late Archaic or Post Archaic bronze figures are in my opinion: The frog AH 31 (NM 13967)(AH II, 203 - 204, pl. LXXVI; because of its realistic appearance I disagree

with Bevan 1986, 405, who catalogues it as Archaic); the large swan's head, AH 50 (NM 13971) (AH II, 206 - 207, pl. LXXVIII, cf. Rolley 1982, 94, with reference to Late Archaic duck heads from Dodone, (Carapanos no. 382) and from Sybaris, fig. 210).
The different kinds of serpents' heads are badly preserved, AH 32 (NM 13999), AH 33 and AH 35 (AH II, 203 - 204, pl. LXXVI) and the same applies to the hollow lion's head, AH 34 (NM 13998; AH II, 204 and pl. LXXVI).
For AH 720 (NM 20720), cf. below p. 87, Fig. 48 and note 331; for AH 946 (NM 14034), cf. below p. 85 and note 325; for AH 2034 (NM 13980) cf. below pp. 81-82, Fig. 42 and note 289; for AH 2071 (NM 14027) cf. below pp. 82-83, Fig. 44 and note 298 and for AH 2201 (NM 14021), cf. below p. 84 and note 302.

NOTE 149
The Hera cult statue. Cf. about note 141. Athens NM Inv. no. 2702, a stone pillar found in the Western fill, I have earlier identified with the throne for the wooden, seated cult statue, IS I, 195 - 197, figs. 18 - 19.
I thank Madame M.-F. Billot for having sent me her unpublished article for the symposion, Sanctuaires de Hera; in this she seems to accept my identification of the stone pillar, but she connects it with the Hera statue transferred from Tiryns after the fire of the Archaic Hera Temple in 423 B.C. and seen later by Pausanias (Paus. X, 17, 5). However, as the pillar was found low down in the Western Fill at the foundations of the Second Temple, together with other worked stones from the Archaic Temple which formed a foundation for the upper strata, its burial cannot be dated after the Classical Period and the statue for which it served cannot have been the one seen by Pausanias. (Cf. Brownson 1893, 224 - 225, IS I, 184 - 186 and 201. and for the date of the foundations of the Second Temple to soon after 423 B.C., the construction of which extended into the early years of the 4th cent. B.C., cf. Pfaff, 1992, 301 - 305). If my identification of the pillar as a throne for a wooden statue is accepted, I see no other possible interpretation of this object than that of the cult statue in the Archaic Hera Temple.

NOTE 150
Billot's theory, Billot op. cit., that the original Hera cult statue was a standing, not a seated figure, is partly based on the conception of the standing terracotta figures at the Argive Heraion as the earliest, for which theory she refers to LIMC IV, 2, 664. However, even though there are fewer seated than standing figures at the Argive Heraion as compared with Tiryns, the seated figures are by far the most numerous at the Argive Heraion (ca. 1.800 figures of the former class against ca. 400 of the latter) and chronologically, the standing figures have an even distribution (cf. Alroth 1989, 41 - 43). Seated terra-cotta figures are, in general, regarded as representations of the cult statue and at the Argive Heraion, in particular, of the Archaic Hera statue.(LIMC IV, 2, 664 and Alroth 1989, 42).
Actually, the whole collection of terra-cotta figures at the Argive Heraion needs restudying (also for their absolute chronology), in view of the many new terra-cotta figure collections found at Argos (cf. e.g. Guggisberg 1988 (the Theatre) and Croissant 1973, 476 and 480, figs. 5 - 6 (Aphrodision).

NOTE 151
AH I, 140 - 141, fig. 71; Eichler 1919, 144 - 148, figs. 82 - 85 and Blegen 1939, 435 - 439, fig. 21, cf. Floren, 207.

NOTE 152
AH 1 - 2. AH II, 194, pl. LXX.
For the closest counterparts, cf. Bol 1978, 12 - 18, 103 and 106; for AH 1, cf. nos. 45 - 47, pl. 10 and for AH 2, nos. 6 and 9 - 11, pls. 6 and 8, and for their absolute chronology, p. 18. Many were found in the Second Stadion Wall or close to the Zeus Temple, apparently demolished and buried in connection with the building activity here, i.e. in both cases before the middle of the 5th Cent. B.C. and the type closest to AH 2 cannot be followed after the mid 5th Cent. B.C. Cf. op. cit. p. 15 for references to similar finds on Aigina, in the Athenian Agora, in Delphi and at the Heraion of Monrepos on Corfu.
Also the feather, AH 51, AH II, 207, pl. LXXVII, 7 cm. in length, with an incised herring bone pattern, may come from a life size statue, cf. Bol 1978, 63 - 64, nos. 306 - 315, pl. 58, although it has no immediate parallel in the published finds from Olympia.
The imitations of leather equipment, AH 1849 and AH 2766 - 2768, AH II, 275 and 327, pls. CVIII and CXXXIV, may be horse reins from life-size equestrian Post- Archaic statues, cf. Bol 1978, 68 and 138, nos. 367 - 70, pls. 61 - 62.

NOTE 153
IS IV, 42 - 43 and fig. 3.

NOTE 154
AH 6 - 7. AH II, 197 and pl. LXX.

NOTE 155
AH 4. (NM 13974).
AH II, 195 - 196, pl. LXX.
Herfort-Koch 1986, 39, note 146, considers it an Argive work, but except for the gesture of their hands, it is exactly similar to her two kouroi, no. K 76, pp. 32 - 33, 39 and 104, pl. 10, fig. 8 - 11; the workshop seems to continue into the second half of the 6th cent. B.C., cf. op. cit. no. K 81, pp. 41, 46 - 47 and 105, pl. 11, figs. 7 - 9.

NOTE 156
NM 16357.
Caskey - Amandry 1952, 176 - 179, no. 71, pl. 45. (For the chronology of the deposit, cf. above note 90).
Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1965, 139.
Rolley 1975, 7 - 8, fig. 11 - 13.
Floren, 209.

NOTE 157
Cf. Croissant 1992, 72 and figs. 1 - 2.
There is also correspondance between the bronze cuirass and the heavy muscular bodies of the two Geometric Argos statuettes in bronze and terra-cotta, IS IV, 61 - 62, figs. 23 - 24 with earlier references, notes 187 and 189.

For Kleobis and Biton in general, cf. Floren, 205, Picard et. al. 1991, 33 - 36; Ridgway 1993, 86 - 87, 97, 107 and 114; and Hall 1995, 593 - 596; and cf. here p. 67 and fig. 27.

NOTE 158
Rolley 1975.
The considerably more muscular Ptoion kouros, Athens NM 7382, Rolley 1975, 7 - 9, note 2 and figs. 14 - 16, does not have the same slender lower part of the body as the Argive Heraion kouros, nor the characteristic hip - torso line and its knee rendering is much more schematic.
The kouros, Louvre MN 686, Cat. Br. 4510, Rolley 1975, 3 - 7, figs. 1 - 3 and 6 - 8, cf. Floren, 209 and note 22 with other references, is considered a forgery by Ortiz 1990, 269, fig. 20 a - b, because of its general lack of spirit, the twisting of its wrists and the strange position of its hands and, in particular, because of the many "pock marks" in the surface, simulating a bronze disease. According to Ortiz, the model of the Louvre kouros was the Ptoion kouros. Since I have found it impossible to fit this statuette into the development of Argive sculpture, as known from finds in the Argolid, I prefer to leave it out.
For the Argos lead kouros, Rolley 1975, 12 and fig. 17 (here Fig. 30), cf. also p. 70 and below note 207.

NOTE 159
AH 5 (NM 13975).
AH II, 196 - 197, pl. LXX.
Jenkins 1931 - 32, 33 and pl. 15, 7 (Not Argive).
Payne 1934, 163, note 2.
Gjødesen 1944, 157 - 158 (Argive).
Häfner 1965, 12 (no. S 11) and 90 - 91, note 36 (Magna Graecia).
Gjødesen 1970, 152 - 153, fig. 8 (Cretan).
Congdon 1981, 216, no. 123 (Magna Graecia).
Rolley 1983, 231, fig. 234 (East Greek ? Third quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C.)
Rolley 1986 a, 380 (East Greek; a link between Egyptian and Laconian mirror statuettes).
Herfort-Koch 1986, 36 (Local Argive with Laconian prototypes).
Walter-Karydi 1987, 66 and figs. 88 - 90 (Argive).
Floren, 210 (Argive).

NOTE 160
Cf. Walter-Karydi 1987, 66, pl. 17, 1, and Congdon 1981, 52 and 136 - 137, Cat. no. 14, pl. 10.

NOTE 161
As only one arm is raised, I see no reason for the suggestion by Congdon 1981, 216, that it might be a patera figure.

NOTE 162
Cf. above note 159, Jenkins and Rolley 1986.
For Egyptian hand mirrors with naked female figures as models for Laconian stand mirrors, cf. Schefold 1940, 22; Oberländer 1967, 209 - 210; Jantzen, 33; Congdon 1981, 11 - 12; and Zimmer 1991, 22.

NOTE 163
Herbert-Koch 1986, cf. above note 159.

NOTE 164
Congdon 1981, 46 - 47, Group I, in particular, nos. 5 - 7, pls. 2 - 5; for absolute chronology, cf. pp. 97 - 99.

NOTE 165
The volutes of the head ornament are comparable with those of riders and sphinxes on Laconian vases of e.g. the Naukratis Painter and the Rider Painter, cf. Stibbe 1972, pls. 4 and 12, and pls. 106 and 108 - 109, dated to the second quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C. and the years around 550 B.C., respectively; for absolute chronology, cf. pp. 48 - 50 and pp. 153 - 154. Also the lotus ornament of the top plate has parallels in Laconian art (and not just in East Greek art as pointed out by Rolley 1983 and 1986 a, cf. above note 159); cf. works of the same painters, Stibbe 1972, pl. 4. 1 and pl. 104, 1.
For the arrangement of the shoulder locks, cf. e.g. the Crysapha Relief in Berlin, Blümel 1940, 11 - 13, A 12, pl. 22 - 24; the bronze statuettes from Gravisca, PP 1977, 434, fig. 11 and Cristofani 1985, 184 - 185, nos. 7. 1 - 2; and the Laconian mirror in Berlin, Congdon 1981, 46 - 47 and 130, Cat. no. 6, pl. 6, 2.

NOTE 166
Jenkins 1931 - 32, 31 - 33, Class F, pl. 15 and Class C, pl. 13, and cf. AH II, pl. XLV and XLVII and Perachora I, pls. 109 - 110. The rosette ornamentation of the ears is common in Class F and for the rosette ornamentation of the hair, cf.e.g. BCH 1969, 996 - 998, fig. 22 (Argos. Aphrodision). For the characteristic U-formed groove of the face, cf. Jenkins 1931- 32, 29 (in contrast with the angular features of Corinthian terra-cotta heads). For the chronology of Class F (550 B.C. onwards), cf. Jenkins 1931 - 32, 39 - 40 and Guggisberg 1988, 172 - 173; Jenkins, p. 40, dated Classes C - D to ca. 590 - 550.

NOTE 167
Cf. above note 159, Gjødesen 1944; Herfort-Koch; Walter-Karydi and Floren. Jenkin's arguments against Argive origin were only the small nose and mouth of the figure, arguments which to me seem insignificant in such an experimental sculpture.

NOTE 168
Louvre Br 4395, Walter-Karydi 1987, 61 and 69, figs. 75 - 77. Some details of the dress and, in particular, of the upper part of the top plate, showing a lion's mask between horse protomes, have no parallels in Argive Archaic bronzes. I thank conservateur Sophie Decamps, Musée du Louvre, for references to a group of bronzes with the same characteristics which are being studied by Claude Rolley.

NOTE 169
AH 3 (NM 13974).
AH II, 194 - 195, pl. LXXI.
Krystalli-Votsi 1986, 168 - 170, pl. 72, 1 - 2.
Floren, 209.

NOTE 170
Cf. above p. 61 and note 166 for Jenkin's observations of the U-formed groove in Argive faces. For the sharp convergence of

frontal and lateral planes of the face as a Corinthian characteristic, cf. e.g. Payne 1931, 237, and for the Corinthian gable-formed fore-hair, Jenkins 1931 - 32, 33; for characteristics of Archaic Corinthian sculpture, cf. e.g. Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1965, 135: "..von knapper Präzision, ihre Gesichtsflächen werden oft wie in Facetten geschliffen" and cf. in general, Croissant 1988.
The above remarks apply to e.g. both the Dodona riders and the Tenea kouros (references Floren 1987, 188, note 12, and 203, note 117, respectively) to whom Krystalli-Votsi 1986 refers for the three bronzes she studies, cf. below pp. 68-69.

NOTE 171
Cf. the note above for characteristics of the facial features of Archaic Corinthian sculpture; some of the observations apply also to the bodies of the kouroi with their sharp angularity, their bodies built up of large planes meeting at angles.

NOTE 172
Cf. IS IV, 52 - 62.

NOTE 173
Cf. pp. 68-69.

NOTE 174
AH 1832 - 1838. (NM 20695, 20697 and 23114). Two were found at the Back of South Stoa.
AH II, 274 and pl. CVIII
Caskey-Amandry 1952, 183, no. 117 (M 49.62), pl. 46. For the absolute chronology of this deposit, cf. above note 90.

NOTE 175
Floren, 235. (In Arcadia, they comprise also human figures, not seen at the Argive Heraion).
Asea.
Rhomaios 1957, 150 - 159, figs. 43 - 54 and Voyatzis, pl. 172.
Athens.
De Ridder 1896, 123, no. 375 and Bather 1892 - 93, 241, fig. 14.
Lusoi.
Voyatzis, pl. 171, nos. 1530 and 1531.
Tegea.
Dugas, 1921, 352, no. 43 and fig. 19 (cf. Voyatzis, 281) and de Ridder, 1894, 192, no. 1050.
(The Olympia sheet figures are of a different type and at Bassai apparently only human figures are found. Kourouniotes 1910, 307, figs. 23 - 24 are human figures).

NOTE 176
Cf. Blegen 1939, 418 - 420, fig. 7 (fig. 7.3 from Tomb VIII). For Tomb VIII, including the so-called deposit north of Tomb VII, cf. above note 111.

NOTE 177
Hampe 1936, 71, pl. 41.
Blegen 1939, 415 - 418 and fig. 6.
Matz 1950, 498 and pl. 292 b.
Neumann 1965, 104 and fig. 101.
Fittschen 1969, 187, no. SB 106 (with earlier references).
Karouzos - Karouzos 1981, fig. 47.
Foley 1988, 94, (here said to have been found at the Argive Heraion and interpreted as part of a shield strap).
Ahlberg-Cornell 1992, 88 - 89, no. 69, fig.143.
Schefold 1993, 152 - 153, fig. 156.
Ahlberg-Cornell 1996, 102, no. 69 and fig. 143.

NOTE 178
Different kinds of bronze tripods continued to be erected at the Argive Heraion in the Post-Geometric Period. Such may be the interpretation of a 54 cm. long bronze plate with a stamped Archaic tongue pattern (cf. below note 279), AH 2722 (NM 14003), AH II, 324 and pl. CXXXIII; there is also an Early Classical limestone basis measuring ca. 50 cm. in diameter and 41 cm. in height, with a central support and dowel holes for the bronze feet; it has a dedicatory inscription of Dexxilos, dated to ca. 450 B.C., Jeffery 1990, 170, no. 33, cf. AH I, 205 and AJA 1896, 58; Lazzarini 1976, 232, no.401, cf. p. 119.

NOTE 179
Cf. references Fittschen 1969, 187.

NOTE 180
Perachora I, 230 - 231, nos. 180 and 180 bis, pl. 102.

NOTE 181
Croissant 1992, 84 - 85. Croissant convincingly compares the head of the Mycenae relief, Athens NM 2869, with those of Kleobis and Biton.
Cf. Floren, 192, references note 40, for the former sculpture and cf. above note 157 for the latter.

NOTE 182
Lead Fibulae.
Alexandri 1964 (Argive Heraion).
Perachora I, 186, pl. 85, 1 and EAA VII, 1254, fig. 1392.
ADelt. 18 B 1963, 65, pl. 82 (Profitis Ilias)
Cf. Fittschen 1969, 137, GP 15 and Hall 1995, 597.

NOTE 183
Cf. e.g. the Aphrodision lead korai, p. 72, Fig. 32 and note 198.

NOTE 184
I agree with Hall 1995, 597, that the sanctuary on top of Profitis Ilias was most likely a Hera sanctuary, precisely because of the distribution of the lead fibulae in question. However, I hesitate to accept his Table of Artifacts characteristic of Hera sanctuaries in the Argolid. For one thing, our comparison material from sanctuaries for other deities is extremely limited in this region; but, in particular, I find it questionable to use the presence of such a normal cult vessel as a bronze phiale as a basis for identification of the deity of a cult. In Argos itself we have at least two bronze phialai in cult or votive connections not related to a Hera sanctuary. One comes from the Aphrodision, BCH 1968, 1029; the other, Inv. no. B 173, from a pithos in an early 6th Cent. B.C. context which comprised also a terra-cotta figure group and 15 Corinthian miniature vases, BCH 1967, 833 - 834; for the terra-cotta group cf. also Pierart-Touchais 1996, 37.
(For miniature philai in Argos, the Aphrodision, cf. also below note 314)
The published finds from the Argos sanctu-

aries are still very few and the publication of e.g. the terra-cottas from the Aphrodision alone (cf. above note 150) may well change the pattern of terra-cotta votives characteristic of specific deities in the Argolid.

NOTE 185
Fittschen, cf. above note 182.

NOTE 186
E.g. in the other Perachora lead reliefs, Perachora I, pl. 85, 2 - 4, the dress has a straight lower hem.

NOTE 187
Again one regrets the lack of a full publication of the Argive Heraion terra-cottas as well as of the more recent finds from Argos, in particular, the terra-cottas of the Aphrodision, cf. above note 150.

NOTE 188
Croissant 1992.

NOTE 189
The group of early bearded male bronze statuettes, Croissant 1992, 76 - 78, pls. 24 - 26.
I find a chronological discrepancy between the Argive Late Geometric vases and the bronze statuettes which wear the Daedalic belt and should be Post-Geometric; they are all found in either Delphi or Olympia. For the later Louvre statuette cf. above note 158. Croissant 1992, 78, states that the Late Geometric Argos statuettes, (cf. references above note 157), of which the terra-cotta figures, C 7830 - 7835 and C 9930, (Sarian 1969), were found in Argos, look "fort isolé dans le contexte du Géometrique récent", i.e. they are out of contexts with a group of figures not found in Argos.

NOTE 190
Berlin. Staatliche Museen. Inv. no. 7837.
Neugebauer 1931, 78 - 79, no. 179, fig. 27 and pl. 28.
Lazzarini 1976, 206, cf. pp. 61, 71, 85 and 112.
Jeffery 1990, 156 and 168, no. 6, pl. 26
The Dioskouros Sanctuary, Paus. II, 22, 5, cf. Papachadzis 1976, II, 171 - 172.

NOTE 191
Leningrad.
Jeffery 1990, 168, no. 5, pl. 26 with reference to Dunbabin's attribution to East Greece, p. 135, note 38, and p. 443.
Himmelmann-Wildschütz 1965, 156.
Richter 1970, 71 - 72, no. 54, figs. 193 - 195.
Floren, 210 and 364.

NOTE 192
Vollgraff 1928 a, 319, pl. VIII b.
Vollgraff 1928 b, 5, pl. VIII b
Vollgraff 1928 c, 476.
Floren, 210, note 37.
The figure represents a goddess with a high polos, long hair, which falls in a mass to the shoulders, a long, tight dress, presumably a peplos, and a pomegranate in her outstretched left hand; the date would seem to be the first half of the 6th Cent. B.C.

NOTE 193
Athens, NM 14410.
Vollgraff 1956, 23 and fig. 22.
Krystalli-Votzi 1986, pl. 72, 3 - 4.
The statuette was found in the possession of one of the workmen during the excavations of the Apollo Pythaios Sanctuary on the Deiras of Argos and although it cannot with certainty be regarded as dug up in the sanctuary, this is its most likely provenance; at any rate, it is extremely unlikely that it was found outside Argos and its immediate vicinity.
It is difficult to decide to which kind of object it may belong: it is too small for a mirror support and the gesture of its arms speaks against an identification with a patera handle.

NOTE 194
Krystalli-Votsi, 1986, cf. above note 193.
For the Tenea kouros and for Corinthian stylistic characteristics, cf. above p. 62 and notes 170 - 171.

NOTE 195
Krystalli-Votsi 1986, cf. above p. 62 and notes 169 - 171.

NOTE 196
Nauplion Museum. Inv. no. 36087.
Krystalli-Votsi 1986, pl. 71.
The Dionysos Sanctuary, Pausanias II 24, 7, cf. Papachadzis 1976 II, 181 - 184.

NOTE 197
Cf. in particular, the Samos kouroi, Richter 1970, 70 - 71, nos. 51 - 52, figs. 184 - 189 and the Leningrad kouros above p. # and note 191.

NOTE 198
Lead Figurines.
Aphrodision.
Croissant 1973, 476 - 481, figs. 7 - 8; Croissant 1974, 761; Croissant 1992, 86, pl. 31, fig. 45, cf. Pierart-Touchais 1996, 35. (Here fig. 32.)
From the beginning Croissant recognized their local manufacture.

NOTE 199
Wace 1908 - 09 and Wace 1929.
For the stratigraphy and chronology of the production, cf. Wace 1908 - 09, 127, and Wace 1929, 250 - 252 and Cavanagh-Laxton 1984, 34 - 36.
For technique, cf. Wace 1929, 252 - 253.

NOTE 200
From **Artemis Orthia**, cf. Wace 1929, with pls. CXXIX - CC, (esp. 251 - 252 for the total numbers).
From the Menelaion, cf. Wace 1908 - 09; Wace 1929, 249; Catling 1977, 38; Cavanagh-Laxton 1984 (p.23: In the recent excavations more than 6.000 lead figures were found).
For other Laconian sanctuaries, cf. Wace 1929, 249 - 50.

NOTE 201
Argos. Aphrodision. Croissant 1974, 761.
Bassai. Kourouniotes 1910, 324, fig. 45; Wace 1929, 250 and Yalouris 1979, 91, pl. 14 a.
Lusoi ?, Sinn 1980, 31 - 32, fig. 8, considers it a Laconian type.
Phlius ? cf. below note 206.
Tegea, cf. Østby 1994, 124 - 125, Cat. VI, fig. 90.

NOTE 202
Cf. above note 200, Wace 1929 and Cavanagh-Laxton 1984.

NOTE 203
Cf. above note 198 and cf. below following notes.

NOTE 204
Floren, 210, note 40, gives a long, but not complete list of the provenances of the Argos lead figurines, cf. following notes. The only korai of which a photograph of the back is published, are the Perachora and the Hagios Petros korai, cf. below notes 206 - 207 and (for the former), here fig. 32 B - C.

NOTE 205
Argos. Aphrodision, cf. above note 198.
Argos. Athena Sanctuary. Vollgraff 1928 a, 319, pl. VIII, 2 and Vollgraff 1928 b, 5 and pl. VIII, 2. (Kore).

NOTE 206
The Argive Heraion.
mentioned Wace 1921 - 23, 364, at no. 70 (cf. Buchholz 1972, 14), together with the kore figure from Mycenae and presumably also a kore.
Asine. The Apollo Pythaios Temple.
Frödin-Persson 1938, 33, fig. 225, 1; Buchholz 1972, 14:; Vollgraff 1956, 31, fig. 27.
Found inside the rectangular temple which according to B. Wells was in use from the late 8th to the 5th Cent. B.C., Wells 1987 - 88, 349. (Kouros).
Epidauros. Apollo Maleatas Sanctuary.
Prakt. 1975, 173 and pl. 149. Found in a mixed stratum of the 6th down to the 4th Cent. B.C. (Kouros).
Isthmia. The Poseidon Sanctuary. IM 2647 (Kouros). According to Miller, Gnomon 1994, 377, made in the same mould as the Nemea kouros.
Mycenae. Wace 1921 -. 23, 364, note 70, cf. Buchholz 1972, 14. Found by Mrs. Schliemann during excavations of the Tomb of Klytaimnestra. (Kore).
Nemea. Zeus Sanctuary. IL 201.
Hesperia 47, 1978, 63, pl. 14 a. (Miller 1994, 377, made in the same mould as the Isthmia kouros). Found in a layer with 6th Cent. material, underneath layer of 5th Cent. B.C. material. (Kouros).
Perachora. I, 186 and pl. 85, 10 and 17; here fig. 32 B - C (Kore).
Phlius. (Corinthia), cf. Wace 1921 - 23, 364, seen in possession of a boy; from Wace's context presumably a kore.

NOTE 207
Bassai. Apollo Temple, said to have been found near the Temple. Athens. NM. Collection Hélène Stathatos.
Richter 1970, 500 - 501, no. 13, figs. 114 - 116.
Rolley 1963, no. 194, pl. XL; Rolley 1969, 107, fig. 30 and Rolley 1975, 12 and fig. 17. (Here fig. 30) Fragmentary kouros, missing from the knees and down.
Maurikia near Tegea (possibly a sanctuary for Artemis Knakeatis, cf. Voyatzis, 28 - 30.)
Voyatzis, 124 and 306, B 11 and B 12, pl. 62, cf. Miller 1994, 377.
Two kouroi,
Aphrodision. **Haghios Petros** in NW Arcadia.
Kardara 1958, 50 - 51, pl. 20. (Kore).
Sparta. **Artemis Orthia**.
Wace 1929, 267 - 268, pl. CLXXXV, 28, (Kouros). Found in stratum of Lead II and thus dated to before ca. 590 B.C., cf. above p. 69 and note 202.

NOTE 208
For the foundation date of the Aphrodision, cf. references IS I, 199, note 173).
The lead figurines were found at the foundation of the Temple as well as in another closed deposit of the same date, the last quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C., cf. Croissant 1973, 476 - 479 and BCH 1969, 996.
For the Nemea find cf. above note 206 and for the Artemis Orthia find above note 207.

NOTE 209
Rolley 1969, 105 - 110, nos. 164 - 168, pl. XXVI;
Rolley 1986 b, 94 - 95, fig. 64; Haynes 1992, 43; Rolley 1993, 400 and Treister 1996, 54.

NOTE 210
Rolley 1969, 107, fig. 29, cf. Richter 1970, 55, no. 21 and figs. 111 - 113. (Samos. Tigani).

NOTE 211
Cf. the griffin protomes above note 36 and cf. several 6th Cent. B.C. bronze statuettes at the Samian Heraion, Kyrieleis 1990, 25 - 29.

NOTE 212
Rolley 1969, 109.
For the Mantiklos Apollo, cf. Richter 1970, 26, figs. 9 - 11; Kozloff-Mitten 1988, 52 - 57 and Ridgway 1993, 103, note 330 and pl. V, 2. 9.

NOTE 213
Baumgart 1916, 195 - 198, no. 24, figs. 22 - 22a.
Gropengiesser 1975.
Borell 1986, 5 - 6, no. 5, pl. 2.

NOTE 214
Cf. IS IV, 62 and 88.

NOTE 215
Cf. IS IV, 77 - 78 and 88.

NOTE 216
Vollgraff 1934.
Jeffery 1990, 156 and 168, no., 2, pl. 26..
Foley 1988, 126.

NOTE 217
For the Enyalios sanctuary in Argos, cf. Vollgraff 1934.
A helmet fragment with an inscription to Enyalios was found near Mycenae, Jeffery 1990, 173, no. 3, and 445, no. 3 a.
For Tiryns, cf. P-W.V, 2, 2651 and for Hermione, op. cit. 2652 and Roscher I, 1259.

NOTE 218
The Klytaimnestra relief cannot be part of a shield strap, as interpreted by Foley, cf. above pp. 64-65 and notes 177-178.

NOTE 219
Kunze 1950 and Bol 1989.
For the Argive inscriptions, cf. in particular, Kunze 1950, 212 - 214; Bol 1989, 88 - 89

and for Argive workshops, 89 - 93, with observations on the stylistically different Corinthian shield bands; Jeffery 1990, 159 and 444, B (artist's signature), cf. J.P. Getty Journal XIII, 1985, 66. Malibu. J. Paul Getty Museum, Inv. no. 84 AC 11); Foley 1988, 131.

NOTE 220
Cf. references IS IV, 85 and note 330.

NOTE 221
Bol 1989, 93 - 101.
Corinthian are Forms II and CXVIII.

NOTE 222
Cf. above p. 65, Fig. 25A and note 180 and, in general, Perachora I, 241 - 248.

NOTE 223
The earliest datable context is the Noicattaro tomb ca. 570 B.C.; for the absolute chronology in general, cf. Kunze 1950, 231 - 244 and Bol 1989, 93 - 101.

NOTE 224
Bol 1989, 90 and 153 - 154, H. 44, Inv. B 4475, Form CXVII, fig. 9 and 23 and pl. 76, cf. Kunze 1950, 220 - 221.
Jeffery 1990, 440, 38 B.

NOTE 225
Cf. the large votive dedication to Zeus in Olympia by the Argives of spoils from the Corinthians, dated to around 500 B.C. and presumably of Corinthian manufacture. Kunze-Schleif 1942, 76 - 77; Kunze 1967, 91 - 95; Jeffery 1990, 162 and 169, no. 18, and p. 440; and Kunze 1991, 126.

NOTE 226
Cf. IS IV, 88.

NOTE 227
Cf. above the stylistic features of the Kephalari kouros, pp. 68-69 and note 197 and the Argive dedication of a Samian bronze kouros, above p. 67 and note 191.
For the Samian piece-moulds in bronze as well as lead figures, cf. above pp. 44 and 71 and notes 36 and 211. The Samian-Laconian interconnections in the Archaic Period are well-known, cf.e.g.Stibbe 1996, 235 - 246, with references.

NOTE 228
Cf. IS IV, 88 - 89.

NOTE 229
AH 1588.
AH II, 266, pls. XCVI - XCVIII.
For the decoration of the beaded rim with tongue pattern and guilloche, cf., in particular, Congdon 1981, 137, no. 15, pl. 12 - 13 (Late Archaic. Laconian).
For AH 5, cf. above pp. 60-61, Figs. 21-22 and note 159.

NOTE 230
Mirrors.
AH 1561 - 1566, 1580 - 1584 and 1586 (NM 14012, 20453, 20456 and 20458) and M. 49. 63 and M 49. 94.
AH II, 264 - 266, pls. XCII - XCVIII and Caskey - Amandry 1952, 180, nos. 84 and 86 and pl. 46.
I leave out AH 1587, presumably the handle of a vase, which in shape and decoration differs from the mirror handles, as well as AH 1585, similar to AH 1587, with a central ridge (Oberländer 1967, 23 - 25, Cat. nos. 33 and 35).
For miniature mirrors, cf. below note 246.

NOTE 231
Oberländer 1967, 1 - 3 and 257 - 258 (notes).
For the model for Greek stand mirrrors, cf. above note 162.

NOTE 232
Schäfer 1958; Zimmer 1991, 10 - 12 and 15 - 16 with earlier references.

NOTE 233
Zimmer 1991, 7 - 10 and 15 - 21, figs. 4 - 5 and 13, cf. Höckmann 1994.
The miniature mirror, Delphi Museum. Inv. no. 5935, cf. Oberländer 1967, 241, Cat. no. 379, was found with a child's - presumably a girl's-burial-in a re-used Submycenaean cist tomb; it is dated from its accompanying late 8th Cent. B.C. oinochoe and two Boiotian plate fibulae, cf. Lerat 1937, 49, fig. 3 right (mirror); and p. 48, pl.VI, 2 (oinochoe) and pp. 50 - 51, figs. 4 - 5 (Boiotian plate fibulae).

NOTE 234
Oberländer 1967, 4 - 5.

NOTE 235
AH 1586 (NM 20458 ε). AH II, 266, pl. XCVIII, is a handle fragment with rivet holes; however, the rivets may indicate a repair.

NOTE 236
Cf. above note 230.
Oberländer 1967, 22 - 25, Cat. nos. 24 - 32 and 34 with earlier references.

NOTE 237
AH 1566. (NM 14010).
AH II, 265, pl. XCV.
Brommer 1937, 29 and 57, No. 14.
Oberländer 1967, 22, Cat. no. 24.
Zimmer 1991, 13 and fig. 9.

AH 1581. (NM14010).
AH II, 265 and 332, pl. XCVI.
Oberländer 1967, 22, Cat. no. 25.
The inscription, AH II, 322; Jeffery 1990, 159 and 168, no. 11 and p. 443.
Lazzarini 1976, 117 and 215, no. 275 b.

AH 1565.
AH II, 265, pl. XCIV.
Oberländer 1967, 23, Cat. no. 26.
For the handle decoration of a Laconian mirror in Munich, cf. Stibbe 1996, pl. 12.

NOTE 238
Except for the disk of AH 1561 which is made of two very thin bronze sheet stuck together, they are all made of one thin plate.

NOTE 239
Oberländer 1967, 28.
For the chronology of the deposit of M 49.63, cf. above note 90.
For the Perachora mirror handle, cf. below note 240.

NOTE 240
Oberländer 1967, 26, nos. 36 - 38.

For no. 38, the Perachora mirror with a Corinthian dedicatory inscription, Perachora I, 180, pl. 80, 13, cf. Dunbabin 1962, 401, pl. 170, no. 162 and Jeffery 1990, 129 and 132, no. 34.
One mirror of the type is without exact provenance. Oberländer 1967, 26 - 27, no. 39, cf. Comstock-Vermeule 1971, 240 - 241, no. 351. As observed by Oberländer, its incised decoration is either modern or retouched in modern times, but the mirror itself is genuine. Since it was bought in Athens and acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts. Boston, in the year 1898, it may well come from the Argive Heraion excavations, cf. Comstock-Vermeule loc. cit. and AA 1899, 135 - 136, no. 9.
For the Aphrodision mirror handle, cf. below note 252.

NOTE 241
Oberländer 1967, 28 (Argos).

NOTE 242
M 49.94, Caskey - Amandry, 1952, 180,no. 84, pl. 46, cf. Oberländer 1967, 42 - 53, Cat. nos. 48 - 69:"Griechische Einheitstypen".

NOTE 243
The Laconian mirrors, Oberländer 1967, 31 - 33, Cat. nos. 40 - 42 a.
Cf. above note 237 for AH 1565.

NOTE 244
Oberländer 1967, 7 - 20, Cat. nos. 1 - 23.
For the Argos shield straps, cf. above p. 73 and note 219.

NOTE 245
AH 1561 and AH 1582 come from the Back of South Stoa and the Southern Slope, respectively, and M. 49.63 and M. 49.94 from the Eastern Retaining Wall.

NOTE 246
AH 1560 and 1567 - 1579 (NM 14013, 20457, 20459 and 20526).
AH II, 264 - 265 and pls. XCII - XCV.
AH 1570 comes from the Southern Slope, AH 1577 from West Building and two not identifiable mirrors from the Western Fill, cf. IS I, 202.
For M 49.77, cf. Caskey - Amandry 1952, 180, no. 85, pl. 46, and for AH 1569 and 1571, IS I, 192 and note 136.
Oberländer 1967, 237 - 241, Cat. nos. 363 - 378.

NOTE 247
For miniature mirrors in general, see Oberländer 1967, 236 - 244. For the chronology of the find context of M 49. 77, cf. above note 90.

NOTE 248
For Perachora, cf. Oberländer 243, no. 390 and for the Hera Sanctuary West of the Heraion, cf. below note 251.
For the Egyptian mirrors, cf. above p. 41 and note 24.
Jantzen, 34 - 35, refers to fragments of two more, possibly Egyptian mirrors in the Heraion of Samos.

NOTE 249
For the early Delphi miniature mirror, cf. above note 233.
For miniature mirrors in general, cf. Oberländer 1967, 236 - 244, and Zimmer 1991, 13.
Cf. above note 248 and, for the Aphrodision, cf. p. 78 and below note 252.
Haghios Sostas near Tegea, Oberländer 1967, nos. 380 - 385. (Presumably a Demeter and Kore cult, cf. Jost 1985, 154 - 156).
Kotilon, above the Apollo Temple in Bassai, Kourouniotes 1903, 175 - 176, Oberländer, nos. 386 - 389, (Artemis or Aphrodite, cf. Jost 1985, 97).
In the Museum of Tripolis is a miniature bronze mirror with raised points along the rim of the disk. The objects in the show case come from various sites in Arcadia.

NOTE 250
Cf. AH 5, above pp. 60-62, Figs. 21-22, and notes 159 - 167, and cf. AH 1588, p. 75 and note 229 and cf. AH 1565. p. 76, Fig. 36 and note 237.

NOTE 251
Like Blegen 1939, 414 - 415, fig. 5, 1, I regard this mirror disk as of normal size, in contrast with Oberländer, 1967, 237, Cat. no. 361. Judging from Blegen's text, he found also other mirrors here.
For a miniature mirror, cf. Blegen 1939, 414, fig. 5.2; Oberländer 1967, 237, Cat. no. 362.
Cf. Antonaccio 1995, 60, for a bronze disk in Prosymna, Tomb XXV, perhaps a mirror disk; it may be Mycenaean, cf. above p. 76 and note 232.
For Tomb XXV, cf. also IS IV, 121, note 367.

NOTE 252
Aphrodision. 73/658. Fragmentary handle, 9 × 2.3 cm.; the hole in the end disk measures ca. 1 cm.
A mirror said to be in a bad state is mentioned BCH 1968, 1029.
Miniature mirrors are 73/552 (L. 3.2 cm.; diam. of disk 3 cm.) and possibly 69/517.

NOTE 253
Most bronze fragments from the Aphrodision were unrestored, when I saw them in the magazines of the Museum of Argos; there may be more mirror fragments.
For mirrors connected with Aphrodite, cf. LIMC II, Aphrodite, 10, pl. 6, No. 8, Aphrodite (with inscription) with mirror in hand on Red-figures Apulian vase of the early 4th Cent. B.C.and LIMC II, 17 - 18, nos. 87 - 97, pls. 12 - 13; pp. 19 - 20, nos. 111 - 122, pls. 15 - 16 and p. 48, nos. 371 -377, pl. 35 (mirror supports identified with Aphrodite.

NOTE 254
Vases.
Cf. AH II, 275 - 298, AH 1850 - 2217 and 2225 - 2251, including ca. 375 discarded fragments and cf. Caskey - Amandry 1952, 179 - 180, Nos. 72 - 79, pls. 46 and fig. 2, including several hundred discarded fragments of thin bronze vessels alone. Today it is not possible to determine how many of the discarded fragments might come from the same vases.
(For the Geometric tripods AH 2218 - 2224, cf. IS IV, 40 - 52).
For imported bronze vases or their close Greek imitations, cf. above pp. 39-46 and 48-54.

For miniature vases, cf. p. 84 and below notes 302 - 303.

NOTE 255
The West Building, the Southern Slope, the Back of South Stoa and the Eastern Retaining Wall, cf. IS IV, 38 - 39, notes 21 and 23 - 24 and cf. also below note 256.

NOTE 256
IS I, 201 - 202, cf. 185 - 186.

NOTE 257
Cf. IS I, 192, notes 131 - 132, for the Old Temple Terrace. (For AH 21, cf. above p. 44 and note 32) and IS I, 176, note 33, for the Altar area; however, the lotus phiale mentioned here, is another type of bowl, cf. above note 79. (For the bull's head attachment, cf. IS IV, 38 and above p. 45 and note 39).
For the Upper Hill, cf. IS I, 192, note 136 and above pp. 50 and 53 and notes 79 and 94.

NOTE 258
AH 2039 (NM 20658), AH II, 287, pl.CXIX.
The rim is of Gauer's Type A 2, dated to the 6th Cent. B.C., cf. Gauer, 24, 181 - 182 and fig. 8, Le 24 - 26.
(Cf. Gauer, 22 - 25, for his chronology of cauldrons, based on finds in wells and in stratified contexts).
For the rim fragments of AH 1983 - 84 (NM 20573 - 74) and M 49. 66 (AH II, 284, pl. CXVI and Caskey-Amandry 1952, 179, no. 72, pl. 146, here fig. 37), cf. Gauer, 20 - 23 and 178 - 179, Le 1 and Le 8 and fig. 5 (7th Cent. B.C.); for AH 2014 (NM 20588) and AH 2015(20588) (AH II, 285, pl. CXVII), with outturned rims, hollow and solid, respectively, cf. Perachora I, 160, fig. 23. Presumably of the same type as AH 2014 are AH 2028 (NM 20595) and AH 2036 (NM 20655) (AH II, 287 and pl. CXVIII).
For AH 2038, cf. IS IV, 95, note 34 (Bronze scrap).

NOTE 259
Cf. IS I, 192, fig. 13 and note 132.

NOTE 260
AH 2087 - 2190, AH II, 290 - 292, pl. CXXI - CXXII, cf. above note 73.
The most recent study is Gauer, 35 - 44 and 194 - 199, Cat. Nos. Le 102 - 175, pls. 21 - 24.
Only one attachment is still fixed to its plain, semicircular handle plate, AH 2087. AH II, 290 and pl. CXXI.
Many of the handles are just plain rings, AH 2088 - 2130 (NM 20606), AH 2144 - 2151 and AH 2169, while AH 2152 - 2161 (NM 20613) may be just pieces of wire, AH II, 290 - 292, pls CXXI - CXXII.
For AH 2171 - 2174 (NM 20618 and 20619), AH II 292, pl. CXXII, cf. Gauer, 291 - 292, Var. 14 and Var. 29 - 30, pl. 29.
Parts of Archaic or Classical toilet requisities, not further classified.
For bolster attachments on rims of stand mirrors, cf. e.g. Congdon 1981, pls. 29 and 31, and for stand mirrors in the Argive Heraion, above pp. # and notes 159 and 229.

NOTE 261
Bolster handle attachments with lead core, AH 2133 - 2136 (NM 20610 - 20611), AH 2140 (NM 20611/11) and AH 2180 - 2183 (NM 20622).
AH II, 291 - 292 and pls. CXXI - CXXII.
Cf. Gauer, 42 and 194 and pl. 21, 6, Le 102 - 112.
Solid attachments of corresponding decoration, AH 2188 - 2189, (NM 20622/9 - 10), AH II, 293 and pl. CXXII.
Cf. Gauer, 42, reference to Hencken 1958, 260, pl. 58, fig. 10 a, Syracuse Grave 556, dated to the second quarter of the 7th. Cent. B.C.

NOTE 262
AH 2141 and 2142 (NM 20611/6 - 7).
AH II, 291 and pl. CXXI.
Cf. Gauer, 42 and 198, Le 161, pl. 23, 4 (found in the lowest layer under the Hera Temple in Olympia).

NOTE 263
AH 2177 (NM 20626).
AH II, 292, pl. CXXII.
Gauer, 61 and note 133 (belongs to his Central Workshop, dated to the third quarter of the 6th Cent. B.C.)
Cf. Perachora I, 162 - 63, pl 67, 13 and 16 with reference to Olympia and Korynthos.
For the Olympia examples, cf. now Gauer, 67 - 69 and 223 - 229, Cat. Le 423 - 504, pls. 36 - 52, fig. 16.
There are such handles on exhibition in the museums of Delphi and Isthmia.
AH 2170 (NM 20620).
AH II, 292, pl. CXXII, cf. Perachora I, 162, pl. 65, 11 with reference to Trebenischte, Filow 1927, 77, nos. 109 - 110, fig. 28, 9 - 10, tombs VI, 22 and VIII, 23 and cf. Popović 1956, 33 and pl. 30, 35 - 36.
For the chronology of the Trebenischte tombs and their Greek bronzes, cf. p. 80 and below note 271.
Korynthos, cf. ADelt. 1916, 86, fig. 21.
There is an example in the Isthmia Museum.
For Olympia, cf. Gauer 229 - 231, Le 505 - 532, fig. 17 and pl. 53. (Late Archaic).

NOTE 264
Gauer 1991, 67 - 70, pls. 35 - 50.
The Berlin hydria which Gauer, 61, cf. p. 105, uses for his regional stylistic attribution, was not found in the Argolid, cf. p. 96, note 248, and I am not convinced about its Argive origin. However, at Argos there are several finds of volute-palmette bronze handle plates, cf. p. 85 and below note 312.

NOTE 265
Cf. in particular Amandry 1971, 602 - 610 and 621 - 626; Vanderpool 1969 and Brouskari 1985, 69 and No. 1324 and for Trebenischte, Filow 1927, 51 - 53, nos. 68 - 69, figs. 49 - 53.

NOTE 266
AH 2061 - 67 (NM 20666- 20667).
AH II, 288 - 289, pl. CXX. Cf. Perachora I, 165, pl. 67, 8 - 9; Olympia IV, 147 - 148, no. 926, pl. LV and for Trebenischte, cf. below note 267.
Korynthos, cf. ADelt. 1916, 87, fig. 21.
The wish-bone handles without the central knob, AH 2059 - 60 (NM 20665), AH II, 288, pl. CXX, cf. Perachora I, pl. 67, 4, may be of about the same date as the above.
For the stone perirrhanteria, cf. references above note 77.

NOTE 267
Filow 1927, 74, fig. 92 from Ezerovo. Trebenischte Tomb I 39; the wish-.bone handle belonged with a large, open bronze bowl, ca. 50 cm. in diameter; its type cannot be determined, but presumably it was of the above-mentioned Ezerovo type (cf. note 266), Filow 1927, 74, no. 94; it was placed on the tripod, no. 86, Filow 1927, 70, fig. 83, measuring 24.3 cm. in diameter.

NOTE 268
AH 2227 - 2230.
AH II, 295 - 296 and pls. CXXIV - CXXV.
Cf. Gauer, 78, note 174.
There is also a low tripod stand with block feet, AH 2225 (NM 20630), AH II, 295 and pl. CXXIV.

NOTE 269
AH 2228 (NM 20420). AH II, 296, pl. CXXIV.
It is a very irregularly cast lion's paw which is the reason for the so-called extra toe, mentioned loc. cit.
Cf. the Prosymna tripod stand, Fig. 46, cf. p. 84 and below note 309.

NOTE 270
References Perachora I, 165 - 167, pl. 71, cf. Milne 1944, 40 - 49 and, for Olympia, Gauer, 76 - 79 and 243 - 248, Cat. U 1- U 36, pls. 63 - 66.
For Trebenischte cf. above note 267 and Filow 1927, 68 - 76, figs. 72 - 88, nos. 81 - 82, 84 - 85 and 88 -89; Popović 1956, 114 - 115, pl. 24, 18 - 19 and Popović 1994, 104 - 105, nos. 32 - 35.
Vulić 1930, 295, no. 10, fig. 14 and Vulić 1933, 177 - 178, nos. 26 - 27, figs. 90 - 91.
Novi Pazar, cf. Mano-Zisi - Popović 1969, 78 - 79, nos. 4 and 8, pl. IV 1 - 2. and Popović 1994, 116 - 117, nos. 66 and 68. (The diameter of the latter bowl is 44.5 cm., that of the tripod 26.5 cm.)

NOTE 271
The absolute chronology of the Trebenischte tombs, late 6th and early 5th Cent. B.C. cf. Filow 1927, 97; Popović 1956, 79; Mano-Zisi - Popović 1969, 104; Popović 1975, 78 - 80 and 84 and Popovic 1994, 56 - 60.

NOTE 272
AH 2829 (NM 14009), cf. IS IV, 39 - 40, fig.1.

NOTE 273
Cf. Gauer 1991, 79 - 80.

NOTE 274
Gauer 1991, 77 and 243 - 244, U 1, pl. 63, dated to ca. 600 B.C.

NOTE 275
For Novi Pazar, cf. above note 270 and for Trebenischte, Tomb 39, above note 267.
For other Trebenischte stands, cf. e.g. Filow 1927, nos. 81 - 82; nos. 84 - 85; and nos. 88 - 89 and Vulić 1930 and 1933, above note 270. The larger stands measure between 22 and 29.3 cm., the accompanying bowls between 46.5 and 51 cm.; the smaller stands between 11 and 12 cm., their bowls between 24. 5 and 29 cm. The former group measures between 10.4 and 12. 2 cm. in height, the latter between 4.4 and 5.2 cm. in height.

NOTE 276
Milne 1944, cf. Mano-Zisi-Popović 1969, 78 - 79, nos. 4 and 8.
The average size of feet of course differs. The Greek foot measures must have been based on the male foot and vary between ca. 28 and ca. 33 cm., cf. Isthmia I, 174 - 181.
The female foot of the priestesses at the Argive Herion must have been smaller.

NOTE 277
AH 2230 (NM 14019).
AH II, 296, pl. CXXV, 1.

NOTE 278
Cf. Neugebauer 1923/24; Payne 1931, 216 - 221 and Weber 1983, 37 - 43.

NOTE 279
Cf. AH 944, ring fibula (p. 85 and below note 323); AH 1588, mirror (above p. 75 and note 229); AH 1864 and 1875, phialai (p. 84 and below note 303); AH 2003, krater rim (p. 81 and below note 283); AH 2034, mug with sphinx on handle, presumably not local (p. 82, Fig. 42 and below note 289); AH 2056, foot of vase (AH II, 288, pl. CXIX);
AH 2240, tankard (p. 82, Fig. 43 and below note 294); AH 2722, tripod leg (above note 178) and AH 2830, unfinished krater rim? (AH II, 331, pl. CXXXVI, cf. IS IV, 95, note 30).
Cf. also below note 303, references to miniature vases.

NOTE 280
AH 2231 - 2234 (NM 14024).
AH II, 296 and pl.CXXV.

NOTE 281
Cf. Tomlinson 1980, 221 - 222.

NOTE 282
Cf. Gauer 1991, 122 and 283 - 284, Cat. nos. E 187 - 192,pl. 102 and cf. Perachora I, 164, pl. 69, 1 - 4.

NOTE 283
AH 2002 (NM 20584 δ) and AH 2003 (NM 20586), for the two last-mentioned objects the diameter cannot be measured, and AH 2005 (NM 20587 β), AH II, 285, pls. CXVI - CXVII.
For AH 2005 cf. also Weber 1983, 39 - 40, definitely before 550 B.C. The lotus palmette frieze is reminiscent of that of the Francois vase and several EC - MC Corinthian vases, cf. Payne 1931, 149, fig. 55 D and pl. 32.
AH 2003 is a volute krater fragment, cf. e.g. the Trebenischte kraters, Filow 1927, 39 - 47, no. 63, pls. 7 - 8; Vulić 1930, 299, no. 13, figs. 16 - 19 = Vulić 1932, 19 - 23, no. 27, pls. I - II; Popović 1956, 18, no. 17, pl. 23 and Popović 1994, 103, no. 31.

NOTE 284
Cf. above note 279.

NOTE 285
AH 2206.
AH II, 294 and pl. CXXIII.
Cf. Perachora I, 165, pl. 69, 6 and Gauer 1991, 157 - 158, who considers the ornament with a droop-shaped palmette

heart separating the volutes as an early stage of development, dated to before 550 B.C.

NOTE 286
AH 1989 (NM 20581), AH II, 284, pl. CXV.
AH 2024 - 2029, AH II, 286 and pl. CXVII.
AH 2191 - 2199 (NM 20623).
AH II, 295 and pls. CXII - CXXIII.
Cf. also AH 1585 and 1587, above note 230.
For AH 2196, in particular, cf. Perachora I, 163, pl. 68, 17 - 18.

NOTE 287
AH 1529 - 1539, AH II, 263 - 264, pl. XCII.
Cf. Perachora I, 160 - 161, pls. 69 - 70.

NOTE 288
For Corinthian skyphoi, cf. IS IV, 84 and note 321, and for lotus bowls, above pp. 51-53 and notes 79 - 80 and 94. For other kinds of drinking vessels, cf. e.g. AH 1979 (NM 20488) and AH 1980 (NM 20585) (with a ring foot); AH 1981 - 1982 (NM 20577 and 20578) and AH 1987 (NM 20581) and M 49.65, plain bowls some of which may have omphaloi and may have functioned as phialai, AH II 284 - 285, pls. CXV - CXVIII and Caskey - Amandry 1952, 179, no. 74; also other phialai mesomphaloi are mentioned here. AH 2007 - 2008 (NM 20591 and 20588) are rim fragments of bowls with handles, AH II, 285 and pl. CXVII; and there are several skyphos handles, such as AH 2048 - 2053 (NM 20661 - 20662), AH II, 288, pl. CXIX; Also AH 2030 - 2032 (NM 20596 - 20597), AH II, 286 and pl. CXVIII are presumably fragments of drinking cups.

NOTE 289
AH 2034. (NM 13980). (I have not seen this piece out of the show case).
AH II, 287 and pl. CXVIII.
Perachora I, 158, note 1.
Weber 1983, 40, with reference to NM 14923 from Tegea, dated to ca. 550 B.C.
Rolley 1983, 236, fig. 264.
Cf. above pp. 79 and 81 and notes 256 and 279 and below the following notes.

NOTE 290
AH 2033 (NM 20597 γ) and AH 2035 (NM 20705 α+β).
AH II, 287 and pl. CXVIII.
The handles of AH 2033 are strongly curved, measuring 2.35 cm. in height, two cm. in width and the edges of the handles are 0.45 cm. high. Below, the handle plate was soldered to the vase, the preserved part of which was 0.2 cm. thick.
The handles of AH 2035 measure 4.7 cm. in height, 2.45 cm. in width and are 0.7 cm. thick; the handle plate consisted of a piece of bronze plate folded over the rim of the vase.
Both handles were fastened to the rim with rivets, measuring 0. 6 cm. in diamter, while the inner decorative heads measured ca. 1 cm. in diameter.
Perachora I, 157, note 6, (with reference to the Mycenae example, F-R III, 267, fig. 125, 158 and pl. 58, 1.) Gauer 9 and note 21. The Olympia example, Gauer 9, 87 and 252, M 10, p. 82.
The rolled-up ends of vertical bronze handles are quite common in Perachora, cf. e.g. Perachora I, pl. 58, 3 - 4 and pl. 69, 9.

NOTE 291
AH 2037 (NM 20656), AH II, 287 and pl. CXVIII.
AH 2011 (NM 20588), AH II, 285 and pl. CXVII.

NOTE 292
AH 2235 (NM 20599 α+β) is well preserved; the other ladles are fragmentary, AH 2236 - 2238 (AH 2237 = NM 20600) and AH 2482 (20770), only the handle with the transition to the bowl is preserved and possibly one more handle of a ladle, (NM 20793).
AH II, 296 - 297 and 309, pls. CXXV and CXXIX.
Cf. Perachora I, 182, pl. 80, 7.

NOTE 293
AH 2239 (NM 14022).
AH II, 207 and 338, pl. CXXV.
For ducks' heads, cf. Perachora I, 165, pl. 80, 4 - 5 and 8.
For another Hera inscription and its interpretation, cf. above pp. 52-53, Fig. 15 and note 94.

NOTE 294
AH 2240. (NM 13982)
AH II, 297, pl. CXXXVI.
Cf. Gauer, 126 - 127 and 288 - 289, Sh 1 - 6, pls. 111 - 112, 1 - 2. Sh 1 is the only well -preserved one, found inside Le 13, cf. Gauer, 180, fig. 6.3.
According to Rolley 1993, 390, the form was originally wooden. For wine measures, cf. Tomlinson 1980, 222.
For the tongue pattern, cf. above p. 81 and note 278 - 279.

NOTE 295
Cf. e.g. the differences between AH 2033 and 2035 and their counterparts from Perachora, above pp. 82 and note 290 and the lack of exact counterparts in the production of low tripod stands, above p. 80 and notes 270 - 273.

NOTE 296
Cf. above pp. 55-57 for the acquisition of Near Eastern cauldrons and Phrygian lotus bowls.

NOTE 297
AH 2057, AH 2070 and AH 2071 a.
AH II, 288 - 289 and pl. CXX.

NOTE 298
AH 2071 (NM 14027)
AH II, 289 and pl. CXX.
Jantzen 1938 - 39, 143, no. 12, pl. 26; pp. 152 and 154.
Stubbe-Østergård 1985, 43.
Wangenheim 1988, 67- 69, Cat. no. 31.

NOTE 299
A list is given by Jantzen 1938 - 39, supplemented by Stubbe-Østergård 1985, 53, note 7.

NOTE 300
Jantzen 1938 - 39, 152 (absolute chronology) and 154 (Argive workshop); his results were repeated by Stubbe-Østergård 1985, 43 and Wangenheim 1988, 69 who also, pp. 30 - 31, Cat. no. 9, refers to a plate from

Olympia which she considers contemporaneous, AA 1984, 251 - 252, fig. 30, and dates to the third quarter of the 7th Cent. B.C.
However, I do not find Jantzen's reference to the Geometric decoration of the shield of the Chigi vase convincing; the hatched triangles and the maeanders are normal Geometric/Subgeometric ornaments. For AH 18 and the Proto-Archaic Olympia horses, which I all date to the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C., cf. IS IV, 106 and note 169, although Wangenheim 1988, 68 - 69, Cat. no. 32, dates AH 18 to the 6th Cent. B.C. and other scholars also date it later than I, IS IV, note 169,
As observed by Stubbe-Østergård 1985, 42 - 43, Greek bronze plates with animal heads are known from around 700 B.C.

NOTE 301
For Protocorinthian pyxis fragments, cf. IS IV, 84 and note 321.
AH 2202 (NM 20624).
AH II, 293 and pl. CXXIII.
AH 2012 (NM 20588 ε).
AH II, 285 and pl. CXVII.
The fragment measures 3.5 × 3 cm. and 0. 2 cm. in thickness; it is strongly curved; its relief decoration may remind of Protocorinthian conical lekythoi as e.g. Friis Johansen 1922, pl. VIII. The illustration, AH II, pl. CXVII is misleading, as it is photographed from the inside and the relief lines of the outside are applied to an outline drawing of the photograph.

NOTE 302
AH 2201. (NM 14021).
AH II, 293 and pl. CXXIII.
Weber 1983, 267, Cat. no. I C 14, cf. pp. 15, 19 and map of distribution area, p. 17.
AH 1877 (NM 20454).
AH II, 277 and 336, pl. CX.
Boiotian dedicatory inscription.
AH 1878.
AH II, 277 and 337, pl. CX.
Lazzarini 1976, 74 and 189, no. 72. (Ca. 550 B.C.)
Cf. also above note 106, AH 2022, a miniature jug.

NOTE 303
Miniature phialai and plain miniature bowls, AH 1893 - 1898 and AH 1900 - 1972 (NM 20474, 20480, 20482 - 20484, 20487, 20489 - 20490, 20518 and 20520), AH II, 279 - 283 and pls. CXII - CXIV.
Caskey-Amandry 1952, 179 - 180, nos. 76 - 79, pl. 46. (Here fig. 37).
Miniature two-handled plates, AH 1854 - 1875, (NM 20460 - 20465), AH II, 275 - 277, pls. CVIII - CIX, cf. Jantzen 1938 - 39, pl. 25.
Caskey-Amandry 1952, 180, no. 83, pl. 46.(Here fig. 36).
Miniature disks, AH 1601 - 1717 and AH 1850 - 1851, AH II, 267 - 269 and 275, pls. XCIX - CI and CVIII.
Caskey-Amandry 1952, 180, nos. 80 - 82, pl. 46. (Here fig. 37).

NOTE 304
Cf. Jantzen 1938 - 39, 134 and pl. 46, for miniature plates (NM 7984 - 7986) from Tegea and reference to Dugas 1921, 364 and fig. 20, nos. 61 - 62 for phialai; Perachora I, 151 and 155 - 156, pl. 57 (phialai and plates) with references to the Athenian Acropolis, Dodone, and Tiryns.

NOTE 305
Blegen 1939, 420 and figs. 4 - 5 and 8 - 9. (Fig. 4 left centre. a handle of a plate).
For the Protocorinthian vases, cf. IS IV, 118 and note 326; for the lotus bowls, cf. above p. 54 and note 110 and for the plain phialai, Blegen loc.cit., fig. 5, 9 - 10.

NOTE 306
Blegen 1939, 420, fig. 9, 3.

NOTE 307
Blegen 1939, 420 and fig. 5.

NOTE 308
For the lotus bowl, cf. above p. 54 and note 112. (here fig. 16).
The bolster handle attachment, Blegen 1937, 380, fig. 2, no. 9 (= IS IV, 72, fig. 36).
For AH 2133, cf. above p. 79 and note 261.

NOTE 309
Blegen 1937, 381 - 382 and Prosymna, fig. 440.
About two fifths of the ring is preserved, the original diameter of which was 19 cm.; the ring is a flat band with a notched outer edge 2.3 cm. wide and 0.4 cm. thick, identical with AH 2228; the lion's paw measured 4.4 cm. in height. Cf. above p. 80 and note 269.
For Prosymna Tomb II, cf. IS IV, 121, note 368, and Antonaccio 1995, 154, note 186.

NOTE 310
Cf. Blegen 1937, 380, phialai mesomphaloi, three examples in Tombs VIII and XIX and one in each of the tombs IX, XXVI, XXXIV and XL.
For the dish and bowl in Tomb VIII, cf. Blegen 1937, 381 and fig. 5, nos. 4 and 5.
For Protocorinthian vases in Tombs VIII and IX, cf. IS IV, 84 and 118, note 326.
For the Prosymna tombs in question, cf. Antonaccio 1995, 58 - 64 and for Tomb VIII, in particular, cf. above note 111.

NOTE 311
The plate in Tomb VIII, AJA 1939, 439, fig. 29. (Here fig. 45). Said to have come from the deposit N of tomb VII, cf. above note 111.
The disks, AEphem 1937, 380, fig. 5, 1 - 3, said to have come from Tombs XIX, XXV and XXVI, which each had one disk and Tomb VIII with three disks.
For Tomb XXV, cf. references above note 251.

NOTE 312
Vollgraff Br. 1853 and Aphrodision:71/25. They are both very fragmentary; Br 1853 is a fragment of a cast bronze plate with a palmette-volute in relief, probably Late Archaic, and 71/25 are two fragments of a similar plate, measuring 4 × 2 and 3 × 2.5 cm., respectively. In my notes from the museum, I have not determined the type of vase to which they belong; they may provide an argument in favour of Gauer's theory of Argive origin of a specific group of bolster attachment handles, cf. above p. 79 and note 264.

NOTE 313
Aphrodision 72/1036, cf. AH 2193 and 2198, above p. 82 and note 286.

NOTE 314
Cf. above note 184 and the miniature phialai, 72/1079 and 73/515 and a miniature disk, 73/647; 72/1067 may be remnants of a miniature plate.
For the tongue pattern, cf. above p. 81 and notes 278 - 279.

NOTE 315
Personal Ornaments.
Cf. IS IV, 62 - 66, for bird pendants, and 67 - 69, for nonfigurative bronzes of Geometric types lasting into the 7th Cent. B.C.

NOTE 316
IS IV, 69 and 70.

NOTE 317
A very elaborate pair of gold ear rings are said to have been found in a tomb at Argos, datable to around 650 B.C. Amandry 1953, 29 - 33, pl. X, nos. 43 - 44.
Cf. Philipp, 120 - 125, for the Olympia finds and a general discussion of the type and, 121 - 122, note 303, for their provenances including several Peloponnesian sites as well as Athens; but they seem to be particularly favoured at Argos.
There are two fragmentary ear rings in the Athena Sanctuary on the Larissa, Vollgraff no. Br 1852, and one at the Aphrodision no. 73/534.

NOTE 318
IS IV, 69 - 70.

NOTE 319
There are band finger rings with parallel horizontal grooves, AH 958 - 961, and some with both grooves and slight, oblique notching, AH 962 - 963, AH II, 250 and pl. LXXXIX.
For the Geometric Period, several ring types of which continued, cf. IS IV, 70 - 71 and notes 236 - 238.

NOTE 320
Cf. above notes 108 - 109, and for the chronology of the Greek rings, cf. Boardman 1970, 154.

NOTE 321
AH 964, with a fixed rectangular seal, bears an Argive Archaic owner's inscription, apparently dated to after 550 B.C., AH II, 250 and 332.,
The seal ring, AH 965, with a rectangular seal is of Boardman's Type D, most common in the 5th Cent. B.C.; AH 966 - 967, oval seals with intaglio, are of Boardman's Types M and N, chiefly Late Archaic or Classical, AH II, 250 - 251, pl. LXXXIX, cf. Boardman 1970, 155 - 157, fig. 198 and cf. Philipp, 155, Cat. nos. 576 - 613, 5th - 4th Cent. B.C.
AH 968, AH II, 251 and pl. LXXXIX, is of Roman Imperial date; a close parallel is Philipp, 183, Cat. no. 661, pl. 43.

NOTE 322
Cf. IS IV, 71 - 78.

NOTE 323
For the earlier ring fibulae, cf. IS IV, 72.
The Archaic types are AH 935 - 944 and 948 (NM 20902 and 20909), AH II, 249 - 250 and pl. LXXXVIII. For the tongue pattern, cf. above p. 81 and notes 278 - 279.
Blegen 1937, 380, fig. 4 (Tomb VIII, cf. above note 111).

NOTE 324
AH 947 (NM 20908), AH II, 249 - 250, and pl. LXXXVIII, cf. Cook 1953, 66 and fig. 41.

NOTE 325
AH 946 (NM 14034), AH II 249, pl. LXXXVIII. Cf. Philipp, 317 - 318, who gives a summary of the studies of this fibula type, at Cat. no. 1135 (pl. 70).

NOTE 326
Archaic A pins: K.-D., 209 - 219, pls. 85 - 87.
AH 231, 288, 384 - 405, 498, 504, 580 - 582, 584 - 587, 594, 614 - 617, 620 - 623, 647 - 648, 651 - 659, 663 -. 665, AH II, 211 - 232, pls. LXXX - LXXXIII.
Blegen 1939, 438 - 440, fig. 27 (three pins) Caskey-Amandry 1952, 181, M. 49.119, pl. 46.

NOTE 327
Archaic B Pins. Jacobsthal 1956.
K.-D. 219 - 258, pls. 87 - 106.
AH 219, 407, 410 - 411, 414 - 416, 418 - 419, 421 - 427, 431 - 440, 443 - 444, 446 - 447, 449 - 455, 457 - 496, 500 - 503, 505 - 511, 517 - 540, 542 - 552, 554 - 575, 583, 590 - 592, 589, 593, 595 - 600, 602 - 606, 608, 626 - 632, 634, 636 - 638, 641 - 646, 649, 660 - 662, 667 - 668, AH II, 211 - 232, pls. LXXIX - LXXXIII.
Blegen 1939, 438 - 440 and figs. 25 (= IS IV, 63, fig. 27) and 27.
Caskey-Amandry 1952, 181, no. 96, M. 49.126, pl. 46.
Verdelis 1960, 82, 2 pins.
Cambridge. Fitzwilliam Museum, Inv. no. Gr. 12. 1970 (AR 1970 - 71, 69 - 70, no. 2 q. and fig. 2, cf. IS IV, 93, note 10).
Cf. IS IV, 80, fig. 45.

NOTE 328
Archaic C I Pins: K.-D., 258 - 261, pls. 106 - 107.
AH 408, 497, and 612 -613, AH II 218, 223 - 224 and 229 and pls. LXXX - LXXXIII.
For AH 720, cf. below note 332.

NOTE 329
Archaic D pins: K.-D. 262 - 264, pl. 108.
AH 666, AH II, 232 and pl. LXXXIII.

NOTE 330
Archaic E Pins: K.-D. 264 - 273, pls. 108 - 111,
AH 670 - 699, AH II, 232 - 234 and pl. LXXXIII.
Blegen 1939, 438 - 440, fig. 27.
Cf. below note 337 for an E II pin in Prosymna, Tomb IX, and cf. IS IV and 121, note 370 for the absolute chronology of Tomb IX.

NOTE 331
Archaic F: K.-D., 273 - 279, pl. 112.
AH 705 - 719. AH II, 234 - 235 and pl. LXXXIII.
For AH 2764 (NM 20810), AH II, 327, K.-D. 4840 - 4842 and Philipp, 81, no. 234 (pls.

5 and 34) and p. 78 the reference to the Vitsa tomb.
Caskey-Amandry 1952, 182, nos. 106 - 107, M 49.72 and 49. 92, pl. 46.
K.-D. Nadeln. Cat. Nos. 4856 and 4858 (F IV)= AH 720 and Verdelis, 1960, 82.

NOTE 332
Cf. above pp. 86-87 and notes 328, 330 and 331.
For the Ghortsouli sanctuary, cf. Karagiorga 1963, 88 - 89; Jost 1985, 136 - 137; Voyatzis, 30 - 32; and Karagiorga-Stathatopoulos 1995, who points to the correspondance to the Argive Heraion and the Hera Sanctuary of Perachora also in other pin types and in the terra-cotta figurines.

NOTE 333
Loop pins, K.-D. 281 - 283, pls. 112 - 113. Cat. no. 4888, cf. Blegen 1939, 438 - 440 and fig. 27.

NOTE 334
Pins with ring heads: K.-D., 284 - 285, pl. 113.
Cat. no. 4913, AH 721, AH II, 235 and pl. LXXXIV.

NOTE 335
AH 949, AH II, 250 and pl. LXXXVIII.

NOTE 336
The Archaic A, B and E pins are all represented in Prosymna Tombs VIII - IX and XL, cf. below note 337, while there are other reasons for an early date of the Argive Heraion F III and F IV pins, cf. above and note 331, which Imma Kilian-Dirlmeier, K.-D., 273 - 279, considers chiefly of Late Archaic or Classical date.

NOTE 337
Archaic Pins.
Hera Sanctuary west of the Heraion.
K.-D. Cat. nos. 3430 and 3446 - 47, 3466, 3476 and 3500 (A II) and Cat. nos. 3620 - 3621 (B I), 3633, 3637, 3649 and 3670 (B II), 3728, 3740 - 3741, 3833, 3847, 3880, 3913 (B IV), 4051 (B V), 4184, 4205 and 4336 (B VI) as well as Cat. nos. 4588 (E I), Prosymna Tombs 4640 (E III) = Blegen 1939, 412 and fig. 3.
K.-D. Cat. nos. 3420 - 3421 (A I, cf. here fig. 45) and Cat. no. 3655 (B II, from Prosymna Tomb VIII (cf. above note 111).
Cat. no. 3814 (B IV, from Tomb XL) and Cat. no. 4592 (E II, from Tomb IX) cf. Blegen 1937, 378 and fig. 2 and IS IV, 72, fig. 36.
For the absolute chronology of the three Prosymna tombs, cf. references below note 349.

NOTE 338
Argos.
K.-D., Cat. nos. 3604 and 3606 (B I) (for Archaic B pins, cf. above p. 86 and note 327); nos. 4747 - 4748 (F I). (Br. Mus. 1950.5 - 10. 1. - 10. 2., cf. Jacobsthal 1956, 28 - 29, fig. 118, said to have come from Argos, were in fact donated by Anne Roes Vollgraff); 4796 - 4796, 4800 - 4808, 4827 - 4829 (F II. From 5th Cent. B.C. tombs)

NOTE 339
AH 1555 and AH 2783, cf. IS IV, 84 and note 322.

NOTE 340
The horse bits. For AH 2272, AH II, 328, pl. CXXXIV,
cf. Donder 1980, 58 - 60, Type IX, nos. 99 - 100, pl. 12, in particular; for AH 2759 - 2761, AH II, 326 - 327, pl. CXXXIV, cf. Donder 1980, 66 - 67, nos. 115 - 121, pl. 13, from Dodone and pp. 49 - 53, nos. 74 - 81, pls. 9 - 11, parts of horse bits from Olympia.
The wheels, AH 2253 - 2254 (NM 14025 - 14026) are of ordinary types, but not of normal size, contrary to the other parts of chariots, AH 2252 (NM 20633) and AH 2255, AH II, 298 - 299, pl. CXXVI. The antyx, AH 2252, has an Archaic inscription, dated to ca. 550 - 525 B.C., cf. Jeffery 1990, 168, no. 13.

NOTE 341
Cf. IS IV, 84 and notes 323 - 324.

NOTE 342
The crotala AH 2258 - 2259 (NM 14023), AH II, 259, pl. CXXVI; the bells, AH 2257 (NM 13995) and AH 1556, (NM 20672), the latter a miniature bell, AH II, 299, pl. CXXVI and p. 264, pl. XCII, respectively; various knives, including a possible spatula, AH 2264, AH II, 299 - 300, pl. CXXVI.

NOTE 343
AH 2251 (NM 14002) and AH 2787 (NM 14001), AH II, 313, pl. CXXVI, and AH II, 328 - 329, pl. CXXXIV, respectively.
Cf. e.g. Richter 1966, Fig. 317.

NOTE 344
AH 1880 - 1889, AH II, 277 - 278 and 337 and pls. CXI - CXII; AH 1752 - 1778, AH II, 270 - 271, pls. CII - CIII, cf. Kasper 1972; Philipp 203 - 204 and Østby et. al. 1994, 122 with other references.

NOTE 345
Cf. IS IV, 84 - 85 and above pp. # and notes 219 - 225.

NOTE 346
The Laconian type "Pilzkopfnadel" in Tomb IX and the so-called "Kalottenschale" in Tomb XL, cf. IS IV, 91 with references to figs. 36 and 47, pp. 81 - 82 and note 298, and p. 84 and note 326.

NOTE 347
For the lotus bowl and the Phrygian-imitating fibulae, cf. above p. 54 and notes 110 and 113; for the cut-out figures, above p. 64 and note 176; for the mirrors, above p. 78 and note 251; for the vases, above p. 84 and notes 305 - 307 (the shallow bowl, note 306, is of a type not represented at the Heraion, which may be fortuituous, considering the fragmentary character of the bronze vases in the main sanctuary); and for the personal ornaments, cf. above pp. 85-87 and notes 316 - 320 and 337 and cf. also IS IV, 71, fig. 35.

NOTE 348
Cf. above pp. 54 and 84-85 and notes 112, 308, 310 and 311 for the lotus bowl and other bronze vases as well as the bronze disks in Tomb VIII and other Prosymna tombs (for the Protocorinthian vases of Tomb VIII and IX, cf. IS IV 84 and note 326); p. 64

and note 176 for the cut-out figure of Tomb VIII; and pp. 85-87 and notes 319, 323 and 337 and IS IV, 72 fig. 36, for the personal ornaments.

NOTE 349
For the specific Geometric finds in Tombs IX and XL, cf. IS IV, 91 and references note 373 and for Tomb IX, also notes 150 and 370 as well as above p. 41 and note 23. For the absolute chronology of Tombs IX and XL, cf. IS IV, 91 and notes 362 and 370.
For Tomb VIII, cf. above p. 54 and references note 111.
For the drinking vessels and other pottery forms in the Prosymna tomb deposits, cf. Hägg 1987, 98 - 99.
The tripod stand from Tomb II (fig. 46) does not necessarily signify an original connection with a tomb deposit, cf. above p. 84 and references note 309.

NOTE 350
Cf. IS IV, 87 and note 344; many of the bronzes mentioned here are presumably of Archaic date.

NOTE 351
Cf. IS IV, 87, refererences note 344.

NOTE 352
Apart from the two North Syrian siren attachments with standing bulls, NM 16552, from the Argive Heraion, and the model for Delphi, Inv. no. 8399, (cf. above pp. 41-44 and notes 27 - 29), the fragments of Greek cauldrons, the bull's head AH 25 and the miniature lion's head attachment AH 2204, have counterparts in Delphi (cf. above pp. 45-46 and notes 41 and 43)

NOTE 353
IS IV, 87 - 88 and notes 344 and 347.
For Archaic E pins, cf. above p. 86 and note 330.

NOTE 354
Cf. above pp. 64, 84 and 88 and notes 175, 304 and 344.

NOTE 355
Cf. above pp. 86-87 and references note 332 also for the terra-cotta statuettes.

NOTE 356
Cf. above pp. 53-54 and notes 101 and 105 with reference to the summary given by Menadier 1996; for the terra-cottas, cf. also above notes 141, 170 - 171 and 180 and for the lead reliefs also note 182.

NOTE 357
Cf. above pp. 48, 78 and 84-87 and notes 61, 249, 304, 326 - 328 and 331 - 332.

NOTE 358
Cf. pp. 66 and notes 182 and 185 (for the lead reliefs) note 248 (for the mirrors) and pp. 79-81 for the Archaic bronze vases forming part of the banquetting implements; cf. in particular the lotus bowls, the cauldrons, the low tripod stands, the hydria handles, the mugs with decorative large rivets. Cf. above pp. 53-57 for the adoption of the identical Phrygian banquetting tradition.

NOTE 359
For the connections of the Argive Heraion with the Corinthia in EG to LG, cf. IS IV, 86 - 87.

NOTE 360
Cf. IS IV, 88 - 89.

NOTE 361
Cf. in particular the relief shield straps above pp. 73-74 and notes 219 - 225.

NOTE 362
Cf. above pp. 62-63 and notes 170 - 171 for the difficulty in distinguishing Archaic Corinthian and Argive sculpture and above p. 68 and notes 193 - 194 for the Corinthian Apollo Pythaios kouros and note 216 for the Corinthian Enyalios plaque, both found in Argos.

NOTE 363
Cf. IS IV, 86 - 89.

NOTE 364
Cf. IS IV, 88.

NOTE 365
Cf. above pp. 58-60, Figs. 18 - 19 and 21 - 22, and notes 147 (AH 29), 155 (AH 4) and 159(AH5); pp. 75-78, AH 1588 a Late Archaic, presumably Laconian stand mirror, note 229, and Fig. 36, AH 1565 a Laconian imitating hand mirror, note 237, and M. 49. 94, a handle of a Laconian mirror, note 242; p. 85, AH 946, a Laconian fibula, note 325, and p. 86, Laconian B and C pins, notes 327 and 328.

NOTE 366
Cf. above pp. 69-70

NOTE 367
Cf. IS IV, 88 and note 346 for the insular contacts of Geometric Argos and cf. above p. 67 and note 191, the Samian bronze kouros with an Argive inscription; pp. 68-69 note 196 and fig. 29, the Kephalari kouros and pp. 71 and notes 210 and 211, the Samian technique of piece moulds for Archaic lead and bronze figures.

NOTE 368
Cf. above p. 85, note 316 with reference to IS IV for the Argive Heraion ear rings.

NOTE 369
Cf. above pp. 83-85.

NOTE 370
Cf. above pp. 78 and 85 and note 252 for the mirror finds at the Aphrodision and note 314 for the miniature vases and disks and cf. above pp. 69-71 and note 198 for the lead figurines and note 206 for the Argive Heraion find.

NOTE 371
Cf. above p. 75.

NOTE 372
Cf. IS IV, 39 - 40, fig. 1.

NOTE 373
Cf. IS IV, 92 (Conclusions) and above pp. 55-58 (Conclusions).

NOTE 374
Cf. also the altered relations of the Argive Heraion with the Corinthia and Laconia, above pp. 89-90.

NOTE 375
The latest example being the tripod relief in the Hera sanctuary west of the Heraion, cf. above pp. 63-65 and Fig. 24; but cf. also e.g. the hammered tripods, IS IV, 48 - 50, and the bronze imports and their Greek imitations, above pp. 55, as well as e.g. the early Greek bolster attachments for the local cauldrons connected with the banquets, above pp. 79.

NOTE 376
Cf. I.S. I, 177 - 178 and 191 - 193 for the Temple Terrace and pp. 187 - 191 for the Temple.
The chronology of the Temple Terrace (around 700 B.C.) was based on ceramic finds inside the Terrace as well as on the chronology of monumental objects placed on the Terrace itself, that of the Temple primarily on its relative chronological position compared with other early Peloponnesian Temples.
In an article in Hesperia, C. Antonaccio 1992 refers to new information about the investigations of the Temple Terrace from a note-book by one of the trench supervisors at Blegen's excavations, R.S. Darbishire, using this for a down-dating of the Temple Terrace. Pointing out the existence of a limestone facing of the Terrace, C. Antonaccio 1992, 93 - 95, alters our conception of the outward appearance of the Terrace, and, in my opinion, actually confirms the suggestion of a Mycenean model for its construction, since the limestone facing can be parallelled with the white clay covering of the Mycenaean tholos tombs, cf. Taylor 1955, 219 - 220, and Taylor 1983, 74. However, I do not think that the information of the note-book alters the date of the Terrace. A term such as "Greek" sherds is useless and I wonder how much one can rely on the distinction between "Protocorinthian" and "Corinthian" made by a student during the day's excavation work in 1929, before Payne's conclusive studies. For his chronology Blegen must have used precisely the sherds mentioned by Darbishire. Until an actual publication of Blegen's finds, I prefer to rely on the information of Frickenhaus' and Müller's investigations in 1911, cf. IS IV, 178 and note 42, which Antonaccio seems to mix up with Blegen's finds, Antonaccio 1992, 91, note 16.
As to the chronology of the Temple which I placed in close connection with the First Apollo Temple of Corinth and the First Poseidon Temple of Isthmia, the new excavations at the latter site, dating this temple to the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C., Gebhard - Hemans 1992, 76, seem to confirm my proposed chronology of the Archaic Hera Temple to the first half of the 7th Cent. B.C.
In her unpublished paper on the Argive Heraion (cf. above note 149), M.-F. Billot suggests a new reconstruction of the Archaic Temple, the discussion of which I prefer to postpone until the publication with the final suggestions is available.

NOTE 377
Between the tripod relief, cf. above note 374, and the kouros NM 16357, above pp. 59-60 and Fig. 20, there are hardly any bronzes of a qualifying standard at the Argive Heraion.

NOTE 378
Cf. I.S. I, 196 - 197.

NOTE 379
Cf. above pp. 59-63, p. 76 and p. 83.

NOTE 380
In this study, confining myself to the early bronzes of the Argive Heraion and Argos, I have left out all discussion of the more general theme of the urban development of Argos and thus of the theories of many scholars working on the same basic problems.

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Acknowledgement
I wish to thank most warmly the "Hellenisminitiative" and the State Research Council for the Humanities for providing me with a grant to write the present article and its follow-up article (Houby-Nielsen 1997). And I thank Thomas Grane for having drawn Figs. 4 and 7 and R. Tomlinson for having revised my English.