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The early Sanctuary of the Argive Heraion and its external relations (8th – early 6th century BC).

Conclusions^{*}

Ingrid Strøm

Introduction

Since Anthony Snodgrass in 1977 pointed to the monumental temple building for the patron deity as an essential criterion for the emergent city-state,¹ this criterion has been almost unanimously accepted² and the Greek Geometric and early Archaic sanctuaries generally considered as founded and from the beginning organized from the settlements, to which they later definitely belonged. Expanding and diversifying these views, François de Polignac brought other aspects into the discussion, seeing the early “extra-urban” sanctuaries³ in Greece as established by their neighbouring settlements in order to demarcate the frontiers of the territories of the city-state.⁴ The hypothesis has been taken up by several scholars,⁵ albeit refuted by others and, in my opinion, correctly.⁶ Although later modifying some of his ideas, Polignac apparently continues to regard the monumentalization of the Argive Heraion around 700 BC as an expression of Argos’ supremacy over the whole of Argolis⁷ and sees the first monumental temple buildings as one sign of “the emergence of the polis as a structured political organization.”⁸ Several scholars regard the Argive Heraion as originally a cult centre for all the

to visit King’s College Library at Cambridge and the then modern archivist, Mrs. J. Cox, for helping me in my studies of Charles Waldstem’s note books. I want to thank the Board of the Danish Institute at Athens for granting me several stays at the Institute and the staff of the Institute for much valuable help. Also, I want to thank the librarians of Nordic Library, Athens, and of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athen, as well as the former librarian of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen, mag. art. Claus Grønne, for continuous help. With the following colleagues I have had fruitful discussions, for which I thank them: Ph.D. Rune Frederiksen, Athens; professor Vincent Gabrielsen, University of Copenhagen; and Helle Horsnæs and John Lund, keepers of the National Museum of Denmark. Finally, I want to thank Valdemar Liesk Hansen for technical assistance and David Fenner for revising my English manuscript.

¹ Snodgrass 1977, 25–6.

² IS I, 200, note 179 and *cf. e.g.* Coldstream 2003, 407; Polignac 2003, 46; Hansen 2004, 130.

³ Since it is so generally used, I keep to the term of “extra-urban”, although I find it anachronistic as regards the early sanctuaries.

⁴ Polignac 1984, 41–92 (on the Argive Heraion, in particular, 41–6).

⁵ *Cf. e.g.* 179; Morgan 1990, 11–2 and Morgan 1994, 94; Morgan & Whitelaw 1991, 84–6; Schachter 1992, 45; Sinn 1996; Hölscher 1998, 51–2; and Snodgrass 2006, 284.

⁶ Hall 1995 correctly observes that many of Polignac’s references are to later sources. Malkin 1996 and Malkin 2002, 198–200, opposes Polignac’s ideas and in particular those of the bipolar entity, a unity between central and extra-urban sanctuaries (Polignac 1995, 81–8, *cf.* below p. 126). Malkin expresses the view that the possible frontier function of the “extra-urban” sanctuaries in Greece was a gradually introduced phenomenon of a later date, unconnected with the foundation of the sanctuaries.

⁷ Polignac 1995, 52–3 (on the Argive Heraion); and Polignac 1998, 155. On pp. 157–58 Polignac analyses my paper, IS IV.

⁸ *Cf.* above notes 4, 6 and 7. The quotation is from Polignac 2003, 49.

^{*} Earlier papers ISI–V. For photographs and permission to publish them I want to thank the National Archaeological Museum of Athens for Figs. 4 and 5; L’École Française d’Athènes for Fig. 9; and dr. Christopher Pfaff, Director of the Argive Heraion project of the American School of Classical Studies, Athens, for Fig. 3. I also want to thank professor Mazarakis–Ainian for permission to copy Fig. 8 from his publication, 1997. My thanks are due to the Danish Research Council for Humanities for a grant

communities of the Argolide, some even as their common meeting place.⁹

In an attempt to clarify the relations and interrelations between sanctuary and settlement in the Geometric and Archaic periods, during which time the Greek city-states emerge and develop, I chose the Argive Heraion and the settlement/city-state of Argos (situated at a certain distance from each other) as my main study object. I have been working from the hypothesis that the monumental temple buildings might be a sign of a high degree of organization in the very sanctuaries, in which they were erected, and should not be taken as an “a priori” evidence for an urban development of their respective surrounding or neighbouring settlements.¹⁰ In a series of papers published during the years 1988–1998, I have analysed different aspects of the early sanctuary of the Argive Heraion and its external relations in the 8th – early 6th centuries BC, primarily on the basis of archaeological evidence.¹¹

In my first paper, on the Archaic monumental architecture of the sanctuary, I found that the Temple Terrace and the Archaic Temple were constructed around 700 BC and in the first half of the 7th century BC, respectively.¹² At this time there was no comparable building activity in nearby Argos and therefore no indication of Argos being the initiator of the building program and I concluded that it was organized by the sanctuary, independently from the contemporary settlement of Argos.¹³ I suggested a ground-plan for the Archaic Temple differing from the one published by the American excavators. In spite of criticism by some scholars, I wish to maintain my conclusions regarding the architecture of the Temple as well as its proposed absolute chronology.¹⁴

Since the final publication of the pottery from the early Argive Heraion excavations is still regrettably lacking,¹⁵ I based my further studies on the Geometric and Archaic Greek bronzes in the sanctuary as well as on contemporary bronze imports, and, in a Congress paper, I examined obeloi of pre- or protomonetary value, including the informative finds at the Argive Heraion.¹⁶ My conclusions up until now, can be summarized as follows:

The very sparse publications of the early pottery from the Argive Heraion seem to point to a lacuna

in the occupation of the site from late LH IIIB.¹⁷ I have dated the earliest ceramic votives mentioned in the publication to the Protogeometric period, whereas the earliest published vases are Middle Geometric II – with one exception.¹⁸ Although an uninterrupted continuity from the Mycenaean period may be the case for some Mainland Greek sanctuaries,¹⁹ other important sanctuaries appear to present an actual hiatus after the Prehistoric

⁹ Tomlinson 1972, 204 (a cult centre). However, Polignac 1994, 12–3, and 1995, 37 and 1998, 156, and Hall 1995, 613, and others use “meeting place” or similar words; Polignac unites his two opposite views by stating that the elite of Argos “rapidly gained the upper hand”. I discuss this problem below, pp. 129 and 132.

¹⁰ Cf. IS I, 199–200. According to Hansen 2004, 130, the rise of the temple buildings and the emergence of the polis took place simultaneously and were probably connected. However, Hansen’s time frame is wide, the 8th – 6th centuries BC, and therefore disregards the many cultural influences and changes, which took place in Greece during these three centuries; a more detailed study of chronology is required, before one can talk about simultaneity.

¹¹ IS I – IS V.

¹² IS I, 177–8 and 191–3, cf. IS IV, 187–91 and IS V, 117, note 376.

¹³ IS I, 198–200. Morgan & Whitelaw 1991, 85, refer to the Kypseli construction, two walls of large stones, dated to the early 7th century BC. However, as pointed out, IS I, 198, in my opinion, the two low walls surrounding an open area cannot be compared with the building of the monumental Temple, the earliest Doric temple, and the huge Temple Terrace at the Argive Heraion.

¹⁴ Cf. Appendix, below pp. 134–41, where I am inclined to date the temple earlier within the stated period.

¹⁵ The vast majority of the ceramic finds from Waldstein’s excavations are still unpublished, including the greater part of the Geometric pottery (IS I, 173–6) and conclusions regarding the origin of the Argive Geometric pots at the Argive Heraion must await an adequate publication, cf. IS IV, 90, note 358.

¹⁶ IS II, IV and V (bronze studies) and IS III (obeloi).

¹⁷ I withdraw my references to LH IIIC pottery from the Argive Heraion, IS I, 174, which have not been accepted, cf. Billot 1997, 13, and notes 25–7 with references to several scholars.

¹⁸ IS I, 175–6, not generally accepted, but cf. references below notes 26–7. Apart from a Protogeometric Laconian fragment, Caskey 1952, 175, No. 69, pl. 50 (observation by Coulson, 1985, 49 and note 72), the earliest published pottery from the sanctuary is MG II, cf. Courbin 1966, 565.

¹⁹ The Apollo Abai sanctuary at Kalapodi (formerly identified with the Apollo–Artemis sanctuary cf. AR 2006–2007, 41).

habitation, e.g. Olympia,²⁰ and Dodone,²¹ while the situation for Delphi seems to be uncertain.²² In most cases, a direct continuation is observable only from LH IIIC, i.e. after the cultural break with the destruction of the Mycenaean palace culture.

At the Argive Heraion, there are bronze votives of types dating back to the Protogeometric period²³ and several are of either Early Geometric or Middle Geometric I date.²⁴ Some scholars regard the earliest bronze votives as heirlooms and therefore later dedications, a theory which I do not follow.²⁵ However, a few scholars seem to accept the proposed chronology for the early votives and for the beginning of the Post-Mycenaean cult in the sanctuary.²⁶ Presumably the problem of the earliest Post-Mycenaean votives of the sanctuary will remain a matter of dispute until the final publication of the Argive Heraion pottery.²⁷ At any rate, the above hypothesis concerning heirlooms cannot apply to the considerable numbers of Early Geometric/Middle Geometric I bronzes. The sanctuary of the Argive Heraion developed slowly from at least Early Geometric/Middle Geometric I onwards, presumably even earlier, i.e. at least from the 9th century BC, possibly from the 10th century BC onwards, according to traditional chronology.²⁸

The earliest bronze pins of Argos manufacture in

The eminent excavations by Rainer Felsch have determined a stratigraphical continuity of an unbroken cult from the beginning of LH IIIC until the Persian War, although with some destructions by fire (Felsch 2007, 1–16). W. Niemeier's later excavations below the South Temple have found terracottas and fragmentary pottery of LH IIIA:2 and LH IIIB date below the LH IIIC cult building, apparently representing Mycenaean cult activity, which may go back to the Middle Helladic period (*AA* 2008/1. Beiheft, 99–102).

The Athena Alea Sanctuary of Tegea. (*Cf.* Østby *et al.* 1994, 139–41; Voyatzis 1994, 126–31; Nordquist 2002 and Voyatzis 2002. There are Mycenaean, Protogeometric and Early Geometric finds, but apparently not stratigraphic evidence for a direct continuity without break. *Cf.* Mazarakis–Ainian 1997, 80–1.

The Apollo Sanctuary at Amyklaion. Petterson 1992, 96–7, and Morgan 1996, 48–9; the former scholar advocates a direct continuation, the latter records a gap between LH IIIC and the Protogeometric Period.

As regards the Argolid, there are LH IIIC cults at both Mycenae and Tiryns, but apparently no direct continuation of the palace cults, *cf.* Morgan 1996, 50–1. For Asine, *cf.* Lemos 2002, 136–8 and 221, a continuation of the settlement from

LHIII C and a domestic cult at the Protogeometric apsidal house (references to *Asine* II, 4, 2–3, 34 and Wells 1988, 265).

For Isthmia, *cf.* Morgan 1999, 259 and 369–70: The Early Iron Age cult activity at the Poseidon sanctuary began after a very short hiatus; and *cf.* Morgan 2002.

In general see Lemos 2002, 219–24 and Kyrieleis 2006, 61–8.

²⁰ Kyrieleis 2006, 27, observed a hiatus in the Altis of Olympia from the Early Helladic/Transitional Middle Helladic habitation until the earliest cult strata of the 11th century BC.

²¹ Mylonopoulos 2006, 188: no sign of human occupation between c. 1200 and c. 730 BC.

²² The LH III settlement of Delphi, covering the greater part of the later sanctuary, was destroyed in the later LH III. According to some scholars, the area was frequented in the following centuries, although without sign of an actual settlement until the Submycenaean/Protogeometric periods. (Picard 1991, 7–21; Jacquemin 1999, 7–11 and Coldstream 2003, 178–9). However, Rolley 2002b refers to still unpublished excavations by J. M. Luce, pointing to a continued habitation without a break. Although the sanctuary of Athena Pronaia started earlier, the earliest signs of a sanctuary in the Apollo Sanctuary of Delphi are fragments of Solid Cast Tripods, although not of the earliest class and probably dated to the late 9th or early 8th century BC. The earliest monumental vases are Middle Geometric II. *Cf.* Bommelaer & Laroche 1991, 15–9.

²³ IS I, 174, and IS IV, 78 with references to Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984.

²⁴ IS IV, 78–81 and 86, based on Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984.

²⁵ References IS IV 86, and 119, note 334. *Cf.* also Whitley 2002, who distinguishes between warriors' tombs with possibly inherited valuables and such humble everyday pins as were found in the Argive Heraion and which were not likely to be preserved for centuries.

²⁶ Hall 1995, 593; Lemos 2002, 109, and Kyrieleis 2006, 66, note 274.

²⁷ IS I, 176 with notes 22–4. Hall 1995, 592, note 110, quotes a personal comment by C. Antonaccio that the references to Geometric pots given in *AH* I are Late Geometric. However, I take the references in *AH* I as applying to the forms and ornamentation in general, not necessarily to exact counterparts of the vases, taking into consideration the very limited publication of Geometric pottery around the year 1900. Since the majority of early vases at the Argive Heraion are presumably of Argive origin, it is with later conclusions in studies of Argive Protogeometric/Geometric pottery that these general stylistic characters should be compared, *cf.* Coldstream 2008, 113. As stated, IS I, 176, note 26. I have not had access to the unpublished Argive Heraion pottery in the magazines of the National Museum of Athens. *Cf.* also above notes 15 and 18.

²⁸ The new dates for Gordion are of importance also for Greek Geometric archaeology, *cf.* De Vries 2005, where, p. 43, Tomb MM is dated to shortly after 750 BC and *cf.* below pp. 86 and 121 and notes 117 and 433. Since the basic chronological problems are still unsolved, the discrepancy between the scientifically based and the traditional Geometric dates is considerable, (*cf.* in general Nijboer 2005, 527–56,

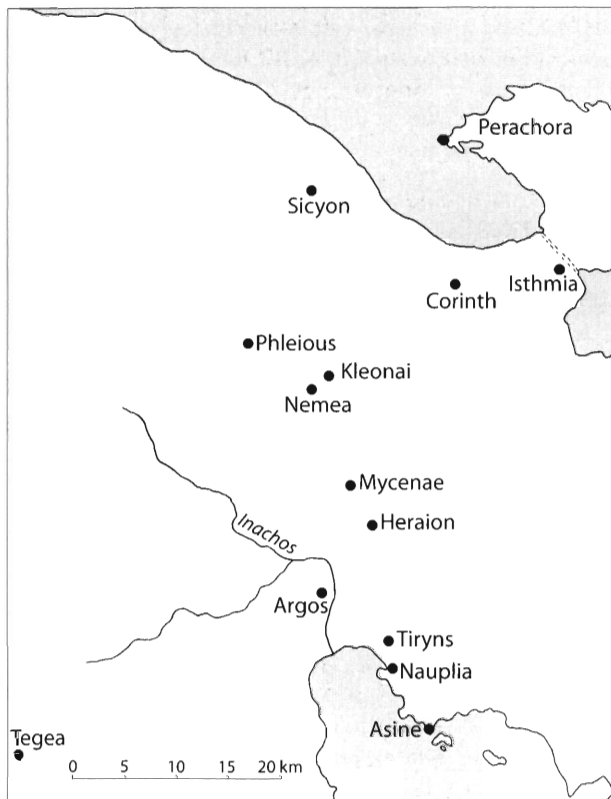


Fig. 1. Map of northeastern Peloponnese.

the Argive Heraion are dated to Middle Geometric II and judging from the bronzes it is not until the Late Geometric period that the early contacts of the Argive Heraion with Argos are on a par with those of several other Greek settlements, where the relations with the Corinthia and the Central Peloponnese were especially close.²⁹ The visitors are primarily female; but from some time in the Late Geometric period there are definitely male visitors from Argos to the cults in the surrounding Mycenaean Prosymna tombs.³⁰ Although Argos during the Early Geometric/Middle Geometric periods was extensively inhabited, the settlement did not show any sign of an established central organization until the Archaic period.³¹ Jonathan Hall suggests that the river Inachos formed an original boundary between the eastern and western part of the Argive Plain (Fig. 1), the Argive Heraion therefore not lying within the immediate sphere of interest of Argos.³² In general the various groups of bronzes indicate an independence of the Argive Heraion from Argos until at least around 675/650 BC. *E.g.* there are striking differences in the Near

Eastern relations of the two sites, the sanctuary showing strong ties with Phrygia and – perhaps via Phrygia – with North Syria. Whereas the settlement of Argos had special links with Cyprus. Within Greece, both sites had contacts with Arcadia and Laconia, but the strongest connections of the very early Argive Heraion went overland to the Corinthia and eventually from that region further north. Whereas those of Argos especially went across the sea to Attica and the Cyclades; its ties with the Corinthia were slight for the greater part of the Geometric Period and possibly its early relations with Laconia went by the sea.³³

Moreover, several metal utensils seem to indicate differences in religious customs between the Argive Heraion and the sanctuaries and settlement of Argos. The monumental Geometric bronze tripods, which, in my opinion, were manufactured in the sanctuary by itinerant artisans, are apparently still not represented in Argos.³⁴ The banqueting implements that formed the greater part of bronze vessels in the Argive Heraion during the Late Geometric and Archaic periods, do not by far seem to play a corresponding role in the sanctuaries of Argos,³⁵ and although the iron obeloi for roasting the meat at the banquets are known from a limited

with a suggested alteration of Greek chronology between *c.* 900 and 700 BC, 528, Tav. B and 541–2 Tav. D). Except for the dates directly dependent on the new Gordion chronology, I shall give the traditional absolute dates; but chiefly I shall refer to the archaeological phases instead of absolute dates for the periods preceding Late Geometric and *c.* 750 BC.

²⁹ *Cf.* IS IV, 86–90.

³⁰ For female visitors at the Argive Heraion *cf. e.g.* the many votive offerings of bronze pins for womens' dresses, IS IV, 78, and *cf.* below pp. 83 and 95–6 and notes 92 and 198–200, and the bronze mirrors, IS V, 75–8. For the male visitors to the Prosymna Tombs, *cf.* IS IV, 91.

³¹ *Cf.* below p. 112 and notes 333–5.

³² Hall 1995, 590.

³³ *Cf.* IS II and V, 55–8 (Near Eastern connections) and IS IV, 61–2, 77–8 and 88–90 and IS V, 88–91 (Greek connections). The relations of Argos with Attica are exemplified by the pottery, *cf.* IS IV, 89 and note 355.

³⁴ *Cf.* IS IV, 40–52 and 92. Polignac 1996 and 1998 discusses the discrepancy between the finds of Geometric bronze tripods in “extra-urban” sanctuaries in contrast with sanctuaries inside settlements.

³⁵ *Cf.* IS II and IS V, 55 and 85.

group of upper-class warriors' tombs around 700 BC, there are rather noticeable differences in their manufacture – in spite of the distance of less than 10 km between the two sites.³⁶ The war-like attitude characteristic of the early Argos tombs is not reflected in the early bronzes of the sanctuary.³⁷ On the whole, the early Argive Heraion metal objects show close ties with many other Hera sanctuaries as well as with sanctuaries dedicated to Apollo, Artemis and Athena.³⁸

Judging from the published archaeological material from the Argive Heraion and Argos, it is not until about 575 BC, that it is possible to observe such a close correspondence between the two sites, that the sanctuary should be regarded as placed under the domination of Argos. For the bronze sculpture, I used the term *koiné*, and for the bronzes in general observed that the outside relations of the Argive Heraion and Argos now seemed to have fused into an identical pattern.³⁹ However, this happens after a period of apparent stagnation of the sanctuary, making it difficult to determine the exact date for its appropriation by Argos. I find it a likely conclusion that this took place sometime during the second half of the 7th century BC, since the bronzes of the second quarter of the 6th century BC indicate an accomplished revival of the cult life in the Argive Heraion⁴⁰ and since there, at about the same time, are examples of important building activity;⁴¹ however, not before the 5th century BC do we observe a major re-organization of the Argive Heraion under the auspices of Argos.⁴²

As stated already in my first paper on the subject, the ulterior aim of my studies of the early Argive Heraion and its external relations was an attempt at clarifying the role of the sanctuaries in the process of early Greek urbanization.⁴³ It seems a general statement that a sanctuary presupposes an organized community and most scholars identify such a community with a polis.⁴⁴ However, the religious motives for a beginning of cult activity at a certain place may be manifold and not always tangible and a cult may have started at a very humble level; the people first frequenting the site and placing their modest offerings may be individuals from neighbouring scattered houses or from villages

without any common enterprises. Nor do I find it necessary to look for outside secular influences for the development into an organized sanctuary. In some early Greek sanctuaries, there are links with earlier tradition, dating from the Mycenaean Age,⁴⁵ in others one may observe outside religious bonds.⁴⁶ However, an early Greek sanctuary is in itself a community with many different activities requiring a high degree of organization and administration. This applies to activities of economic self-sufficiency, such as farming and various industries, as *e.g.* metal work and pottery production, as well as to activities of religious character, which viewed together point to a centrally organized administration with officials equipped with internal legal authority, *i.e.* a priesthood.⁴⁷

The recent Norwegian surveys of the ancient town of Tegea, situated about 1 km north of the Athena Alea Sanctuary at Tegea provides new material to the discussion of the relations between early Greek sanctuaries and contemporary settlements during the period of emerging urbanization. The sanctuary

³⁶ IS III, 44.

³⁷ Cf. IS IV, 85 and notes 329–31, stating that the military aspects of the Argive Heraion cult are all late; except for the Archaic terracotta statuettes of riding warriors, which are known from several Argive sanctuaries, *cf.* below p. 95 and note 198. However, the same characteristics apply to the early sanctuaries of Argos.

³⁸ Cf. IS II, III and V, 55–8.

³⁹ IS V, 88–91; Hall 1995 advocates a later date for the appropriation of the sanctuary by Argos, which I shall discuss below p. 128.

⁴⁰ IS V, 90–1.

⁴¹ IS I, 196–7. More recently, the North Stoa is dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BC, Pfaff 2005, 506, note 7; according to Amandry 1952, 235–9, and Kuhn 1985, 251–5, the North East Stoa was almost contemporary with the North Stoa. Cf. also Pfaff 1990 on three-peaked antefixes and Pfaff 2005, identifying the so-called Capital C as Roman and *cf.* below p. 111 and note 326, architectural terracottas of the so-called Argive system. The West Building is dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BC by Pfaff 1994 and 2005, 576, note 7.

⁴² Cf. below p. 113 and notes 349–50.

⁴³ Cf. IS I, 199–200.

⁴⁴ Schachter 1992, 9–10 and Vink 2002.

⁴⁵ Cf. above note 19 and *e.g.* below pp. 105–6 Dreros.

⁴⁶ Cf. *e.g.* below pp. 109 and 129–31 (Delphi and Perachora).

⁴⁷ Cf. below pp. 93–5.

of Athena Alea is one of the earliest known Greek sanctuaries on the Mainland, giving evidence of cult practice going back into the Protogeometric period and of cult buildings dated to the Late Geometric, possibly the end of the Middle Geometric period.⁴⁸ According to the archaeological surveys of the settlement area, the urbanization of Tegea apparently did not take place until the second half of the 6th century BC. The chronology is based mainly on the existence of a sanctuary of that date within the settlement area, as well as of finds of scattered architectural elements. The area closest to the Athena Alea Sanctuary was characterized by wetlands and not suitable for dense habitation and the whole area seems to have consisted of scattered villages for centuries after the establishment of the sanctuary of Athena Alea. The then director of the Tegea surveys, Dr. Knut Ødegaard, concludes his preliminary report by stating: “The sanctuary of Athena Alea must have played its part in the process towards urbanization...”⁴⁹

On the background of my own results, based on archaeological material primarily from the Argive Heraion and Argos, and having in mind the results of the Norwegian excavations and surveys at Tegea, I want to study in a wider context various problems of the relations between sanctuaries and settlements during the period of early Greek urbanization, *i.e.* the 8th – 6th centuries BC. The early urbanization of Greece is often viewed on the basis of, chiefly later, literary evidence, which is presumed to reflect earlier conditions. I find it important to concentrate my studies as far as possible on contemporary evidence, *i.e.* archaeological and epigraphic material;⁵⁰ later literary information should, in my opinion, be used with caution while paying regard to the possible cultural changes in the course of times.

There are almost as many definitions of an urban community as there are scholars studying the subject. I find the most important criterion for an urban community to be evidence of a centralized organization, to which most other stated criteria are subordinated. Referring to the criteria for a Greek “polis” recently enumerated by Mogens Herman Hansen, I have chosen to concentrate my studies on the following organizational aspects:

1) Economy, 2) Centralized organization/administration and 3) External relations.⁵¹

1. The economic basis of an ancient Greek community is agriculture, supplied by industries and trade. Hansen also regards a mint as a “good indication for a polis status.” Other objects of monetary value can be regarded as equivalent with coins for the stage of organization of a community; they presuppose a certain degree of prosperity as well as of organized dealings requiring a fixed standard for exchange, a value system.
2. In my opinion, the basic difference between on the one hand, an urban community in ancient Greece and on the other a village or hamlet,⁵² is, as noted above, the existence of a centralized organization, which in the archaeological material may be verified by *e.g.* administrative buildings, in the epigraphic and literary material, by rules, laws and treaties *etc.*, to which criteria also Hansen refers.
3. Established outside contacts, whether to other Greek or other Mediterranean communities, constitute a specific kind of organization, which carries with it new impulses for cultural development.

Normally each of these aspects is studied from the angle of the polis. For my purpose, I wish to compare the organizational aspects of the two kinds of early Greek communities, sanctuaries and

⁴⁸ Cf. Nordquist 1997 and 2002; Østby 2002, 145–7, and Voyatzis 2002, 167–8.

⁴⁹ Ødegaard 2005 and AR 2006–2007, 23.

⁵⁰ In general, I shall not base my studies on information given in Homer, whose poems seem to contain elements from several cultural periods, reaching from the Mycenaean Age until the late Archaic period. Cf. also Morgan and Coulton 1997, 129, who find the Homeric and Hesiodic sources of contemporary societies, “as unlikely to correspond to the realities of the period as the Platonic polis is to the fourth century BC”.

⁵¹ Cf. Hansen 2004, 144–9.

⁵² Cf. Hansen 2004, 76 and 78: at the latter place he observes that the ancient Greek settlements do not fit the modern archaeological terms. Here I shall, as far as possible, use the term: urbanization.



Fig. 2. View from the Argive Heraion. Photo: I.S.

settlements, on equal terms. I shall first view the information from the sanctuaries, taking the Argive Heraion as my starting point, and then look at the corresponding information from Argos and other relevant settlements/city-states. My studies will be based primarily on archaeological, epigraphic, and historical sources, leaving out the mythological stories, in my opinion, less reliable.⁵³

Economy

The Argive Heraion

Agriculture is considered of basic economic importance for an ancient Greek community and this must apply also to the community of a Greek sanctuary.⁵⁴ From the 6th century BC onwards, and with particularly many examples of the 4th century BC, we have plenty of written evidence for sacred land situated outside the actual sanctuary, but belonging to a deity.⁵⁵ According to Signe Isager's definition, sacred land is land owned by or belonging to a god and it may comprise sacred groves, arable land as well as pasture; its presence is especially known through written sources, in particular from *leges sacrae*.⁵⁶ There is ample evidence of consecration of sacred land in

historical times and apparently it often had an early origin.⁵⁷

With its geographical position at the edge of the extremely fertile Argive Plain (Fig. 2), the inland part of which is regarded as essentially unchanged since Early Helladic II,⁵⁸ and with the rivers Eleutherion and Asterion flowing close to the sanctuary,⁵⁹ the Argive Heraion from its very beginning possessed means for an independent economy based on agriculture. If Jonathan Hall is right in his above-mentioned suggestion that the Inachos Riv-

⁵³ Cf. Polignac 1984 and 1995 and Hall 1995; however, to a certain degree both include mythological sources in their studies, whereas Polignac 2003 primarily bases his studies on archaeological material.

⁵⁴ Isager & Skydsgaard 1992, 3 and 159, and cf. Psaroudakis 2000.

⁵⁵ Cf. Isager 1992a; Isager & Skydsgaard 1992, 181–90; Horster 2004; *ThesCRA* III, 308–16 (with further references); Psaroudakis 2000. The three main categories of land for the poleis were public (*demosia*), private (*idia*) and sacred (*hiera*).

⁵⁶ Isager 1992 a, 122 and Psaroudakis 2000, 23 and 36.

⁵⁷ Cf. *ThesCRA* III, 308 and cf. below note 60, Kritzas.

⁵⁸ Zangger 1992 and Zangger 1993, Conclusions 83–5; for the changes of the coastline at Tiryns, see p. 81, fig. 43 and for the changes of the course of the river Charandros at Argos, see Piteros 1998, 183 and 197. Cf. also Lehmann 1937 and Philippson 1959, 134–54.

⁵⁹ Pausanias. 2.17.1–2; cf. *AHI*, 14–9.

er originally formed a natural border for the territory of Argos and therefore for the inland interests of this settlement (Fig. 1), then there are reasons for seeing a large part of the Argive Plain on the Heraion side of the river as the basic economic source for the early sanctuary; the land stretching out from below the sanctuary most likely formed part of its sacred land, which may go back to Mycenaean possessions.⁶⁰ Hera is generally considered a deity connected with vegetation.⁶¹

As far as I know, we have no exact information of sacred groves belonging to the Argive Hera.⁶² However, Herodotos' account (Her. 6, 76–81) of the events following the disastrous battle at Sepeia near Tiryns in the 490s (presumably 494 BC), indicate that sacred groves were part of the sacred land of the Argolid. Argive soldiers took shelter in the sacred grove of the eponymous hero of Argos, which then was burned down by the Spartan King Kleomenes.⁶³ The second part of the story, in which Kleomenes tried to expiate his crime by sacrificing to the Argive Hera, implies that the Argive Heraion had authority in this connection.⁶⁴ From later account inscriptions, e.g. from Delos, it is obvious that were a sanctuary not self-sufficient in wood, large expenses would be needed for acquiring wood for the animal sacrifices and the roasting of the meat at the banquets.⁶⁵ It seems a reasonable conjecture that the sacred land of the Argive Heraion furnished the sanctuary with the different kinds of provision necessary for its cult life, including wood for sacrifices and banquets.⁶⁶

Presumably the Argive Heraion also possessed sacred fruit groves, comprising olive trees as well as vineyards, since the olive and olive oil are important victuals and wine played a role in the banquets at the Heraion.⁶⁷ From our general information of the kind of food consumed at banquets in sanctuaries, we know that besides pieces of the sacrificed animal, various kinds of vegetables, fruit and nuts formed an essential part of the diet.⁶⁸ Partly, they may of course have been given as offerings from neighbouring farmers, but considering our information of sacred fruit groves belonging to other deities, it is a reasonable suggestion that they also existed at the fertile plain below the Argive Heraion.⁶⁹

As to possible corn fields around the Heraion,

⁶⁰ Kritzas 1992, 237–9 discusses a Late Hellenistic inscription from Argos, where it is stated that “*hiera kai demosia chora*” in earlier times belonged to the deities, among whom is Hera. Kritzas suggests that the land of Hera is that of the Argive Heraion, belonging to this deity and that it formerly was Mycenaean territory.

⁶¹ Eitrem 1913, 397–402; Pötscher 1987 *passim* and Baumbach 2004, 104. For pomegranates as symbols of life and fertility, especially connected with Hera, cf. Baumbach 2004, 96–7 and Muthmann 1982, 52–64. According to Pausanias. 2.17.4, the Classical Hera statue at the Argive Heraion held a pomegranate in one hand; a terracotta pomegranate was found here, Caskey 1952, 201, No. 252, pl. 53; several Archaic pins have a pomegranate finial, cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 273 and 276–8, F II (however also known from Argos tombs); and Hera on the Dedalic lead fibula relief plates, known from the Argive Heraion and two other Hera sanctuaries, is holding a pomegranate, cf. IS V, 65–7, where I suggest that the reliefs were manufactured in the Argive Heraion.

⁶² For sacred groves in general, cf. Horster 2004, 92–103; *ThesCRA* III, 310–6 and *ThesCRA* IV, 12–4 (U.Sinn). At Aigaion, there was a sacred grove for Hera, close to a temple for Athena (Pausanias. 7.23.9).

⁶³ Cf. Pausanias. 2.20.8 and 3.4.1. The episode is treated more in detail, by Kritzas 1992, 231–4, and Hall 1995, 588, and cf. below note 338. The position near Tiryns of a sacred grove belonging to the eponymous hero of Argos implies that the territory of Argos stretched that far, at least as early as around 500 BC.

⁶⁴ Cf. below p. 98 and note 210.

⁶⁵ Jacquemin 1991, 95 and 98.

⁶⁶ It seems a strict rule that exploitation of sacred land should benefit the god, to whom it belonged, cf. Isager & Skydsgaard 1992, 181–90; Horster 2004, 103–38; *ThesCRA* III, 309, and Lupu, 21–30, in general about protection of the sanctuaries and their lands and the fines for offending the rules.

⁶⁷ According to Foxhall 2007, 85–95, olive oil was not considered essential for staple diets in Classical Greece and earlier, but belonged to a “semi-luxury” category, which, however, may well have been used in banquets. Olive oil had various functions in the daily life and must have been essential for the lamps of the Temple. Baumbach 2004, 96–7, refers to later literary sources informing us that the Classical Hera statue was decorated with vine leaves and the very banqueting equipment in the Argive Heraion gives evidence of wine consumption on a greater scale (IS II and V, 55).

⁶⁸ Linders 1994 refers to chick peas, beans and other vegetables and for fruit mentions apples, walnuts and figs. At the Classical dining in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth were served lentils, vetch, peas, grass peas, figs, grapes and pomegranates (cf. Bookidis *et al.* 1999 and Bookidis 2003, 255). The terracotta miniature votive mould, *AH* II, 43, No. 277, fig. 84 (cf. Baumbach 2004, 91) contains a pear, a nut, and a fig, besides some sea shells.

⁶⁹ Cf. Baumbach 2004, 91. For e.g. Athena's sacred olive grove in Athens, cf. *ThesCRA* III, 312.

we know that Homer in the Iliad called the Argive Plain, “rich in wheat”⁷⁰ and in modern times the Argive Plain had a large corn production.⁷¹ Since the normal provisions for banquets comprised wheat for bread, cakes, and *koulouria*, and barley e.g. for “maza” (barley bread), “pitsane”, (barley gruel) and the drink “kykeon”, the existence of corn fields in the neighborhood of the sanctuary seems a plausible hypothesis.⁷² There are no recognizable agricultural implements among the metal remains at the Argive Heraion; most iron finds in Waldstein’s excavations seem to have been thrown away and from Caskey’s investigations they are for the greater part unrecognizable.⁷³

In accordance with her definition of sacred land, Signe Isager’s criterion for a sacred animal is an animal owned by a god.⁷⁴ They were mostly bred for sacrifices and the ensuing banquets, although as regards the breeding of sacred horses, there must be other motives.⁷⁵ Various inscriptions inform us that domesticated animals belonging to the sanctuaries constituted a significant part of their properties, contributing with sale of livestock during festivals, distribution of sacrificial meat and skin⁷⁶ as well as the sale of skin.⁷⁷ Apparently, stock breeding on both sacred and private land generally laid emphasis on sheep and goats; however, the known inscriptions concerning sacrifices in the Argive Heraion comprise only sheep and oxen.⁷⁸

Most of the above statements are deductions from more general information of sacred land and its products. For the Argive Heraion itself we are on firmer ground only as regards sacred animals. The early votive figures of domestic animals in bronze and terracotta do not appear more numerous than in several other sanctuaries,⁷⁹ nor are the few remains of wheels and other parts of carriages and of horses’ harnesses telling in this respect, since they for the greater part are votives.⁸⁰ Nevertheless, we have some information on this matter from ancient literary sources. As early as in Pindar’s Nemean Odes (Nem. 10, 23) we learn that oxen were the favoured sacrificial animals to the Argive Hera, while the term *Hekatombeion* for the Hera festival from the 5th to the 3rd centuries BC may be taken as a sign that there was a permanent large herd of oxen linked with the sanctuary.⁸¹

Horses were plentiful on the Argive Plain already in the Middle Helladic Period judging from archaeological finds and in Homer as well as in later literary sources Argive horses are said to be famous.⁸² According to Diodorus Siculus (4, 15) the Argive Heraion possessed a large number of sacred horses. Their consecration to Hera goes

⁷⁰ XIV, 122–3, and XV, 372.

⁷¹ Lehmann 1937, 116–8.

⁷² For “maza”, cf. Braun 1995; for “pitsane”, cf. Linders 1994; and for “kykeon”, a drink consisting of barley flour, goat’s cheese, wine and honey, cf. Ridgway 1997. For cakes and *koulouria* cf. *AH* II, 42, and 117, pl 58, 13; *Tiryns* I, 85, figs. 26–9; *Perachora* I, 67–9; Menadier 1996, 159 with references also to the sanctuary of Hera Akraia at Mon Repos on Korkyra; and cf. Baumbach 2004, 91.

⁷³ Cf. *IS* IV, 96, note 42.

⁷⁴ Isager 1992 b, 19.

⁷⁵ For horses, Isager 1992b, 16, suggests religious processions or sale.

⁷⁶ Isager 1992b and Psaroudakis 2000, 34 and 36; Horster 2004, 204 and Lupu, 71–2.

⁷⁷ Kritzas 1992, 235, quotes an inscription from Argos, dated to around 450 BC, concerning the newly re-instituted Hera festivals, and referring to the sale of skins, cf. also Rougemont 1977, 17, No. 5; Lupu, 72 and Horster 2004, 204.

⁷⁸ According to *ThesCRA* I, 83. (Cf. also the Argos–Tylissos–Knossos Treaty dated to 460/450 BC, where a heifer should be sacrificed to Hera, presumably to the Argive Hera, Graham 1983, 235–44 (and for the Hera mentioned here being identical with the Argive Hera, Graham 1983, 244) and *Nomima* I, No. 54 with other references).

⁷⁹ For bronze figures, cf. *IS* IV, 52–8 and *IS* V, 58–9, and for terracotta figures, *AH* II, 39–42 and Baumbach 2004, 96.

⁸⁰ *IS* V, 87–8.

⁸¹ For bovine sacrifices in Hera sanctuaries in general, cf. *ThesCRA* I, 83–4 and for sacred herds, cf. *ThesCRA* III, 321–2. For the term *Hekatombeion*, (*ThesCRA* I, 83. No. 161, cf. in particular, Amandry, 1980, 233–44 and Amandry 1983, 629. I leave out Herodotos’ story of Kleobis and Biton (Her. I, 31), since Graf 1996, 55, rightly points out that the information of their mother being a priestess is as late as Plutarch; presumably she was just an upper-class inhabitant of Argos, waiting for her ox-driven carriage to come back from the fields in order to bring her to a ceremony at the Heraion. The story cannot be taken as evidence for the priestess living at Argos. Now that the identification of the Delphi kouroi as Kleobis and Biton is doubtful (Vatin 1982 and Faure 1985), these statues do no longer supply an ante quem date for the story.

⁸² For the Prehistoric periods, cf. Dietz 1991, 326; for Homer, cf. references from Wiesner 1968, F 30, and cf. below, Diodorus Siculus.

back to mythological times, as they are said to be Diomedes' horses given to Hera by Eurystheus after the completion of Heracles' labours. However, since Diodor informs us that their breed continued down into the reign of Alexander the Great, the existence of Hera's sacred horses should presumably be regarded as historical knowledge rather than mere mythology.

There are several problems concerning the utilization of sacred land, including pasture.⁸³ In general the leasing of sacred land, and possibly also of herding, constituted a considerable part of the official income from the sanctuaries in the Classical city-states, which can be inferred from the many preserved leasing inscriptions, mostly from Athens and Delos. They are particularly numerous in the 4th century BC, where they may indicate a new procedure;⁸⁴ whereas I do not know of any examples from the Archaic period. In some cases it is uncertain to which polis, the sacred land of a sanctuary actually belonged, as shown for example by the 4th century BC quarrel between Megara and Athens about the Orgas, part of the sacred land of the Demeter-Kore Sanctuary of Eleusis. This may imply that formerly the sanctuary itself and not any specific settlement was responsible for affairs concerning the sacred land.⁸⁵

The impression of economic independence of the early Greek sanctuaries is strengthened, when one looks at their banking activities. Throughout Antiquity there are many examples of sanctuaries giving loans to or receiving deposits from private persons as well as from city-states. The most important are the wealthy Apollo sanctuaries of Delos and Delphi, although more than 20 different sanctuaries are known to carry out such financial transactions.⁸⁶ In the epigraphic material there seems to be at least one Archaic example; a very fragmentary inscription of the second half of the 6th century BC from Mycenae mentions both interest and obeloi.⁸⁷ In an Archaic inscription from Eretria, dated to between 550 BC and 525 BC, the penalty for not paying a fine to the city-state was entrusted to the Hera sanctuary.⁸⁸ Most importantly, the Archaic Greek sanctuaries are known to be intermediaries in private loans, by pointing out witnesses to the transactions and by keeping the loan documents in

store.⁸⁹ Although our evidence from pre-Classical Greece is scanty, it seems to indicate an early period, where the sanctuaries managed their own financial affairs and where income from the leasing of sacred land and sacred animals as well as from actual banking activities secured the basic independent economy of the sanctuaries.⁹⁰

For the Argive Heraion, as far as I know, we do not today have any information about the leasing of sacred land or of possible banking activities, neither hints concerning the pre-Classical periods, nor pre-

⁸³ Isager & Skydsgaard 1992, 184–5; *ThesCRA* III, 309; Horster 2004, 192–213. For sacred land left unworked. *cf.* Delphi, *ThesCRA* III, 309–10, No. 32).

⁸⁴ Horster 2004, 139–91.

⁸⁵ Isager 1992a, 120–1; Isager & Skydsgaard 1992, 185, and *ThesCRA* III, 309–10, No. 31.

⁸⁶ In general, Bogaert 1968, 279–99. Bogaert mentions two Archaic examples of loan or deposit, one in the Heraion of Samos by Kleisthenes of Athens and another in the Athena Lindia Temple on Rhodes, Bogaert 1968, 205 and 279–81. However, both are doubtful, since the former is mentioned as late as by Cicero and the latter is mythical. An Archaic loan document connected with a sanctuary of a goddess in Gela is not accepted in *Nomima* II, No. 77. Of banking activities in Ephesos, there is only literary information, but the large number of early electron coins found here, belonging to Artemis, may be a sign of such economic dealings, *cf.* below p. 88 and n. 132. *Cf.* also Davies 2001, 126–7.

⁸⁷ The inscription was found in the Hellenistic wall around the Acropolis of Mycenae and is therefore likely to come from the sanctuary on top of the Acropolis, not from the town. Orlandos 1964, 69–70 and fig. 82; Jeffery 1990, 445, 1 a; *Nomima* II, No. 62.

⁸⁸ A fragmentary inscription in Eretria, from a building, which in itself is an early sign, is dated to the third quarter of the 6th century BC and mentions fines in legal coinage, “kremata dokima”, which must mean that the currency should be officially approved by the city-state, since Eretria at that time did not issue their own coins. If the culprit failed to fulfill his obligations, he would be responsible to the Hera Sanctuary. Guarducci I, 220–3, and Guarducci 1987, 65–6, fig. 29; Jeffery 1990, 84–5 and 87, No. 9; *Nomima* I, No. 91. For some reason, the name of Hera is later erased.

⁸⁹ Kalligas 1971 publishes early 5th century BC loan documents, written on lead plaques, coming from an unidentified sanctuary in Korkyra, placed between the harbour and the Artemis sanctuary, presumably bottomry loans from a Poseidon sanctuary. Kalligas refers to loan documents being stored in the sanctuaries in large metal or stone vessels (*cf.* Hansen 2004, 130). Jeffery 1990, 452–3, No. 14a and *Nomima* II, No. 73.

⁹⁰ *Cf.* in general, Horster 2004, 190–213.

served Classical inscriptions, which might reflect earlier conditions. However, this state of things may be altered by the recent find of the archives of the Pallas Athena sanctuary in Argos, comprising also those of the Classical Argive Heraion. It consists of a large group of inscribed bronze tablets – in all between 120 and 150 – which are now in conservation. At least some 88 tablets have been cleaned and studied. Internal evidence points to a date in the first decades of the 4th century BC, although some may be of a slightly later date. They are all of financial nature and relate to the treasury of the goddess Pallas, where the sacred money of the goddess Hera was also kept.⁹¹ In general, we know little about the economic conditions of the early Argive Heraion. However its geographical situation as well as the information regarding at least its sacred animals indicate that as to income from sacred land this sanctuary was no exception to the general rule. According to some of the above financial documents, Hera sanctuaries in the Archaic period were on a par with other sanctuaries in regard to financial dispositions. Until further information becomes available, we must chiefly rely on archaeological finds for an estimation of the economic status of the early Argive Heraion. The problems can be viewed from different angles: 1) The votives and their possible local production and 2) The equipment for the cult life of the sanctuary, whether acquired from outside or locally produced.

Judging from its votive bronzes, the Argive Heraion was from its earliest phases frequented by, predominantly female, visitors from various Peloponnesian settlements and later on also by visitors from Central and Northern Greece, as verified by the many finds of pins and later of fibulae and other kinds of bronze jewellery. Most likely these specific articles formed a natural part of dress dedications.⁹² At a later date, we have ample epigraphic and literary evidence of such textile dedications in sanctuaries of Hera, Apollo, Artemis and Athena as well as Aphrodite and Eileithyia.⁹³ The early female votive offerings are rather humble and generally the preserved dress articles do not give evidence of wealth, nor do the greater part of the Geometric and early Archaic bronze-votives or most Geometric/early Archaic pottery.

On the other hand, even some groups of rather poor early votive dedications may in themselves represent an independent income for the sanctuary. Just like many other early Greek sanctuaries,⁹⁴ the Argive Heraion had a manufacture of bronzes on the site itself, the evidence going back to at least the first half of the 6th century BC,⁹⁵ probably much earlier. Apart from the possibility of the Greek Geometric bronze tripods having been manufactured at the sanctuary,⁹⁶ there were apparently several Geometric and early Archaic local bronze products such as statuettes, vases and various kinds of personal ornaments including many pin types; presumably they were meant to be acquired on the spot for dedications.⁹⁷ Recently U. Gehrig has suggested that the early 7th century BC cast griffon protome found at the Argive Heraion (Fig. 3), which imitates North Syrian cauldrons, was a local product. Gehrig is unable to classify it within any of his known workshops, which for the greater part come from either Samos or Olympia, although there seem to

⁹¹ Kritzas 2005. Of specific interest is the financing not only of the Hera Festivals, but also of the erection of the New Temple for Hera and its gold-and-ivory statue.

⁹² IS IV, 78–81 and IS V, 46–8 and 85–7; for dress donations, cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 294–5; IS IV, 66 and note 218; and Greco 1997, 196, who refers to the possibility of dedications of bridal dresses.

⁹³ In general, Reuthner 2006, 267–323.

⁹⁴ For bronze production in early Greek sanctuaries in general, cf. Risberg 1992 and 1997; IS IV, 95, note 29; Nordquist 1994; Nordquist 1997, 83, and Nordquist 2002a, 155–8 (the Athena Alea Sanctuary at Tegea); Rolley, 2002a, 50–1. (Archaic Delphi). Cf. also Huber 1997 Apollo Daphnephoros, Eretria, although here apparently not for votives, but for details of building construction. The Late Geometric metal working in Tegea took place right in front of the Temple, in Eretria, close to one side of the Temple. From Philia and Olympia are also published tools for metal working, Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 202–10 and Baitinger & Völling 2007, 29–40.

⁹⁵ IS IV, 39–40.

⁹⁶ IS IV, 52.

⁹⁷ For Geometric/Early Archaic statuettes and ornaments, cf. IS IV, 54–9 and 62 (statuettes) and 65–6 (pendants) and IS V, 65–7 (the 7th century BC lead fibulae with relief decoration) and IS V, 50–7 (the Phrygian imitating lotus bronze bowls at the sanctuary and in particular, p. 52, for differences to the Perachora examples). For bronze pins, cf. IS IV, 79 (Geometric pins III A 3 and III B; Middle Geometric/Late Geometric, lasting into the 7th century BC) and IS V, 85 (Archaic A).

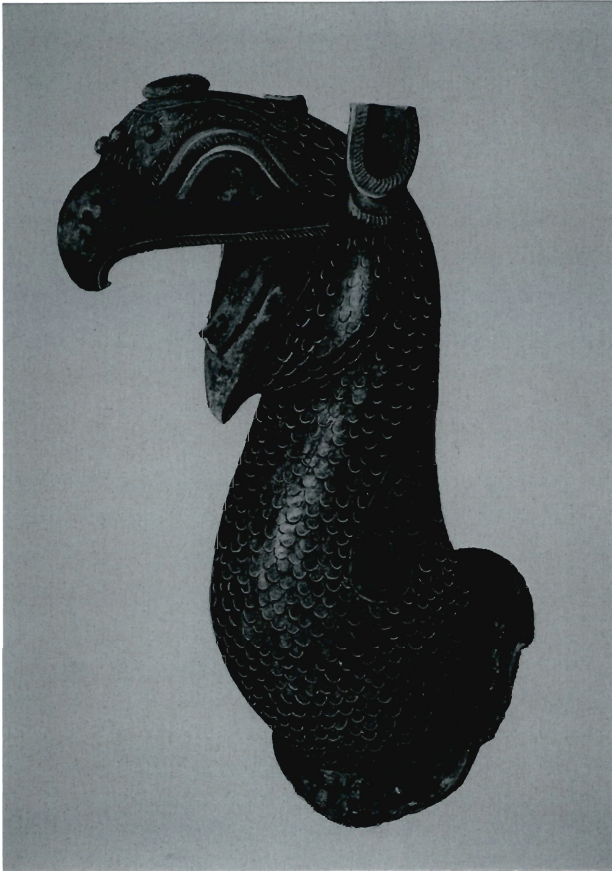


Fig. 3. The Argive Heraion. Cast griffon protome. The National Archaeological Museum of Athens, NM 16563. Photo: The American School of Classical Studies, Athens.

be local workshops also in Miletos, on Rhodes and Crete. A workshop for griffon cauldrons can hardly be localized to Argos, as suggested by Gehrig.⁹⁸ In contrast with the Argive Heraion we have no evidence for North Syrian cauldrons in Argos, nor – as far as I know – for other kinds of North Syrian connections.⁹⁹ If correctly interpreted as a local product, this protome is the most impressive example of 7th century BC Greek bronze working at the Argive Heraion.

A ceramic production is known to be attached to the Archaic Argive Heraion, although of a rather inferior character. The large votive deposit at the Eastern Retaining Wall consisting of Archaic miniature vases, especially hydriai, are so uniform that J.L. Caskey suggested their manufacture to have taken place very close to the sanctuary and the vases presumably to be meant for sale to rather

poor women as votive dedications, in which case they must represent an income for the sanctuary.¹⁰⁰ Such a production must have been organized by the sanctuary. Correspondingly other groups of miniature vases, found identically in the Argive Heraion and several Argive sanctuaries and also produced for sale as dedications to less prosperous visitors, were most likely either manufactured on the spot by itinerant artisans¹⁰¹ or sold from booths leased out by the sanctuary. In both cases securing an income to the sanctuaries.¹⁰² The same procedure may be suggested for the terracotta statuettes,

⁹⁸ Gehrig 2004, 104, *cf.* IS V, 44. Gehrig, 103–4, recognizes local workshops on Rhodes and (p. 98) possibly on Crete and Held 2000, 120, local workshops in Miletos, where the cast griffon protomes are known from the Athena Sanctuary as well as the Apollo Sanctuary at Didyma. For the North Syrian relations of the Argive Heraion, but not of Argos, *cf.* above p. 76 and note 33 and below p. 121 and notes 433–5. The cast griffon protomes have always been regarded as Greek, whereas the provenance of the hammered protomes have been discussed. Rolley *et. al.* 2004–2005 seem to have solved this problem, the analyses of the Delphi specimen showing that its fill is of Near Eastern bitumen.

⁹⁹ *Cf.* below pp. 85 and 121 and notes 109 and 432–4.

¹⁰⁰ Caskey 1952, 193, 197–8 and 211–2. The deposit, which comprised in all 475 miniature hydriai, was closed around 550 BC and can mostly be dated to the preceding 100 years. For miniature hydriai in Apollo sanctuaries, *cf. e.g.* Eretria XIV, II, 7–25 and in Athena sanctuaries, *e.g.* in Timpana della Motta, Maaskant–Kleibrink 2003, 79–81. I do not agree with Baumbach 2004, 94–5, that the collection of miniature hydriai should be seen in relation to a severe drought; hydriai were used for fetching water at the “krene” and therefore to an important household duty connected with water. Caskey 1952, 200 also refers to *AH* II, 100–1 (three-handled jugs) and to other specimens of miniature vases, for which *cf.* also following note.

¹⁰¹ Ekroth 2003 refers especially to the hemispherical bowl with a cross pattern of parallel painted lines both inside and outside the bowl; several hundred examples of which were found at the Argive Heraion alone (*AH* II, 96–7); they are known as well from other Peloponnesian sanctuaries, including sanctuaries in Argos, the Agamemneion of Mycenae, Berbati, Tegea and Tiryns. The second type of miniature vases, to which Ekroth refers, is the dinos with an animal head on its shoulder (*AH* II 98 and Caskey 1952, 200), and with almost the same distribution area, however, including Phlius (Biers 1971, 404).

¹⁰² A Hellenistic inscription from the Heraion of Samos concerns the conditions for leasing out shops at the sanctuary (245/ 244 BC), Kron 1984, 297, *cf.* Lupu, No. 18.

since their types are known from many other sanctuaries in the Argolid as well as from Hera sanctuaries elsewhere (apparently there was some adjustment to the specific cult at each site).¹⁰³ Summing up, the priesthood of the Archaic Greek sanctuaries had ways to obtain an income to the sanctuary from many small sources, which not only included manufacture of votive dedications for sale, but also e.g. the selling of sacrificial cakes or the collecting of fees for participation in religious ceremonies.¹⁰⁴

Other kinds of manufacture at the Argive Heraion may have had purely religious motives as e.g. textile manufacture, which is inferable from the many weaving and spinning implements.¹⁰⁵ They are generally known from Athena and Hera sanctuaries.¹⁰⁶ At the Argive Heraion they presumably served the rather limited purpose of weaving the robe for the cult statue.¹⁰⁷

Of a more sophisticated character are the 8th/7th century BC local ivory seals¹⁰⁸ and the local cutting of stone seals at the sanctuary, both influenced from North Syrian seal cutting.¹⁰⁹ There are other votives of a wealthy character as e.g. several large Geometric and early Archaic pots¹¹⁰ and in the course of the Archaic Period, very fine bronze statuettes and reliefs as well as marble sculptures of which only small fragments are preserved.¹¹¹ Early objects in precious metal are few, but there are some (not all published)¹¹² as well as imported ivory seals and statuettes,¹¹³ all indicating that the Archaic sanctuary was visited also by rather prosperous people.

¹⁰³ *AH II*, 3–11. The seated female terracotta figures are represented in a number of c. 1.800 and the standing figures in a number of c. 400 and both Alroth 1989, 42, and Baumbach 2004, 100–1, believe that the considerably larger proportion of seated figures probably refer to the seated Hera statue in the Archaic Temple, cf. also below note 561. Similar types are found in Argos, Asine, Kourtaki, the Agamemneion at Mycenae, Berbati, Tiryns Troizen and the Corinthia, (including Perachora and Solygeia), cf. Wells 2002b, 104, 106–10 and 126. For their chronology cf., Guggisberg 1988, 170–5 and 222–3. On the other hand, the terracotta statuettes of riding warriors, equally known from many Peloponnesian sanctuaries, are present at the Argive Heraion in a considerably smaller number, less than 50, cf. Baumbach 2004, 97, and for other sanctuaries, cf. Wells 2002 b, 115–6 and 127. Wells refers to a possibly early find context, but it does not seem certain and the warriors are normally dated to the late 7th and the 6th

centuries BC, where the Argive Heraion was appropriated by Argos.

¹⁰⁴ For the budgets and income of Greek sanctuaries in general, cf. Horster 2004, 192–213. Sacrificial cakes, *pelanoi*, were used in the preliminary sacrifices, Lupu, 63, and were sold by the priests, Horster 2004, 204; apparently this was a prevalent practice from early on, since the word *pelanos* was used already in a Delphi inscription dated to before 500 BC as an accepted expression for a moneyed fee, Rougemont 1977, 8–10, No. 1, cf. Davies 2001, 119–20. For fees in connection with religious ceremonies, cf. below note 145.

¹⁰⁵ For spindle whorls and loom weights, cf. *AH II*, 43–4; Caskey 1952, 187; Greco 1997, 195–6 and 198; and Baumbach 2004, 91–9: several spindle whorls, more than 50 loom weights and about 230 spools, presumably belonging to different periods. Baumbach interprets the *kalathiskoi*, popular in the Argive Heraion as well as in Tiryns and Perachora as containers for wool and therefore also related to textile production and so does Maaskant-Kleibrink 2003, 85.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Greco 1997 and Greco 2003, a 4th century BC building in Foce del Sele; the sanctuary replaces the earlier Hera sanctuary, and cf. Maaskant-Kleibrink 1993, 14, 1998, 5–8; 2000, 174–6, and 2003, 54–76, who publishes some of the spinning and weaving instruments from the Early Iron Age sanctuary at Timpone della Motta, which in the late 7th/6th centuries BC was dedicated to Athena.

¹⁰⁷ Reuthner 2006, 291–5 and cf. below p. 96.

¹⁰⁸ *AH II*, 351–3 and pl. 139, 1–3 (ivory seals), cf. *Perachora II*, 411 and 426–7, seals of “Argive” origin in Perachora and of Corinthian in the Argive Heraion, cf. the discussion by Menadier 1996, 168–9. Dunbabin, *Perachora II*, 521, speculates that there are no published examples of amber objects from the Argive Heraion; however, amber objects were found there, e.g. 32 amber beads on the Old Temple Terrace, possibly part of the personal ornaments of the Archaic cult statue, cf. *IS I*, 202.

¹⁰⁹ *AH II*, 343–50, pl. 139, 52–4; Caskey 1952, 183–4, Nos. 119–20, pl. 47, cf. *Perachora II*, pl. 18–32, Boardman 2003, 306–7 and Baumbach 2004, 84, referring to unfinished specimens.

¹¹⁰ Cf. *AH II*, pls. LVI–LVIII and Caskey 1952, 173–5, pl. 50, for fragments of large Argive and Attic Geometric vases and e.g. the Early Protocorinthian pyxis found on the Old Temple Terrace, cf. *IS I*, 178 (with earlier references) and the Middle Protoattic stand, *AH II*, pl. LXVII.

¹¹¹ *IS V*, 58–66 and for the fragments of Archaic marble sculpture, cf. *AH I*, 140–1, figs. 71, Nos. 1–6 (Late Archaic) and No. 7, presumably 7th century BC.

¹¹² Cf. *IS I*, 201, item No. 3 of the list and 202, first column, the penultimate items, and second column, the first items (apart from the Mycenaean rosette), including also the unspecified silver coms and cf. the silver pin with a Hera inscription in the British Museum, *IS IV*, 115, note 269.

¹¹³ *AH II*, 353, No. 87 and. *Perachora II*, 408–9 and 411 Laconian ivory seals and Laconian ivory statuettes of a lion in the two sanctuaries, cf. also Menadier 1996, 168–9, the small ivory statuettes were mostly found in sanctuaries of female deities.

Although definitely accepting them as tokens of wealth in the Late Geometric/early Archaic Argive Heraion, I am viewing some of the early bronzes, such as the Geometric tripods and the banqueting equipment from around 750 BC onward, not as votive offerings, but as part of the ritual paraphernalia necessary for the religious ceremonies of the Argive Heraion and therefore presumably produced at or acquired by the sanctuary. As stated above, the Geometric bronze tripods at the Argive Heraion, in function possibly predecessors to the *perirrhantaria*, were in my opinion manufactured in the sanctuary itself by itinerant artisans, working especially in the Eastern part of the Mainland.¹¹⁴

The North Syrian *lebetes* of the second half of the 8th century BC and the years around 700 BC, presumably containing wine, have counterparts in many Greek sanctuaries of Hera, Apollo, Artemis and Athena, as have the North Syrian and Phrygian shallow drinking bowls of bronze. Possibly, they were acquired by these sanctuaries in organized economic dealings.¹¹⁵ Together with local imitations they were used in a Phrygian banqueting tradition comparable to the one known from Gordion Tomb MM,¹¹⁶ now dated to shortly after 750 BC.¹¹⁷ The many local lotus bowls of Phrygian type were most likely manufactured at the Heraion, where their numbers suggest mass production.¹¹⁸ The above groups of bronze vessels, imports as well as local products, are not recorded from nearby Argos¹¹⁹ nor, as far as I know, from any other early settlement of the Argive Plain. I believe that they should be seen as a sign of the wealth of the sanctuary by its own right and according to its own traditions, not provided by outside settlements. Taking into account the fact that metal objects were often remelted in the sanctuaries,¹²⁰ the existing remains in the Argive Heraion of the categories of early bronze vessels in question are actually quite impressive.

Another group of implements used in banquets are the iron obeloi for roasting the meat for sacrifices and banquets, which are plentiful in many early Archaic sanctuaries. When used as sacrificial instruments the obeloi appear in numbers of two, three or five. For banquets they were used in sets of six as can be inferred

e.g. from the elite warrior tombs at Argos as well as from inscriptions in Greek sanctuaries, often using the term of drachme for a set of six obeloi. In the inscriptions they are generally listed with *lebetes*, one drachme of obeloi to each *lebes*.¹²¹ Like the above-mentioned banqueting vessels of bronze, the obelos inscriptions and the finds of iron obeloi in sanctuaries (in the latter case usually in unspecified numbers) are primarily known from the sanctuaries of Hera, Apollo, Artemis and Athena, although banquets took place in other sanctuaries as well, *e.g.* in those of Demeter,

¹¹⁴ IS IV, 50–2. Polignac 1996, 60 and 65, and Polignac 1998, 151–2, regards all tripods in sanctuaries as *mnema* dedications; my conclusions regarding the Argive Heraion tripods do not concern all finds of Geometric bronze tripods; however, in at least one sanctuary a tripod had a functional character, that of a *perirrhantaria* (IS IV, 50, Isthmia). As regards the suggestion of upper-class donations from neighbouring settlements, it is worth having in mind the discrepancy between such finds at the Argive Heraion and the complete lack in nearby Middle and Late Geometric settlements, not only Argos, but also Mycenae and Tiryns.

¹¹⁵ Cf. IS II, with conclusions, p. 60.

¹¹⁶ IS V, 48–58.

¹¹⁷ For the chronology of Gordion Tomb MM, cf. above note 28. The earliest siren attachment of a North Syrian cauldron in the Argive Heraion, AH 49, cf. IS V, 91, is of Herrmann's Group A like the Gordion cauldrons, Herrmann 1966, 79–85; it must now be dated to shortly after 750 BC, exactly the chronology proposed by Herrmann.

¹¹⁸ IS V, 48–57, cf. above note 97.

¹¹⁹ For bronze phaloi in Argos, although not of the Phrygian type, cf. IS V, 105–6, note 184.

¹²⁰ Cf. Linders 1989–1990.

¹²¹ IS III. Since then the iron obeloi from the Athena Ithonia Sanctuary at Philia have been published (Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 9); none of the published fragments measure more than *c.* 55 cm. Kilian-Dirlmeier (p. 216) regards the obeloi as donations from the nearby warrior elite and applies the same interpretation to the metal cheese graters, which view is shared by Brize 1989–1990, 323, as regards the cheese graters from the Heraion of Samos and the sanctuary of Athena Lindia. Neither the obeloi nor the cheese graters seem to me particularly impressive as aristocratic gifts. In her many references to cheese graters, Kilian-Dirlmeier leaves out Ridgway 1997, who states that they had a function in preparation of the drink “kykeon”, part of the meal at banquets, cf. above note 72. Not only obeloi, also cheese graters are normal banqueting implements in sanctuaries of female deities, cf. *e.g.* Orlandini 1965–67, 5 and 12 and pl. III, 13 and, in particular, Tomlinson 1980.

Poseidon and Zeus, however, not according to the same Phrygian tradition.¹²²

Most of the inscriptions refer to ordinary banqueting equipment. However, in two instances, the obeloi had a monetary value.¹²³ One is the offering in Delphi by Rhodopis (Herodotos 2, 135); the other is the large bundle of 96 iron obeloi found at the Argive Heraion in the area of the Hera Altar¹²⁴ together with a broken iron bar, which in the lance-head form of its upper part resembles one known type of obeloi. It should most likely be interpreted as an offering of the now obsolete currency at the time of introducing Argive coinage, presumably an official offering by Argos.¹²⁵

Referring to various inscriptions, I have reached the conclusion that the generally accepted transition of the iron obeloi from utensils to a secondary function as standards of monetary value should be viewed in connection with their function as banqueting implements in sanctuaries, not as sacrificial instruments. Iron was still an appreciated metal as seen for example from the very oxidized fragments of obeloi, which were deposited around 600 BC together with electron coins and other valuables in the northern cult basis of the Archaic Artemis Temple at Ephesos.¹²⁶

Banqueting was also customary to the male elite of some early Greek settlements. However, judging from the distribution pattern of iron obeloi in graves, few and widespread in geographical as well as chronological respect, the attribution of a monetary value to the organized system of drachmai and obeloi is not likely to have taken place in any of these scattered aristocratic societies.¹²⁷ Looking at the acquisitions of North Syrian and Phrygian banqueting vessels of bronze, the above-mentioned group of sanctuaries, which were linked together by several cult traditions, may have had common economic dealings.¹²⁸ Distant Hera sanctuaries manufactured iron obeloi according to the same standards of length, which differed from those of Argos, thus making it unlikely that the Argive Heraion tradition was introduced from Argos, where the banqueting tradition is of Cypriot origin.¹²⁹

In my opinion, the Greek value system of drachmai and obeloi originated in the banqueting tradition of a specific group of Greek Mainland

sanctuaries. Later uniformly accepted, it apparently was well established before the introduction of silver coinage, to which the value system was transferred.¹³⁰

¹²² For the very early banquets at the Poseidon sanctuary at Isthmia, cf. Morgan 1999, 202 and 319–20, and Morgan 2002, 255, and for the Classical/Hellenistic Demeter Sanctuary at Corinth, the reference to Bookidis above note 68, and cf. the iron obeloi in the Zeus sanctuaries of Dodone, Nemea and Olympia, IS III, 46–7.

¹²³ IS III, 45–6, where I leave out the Perachora dedication.

¹²⁴ Kroll 2001, 84–6, doubts the monetary value of the iron spits at the Argive Heraion, suggesting that they constitute one votive dedication after a great single sacrifice. However, because of the presence of the iron bar, he partly withdraws his objections. Another argument against his theory may be given in the number of 96 obeloi, equivalent with 16 sets of spits, according to the numerical system of 6 obeloi used in banquets; the number of 96 obeloi cannot be divided with five, only with two or three – all numbers used for sacrifices. Such a large sacrifice as suggested would therefore demand either 36 or 26 simultaneous sacrifices, involving a great staff of priests in a sanctuary, where all our information indicates a limited personal. For the position of the Altar, cf. below note 179.

¹²⁵ Cf. IS III with references, p.45 and note 32, to the corresponding Hellenistic dedication at the Agora of Argos.

¹²⁶ Bammer 1996, 90.

¹²⁷ IS III, 42–4.

¹²⁸ IS II for imports of Near Eastern banqueting vessels of bronze. Apart from their common banqueting tradition, there are other signs of collaboration between the sanctuaries as e.g. in the lead and terracotta reliefs of some Peloponnesian Hera sanctuaries, cf. IS V, 65–7, and possibly in the above-mentioned concordance in votive pottery and statuary, above pp. 84–5 and notes 100–1 and 103 and for various cultic aspects, cf. below pp. 96–8 and notes 203–4 and 206–8.

¹²⁹ IS III, 42–4.

¹³⁰ Cf. Schaps 2001, 96 and Schaps 2004, 88. I agree with Schaps that the standardization was introduced for culinary purposes and that presumably spits as implements were seldom used as money, but as Schaps says, "...they traded in spits". Probably the standardization was introduced for practical reasons, six persons, each furnished with an obelos, sharing one lebes. My theories are opposed by other scholars, Polignac 1998, 151; van Wees (*Classical Review* 1994, 411), who on the other hand attributes opinions to me, which I have not stated, and van Reden 1997, who refers to the various contexts for the circulation of obeloi; however, apart from graves, they are all connected with rituals in sanctuaries. According to Grottanelli 1997, 123–4, the role of the sacred implements used as monetary value, which Laum 1924 was the first to suggest (cf. following note), is contradicted by modern

Other known implements for which a monetary value is known, are also of ritual character, in particular the lebetes and tripods, used in banquets and purification rituals, respectively; both are referred to as official payment in Crete.¹³¹ To fully understand the development from utensils to monetary standards one should perhaps pay more regard to studies of the structure and organization of the early sanctuaries than of the city-states.

It seems generally accepted that the first minting of coins in the Aegean area were the electron coins of Lydia, the earliest datable context of which is a deposit in the northern cult basis of the Archaic Artemis Temple at Ephesos in a stratum together with Early Corinthian pottery fragments of the last quarter of the 7th century BC. This *post quem* date is accompanied by the *ante quem* date of the deposit underneath the Artemis Temple of Ephesos, built by Kroisos. According to Bammer, the deposit was a fill and should be dated to before c. 560 BC.¹³² Presumably the earliest minting of electron coins should be dated in the early 6th century BC.¹³³ Electron coins are also minted in some East Greek areas, e.g. in Miletos (and a few Milesian electron coins were found in the above-mentioned cult basis) and Samos; the earliest electron coinage of this island is dated to around 550 BC.¹³⁴ The early silver coinage of the Greek Mainland, influenced from the electron coinage, is later, and is now generally dated to the second half of the 6th century BC,¹³⁵ however, at least from shortly after 550 BC coins were in normal use on Euboea according to an Eretria inscription.¹³⁶

Apart from a direct or indirect access to silver, the prerequisites for creating the transition in Greece from standardized utensils to silver coins, demanded both technical qualifications and standardization of weight, which capabilities seem to be present in early Greek sanctuaries as well as in settlements. Hoards of broken pieces of metal were often found together with metal bars, which sometimes were stamped; such hoards are known from sanctuaries, for example the late 7th to 6th century BC bronze hoards in the Demeter Thesmophoros sanctuary at Bitalemi near Gela with an *aes signatum*, as well as from settlements such as a goldsmith's hoard in a Subgeometric house in Eretria and two late 6th cen-

tury BC hoards from Selinius and Taranto, where Archaic Greek silver coins were found together with silver ingots.¹³⁷ The technical skill of gold- and silversmiths were in several Greek regions far advanced already in the 9th century BC.¹³⁸ Standards of weight, which signify one step towards coin-

sociological results. (Cf. also Kim 2001, 14). In my opinion, archaeological and epigraphic contemporary evidence is more important than modern sociological theories, especially if one is not certain to which community the theories should be applied.

¹³¹ Laum 1924 considered all the implements he studied, tripods, lebetes, axes *etc.* as sacrificial instruments; however, although most are connected with rituals in sanctuaries, some have non-sacrificial functions; tripods may have served as purification vessels (*cf.* above note 114), and the lebetes and the iron spits in numbers of six are definitely banqueting implements. Parise 1997, 3, and Kron 1998, 196–7, do not accept all Laum's suggestions, especially not the sickles. For lebetes as payment in Cretan early laws, e.g. the Gortyn Laws, *cf.* *Nomima* II, Nos 11, 22 and 92 and the commentary, 71–2: the inscriptions mention such a great number of vessels that they must refer to symbolic values, not actual tripods.

¹³² Electron coins from Ephesos, Bammer 1990, 137–50 (with earlier references); and Crawford 2003, 74, App. 1, *cf.* p. 69 (a foundation deposit). For the find in the northern cult base, *cf.* also Bammer 1991a; 1991b, 64, and 1996; *cf.* in general Kim 2001, 9–11 and Schaps 2004, 93–6. Until now 114 electron coins have been found in the sanctuary, Karwiese 2008, 133.

¹³³ Le Rider 2001, suggests a date about 590–580 BC, midway in the reign of Alyattes.

¹³⁴ For the Milesian electron coins in the northern cult base, *cf.* references note 132; Karwiese, 2008, 134, also refers to electron coins in Ephesos from other sites. Three hoards with Samos electron coins are dated to c. 560–540 BC, Touratsoglou & Tsakos 2008, 109 and table opposite p. 114.

¹³⁵ *Cf.* below p. 92 and note 170.

¹³⁶ Above note 88.

¹³⁷ Orlandini 1965–67, the *aes signatum*, p. 13 and 19, pl. XIII, 2, from Deposit 26, not later than 550 BC, *cf.* Kron 1992, 633–5 (the Demeter Thesmophoros Sanctuary at Bitalemi near Gela) and Themelis 1980; *cf.* Kopcke 1992, 112 and pls. XXII–XXIIa; Risberg 1992, 39; and Kroll 2001, 77–9. (A goldsmith's hoard in a house in Eretria, situated about 150–200 north of the Apollo Sanctuary; the hoard was placed in a Subgeometric skyphos dated to shortly after 700 BC). The Selinus hoard of 165 Greek silver coins found together with 4 fragmentary silver ingots included Sybaris coins, issued before 510 BC, the date of the destruction of Sybaris; the Taranto hoard is slightly later (Arnold–Bucchi, Beer–Tobey & Waggoner 1988); for the former find *cf.* also Van Buren 1961, 381–2, and for the latter also Stos–Gale 2001, 66).

¹³⁸ *Cf.* e.g. the Khaniale Teke find; the Athenian Lady's grave, and Lefkandi, Coldstream 2003, 55–6 and 63–4.

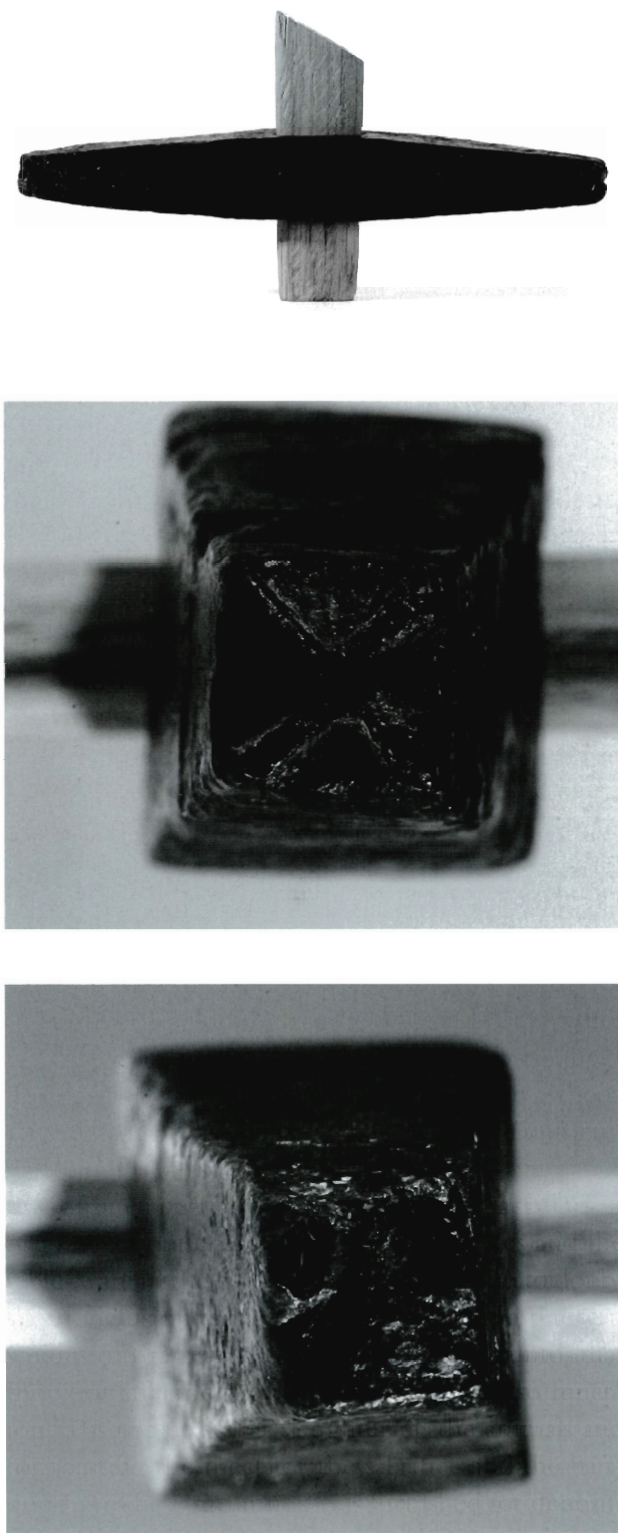


Fig. 4 a-c. The Poseidon Sanctuary at Sounion. Die for a “Wappenmünzen” coin. Photo: The National Archaeological Museum of Athens. Inv. No. 14926.

age, are likewise documented in both kinds of early Greek organized communities as for example in a fragment of a goldsmith’s scales found in a votive deposit in Satricum in Central Italy, dated to between 800 and 600 BC, and in a balance weight of bronze and lead, following the Euboean standard weight, from a late 8th to early 7th century metal workshop in Pithekoussai.¹³⁹

A bronze weight, which according to its weight as well as its inscribed signs is equivalent to 30 Sybaris silver drachmai was found on the slope of Timpone della Motta at Francavilla Marittima, having fallen down from the 6th century BC Athena Sanctuary on its top.¹⁴⁰

The examples of Classical coin minting in Greek sanctuaries in connection with for example the Festivals in Olympia cannot be regarded as examples of normal currency, since they are due to ceremonial initiatives by the fully developed city-states.¹⁴¹ On the other hand, they give evidence of coin minting having taken place in Greek sanctuaries.

The minting of coins is regarded as “a good indication for a polis status”.¹⁴² However, the find in the Poseidon Sanctuary at Sounion of a die for the earliest Attic coin type, the so-called “Wappenmünzen” (Fig. 4), opens for a renewed discussion of the question.¹⁴³ The “Wappenmünzen” are in-

¹³⁹ Nijboer 1998, 302–7, figs. 65–6, a bar to a small pair of scales, made of copper alloy and identified with a jeweller’s balance, found in a votive deposit which also contained a metal weight. In the late 8th/early 7th century BC metal workshop in Pithekoussai was found a balance weight of bronze and lead, of the Euboean standard weight (8.79 g.) used later in Euboean coinage (*EAA, Sec. Suppl.* vol III, 1995, 127, fig. 125 above (Buchner)). (The scales and weights from Olympia are all Classical or later, cf. Hitzl 1996, 97–101).

¹⁴⁰ Zancani-Montuoro 1965–67. For Timpone della Motta, cf. above note 106. Since Sybaris was destroyed in 510 BC, the bronze weight is earlier than that date.

¹⁴¹ The iron stamp found in Olympia, Building E, close to the Bouleuterion, in a layer buried before 460/450 BC is presumably a die, but too corroded to be definitely identified. Batzinger & Völling 2007, 191–4, Cat. No. 795, pl. 69: references notes 947–9 to Olympia as a place for coin minting. Cf. also Hansen 2004, 145 for Didyma.

¹⁴² Hansen 2004, 149.

¹⁴³ The National Archaeological Museum at Athens, Inv. No. 14926. Kalligas 1997.

cuse silver coins with designs like escutcheons; they are divided into didrachms, drachms and obols, thus comprising also small currency.¹⁴⁴ Apparently the small coins were used chiefly as local or regional currency and they seem to be of particular importance for the economy of the early Greek sanctuaries, like so many other sources of small income.¹⁴⁵ The die, presumably for a didrachm, was already found by Stais in a bothros with discarded offerings of the 7th/6th centuries BC and illustrated in his final report in 1907, but was not adequately published until 1997 by P. Kalligas. The find gives much technical information about early Greek coin minting and puts an end to the debate, whether the “Wappenmünzen” were Euboean or Attic, but it also raises new questions. Since it belongs to the earliest Attic coin type, dated to Peisistratian times in the second half of the 6th century BC, the introduction of the earliest Attic coins may in some way be connected with this sanctuary, which was situated not far from the Laurion mines. Kalligas asks the question: “Is it possible that in the Archaic period the State was not yet responsible for coinage?” To me it seems a plausible suggestion regarding the initial phase of coin minting, to which the group of “Wappenmünzen” belong. Apparently, the “Wappenmünzen” were demonetized, when they were superseded by the first “owl” coin issues, a practice, which according to Kraay was unparalleled for Athenian currency until the 2nd century BC and which may indicate a new administrative procedure.¹⁴⁶ Kalligas also speculates, whether the minting of Attic coins came under state control only after Kleisthenes’ reforms in 508 BC, in which case Kalligas is inclined to see individuals as being in charge of the earlier minting of coins.¹⁴⁷ In my opinion, it is far too advanced an initiative for one individual to undertake at this time and I find it a more likely hypothesis that the very sanctuary, in which the die was found, was in charge of its minting and actually introduced early Attic coinage, partly for religious purposes.¹⁴⁸ An Archaic Greek sanctuary was a wealthy and well-organized community with skilled craftsmen and various economic dealings and early Greek sanctuaries, also the Poseidon Sanctuary at Sounion, had far-reaching outside relations,¹⁴⁹ which might open for an early acquaintance with the coin minting of the Eastern

Mediterranean. Already the standardization behind a monetary system was well established in Mainland Greek sanctuaries and the geographic position of both this sanctuary and the nearby Athena Sanctuary, close to the Laurion mines, may well have led the two sanctuaries into taking an active part in the early exploitation of the mines. Later, the minting of coins were taken over by the Athenian State, probably as suggested by Kalligas in connection with Kleisthenes’ reforms.¹⁵⁰

Argos

The Argolid has always been known as important arable land in Greece and the conditions for farming around Argos were the same as for the Argive Heraion.¹⁵¹ As was the case for the sanctuary, I am not acquainted with Geometric/early Archaic farming implements found in Argos and there are few known references of agricultural character connected with the site; one is Herodotus’ story of Kleobis and Biton referring to oxen as both farming and draught animals.¹⁵² However, the frequency of horses as a motif on Late Geometric Argive vases confirm the literary information of ancient Argolis as famous for its horses and horse breeding.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁴ For “Wappenmünzen”, cf. Kraay 1976, 56–60.

¹⁴⁵ For small change, cf. Kraay 1964, 85–8 and Kim 2002, 48–51. Kim speculates about their use in religious ceremonies, referring to two 5th century BC inscriptions, one from Andros and another from Eleusis, both dealing with payment in small change to the sanctuaries for persons taking part in rituals or festivals; it can be seen as one more sign that the sanctuaries were apt to look for means of getting small sums from their visitors. Cf. above pp. 84–5 and notes 100–1 and 103–4.

¹⁴⁶ Kraay 1976, 60.

¹⁴⁷ Kalligas 1997, 147.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Hopper 1967, 26; Kraay 1976 and Oeconomides 1987, refer to the Pantathenaic festivals; however, the coins may originally be connected with local ceremonies at the Sounion sanctuaries.

¹⁴⁹ In the same deposit as the die was also found a bronze pendant representing the Syrian god Reshef, cf. Kalligas 1997, 142.

¹⁵⁰ For the chronology of the “owl” issues, cf. below note 170.

¹⁵¹ Cf. above pp. 79–81 and notes 58 and 70–1, and cf. Pierart 2004.

¹⁵² Cf. above note 81.

¹⁵³ Cf. above pp. 81–2 and note 82. Pappi 2006, has collected the Argive Late Geometric vases with representation of horses.

Already in the Protogeometric period Argos had an established production of pottery and metal work, as inferable from ceramic ovens and installations for silver extraction found in the centre of modern Argos.¹⁵⁴ Both industries continue at a technically high level throughout the Geometric and Archaic periods as obvious from the quality of the Argive Geometric pottery and *e.g.* the 7th century BC polychrome Polyphemos vase¹⁵⁵ as well as the Geometric and Archaic local bronzes and the 6th century BC lead figurine manufacture at the Aphrodision, in itself a sign of continued silver extraction.¹⁵⁶ From the Protogeometric period onward, there is a local production of iron and bronze pins and rings as well as from the Geometric period of bronze bowls such as the so-called “Kalottenschalen”.¹⁵⁷ However, the most important metal production at Argos is connected with warriors’ equipment, not only offensive weapons in iron and bronze, which are known from the Protogeometric period onwards;¹⁵⁸ but in particular the complete warrior outfit with a bronze helmet and cuirass in Tomb 45, dated to shortly before 700 BC, and the bronze helmets in other contemporary Argos tombs¹⁵⁹ and for the Archaic period, the manufacture of bronze shields with relief bands, contemporary with and closely similar to the Corinthian ones.¹⁶⁰ Also the Late Geometric and early Archaic statuettes from Argos are outstandingly fine, the former illustrates the war-like attitude of Late Geometric Argos; the latter is, on a smaller scale, of the same standard as the well-known Delphi kouroi by an Argive sculptor.¹⁶¹

In the Western Argolid there were no local metal ores¹⁶² and the mineral sources important for its economic status must be sought outside the region. Possibly, the seaward outlook of the outside relations of early Argos, which in particular reached Attica, the Cyclades, and Cyprus, should be viewed in this connection. Economic reasons may have turned the interests of Argos toward Attica with its silver mines at Laurion, to the Cycladic islands with silver and copper and to the copper island of Cyprus.¹⁶³ This general outward look of the economic interests of Argos may be one reason that there are representations of ships on several Late Geometric Argive vases.¹⁶⁴ Presumably, indirect

access to metals may be the basic source for the high economic status of the upper-class inhabitants of Argos in the Late Geometric period, the elite who were buried in the warriors’ tombs. At any rate the banqueting tradition of this class is due to Cypriot influences, like the same tradition which at different times is observable on Crete and possibly Euboea, as well as in the early aristocratic warriors’ tombs in Etruria, the tradition presumably in all cases directly influenced from Cyprus.¹⁶⁵

The elite warriors’ group, who probably initiated the cult at the Mycenaean Prosymna tombs surrounding the Argive Heraion, apparently did not want to bury their wealth in the sanctuaries, neither in the Argive Heraion nor in the sanctuaries in Argos itself, where the early votives in general seem rather mediocre and do not show military aspects.¹⁶⁶ Not until the foundation of the Aphrodision in the second half of the 7th century BC are there signs of a wealthy sanctuary within the borders of Argos

¹⁵⁴ The Protogeometric ceramic ovens and for the Protogeometric installations for silver extraction, *cf.* Courbin 1963, 73, with fig. 8, and 98–100 and Touchais & Divari-Valakou 1998, 14 and no. 67 and Lemos 2002, 138. For the lead figurine production in the Aphrodite Sanctuary, *cf.* below note 156.

¹⁵⁵ Courbin 1966 and the Polyphemos vase *e.g.* Piérart & Touchais 1996, 38 above.

¹⁵⁶ IS IV, 60–2 and IS V, 67–74 with references note 198, to Crossant’s preliminary publications of the Aphrodision and its lead reliefs.

¹⁵⁷ For the Protogeometric pins and rings, *cf.* also Lemos 2002, 104 and 116; for the Geometric ornaments, *cf.* IS IV, 68–9, 76–7 and 82–4 and for the so-called “Kalottenschalen” *cf.* IS IV, 84–5 and IS V, 55 and note 115.

¹⁵⁸ Protogeometric: Lemos 2002, 120–1 (daggers and spearheads); Geometric: Courbin 1974, 133–5.

¹⁵⁹ Courbin 1957 and Courbin 1974, 135, note 7, 40–1 (Tomb 45) and Protonotariou-Deilaki 1982, *cf.* Foley 1988, 86–8.

¹⁶⁰ Bol 1989, 89–93.

¹⁶¹ *Cf.* above note 156.

¹⁶² Lehmann 1937, Philippson 1959; and Zangger 1993, all refer to stone sources, not to metal ores, in contrast to Philippson’s references to metal ores for other Greek regions.

¹⁶³ *Cf.* Stos-Gale 2001, 54, 60 and 72 for ancient exploitation and use of lead and silver from Laurion and Siphnos. There was copper on Euboea and Paros and Cyprus is of course well-known for its copper.

¹⁶⁴ Pappi 2006, 232–3.

¹⁶⁵ *Cf.* IS III and Ström 2001, 371 (Conclusions).

¹⁶⁶ *Cf.* IS IV, 85.

and, from about that time onwards also of exquisite sculpture donations, the Delphi kouroi being one example of the economic and cultural stage of Archaic Argos, the 6th century BC monumental architecture another.¹⁶⁷

It is a question at what time Argos felt the need for a coinage system. The tradition of Pheidon, king or tyrant, introducing the weighing and measuring systems in Argos as well as the modern attribution to him of beginning the minting of coins in the Aeginetan standard, cannot be considered historically correct.¹⁶⁸ Apparently coins were minted comparatively late in Argos, compared with most Greek city-states,¹⁶⁹ where the earliest silver coinage started around or shortly after 550 BC and where coins were widely distributed before c. 510 BC.¹⁷⁰ Early Argos coinage may be dated as late as the beginning of the 5th century BC, but definitely before 480 BC.¹⁷¹

Centralized organization/ administration

The urbanization of Iron Age Greece represents a new start after the destruction of the earlier Prehistoric urbanized cultures, the Minoan and Mycenaean palatial civilizations. Although there exists elements of survival from the Greek Bronze Age to the Iron Age,¹⁷² the cultural break-down of the earlier civilizations, as well as the differences in organization of the two urbanized periods, speak immediately for an independent development of the second phase of urbanization.

As noted above, in my opinion, the most important criterion for urbanization is the centralized organization of the community. Of the many scholars, who have studied the phenomenon of Greek urbanization,¹⁷³ I feel mostly in line with R. Osborne's views. However, although I agree with Osborne that a city or city-state presupposes a relatively large population,¹⁷⁴ neither the size of a settlement nor of some of its buildings can in themselves be taken as criteria for urbanization. A few larger buildings in an otherwise rather humble settlement primarily indicate social differentiation and may, together with other phenomena such as

craft specialization, be seen as stages towards an urban development rather than as an accomplished

¹⁶⁷ For the architectural terracottas, *cf.* below p. 111 and note 326.

¹⁶⁸ Pheidon's reign is now dated to the first half of the 6th century BC from established synchronisms (Der neue Pauly, vol. 9, 765).

¹⁶⁹ Martin 1995, 276.

¹⁷⁰ The introduction of silver coinage in Greece is generally placed later than by Kraay 1976, 43, and is now dated to the second half of the 6th century BC, *cf.* Kim 2001, 10–1. However, the above-mentioned Eretria inscription, note 88, shows that at least on Euboea coins were a normal commodity in economic transactions in the third quarter of the 6th century BC. From several hoards it is obvious that Greek silver coins were widespread before c. 510 BC, *cf.* Root 1988, 2–3 and 8–10, respectively, for two Persepolis finds, one of an Aeginetan silver coin in a context dated to between 520 and 510 BC, the other an Athenian tetradrachm of the earliest “owl” issues, used as a seal on a tablet in a deposit dated to not later than 500 BC; (for the absolute chronology of both, *cf.* p. 11); and *cf.* the Selinous hoard above note 137 and Kim 2001, 11 and note 11.

¹⁷¹ The earliest datable Argos silver coins come from an Archaic deposit underneath the floor of the 5th century BC Poseidon Temple at Isthmia and are dated to before 480 BC, when the early Temple was destroyed by fire about the time of the Persian Wars (*cf.* Broneer 1955, 134–6 and *Isthmia* I, 1). According to Hackens 1976, the minting of coins in Argos probably began in the last quarter of the 6th century BC. *Cf.* also Pierart 2004, 606: early 5th century BC.

¹⁷² *Cf.* above note 19 with reference to *e.g.* Kalapodi and Tegea and below pp. 105–6 and note 266, Dreros and the “hearth temples”.

¹⁷³ *Cf.* IS I, 199–200, notes 178–9; above notes 1–2 and 4–7, and in general the Copenhagen Polis publications, in particular, Hansen 1997, 32–4; Hansen 2004 and *cf.* below p. 103 and note 252. Figueira 2006, 290–1 doubts Hansen's definitions. Hansen answers Figueira's review, *AWE* 6, 2007, 321–7. The most comprehensive, short definition of a Greek polis is, in my opinion, the central part of the one given by Jeffery 1976, 39: “a unit of people who a) occupied a territory containing as its central rallying-point a town which held the seat of government... and b) had autonomy...”.

¹⁷⁴ Osborne 2003, 8, with reference to Gordon Childe's 10 points of definition for urbanization, which he generally refutes (pp. 6–8), because they mostly are items with no functional relationship between them and want social, political or economic function. Osborne uses the expressions: “relatively dense and relative large communities”. The terms are vague; for the difficulties in estimating the numbers of inhabitants even in a thoroughly excavated town, *cf.* De Angelis 2003, 40–7 on Megara Hyblaea. Also Morgan & Coulton 1997 refer to Childe's definition and use the term of “a relatively large number of people in a restricted area.” *Cf.* also below p. 103 and notes 251–3.

urbanization.¹⁷⁵ I also agree with Osborne in his statement that the function of the official buildings is more relevant for the definition of urbanization than their size or their monumentality. Only when we have contemporary evidence of a centralized organization such as written laws, epigraphic information of official bodies, or archaeological evidence for administrative buildings, should we be allowed to speak of an urban community in contrast with a village or some other settlement of individual dwellings and this development normally passes through many stages.¹⁷⁶

My aim for this part of the investigation is to study the organization of the sanctuaries during the period of the development of early Greek urbanization comparing it with that of the settlements, in order to try to point at possible examples of interaction between them. My starting point is as usual the Argive Heraion compared with Argos, both of which sites – as inferable from my earlier studies – originally were independent communities.¹⁷⁷ However, since the contemporary information from both sites is very slight, evidence from other sanctuaries and settlements will be included in my studies.

The Argive Heraion (and other sanctuaries)

In order to be defined as a Greek sanctuary the site should include the following basic material elements: an altar, votive offerings, often placed in the proximity of the altar, and some kind of demarcation of the sacred precinct, all three elements presupposing an organized cult life with a priesthood performing sacrifices and other religious ceremonies, receiving and disposing of the gifts of worshippers as well as undertaking a deliberate demarcation of the sacred area.¹⁷⁸

As regards the Argive Heraion we have very little knowledge of the early Altar site, which was situated to the east of the Classical Temple.¹⁷⁹ The earliest bronze object, published from the area is the handle figure of a solid cast tripod (Athens NM 16551), which may have functioned as a purification vessel. The figure should presumably be dated to the early 8th century BC,¹⁸⁰ but as stated above, the votive offerings at the sanctuary in general indicate an

earlier existence of the sanctuary, definitely from the Early Geometric period, probably back to Proto-Geometric.¹⁸¹

Early boundary markings for sanctuaries usually consisted of either horos stones or walls, for neither of which we have early evidence at the early Argive Heraion, although such early remnants exist elsewhere in the Argolid.¹⁸² The Apollo Pythneus Sanctuary of Asine, situated on the Barbouna Hill, was surrounded by a wall resting on stone foundations, dated to Argive Late Geometric IIa. The foundations, which could be followed for some 500 metres, were discovered in the early Asine excavations in the 1930s; it was built of larger and smaller rough stones, had a width of two metres and was preserved to a height of one or two courses. The wall is precisely dated by pots, which were found in

¹⁷⁵ For a Protogeometric/Geometric settlement with expansion of habitation areas as well as pottery and metal works, but without any sign of communal organization, cf. e.g. Protogeometric/Early-Middle Geometric Argos, below p. 111 and cf. Coldstream 2003, 31–2; and for early settlements with larger houses for more affluent people, cf. e.g. Emporio on Chios and Zagora on Andros, summary Coldstream 2003, 304–8. For the conclusions by Mazarakis-Aimian 1997, cf. below p. 132.

¹⁷⁶ References above note 174 to Osborne and Morgan & Coulton, who also for example refer to the use of writing and monumental public architecture, both phenomena are observable in early sanctuaries as well.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. above pp. 73–7, Introduction.

¹⁷⁸ *ThesCRA* IV, 1–2 and Lupu, 54–75 (her analyses are based on literary information from the Classical period or later).

¹⁷⁹ I have expressed the same doubt as Pfaff 2003, 7–8, as to the identification of the oblong structure excavated east of the Second Temple, Blegen 1937, 16–7; IS I, 176–7. However after having read Waldstein's notes about the structure, at which the iron obeloi were found, I am more inclined to accept its identification, cf. below pp. 139–40 and notes 574–5. In his note book, No. 39, p. 43, Waldstein writes: "... Here mass of stones very early ones at strange angles... what Dörpfeld has called polygonal ..." At any rate, this area is the most reasonable position for the altar, although its exact position and appearance is still not certain.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. IS IV, 42–3 and 50.

¹⁸¹ Cf. above pp. 74–5 and notes 18, 23 and 26.

¹⁸² At Mycenae there is a horos stone for the Hera Sanctuary, dated to the early 5th century BC, cf. Jeffery 1990, 173–4, No. 4; for horos stones in 6th century BC sanctuaries, cf. Guarducci IV, 46–50, and cf. *ThesCRA* III, 2, for other references. For the 7th century BC boundary wall of the Apolloi Pytheus Sanctuary in Argos, see Lang 1996, 175.

two small areas in Berit Wells' later excavations; the pots had been placed on virgin soil in close connection with the wall. There were fragments of four kraters, a handmade amphora and a cup, which had served as its lid. All the pots were cut into halves, longitudinally or latitudinally. There were no miniature vessels or terracotta figurines, which might suggest a votive deposit. I agree with Berit Wells in her conclusion that the pots are remnants of a communal ritual at the time of the consecration of the boundary wall, either a drinking ceremony or some kind of ritual meal including drinking; after the ceremony the pots were deliberately made unfit for further use.¹⁸³ According to Rune Frederiksen, there are no examples of fortified sanctuaries in the pre-Classical Periods.¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, I am inclined to view this rather strong construction of an early boundary wall in connection with the threat of an impending attack by Argos, such as took place about a decade later, where the whole settlement was destroyed except for the Apollo Pytheos sanctuary.¹⁸⁵ The deposits and their placing close to the wall have evidently the character of a communal ritual.¹⁸⁶

The large Temple Terrace of the Argive Heraion and the early Hera Temple placed on it are dated to around and shortly after 700 BC, respectively; together they constitute the earliest example of a large, organized architectural enterprise in the sanctuary and, in my opinion, undertaken by the sanctuary, not by Argos.¹⁸⁷ Some time in the preceding half century, the banquets appear to have been either introduced or have taken on a more organized aspect with the introduction of the Near Eastern custom of wine drinking in the tradition of the Gordion kings and with acquisitions of the earliest Near Eastern bronze vessels for banqueting and presumably the clear division of the equipment, one lebes and six obeloi to each group of participants should be dated to the same time.¹⁸⁸

Where the actual banqueting ceremony took place at this early period is not known; whether inside the temple itself, in the area below the Terrace, which later was levelled for the building of the Second Temple, or possibly on the large open area on the Terrace itself, south of the Archaic Temple. The earliest building phase of the hestiatori-

on, the West Building, which has all the normal architectural elements of a banquet hall, is dated to the second half of the 6th century BC.¹⁸⁹ It is obvious that banquets, although not restricted to Hera sanctuaries, were very prominent in Hera cults¹⁹⁰ and taking into account the remnants of obeloi and the many banqueting vessels of bronze, banquets must have played an important role at the Argive Heraion from the Late Geometric period onwards and throughout the Archaic period. Because of the still lacking final publication of the vases from the old American publications, it cannot be decided whether the banquets were reserved for sanctuary officials and perhaps a few other prominent persons or whether the Argive Heraion like some other Hera sanctuaries possessed daily pottery intended

¹⁸³ Wells 1988 and Wells 2002b, 131, *cf.* *Asine* I, 147–8 and fig. 129, and Weikart 2002, 44, 4. 1. 5, 1. Weikart suggests that the pottery was broken by the fallen wall; but the pots are obviously cut into halves. There is a close parallel with the pots longitudinally halved in a late 4th century BC building in Pontecagnano in Campania, *cf.* Strøm 1993, 115–8, figs. 9–11. However, I am sceptical about Berit Wells' identical identification of the so-called Deposit D, found at the entrance to the Acropolis (*Asine* I, 26, fig. 8 and p. 32 and Weikart 2002, 45, 4. 15. 3). Deposit D was not found in direct connection with a wall, but outside a still not securely dated tower; the pots were neither placed on virgin soil nor laid down in a ritually broken state like the Barbouna deposit, but were found lying in a confused heap.

¹⁸⁴ Frederiksen 2003, vol 1, 32–4.

¹⁸⁵ Ratinaud-Lachkar 2004 and Wells 2002b, both state that people continued to visit the sanctuary of Apollo Pytheos and that there was a limited habitation of *Asine*; however, there can hardly be any doubt that the settlement, as such, underwent a severe set-back at this time.

¹⁸⁶ For building sacrifices in general, *cf.* Weikart 2002 and *ThesCRA* III, 337–8.

¹⁸⁷ *Cf.* above, Introduction, and below, Appendix

¹⁸⁸ *Cf.* IS II, III and V and above pp. 86–7. For the chronology of the earliest North Syrian bronze cauldron in the Argive Heraion, *cf.* above note 117. The other imported bronze vessels are chiefly dated to the last quarter of the 8th century BC or the years around 700 BC, *cf.* below note 576. For 6th century BC bronze vessels for banqueting, *cf.* IS V, 78–83. For banquets in Greek sanctuaries in general from the Submycenaean period onwards *cf.* above note 122 and *ThesCRA* II, 231–2 and for an introduction to Greek banqueting paraphernalia, *ThesCRA* V, 326–57.

¹⁸⁹ *Cf.* above note 41.

¹⁹⁰ *Cf.* IS II, IS III and IS V, 50–4.

for cooking and dining for ordinary visitors, implying a general partaking of the banquets.¹⁹¹

One more telling example of systematization of the life at the Heraion around 700 BC is represented by the two-handled cup with a brownish wash and an inscription around its neck: *chous eimi*. It was found in the nearby Hera Sanctuary, which was closely connected with the Argive Heraion. The alphabet points to either Tiryns or Kleonai; at the former place there was also an Argive Hera sanctuary. The inscription is one of the earliest Greek inscriptions giving a precise liquid measure and is another indication of the early standardization of the banquets here;¹⁹² however, within the period relevant for this study, there are counterparts for a standardization of volume in sanctuaries, mostly in South and Central Italy.¹⁹³

The above-mentioned examples of production and sale connected with the sanctuary demanded a certain degree of organization.¹⁹⁴ Rituals and ceremonies, which were normal for a Greek sanctuary and required a priesthood,¹⁹⁵ must have taken place from an early period at the Argive Heraion. Apart from the disposal of votive offerings, such ceremonies comprise libation, purification and sacrifices;¹⁹⁶ for the libations I do not know of preserved evidence at the Argive Heraion, although they must have taken place; for the two last-mentioned rituals, the handle figure of the 8th century BC bronze tripod and the Altar, near which it was placed, give evidence.¹⁹⁷

In general, the early votive offerings in the Argive Heraion show Hera as the protectress of agriculture, of marriage, women, and household, and there are also a few examples of votives inferring her protection of pregnancy, childbirth, and children's life in general, *i.e.* as *kourotrophos*.¹⁹⁸ For her role as protectress of households, there are various categories of finds, such as the small terracotta models of houses or temples,¹⁹⁹ but especially the keys, which are characteristic votives in many sanctuaries of not only Hera, but also Apollo, Artemis and

the Heraion of Samos, which Kron 1984, 297, interprets as intended for ordinary visitors. Kron refers also to parallels in Perachora with similar inscriptions. *Cf.* also Blanas 2003 for a Geometric cult in Amorgos with all kinds of pots, including cooking pots with fire traces and drinking cups, the amount of which suggests a large assemblage. Since participation in the meat of the sacrifices later seems to be restricted to specific groups, Lupu, 72–3, this common participation may be an early tradition and since it is connected with the above Hera cults with which the Argive Heraion was related, similar traditions may have existed here.

¹⁹² Blegen 1939, 425–6 and fig. 13; Guarducci I, 242–3, fig. 102a–b and II, 465–6; and Jeffery 1990, 149–50, No. 11, pl. 25. An Attic *chous* is known to be equivalent with 3.288 litres, a 12th part of the content of an Attic amphora; this *chous* has a smaller volume. For the nearby Hera Sanctuary, *cf.* below p. 120 and note 412 and for the Hera sanctuary in Tiryns, *cf.* below p. 129 and references, note 509.

¹⁹³ For early volume measures in sanctuaries, *cf.* in particular, Nijboer 1998, 318–26. The liquid measure vessels from Olympia are all dated to the 5th century BC or later, *cf.* Hamdorf 1981, 198, and Schilbach 1999, 325–30.

¹⁹⁴ *Cf.* above pp. 84–5 and notes 100–4.

¹⁹⁵ For sanctuary officials in general, *cf.* *ThesCRA* V, 1–65.

¹⁹⁶ *Cf.* *ThesCRA* I, 59–134 (Sacrifices) and 237–53 (Libations) and II, 1–35 (Purification).

¹⁹⁷ The few fragments of Archaic bronze jugs at the Argive Heraion cannot be reliably identified with libation vessels. For the Altar site *cf.* above p. 93 and notes 179–80.

¹⁹⁸ Baumbach 2004, 79–104. However, I do not follow Baumbach's arguments, p. 104, for distinguishing between aspects of cult life in the Geometric and the Archaic Periods; he considers votive offerings for pregnancy and childbirth as characteristic of the former period, those for agriculture and vegetation of the latter. In my opinion, the votive material is too slight for this distinction and I do not find the very primitive terracotta statuettes, Baumbach 2004, 79–80, so precisely dated that they can be taken as chronological evidence. Nor do we have evidence in the here relevant period for votives of military aspect (*cf.* IS IV, 84 and IS V 88), except for the rather few Archaic terracotta statuettes of riding warriors, which formed part of the normal range of votives on sale in sanctuaries in Argolis, *cf.* above p. 85 and note 103. Baumbach also refers to the pomegranate carried by the Classical Hera statue, a symbol of life and fertility. At the Argive Heraion there was at least one terracotta pomegranate, Caskey 1952, 201, No. 252, pl. 53 and there are bronze pins with pomegranate finials, which, however, are known also from Argos tombs, *cf.* Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 273–8, F II. More informative is the 7th century lead fibula plates from the Argive Heraion and two other Hera sanctuaries, representing Zeus and Hera, the latter with a pomegranate in her hand; the fibula plates were possibly manufactured at the Argive Heraion, *cf.* IS V, 65–6. For pomegranates in Hera cults, *cf.* Muthmann 1982, 52–64; Pöttsher 1987, 83–93; and Kyrieles 1993, 138–9.

¹⁹⁹ *Cf.* below, p. 141 and note 582.

¹⁹¹ *AH* II, 60–2: of the 150 baskets finally sorted after the excavations, 50 baskets contained plain pottery. In the published pottery there is no evidence for ordinary ceramic table ware like the so-called "Dipinto-Gattung" with HR inscriptions in



Fig. 5. The Argive Heraion. Fragment of a terracotta statuette with fibula. Photo: The National Archaeological Museum of Athens. Inv. No. 14215.

Athena. Whatever the exact interpretation of the keys, they must be related to the married women's role as mistresses of the household.²⁰⁰

Except for the banqueting ceremonies, we are on a rather shaky ground as regards the aspects of early cult life at the Argive Heraion, since much information refers to a much later date and cannot be immediately transferred to pre-Classical periods.²⁰¹ It has been suggested that the row of dancing women, which represented the second most common figure motive on Argive Late Geometric pottery, reflects a ceremony at the Argive Heraion, which is possible, but still not proven at such an early date.²⁰² The weaving implements at the sanctuary should be connected with the weaving of a new robe for the cult statue, which presumably received a new woven dress at regular intervals just like other early cult statues as *e.g.* the Athena statue on the Athenian Acropolis, the Hera statue at Olympia and the Apollo statue at Amyklaion,²⁰³ whereas the large

number of early pins and fibulae, as mentioned above, form part of dress dedications.

The shipformed ornaments of the fibulae of some fragmentary Archaic terracotta statuettes at the Argive Heraion (Fig. 5), similar to statuettes at the Heraia of Perachora and Tiryns, indicate that even in this inland Hera sanctuary there was a cultic element showing connections with the sea. The phenomenon is especially characteristic of the Heraion at Samos, where 7th century BC

²⁰⁰ There are definitely metal keys in the Argive Heraion, which should be regarded as votives; *cf.* IS I, 194, note 146 and Baumbach 2004, 81–2; for the various suggestions of their cultic significance, *cf.* Greco 1997, 192, who interprets the keys as a sign of the office of the priestess, and van Straaten 2005, 198, who regards them as offerings of thanks after happy fulfilment of pregnancy, dedicated to Hera in her character as Eileithyia; *cf.* also Greco 2003, 121. Baumbach 2004, 90, concludes by interpreting the votive keys as symbols of the women's role as housewives. On the other hand, I see no reason to alter my interpretation, IS I, 194, of the large key found on the Old Temple Terrace as the actual key to the cella door of the Archaic Hera Temple; a similar interpretation is given by Felsch 1991, 91 concerning the large iron key found in front of the entrance to the Archaic South Temple at Kalapodi. *Cf.* also the keys from the Apollo Temple at Halieis, Jameson 1995, 22, and 2004, 171, and the Artemis Temple at Lusoi (IS I, 194, note 146).

²⁰¹ This is the case with many of Polignac's references, *cf.* Amandry 1980; Hall 1995 (above note 6), and for the procession, *cf.* also Graf 1996, 56, who distinguishes between the sacrificial procession inside a sanctuary, leading the sacrificial animal to the altar, and the procession from a settlement towards a sanctuary, belonging to a later date.

²⁰² Pappi 2006, 23, mentions rows of dancing women as the second main theme on Argive Late Geometric vases. However, Krystalli-Votsi 1980, suggests that the dancing women on the Late Geometric II krater, found in Argos, might be taking part in a ritual at the Hera Antheia Festival. Reuthner 2006, 294, refers to Euripides *Electra* (171–4), where young girls take part in the procession from Argos to the Heraion, in order to present the new dress to the cult statue, performing dances at the Heraion; however, Euripides must refer to the reorganized Hera Festivals from around 470 BC, *cf.* below p. 113.

²⁰³ Reuthner 2006, 291–5. For chronological reasons, her reference to the presentation of a woven dress to the Argive Hera, mentioned by Kallimachos, must apply to another statue, presumably to the one transferred from Tiryns, *cf.* below p. 138 and note 562; however, the reference in Euripides *Electra*, note above, may concern the old Hera statue. Reuthner 291–323 refers in general to the tradition of giving new woven dresses to the statues of several deities. *Cf.* also above note 106.

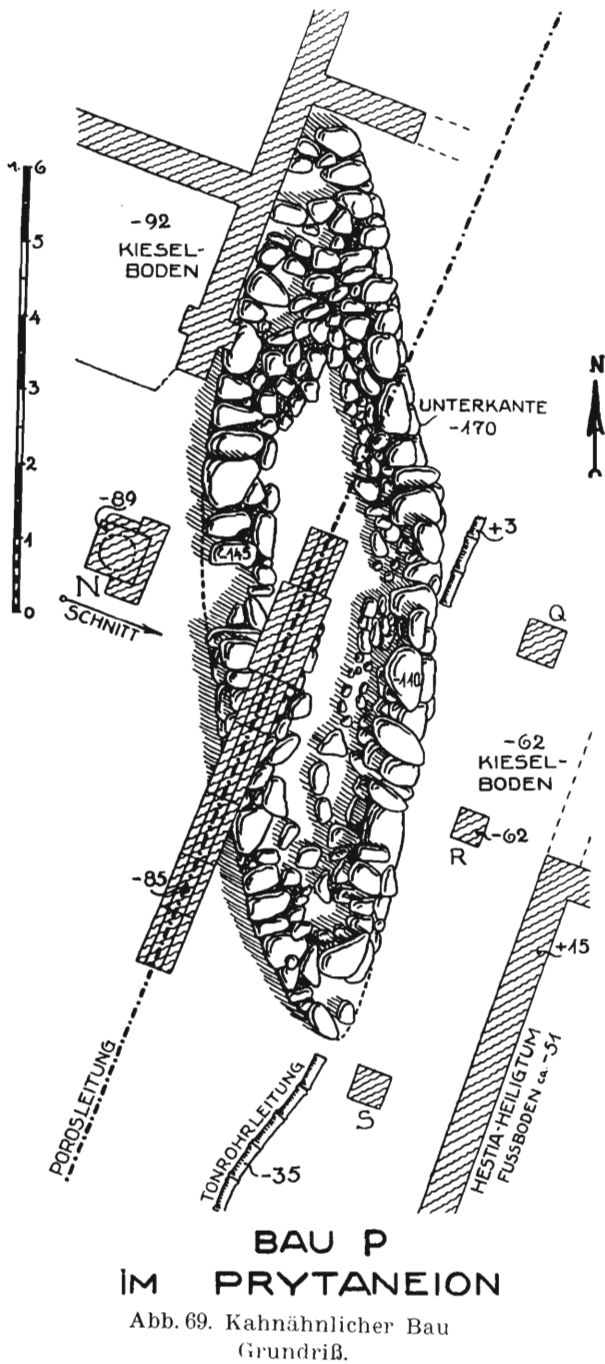


Fig. 6. Olympia. Stone Structure underneath the Prytaneion. Dörpfeld 1935 I, fig. 69.

wooden votive boats, as well as two contemporary stone foundations for boats of normal size, are a sign of the naval aspect of the goddess.²⁰⁴ On this background, it seems a likely suggestion that

the shipformed stone structure found underneath the prytaneion in Olympia (Fig. 6) should be interpreted as foundation for a ship monument, as already suggested by Dörpfeld; only he rejected the idea, because he connected the structure with the Zeus cult. However, it is situated close to the Hera sanctuary and fits in well with our present knowledge of Hera cults. Except for its being older than the first prytaneion of the 5th century BC, its chronology is uncertain; Miller advocates a Geometric chronology, but considering the information from the Samos ships, a 7th century BC date may be more likely.²⁰⁵

In general, water played an important role at the Argive Heraion, situated as it was between several important streams. Pausanias refers to the Eleutherion as used by the priestesses for purification as well as for some secret sacrifices and to the plant asterion, growing on the bank of the river Asterion, as providing the material for the garlands of the cult statue of Hera.²⁰⁶ The hydria was important for the Argive Heraion cult, judging from 5th century BC bronze hydriai given as prizes at the horse races as well as from the Archaic deposit of miniature hydriai and there are many examples of Hera cults, as well as those of Athena and Apollo, being associated with water.²⁰⁷ The above-mentioned purification ritual in the Eleutherion may concern the early cult statue (and later presumably the cult statue transferred from

²⁰⁴ IS V, 102, note 141 with references to Perachora and Tiryns. For the wooden votive boats in the Heraion of Samos, cf. Kyrieleis 1980, 86 and pls. 18–20; Kyrieleis 1993, 141–3 and fig. 7, 10; Brize 1997, 130; Polignac 1997, 115 and fig. 1. For the stone foundations for real boats in the Heraion of Samos, cf. Walter 1990, 88 and figs. 92 and 98. Cf. also below p. 124 and notes 474–6.

²⁰⁵ Dörpfeld 1935 I, 263–6, figs. 69–70, cf. Miller 1971, 84 and pls. 46–7. It is not possible to decide, whether the Thessalian Late Geometric/early 7th century pendant, Dörpfeld, 1935, fig. 71, cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979, No. 1546, pl. 89, is connected with the construction phase.

²⁰⁶ Pausanias. 2.17.1–2.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Cole 1988, 163–4; cf. the many springs in the Apollo Sanctuary of Delphi, cf. Coste-Messelière 1969, 736–7 and the Castalia fountain, Bommelaer & Laroche 1991, 81–5; for Perachora, cf. e.g. Tomlinson 1988, and Tomlinson 1992, 340–1.

Tiryns); possibly the Eleutherion water was fetched by the priestesses for purification rituals.²⁰⁸

Evidently, all the above rituals and ceremonies, of general as well as of specific character, require a permanent priesthood. According to *ThesCRA*, “there was no specific class of priests ... they served a specific deity.” However, there is also mention of certain early families of priests, where the office was handed down in generations.²⁰⁹ Our historical information about the priesthood of the Argive Heraion and their specific official tasks is scarce. One of the earliest is Herodotos account of the Kleomenes’ episode, in which Kleomenes ordered the Argive Heraion priest, who forbade him to sacrifice to Hera, to be flogged. This story mentions a male priest.²¹⁰ Possibly the animal sacrifices were always undertaken by a male priest. Otherwise, the priesthood at the Argive Heraion are always priestesses in accordance with the normal practice that female deities were served by priestesses, male deities by priests.²¹¹ Considering the variety of duties normally connected with such an office and our knowledge of priestesses in other sanctuaries for female deities,²¹² it seems strange that only one priestess is mentioned as functioning at a time. Presumably this is the head priestess.

Apart from purely mythological characters, very few priestesses of the Argive Heraion are known by name.²¹³ Foremost among them is Chryses or Chryseis, who became herostratically famous for causing the burning down of the Old Temple in 423 BC. The story implies that even at this rather late date, the head priestess lived permanently at the Argive Heraion and had not moved to Argos.²¹⁴ Chryses is mentioned twice by Thucydides, once (4, 133) with this episode and the second time, (Thuc. 2, 2.) in his dating of the beginning of the Peloponnesian War to 431 BC. According to Thucydides the war began, when Chryses was in the forty-eighth year of her priesthood in Argos, Aenesias was ephor at Sparta and Pythodoros still had four months to serve as archon in Athens. The same three Mainland Greek sites with lists of chronological importance, the priestesses at the Argive Heraion, the Athenian archont list²¹⁵ and the list of Spartan kings,²¹⁶ are mentioned by Polybios together with the Olympionike list,²¹⁷ as the four

main chronographic sources, which were used by the historian Timaeus in the early 3rd century BC and by which he normally obtained a very accurate chronology. Of the four lists, two are of officials in Greek settlements and two are records from sanctuaries.²¹⁸

According to the above-mentioned ancient historians, the Argive Heraion list of priestesses was trustworthy. How and when the listing was first car-

²⁰⁸ The suggestion that the cult statue in the Argive Heraion was bathed like the one in the Kanachos River (Pausanias. 2.38.2; first suggested by M.P. Nilsson, *cf.* Diehl 1964, 177), seems unlikely, *cf.* Baumbach 2004, 88. For the bathing of Greek cult statues and possibly also of their clothes, *cf.* in general Reuthner 2006, 288–90.

²⁰⁹ *ThesCRA* III, 333. Sakellarakis 1976, 308, note 61, refers to the Eumolpidae, the Kekronidae and the Kerykai for such families of priests and Kron 1996, 140, refers in particular to the Eteobutadei for the Athena Polias cult on the Athenian Acropolis.

²¹⁰ Her. 6, 81, *cf.* above p. 80 and note 63 for the first part of the Kleomenes story, presumably dated to 494 BC.

²¹¹ *Cf.* *ThesCRA* V, 7. Mylonopoulos 2003, 295–6 and 301–2, gives exceptions to the general rule.

²¹² For Greek priestesses in general, *cf.* Kron 1996.

²¹³ Apart from Chryses (*cf.* also below pp. 128–9) there is Chryses’ successor, Phaneis (Thuc. 4, 133). A few priestesses at the Argive Heraion are known from inscriptions; *cf.* Connelly 2007, 69–72, in particular note 97, mostly from Roman times. (For the mother of Kleobis and Biton not being a priestess *cf.* above note 81). Phaneis is the first Argive Heraion priestess we know to have been appointed by Argos. We do not have any information about how the earlier priestesses were chosen, *cf.* below note 508.

²¹⁴ Pausanias 2.17.7. and Thucydides 4, 133.

²¹⁵ *Cf.* Hedrick 2002, 14, traditionally dated from 683/682 BC onwards; there are preserved fragments recording archons of the 6th century BC, *cf.* e.g. *Nomima* I, Nos. 89 and 93.

²¹⁶ *Cf.* Carlier 1984, 240–324. The Spartan King list until the early 5th century BC is not fully reliable, however, it is considered relatively reliable from c. 550 BC onwards, Carlier 1984, 318, note 473. Of the two genealogical lines of Spartan kings, the Agiadai were presumably the most important, the Euryphantides less so, Carlier 1984, 316–24.

²¹⁷ Moretti 1957, 1970 and 1992. According to Siewert 1992, the earliest part of the Olympic victor list seems to be a reconstruction, chiefly using names of actual victors, but assigning them to wrong dates. However, the Olympic Games presumably did not start until around 700 BC, as shown by Mallwitz 1988, 98–101, and Mallwitz 1999, 197, judging from the fill of the wells, which served as sources of water for participants and spectators at the Olympic Games.

²¹⁸ Polybios, 12.11.1.

ried out is an open question. It is said to have been compiled by Hellanikos, whose works are chiefly dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BC;²¹⁹ however, the very information of Chryses' term of office, which began in 480/479 BC, indicates an earlier origin. It has been suggested that it was based on the statues of the head priestesses, which were erected in front of the Hera temple, where Pausanias still saw the statue of Chryses on the Upper Terrace, whereas the later statues were placed in front of the Second Temple (Paus. 2.17.3 and 7). Since the list was eponymous, there must have been an annual marking of the statue or statue base, if such a procedure were the case. However, we have no information about the origin of the custom of erecting statues of priestesses at the Argive Heraion²²⁰ and the listing may just as well have been written on another kind of material; wooden boards have been proposed.²²¹ The Greek script was commonly adopted already in the second half of the 8th century BC²²² and the list of priestesses may have an early origin.²²³

Apart from the early, entirely mythical and untrustworthy part of the list, few names are preserved. Chryses is the earliest historical name;²²⁴ her term of office began at a time, when the Argive Heraion was under the dominance of Argos and the early mythical part of the list may be an addition made by Argos, when the mythical Kings were listed. For historical reasons it is suggested that the mythical King list was compiled in the 6th century BC.²²⁵ The importance of the list of the Argive Heraion priestesses lies in its eponymic character, which has no tradition in Argos, as can be deduced from the very King list, which is genealogical.²²⁶

After her defeat by the Spartans in the 490s, Argos was extremely reduced and had hardly recovered in 480/479, the beginning of Chryses' term of office and the time of the Persian War, in which Argos did not take an active part.²²⁷ It would be a very awkward time for the city-state to launch a project of compiling a chronological list, for which the city-state itself had no tradition. Not until about a decade or two later did Argos appear to have recovered from the serious set-back after the battle of Sepeia.²²⁸ All in all, I am apt to see Thucydides' information of Chryses' term of office not as

²¹⁹ Jacoby FRH 4, frgmts 74–82; RE 1912, 145–6 (Gudeman); Pearson 1939, 227; Pritchett 1996, 47–8 and Hedrick 2002, 16 (Hellanikos). According to *Der neue Pauly* 5, 293–6, the main works by Hellanikos were dated to the last quarter of the 5th century BC.

²²⁰ Hedrick 2002, 6; Kron 1996, 141, defines the eponymy as the dating of the year after a priestess' term in office. Kron 1996, 142 dates the beginning of the custom of erecting honorific statues for priestesses in the Heraion of Samos to the end of the 5th century BC. However, the statue of Chryses, which survived the fire in 423 BC, must have been erected during her term of office. This official honour may have been restricted to head priestesses only. Tuchelt 1970, 215–7, regards the Didyma statues as founder statues, not priest statues, with one possible exception, No. K 55, pls. 53–4, dated to c. 550 or a little later.

²²¹ Hedrick 2002, 24, suggests the use of wooden boards, like Dunbabin 1948, 450–1, does for the recording of the foundation dates of the Western Greek colonies, which in the main have been supported by modern excavations. Such boards were also used for the earliest Attic laws, Jeffery 1990, 51–2 and *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, “Axones”. O'Brien 1993, 133 sees a long oral tradition for the list of the Argive Heraion priestesses, in which case, one must doubt its apparent reliability as a historical source; nor do I find his argumentation, for seeing it as a religious continuity from the Mycenaean Age, convincing.

²²² Coldstream 2003, 295–302.

²²³ Cf. Pearson 1939, 227, and Pritchett 1996, 47–8.

²²⁴ Although not a general phenomenon, such lists are known from other Greek sanctuaries, cf. *ThesCRA* V, 3. Kron 1996, 141, sees the Argive Heraion list of priestesses and the right of the priestesses of Demeter Chamyone to attend the Olympic Games as early signs of a prominent status of Greek priestesses.

²²⁵ Cf. following note for King list of Argos. Fossey 1980, 69, finds that the chronological context of this mythical list corresponds with the historical conditions in the 6th century BC and it may be in this connection, one should view the early mythical part of the Argive Heraion priestesses list, which, in my opinion, should not be used at all for archaeological or historical purposes; in which I disagree with Billot 1997, 28–9.

²²⁶ The Argive King list is known in fragments, from especially Diodor VIII, fragment 17. For modern studies of the Argive king list, cf. in particular Tomlinson 1972, chapter 6, and Carlier 1984, 381–95, who sees two different lines of compiling, one a genealogical list, partly of mythical character, the other one comprising only Pheidon and his son. There are no example of eponyms. The basileus Melanthes, who reigned at the time of the Argos–Tyliisos–Knossos treaty, from around 450 BC, (cf. above note 78), seems to be the last hereditary king of Argos. Afterwards the title was connected with an administrative office, soon to be taken over by the probasileus, in the second half of the 5th century BC.

²²⁷ Kritzas 1992 and Piérart 2004.

²²⁸ Cf. below pp. 112–3 and notes 337–52.

the first on the list, but as one in an already existing line of Argive Heraion head priestesses, which I regard as an enterprise taken on by the priestesses of the Argive Heraion, not by Argos, that had a different approach to such an undertaking. If the mythical part of the list is an addition by Argos at the same time as the mythical part of the King list, the list of priestesses existed beforehand and must be earlier than the 6th century BC. It may go back to an early period, where we have other information of various kinds of systematization in the sanctuary; but the date for its beginning is still not known. Only the basic difference in compilation of the two Argive lists tells against any connection with Argos for its historical parts.

There is no evidence at the Argive Heraion for written sources earlier than the 6th century BC and, as far as I know, there is no mention of early calendars, neither sacrificial calendars nor festival calendars. Presumably the regulations of the sanctuaries originally were handed down orally, the young priests/priestesses learning their official duties empirically, in a kind of apprenticeship.²²⁹ Except for the early Cretan laws and for the problematic Tiryns Law,²³⁰ the few known Greek sacral laws are all dated to the 6th century BC or later.²³¹

One Archaic Sacral Law from the Argive Heraion is dated to c. 575–550 BC.²³² It is an inscribed, fragmentary bronze plaque with a very careful inscription, unfortunately broken at both sides, so that its full content is not certain. However, it obviously deals with severe penalties for certain violations of the sanctuary or offences against the goddess, the penalties apparently consisting of either exile of a citizen of Argos or, in the case of a citizen from another city-state, of expulsion. The punishments seem severe compared with the normal procedure.²³³ Its real importance in connection with the present study lies in the information that a *damiourgos* is held responsible for carrying out the penalty and on dereliction of duty will receive the same penalty as the culprit. Although the precise duties of the *damiourgoi* are not certain, they are known as the body of high officials in the Archaic constitution of Argos and in a contemporary inscription on stone from Larissa in Argos, the nine *damiourgoi* are listed by name.²³⁴ The crucial

part of the fragmentary Argive Heraion inscription is under debate. I agree with the scholars who advocate the reading as referring to the possibility of the *damiourgos* office being vacant and, in my opinion, there is no doubt that the inscription is a proof of Argos' supremacy over the Argive Heraion not later than the second quarter of the 6th century BC.²³⁵

Many inscriptions of State Laws were placed in the sanctuaries of the Greek city-states, showing the close religious/political ties between the city-states and the city sanctuaries. The two earliest examples are the two Cretan laws, the Dreros Laws, the earliest articles of which are dated to around the middle of (or in the second half of) the 7th century BC,²³⁶ and the Gortyn Law, beginning a

²²⁹ Apparently Greek sacral laws seldom give rituals in detail; an exception is the very detailed Selinous Law, Jameson, Jordan & Kotansky 1993, dated to the second half of the 5th century BC, cf. Lupu, No. 27, with earlier references.

²³⁰ For Cretan laws, cf. below. For the Tiryns Sacral Law, cf. Verdelis, Jameson & Papachristodoulou 1975 and Lupu, No. 6, with earlier references; Lupu, 200, dated it to around 600 BC. However, *Nomima* I, No. 78, refers, p. 296, to van Effenterre's suggestion that the inscription is actually an Archaizing caricature of a sacral law; he connects it with the expulsion from Argos of the slaves, who took part in the revolt after the Sepeia catastrophe and who afterwards settled in Tiryns.

²³¹ In Sokolowski 1969 there are no sacral laws earlier than the 5th century BC and in her catalogue of new sacral laws, Lupu, 115–387, does not refer to any sacred laws earlier than 600 BC, the above-mentioned Tiryns Law. Cf. below p. 110 and notes 310–1, for the 6th century BC *leges sacrae* of Olympia.

²³² *AH* II, 273–4 and 333, No. 1826, pls. CVI–CVII; Rogers 1901; Jeffery 1990, 158–9 and 168, No. 9; *Nomima* I, No. 100 with earlier references and cf. below note 235.

²³³ Cf. Horster 2004, 44: in the Archaic period threats of sanction are said to be rare. Rather there are suggestions that the deity has observed the offence and will interfere with a punishment.

²³⁴ The Larissa inscription, Jeffery 1990, 156–7 and 168, No. 7; Hall 1995, 610, note 222; *Nomima* I, No. 87 with further references.

²³⁵ Cf. above note 232. Hall 1995, 610–1, however, reads this part of the inscription as if “there is no *damiourgos* at all” and implies “that, at the administrative level, there is little connection between the Heraion and the city of Argos.” Referring to Rogers 1901, 171–2, Koerner 1993, 83–6, No. 29 reads it as concerning a *damiourgos* being derelict in performing his duties.

²³⁶ The Dreros Laws: Demargne & van Effenterre 1937a–b; van Effenterre 1946; Jeffery 1990, 309, 311 and 315, No. 1, with earlier references. Jeffery dates the earliest laws to the

little later, but still dated to within the 7th century BC.²³⁷ Both are constitutional laws, which were inscribed on the walls of an Apollo temple, Apollo Delphinios and Apollo Pytheos, respectively, and which were currently updated down to the Hellenistic Period.

Most important are the constitutional laws of the city-state of Dreros, inscribed boustrophedon on 13 blocks of local limestone (*siderapetra*), the earliest and largest of which measured 1.74 m in length; they were found in a Hellenistic cistern on the terrace of Apollo Delphinios, close to the abandoned temple. The early laws give detailed instructions for the political-institutional organization of the city-state of Dreros, providing titles of officials and stating the punishment for religious and political offences. Its very first line states that the law was given by the polis, the earliest known epigraphic use of the word. The enactment formula is used three other times, once more together with "polis", once standing alone,²³⁸ and the last time in a fragment, dated towards 575 BC, where the decision was taken by a group of officials. This fragment is unclear at the crucial point, some scholars reading the officials as *ithyntai*, others as *thystai*. In the publication, van Effenterre accepts the latter reading and he and other scholars see the root of the word as: $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ "I sacrifice", identifying the officials as sacrificial priests; the interpretation, which I find convincing in the context, is however, not generally accepted.²³⁹

The early polis laws are said to give a general impression of regulations of a new order, not of transmissions of earlier oral laws.²⁴⁰ If this is the case, it is thus the beginning of the legislation of the Greek polis that is written on the Apollo temples and they are characterized as "a linking of written laws with the God of Apollo".²⁴¹

Another important criterion for a Greek city-state is often stated to be its official buildings. Definitely a sign of a high degree of organization, they are known from Greek sanctuaries as well as Greek settlements. Apart from the monumental Early Temple Terrace and Temple,²⁴² a sign of the state of organization in the sanctuary, there are at the Argive Heraion not preserved any remains of monumental buildings earlier than the 6th century

BC. There may have been an earlier cult building, which is not identified.²⁴³

After the temples, the stoai were the earliest monumental buildings to be erected in sanctuaries as well as settlements and at both places there are examples dated almost contemporaneously to the second half of the 7th century BC.²⁴⁴ The gradual development from the very simple, oblong, one store structures, with one or two rows of columns along one of the long sides, into larger buildings with two or three floors, was in the city-states accompanied by an attachment of various official functions to the

second half of the 7th century BC from comparisons with the Nikandre inscription, which points towards the third quarter of the 7th century BC. Most scholars date it now to c. 650 BC, cf. *Nomima* I, No. 81; Perlman 2004, 188 and 191–5; Perlman gives, p. 193, the dimensions of all the inscribed blocks of the Dreros Laws.

²³⁷ The Gortyn Laws were placed on the walls of the Apollo Pytheos Temple. Jeffery 1990, 311–2 and 315, No. 2, cf. Perlman 2004 with earlier references. The chronology of the earliest parts are within the 7th century BC.

²³⁸ Perlman 2004, 188.

²³⁹ Van Effenterre 1946, 600–2, No. 4, where he prefers the reading of *thystai*, containing the root: $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\omega$ I sacrifice. *Nomima* I, No. 27 refers to M. Bile Dialect crèteois, for the Cretan word of priest, including the same root. I find the identification as sacrificial priests convincing. However, in *Nomima* I No. 27 and by Perlman 2004, 188, the word is translated as "redressers of the accounts".

²⁴⁰ Gagarin 1986, 122–3.

²⁴¹ Perlman 2004, 188, discusses the intersection of law and religion, referring to earlier studies by other scholars and following Burkert 1985, 248–9, and Gagarin 1986, 60–1, in their view that "... the gods enforce the laws, but do not make them". On p. 194, she concludes: "decision to inscribe laws on (the temples of Apollo) should perhaps be understood as an expression of the linkage of written laws and Apollo".

²⁴² Cf. IS I and above Introduction and below Appendix.

²⁴³ Cf. below, Appendix.

²⁴⁴ For general studies of stoai, cf. Coulton 1976 and 1997; Kuhn 1985; and Kenzler 1999, 296–9, all with earlier references. Among the earliest known Greek stoai are the South Stoa at the Heraion of Samos and the North Stoa at the Agora of Megara Hyblaea; the latter is now dated to c. 650 BC, *Megara* 5, 433, and its position stated to be in a religious context, cf. below pp. 116–7 and note 381. In most studies the Samos Stoa is dated correspondingly, cf. Coulton 1976, 27 (late 7th century BC); Kuhn 1985, 296 (the third quarter of the 7th century BC); Walter 1990, 85 (about 640 BC). However, Coulton 1997, 423, does not give an exact date to the stoa, but speaks in general of the earliest Greek stoai as dated to the 7th century BC.

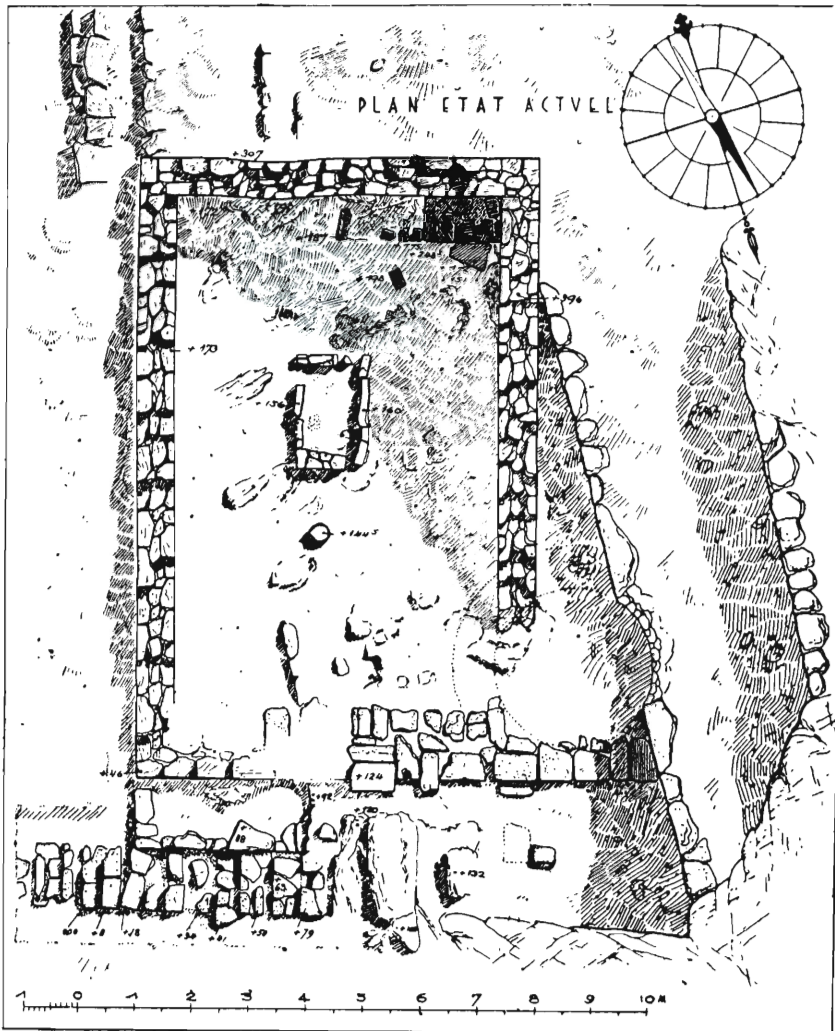


Fig. 7. Dreros. The Apollo Delphinios Temple. Plan Marinatos 1936.

stoai, such as archives, law-courts, mercantile purposes *etc.* However, the stoai do not appear to be functioning as administrative buildings before the Classical Period.²⁴⁵

According to Kuhn, the stoai in sanctuaries primarily served the public in connection with performances and processions, a hypothesis which seems to conform well with the conditions in the early Argive Heraion. The earliest stoai here, the North Stoa and the North East Stoa, were facing the large open area, which later was occupied by the Classical Temple, and they were aptly suited for watching sacrificial processions leading to the Altar east of this area or to the entrance to the Old Temple.²⁴⁶ According to a second suggestion by Kuhn, they were built for a display of the most precious votives, a hypothesis which, however, does not

agree well with the Argive Heraion, where the Old Temple Terrace would be far more impressive for such a purpose²⁴⁷ and where platforms were erected between the two stoai for exactly this purpose after the burning down of the Old Temple.²⁴⁸ Both the North Stoa and the almost contemporary North East Stoa are now dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BC, based on architectural elements of the former building.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁵ Kenzler 1999, 296.

²⁴⁶ Kuhn 1985, 286.

²⁴⁷ Kuhn 1985, 286. For the early Argive Heraion, *cf.* IS I, 193–4 and Hall 1995, 603.

²⁴⁸ *Cf.* Lauter 1973, 183, and Billot 1997, 42–4, who interprets the building process differently from Lauter.

²⁴⁹ *Cf.* above note 41 and below note 326.

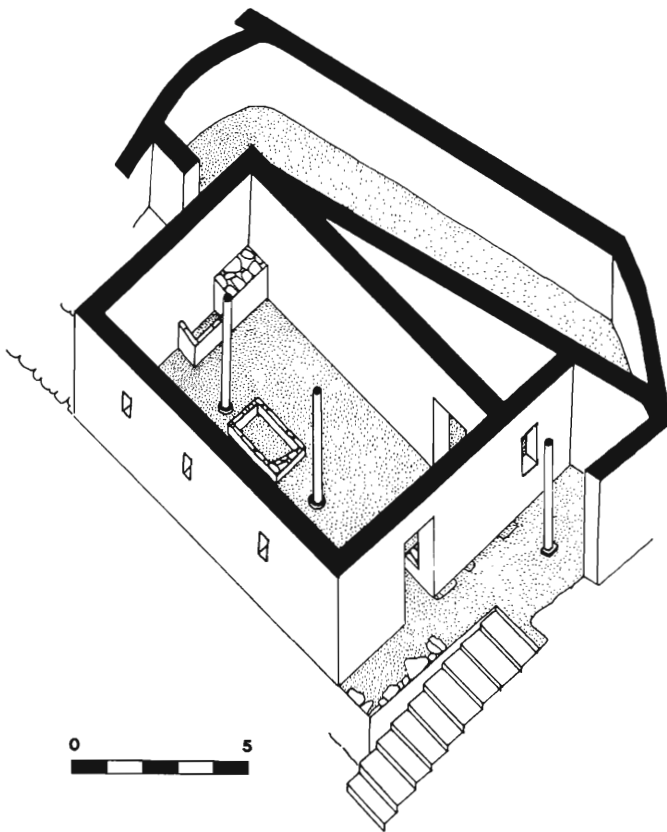


Fig. 8. Dreros. The Apollo Delphinios Temple. Reconstruction Mazarakis-Ainian 1997.

As noted above, I see the most important criterion for an urban development in a centralized organization, observable *e.g.* in written documents such as legislation or treaties and in archaeological remains of official building activity, as well as in various kinds of corporate enterprises. Two ancient literary sources contain most elements, on which modern archaeological studies are based, Thucydides (2.15.2–3) and Pausanias (10.4.1). The former historian refers especially to the Temple, which I have studied elsewhere,²⁵⁰ but Thucydides also mentions the prytaneion and the bouleuterion and Pausanias²⁵¹ refers to *ta archeia* (*i.e.* prytaneion and bouleuterion) as well as to other communal enterprises.²⁵² Prytaneia and bouleuteria are considered essential criteria for a Greek city-state.²⁵³ However, these two types of official administrative buildings are also known to be built in close connection with sanctuaries, in some cases within the borders of the sanctuary.

The prytaneion, the office for the upper officials

of the city-state, the prytaneis, was generally placed close to the Agora, fulfilling important religious/

²⁵⁰ IS I, with conclusions p. 200.

²⁵¹ Alcock 1995, 326–9, warns against using Pausanias as a source for identifying a polis, because he is a late source and his testimony on the whole problematic. Nevertheless, the significance of the government offices stressed by both above-mentioned ancient authors must be seen as a sign of centrally organized administration and these buildings are known centuries before Pausanias.

²⁵² Pausanias, 10.4.1. also mentions large public assemblies such as gymnasia and theatres, which are later than the central period of my studies, and communal enterprises such as water brought to a fountain, *i.e.* public water supply, which I shall also leave out of this study. Fountains and cisterns are mostly so simple buildings that they can just as well be private initiatives. However, net works of clay water pipes are definitely examples of public enterprises, but are apparently not earlier than the second half of the 6th century BC. Kienast 1995, 177–82, dates the water supply system on Samos with the famous aqueduct by Eupolinos to the third quarter of the 6th century BC. Lang 1968 and Tölle-Kastenbein 1994, 101–93, date the earliest pipe lines in Athens to the late 6th century BC and Kienast 1995, 176, note 263, dates the Megara water pipes to not before the early 5th century BC.

Pausanias does not refer to fortification walls, which in my opinion may just as well be a sign of a military enterprise by warrior leaders, not necessarily a sign of a communal organization. There are early fortified settlements without any trace of urban society as *e.g.* Geometric Smyrna with very humble and disorganized houses (*cf.* Nicholls 1958–59 for the fortifications and *e.g.* Coldstream 2003, 303–5 and Akurgal 2007 for the habitation of early Smyrna) and there are well-established Archaic poleis without fortification walls surrounding the inhabited area, of which Archaic Athens is the most prominent example. Although most Classical poleis were fortified, the Geometric/Archaic examples are few and scattered. Frederiksen 2003, 2, 15, states that the only city walls before 600 BC were those of Eretria, Megara Hyblaeam and Smyrna, *cf.* Hansen 2004, 135–7. According to Lentini 2006, the Bronze Age fortification wall in Naxos in Sicily was used by the early settlers. Figueira 2006, 278, disagrees with Snodgrass 2006, 309–36 in the stress he lays on hoplite warfare. However, I regard the early Eretria dike, built for drainage purposes after a flood, as a communal enterprise, *cf.* below note 370.

The early harbour moles on Samos were according to Herodotos dated to the time of Polykrates (*Der neue Pauly* 5, 69), *cf.* also Tölle 1969, 48–51 and Shipley 1987, 75–7; however, I do not know, whether the chronology has been confirmed by excavations; the moles are not mentioned by Tsakos 2007 on the Geometric and Archaic town of Samos. Chiefly, the early Greek harbours were natural, *cf. e.g.* below p. 130 and note 516 for the small harbour at Perachora.

²⁵³ *Cf.* most recently Hansen 2004, 140.

political and administrative functions, often housing the state archives and, in Miller's words, "providing the city with a dining hall and a home for the state hearth" with its eternal flame. Here the meals were served for the prytaneis and the honoured guests of the State and often the buildings functioned as State Archives.²⁵⁴

The earliest known building, which had all the elements of a proper prytaneion, is the Temple of Apollo Delphinios in Dreros, on the building of which the early city-state laws of Dreros were inscribed. The local hetaireia, the Cretan political factions of citizens, were connected with the Delphinia; they numbered 20 persons and like the prytaneis, they took their meals in common and had official duties corresponding with those of the later prytaneis.²⁵⁵ With the temple, which was not abandoned until after 220 BC,²⁵⁶ is associated the Hellenistic inscription with the oath of the ephebes, which took place in the prytaneion.²⁵⁷

The Apollo Temple in Dreros is situated on a saddle between two hills, placed N – S, on a terrace just above the Agora, to which it is connected by a flight of steps. It consists of an irregular building complex, the central part of which is a rectangular cult room, the internal measure *c.* 9.50 x 5.70 m. To the west, the cult room is connected with a small, triangular room, a small vestibule and a larger trapezoid annex. The whole architectural complex, which was built of ashlar blocks of local limestone (*siderapetra*), measures in all 16 x 13.50 m (Figs. 7–8). The laws were inscribed on its east side, visible from the Agora. The entrance to the cult room is at the northern end above a staircase; while at the southern end there is another staircase leading to the upper floor of the annex.²⁵⁸

The Apollo Delphinios Temple of Dreros was erected in the late 8th century BC, its chronology partly based on the majority of the (still not adequately published) Late Geometric/Early Orientalizing pottery, partly on its three cult statues of bronze in sphyrelaton technique: Apollo, Leto and Artemis; they are stylistically comparable to a bronze statuette from Aphrati, found in a secure late 8th century BC context. Taken together, the two pieces of evidence point to the late 8th century BC for the erection of the building and the beginning of the cult.²⁵⁹

The sphyrelaton statues were found near the south wall of the cult room in a sort of open stone cist, which apparently was built in the 5th century BC; the cist also contained bones, teeth and horns of goats²⁶⁰ and in a recess of the wall were two slaughtering knives. In and around the cist were fragments of drinking cups and beside the cist, in the SW corner of the room, was a stone bench, on which was placed an Archaic gorgon's mask of bronze, while another stone bench was built along the northern side of the cult room. In front of the cist was placed a round stone table, *c.* 90 cm in diameter and with a pedestal, *c.* 55 cm in height, possibly meant for unburnt food offerings.²⁶¹ In the centre of the room was its most essential feature, a rectangular hearth with a stone

²⁵⁴ Miller 1978, 16–7.

²⁵⁵ For the identification with Apollo Delphinios, first suggested by Marinatos 1936, 253–5, *cf.* Graf 1979, 5–12; D'Acunto 22–4 and Herda 2005, 276–7. An identification of the temple with that of Apollo Pytheos, *cf.* Graf 1979, 6, note 40, seems no longer to be accepted. However, the excavators identified the 7th century BC building just south of the Apollo Delphinios Temple with the prytaneion, Demargne & van Effenterre 1937a, 15–8, an identification which is still accepted by some scholars, *cf.* *CPCInv* 1158, Dreros (Perlman). This building is away from the Agora and has a normal domestic appearance and household effects. Miller 1978, 98, finds too many unanswered questions to accept the identification and suggests that it is a priest's house.

²⁵⁶ D'Acunto note 18 and Perlman 2004, 181.

²⁵⁷ *IC* I, IX, I A, 14–2: the oath of the ephebes, which according to the inscription was sworn in the prytaneion, was given to the gods of Hestia, Zeus Agoraios, Zeus Thallis, Apollo Delphinios, Athena Poliouchnos and Apollo Pytheos in this order, *cf.* Graf 1979, 5–6.

²⁵⁸ The Apollo Temple in Dreros: Marinatos 1936; Beyer 1976; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 216–8; D'Acunto; and Prent 2005, 284–9 and 462–3, all with earlier references. In general D'Acunto follows the modification of Beyer's reconstruction given by Mazarakis-Ainian.

²⁵⁹ D'Acunto, 16–8 with references, notes 22–3 to the Aphrati statuette (fig. 17).

²⁶⁰ For the goat being especially favoured in Apollo cults, *cf.* Lupu 273.

²⁶¹ Presumably this stone table was meant for unburnt offerings, *cf.* *Kommos* IV, 687 and 724, note 26. The stone table seems to me quite unsuitable for the slaughtering of a sacrificial animal, as suggested by D'Acunto 35. There may have been a wooden table for that purpose, as for example seen on the Haghia Triada Sarcophagus, *cf. e.g.* Marinatos & Hirmer, 1973, pl. XXXI.



Fig. 9. Dreros. Agora. Stone steps in SW corner. Photo: L'École Française d'Athènes.

setting, measuring 1.47 x 0.94 m, and presumably flanked by two columns, one of which is certain. In the trapezoid annex were the greater part of the pottery, including fragments of at least 8 pithoi for storage of food and liquids and on its upper floor were several terracotta statuettes, an Athena statuette of flat bronze plate, as well as various cult implements.²⁶²

Considering the remains of the goat sacrifices as well as the presence of slaughtering knives and the table-ware in the cult room, I see no reason to doubt the conclusions given in one of the most recent studies of the temple, the paper by D'Acunto, that the very cult room with its cult statues also functioned as the place for slaughtering the animals and for roasting the meat for the sacrifice and the banquets.²⁶³ The large annex was furnished for deposits of food as well as for a treasury and D'Acunto refers to similar treasuries in the two Apollo Temples at Gortyn.²⁶⁴ Judging from the sacrificial equipment in the cult room and the large storage capacity of

the adjoining rooms, the banquets took place here or in the immediate proximity.²⁶⁵

The arrangement of the temple and some of its

²⁶² D'Acunto, 15; there were also some arrow heads of bronze, Demargne & van Effenterre 1937a, 23–4, fig. 15, 6–8.

²⁶³ D'Acunto, 41–2, refers to a similar arrangement in a building in Haliëis, which by most scholars (except for Bergquist 1990) is identified with a Temple for Apollo. Here were also found goats' horns, slaughtering knives *etc.*, (Jameson 1974, 1995 and 2004, with earlier references). I wish to leave out D'Acunto's reference to Kommos, Temple B, dated between 800 and 600 BC because of the many Phoenician/Punic features of the sanctuary (*Kommos* IV, 14–24 and note 42). The small iron fragments in the Dreros complex cannot be identified with obeloi and presumably wooden sticks were used for roasting the meat.

²⁶⁴ D'Acunto, 42–3.

²⁶⁵ According to D'Acunto, 45, the room could hold 20 persons (exactly the number of *hetaireiai* in Dreros) seated on the northern bench as well as on movable seats. At this time, the persons must have been seated, since the laying at the table was introduced only after 700 BC (*cf.* IS II, 55–6 and note 36 and *Kommos* IV, 679–80).

finds reflect aspects of Minoan culture²⁶⁶ and one architectural element should be seen in the light of Minoan tradition, the stone stairs connecting the Apollo Temple with the Agora; which were built in ashlar masonry, very accurately forming an angle (Fig. 9),²⁶⁷ and therefore reminding of the Minoan so-called Theatral Area, known from Gournia, Knossos and Phaistos.²⁶⁸ The Agora of Dreros, which measured c. 40 x 20–30 m, was not paved, its surface consisting of stamped earth. To the north, it was limited by a terrace wall and in its SW corner it was bordered by the steps in angle (Fig. 9). The northern staircase of the Temple (Fig. 8) was in exact alignment with these steps, which follow precisely the same orientation as the Temple. The lay-out of the two structures, the Temple and the Agora, were intentionally connected and should be considered contemporary.²⁶⁹

The Late Geometric Apollo Delphinios Temple of Dreros, situated in close connection with the Agora, combined in its arrangement from the beginning the functions of cult building and banquet hall. In the 7th century BC, when the State Laws were inscribed on its walls, the building fulfilled all criteria for a prytaneion and must from that time be identified with a prytaneion, although we have no exact evidence of it being called so.²⁷⁰ The Temple received in the 7th century BC a central position in the early polis of Dreros, combining religious, governmental and constitutional aspects. Its location just above the Agora, with which it was connected by a staircase, is in principle the same as that of the 4th century BC prytaneion of Lato in Crete, whose identification is definite.²⁷¹ Apparently, the main deity of Lato is not securely identified. According to Kirsten, it may be Eileithyia, another aspect of Hera.²⁷²

D'Acunto concludes by stating that Apollo Delphinios at Dreros in his symbolic sphere effects control and guarantee for the civic law and the central socio-political institutions. He also observes that the political centre of the city-state of Dreros was systematically structured between the end of the 8th century BC, when the Apollo Temple was built, and the middle of the 7th century BC, when the polis laws were inscribed on the walls of the temple.²⁷³ Its religious aspects preceded the earliest evidence of the polis, the state laws which were not inscribed on

the walls of the temple until at least half a century after the construction of the temple. The Agora, the later political meeting-place for the citizens of Dreros, was apparently laid out simultaneously with the temple and must have had its primary function in the Apollo Delphinios cult, *i.e.* it was intended for religious assemblies and cult ceremonies. The original purpose of the hearth must also have been for sacrifices to the God and the roasting of the meat to the banquets of the priests.²⁷⁴

Our earliest example of a building containing all the elements of a prytaneion developed out of an Apollo Delphinios temple and the open square, with which it was connected and which later functioned as the political Agora, appears to be constructed towards the end of the Late Geometric period simul-

²⁶⁶ The bench for the cult statues is compared with the arrangement in the Sanctuary of the Double Axes in Knossos, *cf.* Demargne & van Effenterre 1936 a, 11–2, and D'Acunto, 50, and there are several Minoan finds such as a Late Minoan bronze statuette and a pithos of Transitional Late Minoan/ Protogeometric date, D'Acunto, 15–6 and 50. The 8th/7th century BC “hearth temples” incorporated certain features from the older cult buildings, especially from the free-standing “bench sanctuaries” of the Late Minoan IIIC/Subminoan period, *e.g.* benches used for cult objects, *cf.* in general Prent 2005, 628.

²⁶⁷ Demargne & van Effenterre 1937a, 10–2 and *fig.* 5; Kenzler 1999, 70 and D'Acunto, 49–50.

²⁶⁸ Kenzler 1999, 67–72, is not correct in his observation that a 6th century relief stone formed an original part of the steps. According to Demargne & van Effenterre 1937a, 13–4, it was found separately during the 1932 season and had been prised into position, just below the upper stone; it is therefore later than the original structure.

²⁶⁹ For the Dreros Agora, *cf.* in general D'Acunto, 49–50.

²⁷⁰ *Cf.* above, p. 104 and note 257.

²⁷¹ For Lato *cf.* Miller 1978, 78–86 with earlier references and Prent 2005, 289–92.

²⁷² Kirsten, E. *RE Suppl.* VII (1940), 363–5: Lato.

²⁷³ D'Acunto, 55 and 58.

²⁷⁴ In the prytaneia was always found only one hearth. Hansen & Fischer-Hansen, 1994, 34, do not believe it possible that the State hearth was used also for roasting the meat for the banquets of the prytaneis and in note 48 refer to a letter by Miller, where he suggests that the “cooking was done, at least in a public context, on portable braziers which were moved into the room for the event.” At least the “hearth temples” had only one hearth as was the case also for Dreros. Only in one phase of Temple B in Kommos, which is subject to outside traditions (*cf.* above note 263), is there a second hearth (Kommos IV, 35).

taneously with the Temple, in alignment with it and for purposes connected with the Apollo cult.

According to Hoepfner the religious assembly places led directly to the political agorai²⁷⁵ and he points to the large open area placed close to a cult building in the two Geometric/7th century BC Greek settlements at Emporio on Chios and Zagora on Andros. Since they both were abandoned in the late 7th century BC, it is not possible to ascertain a later official political character here as in Dreros.²⁷⁶ However, apparently the open place, which in other settlements developed into the political Agora, here is linked with the cult building, which is separated from the largest building, which at least in Chios had an official character. As shown above, also the mercantile aspects and their administration, known from the Greek agorai, are connected with early Greek sanctuaries;²⁷⁷ and it may well be in such a light one should view the agoranomos inscription on a bronze weight of the late Archaic period found in the Hera Sanctuary of Mon Repos at Korkyra.²⁷⁸ In Classical/Hellenistic times and later, the area west of the Altis of Olympia had a mercantile/administrative character and similar aspects were noted for the Hellenistic Heraion of Samos.²⁷⁹

In at least two other city-states, the Apollo Delphinios cult was closely connected with the prytaneion and the agora. The German archaeologist, A. Herda, has published the Apollo Delphinios Sanctuary in Miletos, proving that, just like the one in Dreros, the prytaneion was situated within the sanctuary of Apollo Delphinios, close to the Agora of Miletos. The prytaneion is identified with the South Stoa, the meeting place for the religious/political officials, the Molpai. On the walls of the stoa, the city-state laws were inscribed facing the Agora.²⁸⁰ The whole complex is dated immediately after the Persian Wars, but Herda makes it probable that it is a reconstruction of the conditions in the Archaic period, probably reaching back to the years around 530/525 BC.²⁸¹ Herda stresses the similar situation in the Milesian colony of Olbia, which copied the Delphinion cult and its political functions. The Delphinion of Olbia is situated just north of the Agora and dated to around 530 BC.²⁸² The functions of the Molpai in Miletos corresponded with

those of the hetaireiai in Crete and of the prytaneis: they are known to be responsible for the citizenship and to provide the city with the yearly eponym in their leader and State Laws as well as sacral laws, contracts and honours to foreign citizens were inscribed on the walls of their stoa.²⁸³

In contrast with Greek temple buildings and stoai, the prytaneia do not present a standard architectural form, but are identified by their placing, their functional arrangement or by inscriptions.²⁸⁴ In the three above-mentioned city-states, Dreros, Miletos and Olbia, the official duties connected with the prytaneion either developed out of the cult of the Apollo Delphinios or were from the beginning closely connected with it.²⁸⁵

All three Panhellenic Sanctuaries, Delos, Del-

²⁷⁵ Hoepfner 2006, 2. For general studies of the Greek Agora, cf. below note 364.

²⁷⁶ Hoepfner 2006, 2–4.

²⁷⁷ Hoepfner 2006, 2, points to several large sanctuaries, but the above examples, pp. 84–5 and notes 100–4, with sale of ordinary votives in Archaic Northeast Peloponnesian sanctuaries tell of a widely accepted custom. Bergquist 1967, 100–7 and 131–4, stresses the resemblance between the Agora and the so-called secondary area of the Archaic Greek sanctuaries, and Jacquemin 1999, refers also to Delos and Kalaureia as examples of an Agora placed close to a sanctuary.

²⁷⁸ A bronze disc with three holes in it, *ArchDelt* 19, 1964, B 325, pl. 365; Guarducci 1967–78, II, 478, fig. 21; Jeffery 1990, 453, N. 14 B and *Nomima* I, No. 99. It is regarded as a votive dedication, but is in my opinion more likely to be connected with the mercantile aspects of the early sanctuaries.

²⁷⁹ For Olympia, cf. Heiden 2006, 57–8 and for Samos, see references above note 102.

²⁸⁰ Herda 2005, espec. 249–50 and 263–8. On p. 273–6, Herda gives a general analysis of the Apollo Delphinios cult in Miletos, concluding by stressing the close connection with this cult and the forming of the polis; he sees the function of the prytaneion in Miletos as both a religious centre and the meeting place for the officials of the polis, Herda 2005, 252.

²⁸¹ Herda 2005, 275.

²⁸² For Olbia, cf. Graf 1979, 9–10 and Herda 2005, 275–6.

²⁸³ For the Molpai, cf. Graf 1979, 7–10 and Herda 2005, references above note 280 and Herda 2006.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Hansen & Fischer-Hansen 1994, 37 (on this point apparently disagreeing with Miller 1978). For their list of known prytaneia, cf. below note 354.

²⁸⁵ According to Herda 2005, 275, the contacts of Miletos to Crete were possibly due to traditional relations, since Miletos was a Minoan colony; in my opinion, contemporary cultic relations may be stronger than historical traditions.

phi and Olympia, had prytaneis with an official function in the cult life and all three sanctuaries had prytaneia, however, apparently not of an early date. About the Prytaneion of Delphi hardly anything is known, neither its exact position nor its exact chronology; presumably it was placed close to the peribolos wall, but outside the sanctuary.²⁸⁶ The monumental Classical Prytaneion in Delos, is situated outside the peribolos wall and there are no remains of an earlier building.²⁸⁷

The Prytaneion of Olympia is identified from Pausanias' itinerary as well as from several Roman inscriptions found in the neighbourhood, which record functions connected with a prytaneion. It is situated in the NE corner of the Altis. Of the four main building phases; the earliest is divided into two sub-phases, I a and I b, only the latter being preserved to a certain extent and one of its rooms being furnished with stuccoed water facilities. In phase II, the building was prolonged along the north side, where a drain was installed as well as a water basin in its NE corner. The Hestia cult was situated elsewhere.²⁸⁸ The facilities of the later phases indicate cooking as well as dining functions as do some late inscriptions.²⁸⁹ Phase I a is presumably dated to around 500 BC and phase I b after the Persian Wars.²⁹⁰

The bouleuterion, the meeting place of the boule, the council, often also housed the archives.²⁹¹ It is a building type known in several architectural variations, one of which is an oblong building with a central, longitudinal row of columns.²⁹² This is the type built in the three Panhellenic Sanctuaries. It is best preserved in the Hera-Zeus Sanctuary at Olympia, where it is situated in the southwestern part, just outside the Altis.²⁹³ Originally it consisted of one, later of two parallel apsidal buildings with slightly curved long walls, each measuring *c.* 11 x 21.50 m, their apses separated from the main rectangular room and again divided by a cross wall. Later the building complex was extended and further monumentalised. From two series of Laconian architectural terracottas, the two apsidal buildings are dated to the last quarter of the 6th century BC; one series being slightly earlier than the other, but today it does not seem possible to decide which building was the oldest.²⁹⁴

Both Panhellenic Apollo Sanctuaries, Delos and

Delphi, had bouleuteria. At the former sanctuary, it presumably is identical with a rectangular building immediately north of the Prytaneion; however, in contrast with the Prytaneion, the Bouleuteion is placed inside the temenos. It measures *c.* 22 x 7 m and has, like the apsidal buildings of the bouleuterion in Olympia, an inner transverse wall, dividing it into two main rooms, a small, square northern one and a long rectangular room with a central row of columns. It is built of local marble and is dated to the end of the 6th century BC.²⁹⁵

The Bouleuterion of Delphi is located from a Plutarch text, from which, if correctly interpreted, the Bouleuterion can be identified with a rectangular building situated at the Sacred Road, just north of the Treasury of the Athenians. It is very badly preserved, only the foundations remain, built of tufa stone. Definitely Archaic, the building is probably early and usually its foundations are dated to the first half of the 6th century BC.²⁹⁶ At least two,

²⁸⁶ Cf. Miller 1978, 86–7; Bousquet 1989, 181; Bommelaer & Laroche 1991, 25, 155 and 196; and cf. Jacquemin 1999, 34.

²⁸⁷ Miller 1978, 67–78; Etienne 1997 and Etienne 2004–2005, 875 (here dated to the third quarter of the 5th century BC). Miller 1978, 74–5, suggested that there had been an Archaic building underneath the prytaneion of Delos. However, in his excavations, Etienne 1997, 320–1, Etienne found only an early well there.

²⁸⁸ Pausanias 5.15.8; Miller 1971 and Miller 1978, 86–91.

²⁸⁹ Cf. Miller 1971, 82, for the Roman inscriptions with titles referring to religious or semi-religious offices, of which Pausanias 5.15.10–1, mentions several as being present in the prytaneion every month, while others include such titles as the cup-bearer and the chief cook.

²⁹⁰ The absolute chronology given by Miller 1971, 100–4, of phases I a and I b are lowered by Heiden 1995, 39–42.

²⁹¹ Gneisz 1990; Hansen & Fischer-Hansen 1994, 37–44; and Kenzler 1999, 290–4.

²⁹² For types of bouleuteria, cf. Gneisz 1990, 58–66.

²⁹³ From Xenophon, *Hell.* 7.4.31, the prytaneion and the bouleuterion are regarded as indicating the borders of the Altis; however, cf. Heiden 2006, 57–8, for a different interpretation.

²⁹⁴ Gneisz 1990, 60–6, For absolute chronology, cf. Heiden 1995, 70–3.

²⁹⁵ Gneisz 1990, 59–60 and 173, No. 17; Bruneau & Ducat 2005, 189, cf. p. 178, No. 21. For a late 6th century BC date, cf. Etienne 2004–2005, 875.

²⁹⁶ *RA* 1980, 102 (Rougemont); Gneisz 1990, 60; and 316, No. 18 with earlier references and Bommelaer & Laroche 1991, 144, No. 221. However, Jacquemin 1999, 33, is sceptical about the identification.

but apparently all three Panhellenic sanctuaries present the earliest known examples of this important administrative building type.

In all three sanctuaries the prytaneis and the boule played a role in the administration of the sanctuaries; only our information is chiefly of the 4th century BC or later and the offices of these bodies may have changed since the 6th century BC.²⁹⁷ Besides the normal function of the prytaneis, receiving and hosting ambassadors and giving honoured persons meals in the prytaneion, the prytaneis of Classical/Hellenistic Delos were responsible for receiving and accounting for the votives, while the boule organized the assemblies, presided over them and executed their decisions.²⁹⁸ At Delphi, the 8 prytaneis were responsible to the boule for the wealth of Apollo, which in some periods might be considerable.²⁹⁹

The Apollo Sanctuaries in both Delos and Delphi were, in contrast with the Hera-Zeus Sanctuary of Olympia, situated inside a settlement, of which only Delphi was called a polis.³⁰⁰ In Delos, the pottery of the early graves, later removed to Rheneia, indicate a wealthy community at least as early as the Geometric period.³⁰¹ In the 7th to 6th centuries BC, it was apparently in particular dominated by three outside communities, according to its architecture, sculpture and pottery, first and foremost Naxos, but also Paros and eventually Athens, by which city-state, the amphictyoni was created after the Persian war.³⁰²

In Delphi, however, the early settlement, judging from the archaeological finds from the 11th century onwards, appear to be and for a long time remain of a rather humble character.³⁰³ The Apollo Sanctuary itself cannot be dated much before 800 BC. According to literary tradition, it was founded from Crete and the early Greek monumental bronze objects show connections with Crete, although also, and in particular, with Euboea and Corinth, all three regions with important Apollo sanctuaries.³⁰⁴ Judging from the early Proto-Corinthian terracotta roof tiles on the site, the early Apollo Temple is contemporary with the Poseidon Temple of Isthmia and thus presumably dated to the first half of the 7th century BC.³⁰⁵ Whatever the reason and conditions for the foundation of the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi, it is obvious that it very quickly developed

into an extremely wealthy and important sanctuary with widely reaching religious/political contacts and with essential influences on Greek colonization.³⁰⁶ It must have been the sanctuary, not the surrounding settlement that had the early need for a detailed administration of its economy and political transactions.

The Delphian Amphictyoni was established in the early 6th century BC, (presumably *c.* 585/580 BC) after the so-called First Sacred War; this was fought against the neighbouring settlement of Kirrha/Krisa, which had the nearest harbour for the sanctuary and presumably profited from this fact.³⁰⁷ The Amphictyoni, consisting of a union of settlements surrounding the Demeter Sanctuary at Antheia near Thermopylae, now included the Apollo Sanctuary of Delphi in its administration and apparently took several initiatives around this time comprising the initiation of the Pythian Games which they conducted.³⁰⁸ The early 6th century BC building is contemporary with the Delphian Amphictyoni and if correctly identified as the bouleuterion, it may be seen as connected with an institution established by the Amphictyoni; however, the Delphian Amphictyoni consisted of a union of settlements originally

²⁹⁷ For Olympia, *cf.* Miller 2003.

²⁹⁸ For Delos, *cf.* Linders 1988, esp. pp. 42–3, and Bruneau & Ducat 2005, 38.

²⁹⁹ Bommelaer & Laroche 1991, 25 and 196.

³⁰⁰ *CPCInv*, 412–4 (Delphi)

³⁰¹ *Cf.* the Rheneia pottery, *Delos* XV, XVII and XLI.

³⁰² *CPCInv*, 738–40 (Delos).

³⁰³ *Cf.* above note 22. and *cf.* Maass 1993, 57–61 and 67. According to *CPCInv*, 412, it is difficult to determine the exact relations between the sanctuary and the polis of Delphi.

³⁰⁴ For Cretan Geometric bronze tripods, *cf.* references IS I, 100, note 109; for Thessalian/Euboean pottery, *cf.* Morgan 1990, 112 with note 8 and pp. 141–2; and for Geometric Corinthian pottery, Picard 1991, 21–8.

³⁰⁵ Le Roy & Ducat 1967, 21–8.

³⁰⁶ *Cf.* below pp. 121–3 and 125–6.

³⁰⁷ Apparently, there is no reason to see Delphi as part of the Kirrha/Krisa city-state before the First Sacred War, as suggested by Fontenrose 1988, 125. *Cf.* Parke & Wormell 1956, 99. The harbour presumably gave Kirrha/Krisa access to some of the riches of the sanctuary, which may have been adequate reason for a declaration of war.

³⁰⁸ *Cf.* *Der neue Pauly* 1, 611, for the Amphictyoni; Davies 2007, for a discussion of our information of the institution; and *CPCInv*, 414–5, for the early initiatives of the Amphictyoni.

connected with the administration of a sanctuary and does not represent the administrative structure of a polis.

In Olympia, the winners at the Olympic Games were served dinners in the prytaneion, while the bouleuterion with the Zeus Horkios Altar was the scene of the Olympic oath being given by the participants in the Games and here also the votes and the judgements connected with the Games took place. The bouleuterion housed the archives, possibly in the small apsidal rooms. There seems to be a division of the organization between the hellanodikai and the priesthood, the former group did not interfere with the sacrifices, the latter not with the Olympic Games.³⁰⁹ The preserved *leges sacrae* of Olympia, dated to the second half of the 6th century BC and around 500 BC are written in the Elean alphabet and give evidence of Elean supremacy over Olympia at this period,³¹⁰ however, apparently in the form of the Elean Archaic Symmachi, which was more than a military agreement, actually a religious/political association.³¹¹

In their joint paper from 1994, Mogens Herman Hansen and Tobias Fischer-Hansen discuss the so-called “riddle” that Olympia, a sanctuary, “is the only Greek site of the Archaic and Classical periods which has revealed the remains of both a prytaneion and a bouleuterion” and thus according to their own criteria for a polis “ought to be the obvious example of a polis”, an absurd conclusion, which they of course refute.³¹² However, such a conclusion is an unavoidable consequence of one of their own premises for identifying a polis: “...that a polis is a community with typically a bouleuterion and a prytaneion.”³¹³ Although this is the case for Classical Greece, it does not necessarily reflect the conditions of an earlier period and the archaeological evidence, as known today, points to the prytaneion as rising out of the Apollo Delphinios cult around or shortly after 650 BC, while the earliest known bouleuteria were erected in the 6th century BC and not in the settlements/city-states, but in the Panhellenic sanctuaries dedicated to Apollo and Hera-Zeus. In Greek settlements/city-states the two types of administrative buildings are later than in the sanctuaries and only at a later

date can they be taken as a criterion for a polis.³¹⁴ At the time of the erection of the bouleuteria in the Panhellenic sanctuaries, there is no tradition for this building type in Greek city-states, so that the bouleuterion in Olympia could hardly be taken as an example of “polis” architecture.³¹⁵ It seems likely that this building type was created in the 6th century BC in Panhellenic sanctuaries, possibly in connection with increased demands for central administration, which may well be linked with the synoichismoi, a background which applies at least to Olympia and possibly to Delphi.

Summing up, I see the above archaeological evidence as indications that the first administrative buildings, the prytaneion and the bouleuterion, as well as the place for assemblies, the agora, which later became criteria for a Greek city-state, had their origin and earliest function in Apollo sanctuaries (the bouleuterion perhaps simultaneously in the Hera-Zeus sanctuary of Olympia). Similar to the case of the earliest known written laws, the God of Apollo and his sanctuaries were linked with the earliest archaeological expressions of forms for administration, which signify urbanization and which later became criteria for a Greek city-state.

³⁰⁹ Siewert 1992, 116 and Crowther 2003, 64.

³¹⁰ Ol V, Nos. 1–7; Jeffery 1990, 217–20; *Nomima* I, Nos. 108–9; Siewert 1992 and Ebert & Siewert 1999.

³¹¹ Ebert & Siewert, 1999, 412 (Conclusions). However, there is no doubt about the status of Elis as a city-state in the 6th century BC, cf. also Eder & Mitsopoulos-Leon 1999; Siewert 2001; and Heiden 2006, 55.

³¹² Hansen & Fischer-Hansen 1994, 86–9. Heiden 2006, reaches a similar conclusion.

³¹³ Hansen & Fischer-Hansen 1994, 86.

³¹⁴ Cf. below pp. 114–5 and notes 354 and 360.

³¹⁵ Heiden 2006, 58, ascribes a polis function to Olympia, especially stressing the mercantile aspects of the area west of Altis, which he compares to an Agora. However, Heiden’s references are mostly of a later date and he does not allow for the fact that Greek sanctuaries from a very early date had mercantile interests, which demanded a centralized administration, cf. above pp. 84–5 and 107 and notes 100–4 and 277 and 279. The voting discs with the inscription of Dios (4th century BC) belong with the offices of the bouleuterion in connection with the Olympic Games.

Argos (and other settlements/ city-states)

Throughout the Protogeometric and the greater part of the Geometric periods Argos had scattered habitation over a large area, presumably consisting of villages;³¹⁶ only in the Late Geometric period an agglomeration of houses at the foot of the Larissa Hill, the site of the later Agora, was beginning to be formed.³¹⁷ Already in the Protogeometric period there is evidence for craft differentiation, with metal works as well as potteries,³¹⁸ and at least in the Late Geometric Period there are distinct class differences with a warrior elite.³¹⁹ However, the earliest known organizational aspect of the settlement is of a military character and therefore not necessarily pointing towards a growing urban development, *i.e.* the conquest of Asine, dated to shortly before 700 BC,³²⁰ followed by the conquest of Nauplion.³²¹ Presumably both attacks came from the sea and apparently the settlements were not fortified at that date.³²²

The Late Geometric rural sanctuary of Kourtaki was placed in the surrounding area of Argos about 4 km east of the settlement and the Archaic one of Kephalaria about 5 km SW of Argos.³²³ The early sanctuaries inside Argos were mostly placed on top of the Deiras, on the Larissa Hill, or below it on the site of the later Agora. Pausanias mentions five Hera cults, of which the earliest known apparently was dated to the late 7th century BC.³²⁴ The votive deposit of the Athena Sanctuary on top of the Larissa Hill goes back to Middle Geometric times and the foundations for its early temple is dated to the early 6th century BC; in the Apollo Pytheos Sanctuary on the Deiras, there is a votive deposit of the Late Geometric period and the temple is dated to the 6th century BC.³²⁵

On the whole, there are few signs of monumental building activity in Argos before the middle of the 6th century BC, either in the sanctuaries or in the settlement. They are mostly exemplified by architectural terracottas of the so-called Argive system,³²⁶ whereas two Archaic capitals in the Argos Museum have nothing to do with Argive monumental architecture.³²⁷ The earliest ceramic

finds in the Aphrodite Sanctuary are of late 7th century BC date and the lead figure production of the sanctuary began around 600 BC; there may have been a small *oikos* at that time, but the temple, an ante building, is dated around 550 BC and the stoa and the temenos wall of the sanctuary to the end of the 6th century.³²⁸

³¹⁶ Aupert 1982, 24, *cf.* Hall 1995, 581, discussion with earlier references, note 245; and Vink 2002, 61.

³¹⁷ Piérart & Touchais 1996, 24 and Pariente, Piérart & Thalmann 1998, 212–3.

³¹⁸ *Cf.* above p. 91 and note 154.

³¹⁹ *Cf.* above p. 91 and note 159.

³²⁰ Kelly 1967, 44–6 and 64–6; Kelly 1976, 422–31; Foley 1988, 142–3; Kritzas 1992, 234; Hall 1995, 581–2. According to Pausanias 2.36.5, the Apollo Pytheos Sanctuary was spared; but Argos annexed the whole territory of Asine. *Cf.* also above p. 93–4 and notes 183–5: since the Late Geometric boundary wall preceded the Argive attack, the Apollo Pytheos cult cannot have been transferred from Argos, which settlement on the contrary adopted the Asine cult (*cf.* the discussion, Hall 1995, 581–2).

³²¹ For the conquest of Nauplion, *cf.* Kelly 1976, 89; Foley 1988, 127–8; Hall 1995, 583–4; and Piérart 2004, 602. Apparently, the latter has changed his mind since his former expressed scepticism (Piérart 1997, 347, note 28).

³²² As regards the settlement of Asine, there is still no published evidence for a Late Geometric city wall (*cf.* above p. 94 and note 183). In Argos, only the 7th century BC boundary wall for the Apollo Pytheos Sanctuary is known (above note 182). For early Greek city walls, *cf.* references above note 252.

³²³ Foley 1988, 184–5, Nos. 51 and 60; Hägg 1992 (the Argolid in general): IS V, 68–9 and note 196 (Kephalaria); and Polignac 1998, 196.

³²⁴ Pausanias 2.22.1 and 24; IS I, 198–9; Hall 1995, 604–5. *Cf.* Piérart 1995 for an inscription regarding a Hera sanctuary at the Agora of Argos, possibly the Hera Antheia Sanctuary; for this sanctuary, *cf.* also Banaka-Dimakī, 2002. (For Hall's identification of Hera sanctuaries in the Argolid from archaeological evidence, Hall 1995, 597, and Hall 2002, 95, *cf.* IS V, 105–6, note 184).

³²⁵ *Cf.* IS I, 198–9 and Hall 1995, 603; here also the foundations for the Athena Temple, fig. 9. For the sanctuary of Athena Polias, *cf.* Kritzas 2005.

³²⁶ For architectural terracottas of the so-called Argive system from sanctuaries and settlement areas in the Argolid and elsewhere, dated to *c.* 560/550–520 BC, *cf.* Billot 1990, 109–11 and 139 and Billot 1991, 204; Pfaff 1990; Winter 1990, 23–5 (with reference, note 17, to Nancy Cooper as the first to distinguish the group); and Winter 1993, 149–87.

³²⁷ Des Courtils 1992, 242: one was transferred from Thasos in Late Antiquity or Early Middle Ages; the other is most likely part of a votive stele.

³²⁸ References above note 156.

The important Apollo Lykeios Sanctuary on the Agora is still not securely located. According to Pausanias it was situated close to the Heroon for the Seven against Thebes, where an inscribed pillar, from around 550 BC was found and in the same area were also remains of an altar.³²⁹ The re-used blocks in an annexe to the *salle hypostyle* comprise architectural elements from a long stoa, which presumably was erected in the Apollo Lykeios Sanctuary, since the many rivet holes indicate a fastening of bronze plaques, which fits our information about the official decrees being published in the Apollo Lykeios sanctuary – like the custom in other Apollo sanctuaries. The blocks can be dated to the 5th century BC.³³⁰

As regards Archaic secular building activity the evidence is slight apart from the above-mentioned architectural terracottas, which may partly belong to such structures. The early 7th century BC stone structures at Place Kypseli, presumably of secular function, surrounded an open area and is not an actual building.³³¹ The later Agora of Argos was used for burials in the Geometric Period and later as habitation quarters.³³² A draining of the open area took place in the 6th century BC and the Archaic buildings here followed two main directions, which seem to imply an intentional outlay.³³³ Remains of a few small buildings, placed along the south side of the Agora and aligned with the later official buildings, are dated from the 7th century BC onwards; they are interpreted as administrative or public buildings, but their actual function is uncertain and they are of a rather humble appearance.³³⁴

The above-mentioned inscriptions concerning the *damiourgoi* are dated to 575/550 BC; but otherwise, there seem to be few preserved Archaic inscribed laws. The King list of Argos may perhaps be dated to the 6th century BC.³³⁵

Around the middle of the 5th century BC, we have several kinds of evidence for the status of Argos as a recognized important city-state and this refers not only to its military power with its final conquests of such inland sites as Mycenae and Tiryns, but to various examples of epigraphic evidence as for example its role as mediator between other city-states as seen in the Knossos–Tylissos–Argos decree around 450 BC.³³⁶ As observed by several scholars,

Argos needed time to recover from the Spartan War and the disastrous defeat at Sepeia shortly after 500 BC³³⁷ and, as tentatively suggested by Kritzas, it is possible that it was actually Themistokles, who introduced the rules of democracy to Argos during his exile here.³³⁸ Also according to literary sources, the years towards 460 BC is the time, where democracy was introduced into Argos.³³⁹ The period between 460 and 440 BC witnesses a veritable boom of official building activity in Argos, not only in the sanctuaries, where the Aphrodite and the Apollo Pytheos Sanctuary both are adorned with monumental temples, but especially at the Agora, where several monumental public buildings were erected.³⁴⁰

The so-called *salle hypostyle*, situated on a natural terrace in the Agora was a quadrangular building, measuring exactly 32.78 x 32.78 m, and built of poros. Its eastern side, facing the Agora had a colonnade of 16 equidistant Ionic columns and its in-

³²⁹ Pariente 1992. For the Apollo Lykeios sanctuary, cf. Courbin 1998.

³³⁰ The Stoa, Bommelaer & Des Courtils 1994, Appendix.

³³¹ IS I, notes 173 and 174, and cf. Lang 1996, 175.

³³² Pariente, Piérart & Thalmann 1998, 212–3.

³³³ Pariente, Piérart & Thalmann 1998, 212–3.

³³⁴ Barakari, Gleni & Pariente 1998, 166.

³³⁵ In general, Jeffery 1990, 156–8; cf. above notes 232 and 234–5 and for the Argive King list, cf. notes 225–6.

³³⁶ Piérart 2004, 612 and 615, dates the conquest of Mycenae to 464 BC and that of Tiryns to the 460s. For the Knossos–Tylissos–Argos decree, cf. above note 78.

³³⁷ Kritzas 1992, 231–2, refers to two different dates for the battle at Sepeia, 505 BC or 494 BC, and prefers the latter; he states that both Mycenae and Tiryns profited from the temporary weakness of Argos and not until they were conquered was Argos able to concentrate on its inner organization. (Cf. also above p. 80 and note 63 and below note 339, Piérart 2004).

³³⁸ Kritzas 1992, 234.

³³⁹ Ginouvés 1972, 80–2, discusses the literary evidence for democracy in Argos; Jeffery 1990, 162, Nos. 32 and 36; Piérart 1997, 332–4, refers to a bronze plaque dated to about 450 BC set up in the Apollo Lykeios Sanctuary, concerning the division of land belonging to the chora and to the sanctuaries. Cf. Piérart 2004 for a summary of Argos in the Archaic/Classical periods.

³⁴⁰ Cf. Piérart & Touchais 1996, 47–53 for a summary of the Agora excavations. Des Courtils 1992, 250, uses the expression: “une véritable fièvre de constructions” and Barakari, Gleni & Pariente 1998, 166, the expression: “une explosion de l’activité”.

side was constructed with 16 equidistant supports, regularly placed in 4 x 4 rows. From its architectural details it can be dated to *c.* 460 BC³⁴¹ and from its similarity to the later bouleterion of Sicyon,³⁴² it has been identified with the bouleterion of Argos. We have several epigraphic fragments testifying the existence of a boule in Argos.³⁴³ Together with the bouleteria of Athens, Olynthos, and Orchomenos the building represents one of earliest bouleteria in Greece outside sanctuaries.³⁴⁴ On the other hand no official building has yet been identified with the prytaneion.³⁴⁵

Several large stoai are erected about this time. Apart from Apollo Lykeios' Stoa, there is a large stoa, about 25 m east of the *salle hypostyle*, with a portico on three sides; the northern colonnade facing the Agora consisting of 40 Doric columns. From the form of its stylobate, it is named *bati-ment pi*. Its function is not certain, but in its original plan, it had an inner, long and narrow court, measuring *c.* 59 x 11 m. It is dated to the third quarter of the 5th century BC. The Classical Stoa (K) is not securely dated and the orchestra, connected with it, is later; however an altar in the centre is dated to the second half of the 5th century BC.³⁴⁶

Most important is the so-called *theatre à gradins droits*, its rectilinear steps carved in the natural rock at the so-called pron, the southeastern (lower) projection of the Larissa Hill, and just above the site, which later was occupied by the Roman Odeion. The rather eroded steps have a simple profile, their depth presumably originally about 90 cm, their height estimated to *c.* 30 cm. The north, east and west borders can be located, whereas the southern part is destroyed by the later Odeion. It had 37 rows of steps and might house between 2300 and 2500 persons. The orchestra was placed on a terrace, which was built (or rebuilt) in the third quarter of the 5th century BC. From comparisons with the Pnyx in Athens, the earliest phase of which is dated to the early 5th century BC, it is identified with the Helaia, the assembly of the people.³⁴⁷

Although there are 6th century BC monumental buildings at the Argive Heraion, presumably erected by Argos,³⁴⁸ it is not until this same period, *c.* 460–440 BC, that the Argive Heraion is entirely included into the general building activ-

ity of Argos. The area below the Old Temple was levelled to form the Second Terrace, bordered to the west by the large Western Retaining Wall, to the south by the South Stoa, contemporary with the *salle hypostyle*, and to the east by the East Hall, in its ground-plan very close to the *salle hypostyle*.³⁴⁹ During these years Argos simultaneously organized a grandiose building plan in the Argive Heraion as well as in the city.³⁵⁰ Only the central space of the Second Terrace, around which the whole building activity was concentrated, was left open until the construction of the Second Temple in the years after the burning down of the Old Temple in 423 BC.³⁵¹

Shortly after 470 BC the great innovation of the Hera Festivals took place combined with those of the Zeus Festivals at Nemea. To the Hera Festivals were introduced processions from Argos to the Heraion and athletic contests, comprising also horse races with prizes of bronze vases.³⁵²

³⁴¹ Bommelaer & Des Courtils 1994 (Gneisz 1990, No. 8).

³⁴² Bommelaer & Des Courtils 1994, 45–6, reference to the bouleterion of Sicyon (Gneisz 1990, 351–2, No. 59) and p. 47, chronology.

³⁴³ Cf. Bommelaer & Des Courtils 1994, 46. The information by Herodotos 7, 148, 3, of the Spartan envoys speaking in the bouleterion of Argos already in 481 BC, appears unlikely, taking into account the date of the *salle hypostyle*; it is more likely a deduction from the conditions at Herodotos' time.

³⁴⁴ Cf. below p. 115 and note 360.

³⁴⁵ The prytaneion of Argos is mentioned by Diodor for the year 315 BC, Hansen & Fischer Hansen 1994, 31.

³⁴⁶ Cf. Piérart & Touchais 1996, 41–2.

³⁴⁷ Ginouvés 1972. For the Pnyx in Athens, cf. Travlos 1971, 466–75; Thompson 1982; and Hansen & Fischer-Hansen 1994, 57–61 (Pnyx I, *c.* 500–*c.* 460/ 400 BC).

³⁴⁸ Cf. above p. 77 and note 41.

³⁴⁹ Amandry 1952, 254, 274; Lauter 1973; and Billot 1997, 39–44.

³⁵⁰ The statements, above note 340, can be applied to the Argive Heraion as well.

³⁵¹ Pfaff 2003, 191–6, the chronology of the Second Temple. (Construction begun after 423 BC, continued to *c.* 400 BC, if not slightly later). The plaques from the Athena Polias sanctuary (Kritzas 2005, cf. above p. 83 and note 91) may provide a more exact chronology.

³⁵² Amandry 1980, 1983, and 2002 and Piérart & Touchais 1996, 532–54; for the procession, cf. in particular, Hall 1995, 592–4; for the early Classical Argive Heraion and Argos in general, cf. also Morgan 2007, 251–5, whose paper I saw only after the above was written.

Summing up, in the 6th century BC, the city-state of Argos had an organized governmental body, drawing up laws and erecting monumental buildings, but there is no certain archaeological evidence for administrative buildings before the 5th century BC, *i.e.* after the introduction of democracy; which resulted in a veritable boom of official building activity during the years between *c.* 460 and 440 BC, comprising the sanctuary of the Argive Heraion as well as the city of Argos.

As noted earlier, the prytaneion and the bouleuterion are generally regarded as criteria for a Greek city-state. However, the earliest prytaneion developed in the Geometric Apollo Delphinion in Dreros and there are 6th century BC prytaneia in the sanctuaries³⁵³ as well in city-states. The prytaneion of Siphnos, dated to *c.* 530/525 BC, is the only early prytaneion said to have been constructed in marble.³⁵⁴ Athens definitely had an Archaic prytaneion. Since the identification by G. S. Dontas of the Aglauros Cave on the East Slope of the Acropolis, it is now certain that the nearby prytaneion was situated east of the Acropolis, as mentioned by Pausanias 1.18.3.³⁵⁵ On the present evidence I find the conclusions by Schmaltz convincing: the prytaneion was situated close to the present church of Ayia Aikaterini, where a deposit of black-figured drinking cups can be dated to around 550 BC.³⁵⁶

Hansen & Fischer-Hansen suggest that the reason for so few Pre-Classical prytaneia being identified by excavations is its general “unpretentious” or unobtrusive building type.³⁵⁷ However, several prytaneia connected with sanctuaries were identifiable and I am more inclined to conclude that the prytaneion as a building type was not nearly as common in early Greek poleis as one is normally led to believe. Most literary and epigraphic sources of city-state prytaneia are of the 4th century BC or of Hellenistic date, although the term of prytaneis is known from the 6th century BC, that of prytaneion shortly afterwards.³⁵⁸

As regards the bouleuteria, they appear to begin later in the city-states than in the sanctuaries. Actually, the bouleuterion of Argos, dated to *c.* 460 BC, is one of the earliest known in a Greek city-state, only slightly later than the Old Bouleu-

terion in the Agora of Athens, which was built in the early 5th century BC, shortly after Kleisthenes’ reforms that constituted the Council of the Five Hundred.³⁵⁹ There does not seem to be evidence for any city-state bouleuterion built before *c.* 500

³⁵³ Cf. above pp. 104–8 for the prytaneia of Dreros, Miletos, Olbia and (around 500 BC) Olympia.

³⁵⁴ For Greek prytaneia in general, Miller 1978 and Hansen & Fischer-Hansen 1994, 30–7, who in their list of prytaneia refer to the following of 6th century BC date: Kyzikos (Miller 1978, No. 275); Mytilene (Miller 1978, No. 361); Sigeion, (Miller 1978, No. 427; the chronology, 550–540 BC, is given on epigraphic evidence); Sikyon (Miller 1978, No. 428) and Siphnos (Miller 1978, No. 429). To them should now be added Miletos and Olbia, (*cf.* above p. 107 and notes 280–2); Athens, (*cf.* below and note 356); and presumably Ayia Pelagia: the Hellenistic rectangular building was built over a 6th century building with a hearth, one of the main criteria for a prytaneion. In his earliest publication Alexiou 1972, identified it with a prytaneion, only in his later articles (Alexiou 1973, 472–3; Alexiou 1973–74, 883–5 and AR 1975–76, 30) interpreting it as a bouleuterion, in which interpretation he is followed by Gneisz 1990, No. 15 and Hansen & Fischer-Hansen 1994, 39 and 43. According to *ThesCRA* I, 106, only one inscription mentions a sacrifice in a bouleuterion, on Teos at the time of Antiochos IV. For the identification of the building and its Archaic predecessor as a prytaneion, *cf.* also *Kommos* IV, 723, note 15 and Prent 2005, 456, note 1267.

³⁵⁵ Dontas 1983.

³⁵⁶ Schmaltz 2006. In the courtyard of the church are a few Roman Ionic columns still standing, underneath which were Hellenistic rooms over a deposit of Attic black-figured vases, mostly drinking cups of the mid-6th century BC, (Schmaltz 2006, 56–7). In the neighbourhood was also found a Roman statue base with a dedication to Hestia and Apollo, which was sanctified by the epimeletes, the chief civic officials in charge of the general use of sacred space in the 1st century AD (Schmaltz 2006, 71–3). To a Dane, it is particularly interesting that this identification was suggested already in the first half of the 18th century AD by the first Danish Classical archaeologist, P.O. Brøndsted, in accordance with Chandler, *cf.* Mejer 2008, 114–5.

³⁵⁷ Hansen & Fischer-Hansen 1994, 37.

³⁵⁸ One of the earliest epigraphic mentions of a prytaneion is the Thasos Stele of the Port, Duchène 1992, 20, lines 43–4, dated, p. 130, to *c.* 470–460 BC. The title of the prytaneis was known from the 6th century BC, Duchène 1992, 68.

³⁵⁹ Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 29–31 with earlier references; Gneisz 1990 No. 12 and Hansen & Fischer-Hansen 39 and 42–3. Miller 1995 identifies the building with the Old Metroon, a suggestion which has not been generally accepted, *cf.* Shear 1995 and Figueira 2008, 317–8.

BC,³⁶⁰ in contrast with the circumstances in the Panhellenic sanctuaries, where the earliest known bouleuteria are dated to the 6th century BC.³⁶¹ The meeting-place for the boule, the bouleuterion, was necessary for communities with a large degree of organization and apparently such a need arose earlier in the Panhellenic sanctuaries than in the city-states.

Like the prytaneion, the bouleuterion was as a rule placed at the Agora. We do not know whether the Prytaneion of Athens was actually located at an early Agora.³⁶² The site of the Agora of Athens went through several phases of various functions, from Geometric graves and 7th century BC houses and industrial buildings, until we see the open space of the Agora, flanked by official buildings with Building F, situated under the Tholos and dated to around 550 BC, as the earliest.³⁶³

The open space of the Greek Agora presumably had many functions, but the original purpose of the earliest known Agora was religious. Taking into account the industrial and mercantile functions attached to many sanctuaries the early agorai may have been used also for normal marketing.³⁶⁴ It seems that only secondarily the Greek Agora acquired a political function.³⁶⁵ Apart from Dreros, many city-state agoras were placed in close connection with a major cult of the settlement, for example in Athens with the Agora placed below Acropolis, in Corinth, placed below the terrace of the Apollo Temple, in Miletos at the lowland of the harbour, adjoining the Apollo Delphinios cult and similarly in the Agora of Olbia.³⁶⁶ Therefore, I see reasons for disagreeing with Hölscher in his statement that the cult of the city and its political centre were far separated.³⁶⁷ Except for Dreros, Eretria, where the Agora, placed on the drained river-bed, apparently was laid out before 600 BC, and possibly an unidentified Old Agora of Athens, it is for the present difficult to identify any Greek Agora with political function before the 6th century BC³⁶⁸ and as noted above, the Apollo sanctuaries seem to play an important role in the development from religious to political function.

For other early corporate enterprises, such as the street plan and specific official installations, the archeological material known from Greece is limited

today. Before the 6th century BC there is, apart from Crete and Euboea, very little archaeological/epigraphic evidence for urbanization or communal enterprises;³⁶⁹ in the former island the evidence is

³⁶⁰ For Greek bouleuteria in general, *cf.* Gneisz 1990 and Hansen & Fischer-Hansen 1994, 37–42. Plutarch *Mor* 304 B, mentions a gathering in the prytaneion of Samos around 600 BC; considering the late date of the information, it can hardly be taken as chronological evidence. I regard the so-called bouleuterion of Ayia Pelagia as a prytaneion, *cf.* above note 354. Besides the bouleuteria in Athens and Argos (for the latter building, Athens may have served as a model), the known early bouleuteria are all of the 5th century BC, *cf.* Hansen & Fischer-Hansen 1994, 41, with references for Olynthos to Gneisz 1990, No. 49 and for Orchomenos to Gneisz 1990, No. 50.

³⁶¹ *Cf.* above pp. 108–9.

³⁶² The German scholars, Schnurr 1995 and Hoepfner 2006, place the Archaic Agora in the area of the Archaic prytaneion; however, their hypothesis cannot be verified until after further excavations.

³⁶³ For the Agora site of Athens in the Geometric/Archaic periods and for building F, *cf.* Thompson & Wycherley 1972, 1–2 and 27–8, and for the Old Bouleuterion, *cf.* above note 359.

³⁶⁴ *Cf.* above pp. 106–7 (Dreros) and notes 275–7 for the originally religious purpose of the agora as well as for the mercantile aspects of the sanctuaries.

³⁶⁵ For general studies of the Greek Agora, *cf.* McDonald 1943; Martin 1952 and 1974, 266–73; Kolb 1981; Hölscher 1998; Kenzler 1999; and Hoepfner 2006.

³⁶⁶ For Corinth, *cf.* Kenzler 1999, 108, and for Miletos and Olbia, *cf.* above p. 107 and notes 280–2.

³⁶⁷ *Cf.* Hölscher 1998, 58–9.

³⁶⁸ For the Agora of Eretria, *cf.* Krause 1983, 183–5.

³⁶⁹ The dike at Eretria, *cf.* Krause 1972, 13–9, and Krause 1981, 181–2; Mazarakis-Amian 1987, 16 and fig. 10 (second half of the 7th century BC); and Parker 1997, 34. (I have also been referred to the paper by S.G. Schmidt, *NürmBlArch* 17 (2000–2001), 101–20, which I have not seen). Bérard 1998, 149–51, observes that there was no defined limit between the Apollo Daphnephoros Sanctuary and the habitation area of Eretria. As regards an organized lay-out of streets we have, as far as I know, only a few Archaic examples, *e.g.* in Eretria, where the 6th century BC main street was connecting the coast with the Temple of Apollo and the Agora, the Acropolis and the Western Gateway, Krause 1981, 183 and fig. 5. From the early Classical Thasos Stele of the Port it is possible to reconstruct some of the main streets, connecting the Sanctuary of the Charites with the Heracles Sanctuary and this sanctuary again with the sea, one of the streets passing the prytaneion and the agora (Duchène 1992, 9–34, *cf.* 99–105 and illustration p. 106). Since the streets were existing at the time of the stele, they presumably are Archaic.

connected with the Apollo Sanctuaries, in the latter it is possible that the Apollo Daphnephoros sanctuary was involved in the lay-out of the streets of Eretria, while it is still a matter of dispute, whether the early dike was of importance for the sanctuary.

Problems concerning early Greek urbanization can hardly be discussed without including the Western Greek colonies, the earliest of which were founded in course of the second half of the 8th century BC.³⁷⁰ One of the best excavated of the early Western Greek colonies, especially concerning its northeastern plateau, is Megara Hyblaea in Sicily, which according to its traditional chronology was founded in 728/727 BC, an absolute chronology conforming well with the earliest datable pottery of the site.³⁷¹ After a short period of living in interimistic huts, the colonists built scattered houses which were small, square, one-room buildings of an orthostat construction, measuring *c.* 4 x 4 m; similar houses were excavated in the earliest habitation layers of Sicilian Syracuse, founded in 734 BC, and in a few cases also in the almost contemporary Sicilian colony of Naxos; here, however, there also are houses of a larger and more varied ground plan indicating a higher density of occupation.³⁷² Although the late 8th century BC houses of Megara Hyblaea were not laid out according to an over-all plan of the settlement, they did not take up the place of a later street, nor were they placed in the open area of the later, so-called Agora. The systematic lay-out of parallel streets of Megara Hyblaea was not carried out until *c.* 650 BC; but from an earlier date, there existed an organized system by which the settlement area as well as the chora was divided into lots, which measured between *c.* 120 and *c.* 135 m² although some are larger.³⁷³ In the northern part of the settlement the lay-out left an open, trapezoid area measuring *c.* 80 x 60 m, the so-called Agora.³⁷⁴

In their search for official buildings of political character, the French excavators at first identified an orthostat building, *bâtiment i*, close to the SW corner of the Agora, as the prytaneion, because of its trapezoid form reminding of Building F in the Athenian Agora.³⁷⁵ However, later researches have shown that the house had several building phases and its trapezoid appearance belonged to a later period, consisting of an agglomeration of smaller lots

united in order to make a larger and more wealthy habitation.³⁷⁶ The same phenomenon of collecting early lots in order to construct larger and more spacious buildings also characterized the west side of the Agora, which was renovated and monumentalised from north to south from the late 7th century BC onwards.³⁷⁷ The earliest monumental building, formed of two separate lots, was the northwestern building d, which from its many bothroi and small altars must have had a religious function and now is identified with the heroon for the oikist Lamis.³⁷⁸

In the second half of the 7th century BC, the north and south sides of the Agora were closed with official buildings, all in the orthostat construction, the 85 m long North Stoa and the two small temples in the south, buildings g and h, dated to the third and last quarter of the 7th century BC, respectively.³⁷⁹ The identification of the almost contemporary east building, *bâtiment f*, with a stoa, is no longer certain.³⁸⁰ Although the actual temples are later, the area seems from the beginning to have had religious purposes with many bothroi.³⁸¹ The open space of

³⁷⁰ In general, Malkin 1987; Fischer-Hansen 1996; and Mertens 2006.

³⁷¹ My text follows the conclusions in *Megara* 5. For the Geometric pottery of the second half of the 8th century BC, *cf.* De Angelis 2003, 10–1.

³⁷² The early huts in Megara Hyblaea, *Megara* 5, 523–4, and the early houses, *Megara* 1, 261–314; De Angelis 2003, 20; *Megara* 5, 465; and Mertens 2006, 66. For the early houses of Syracuse, *cf.* Pelagatti 1982, 122–6 and Mertens 2006, 75; and for Naxos, Pelagatti 1981, 297, and Lentini 2006, 494–500.

³⁷³ *Megara* 1, 315–45; Tréziny 1999; and *Megara* 5, 532–41. A corresponding division in lots of the settlement and the chora, although of a somewhat later date, has been observed for Metaponto, *cf.* Carter 2000 and Carter, Thompson & Trelogan 2004.

³⁷⁴ The Agora, *Megara* 5, 391–457.

³⁷⁵ *Megara* 1, 189–93; for Building F of the Athenian Agora, *cf.* above note 363.

³⁷⁶ *Megara* 5, 445–8.

³⁷⁷ *Megara* 5, 419–27.

³⁷⁸ *Megara* 5, 419–21.

³⁷⁹ *Megara* 5, 432–45 and Mertens 2006, 69; their date is based on the chronology of the votive deposits; for the date of the North Stoa, *cf.* above note 244.

³⁸⁰ *Megara* 5, 436–7.

³⁸¹ *Megara* 5, 441–5. It is possible that the sanctuary area (the two temples, g and h, and the *bâtiment f*) at a later date was separated from the northern part of the Agora with a peribolos

the Agora was intended for public gatherings, which, considering the religious character of its earliest official buildings, most likely comprised religious assemblies or perhaps was primarily designated for cultic purposes, a conclusion which does not exclude mercantile interests.³⁸² A similar situation is found underneath the later Piazza Duomo of Syracuse, the area at the Athena (or Artemis) Temple being kept open from the early phases of the colony and with 7th century BC shops nearby.³⁸³

In one more Western Greek colony, an Archaic building has been tentatively identified with a prytaneion. In the sanctuary area of Poseidonia, a rectangular building, measuring *c.* 13 x 10 m, was erected some time in the 6th century BC, *c.* 45 m NE of the so-called Hera Temple I, the Enneastylos.³⁸⁴ However, its position at the sanctuary area and the fact that it was open in the west side, facing the temples, speak for a sacral function rather than a secular one and it should perhaps be interpreted as the Banquet Hall of the sanctuary.³⁸⁵

The one early structure of religious/political importance in a Western Greek colony, is the so-called ekklesiastorion in Metapontion, calculated to hold *c.* 8000 persons, presumably intended for the inhabitants of the chora as well as of the settlement. The earliest wooden phase can be dated to the late 7th century BC. It is situated immediately outside the sanctuary of Zeus Agoraios, identified by a stone cippus with an inscription. The excavators emphasize the importance of this location in connection with the temenos and ascribe to it a double purpose, probably meant for political assemblies, but definitely for religious purposes.³⁸⁶ Exactly the same connection between sanctuary and open area can be observed in Poseidonia and in general there is a striking similarity in the lay-out of the two urban sanctuaries, although Poseidonia is a secondary colony from Sybaris, not Metapontion.³⁸⁷ The main temples at both sites are now similarly identified as dedicated to Apollo and Hera.³⁸⁸

Just as in the Greek Motherland, the Agora as a political centre apparently developed gradually. In the Western Greek colonies, temples and stoai were the earliest monumental buildings, as well. Such important administrative buildings as the prytaneion and the bouleuterion are, judging

from archaeological remains as well as from literary sources, completely missing in the early colonies,³⁸⁹ while the so-called ekklesiastorion in Metapontion probably had a double religious/political function.

On the other hand, there are strong indications that from a very early date the Western Greek colonies were laid out after an over-all general plan. House lots as well as land lots were distributed according to some kind of central organization and the lots were divisions from long strips of ground, which followed the direction of the main streets. The decisive streets in Megara Hyblaea, the north-south going diagonal streets, issue from the northern coast, presumably from the harbour; they form the east and west side of the trapezoid open area, the so-called Agora. The main east-west going thoroughfares were placed just north and south of the Agora, which therefore must be seen as an integral part of the earliest lay-out of the street grid. From the east-west main streets, the smaller streets, the stenopoi, were laid out in parallel lines.³⁹⁰

wall. Haug 2007, 45–7, regards the bothroi as evidence of ordinary habitation and refers to the existence of another early sanctuary in the northern part of Megara Hyblaea, *cf.* *Megara* 5, 303–82, which in my opinion does not exclude the possibility of other sanctuaries in the same settlement.

³⁸² Malkin 2002, 203, regards the agoras as reserved for the general purpose of public and religious affairs.

³⁸³ Voza 1993/94 and 1999, where he, p. 93, calls it a “temenos-agora” and Voza 2000; *cf.* for the shops, *EAA* sec. suppl. vol 5, 274, Siracusa.

³⁸⁴ Lauter *et al.* 1984. The building had stone orthostats and two inner central columns and was furnished with an eschara and later on a water channel. In his conclusions, p. 45, Lauter uses the term bouleuterion/prytaneion; its ground-plan does not correspond with any of the known bouleuteria plans.

³⁸⁵ Mertens 2006, 167.

³⁸⁶ Mertens 1982, 32–4 (Conclusions) and Mertens 2006, 161–2.

³⁸⁷ *Cf.* Mertens 2006, 161–7.

³⁸⁸ I am convinced by the argumentation by Torelli 1987, 60–5, who identifies the so-called “Temple of Neptun” as an Apollo temple.

³⁸⁹ Hansen & Fischer-Hansen’s list of bouleuteria and prytaneia (*cf.* above notes 354 and 360) includes also the Western Greek examples: bouleuteria are known from Akragas, Akrai, Morgantina, Rhegion and Syracuse and prytaneia from Lipari, Morgantina, Rhegion, Syracuse and Taras, not one of which is dated earlier than the 4th century BC and most belong to the Hellenistic period.

³⁹⁰ *Megara* 5, 529–44.

At least from the second half of the 7th century BC, we have an over all street grid in many Western Greek colonies, comprising the whole settlement; the streets usually measure 2.50–3 m, but some are wider. However, recent excavations in Naxos have identified part of a street net of late 8th century BC date at the habitation quarters near the harbour. Of the two earlier excavated, parallel streets in NS direction, one (sg) is running along a sanctuary (sacello C), the other (sh) is situated at the above-mentioned Geometric square house; the latter street is now cut by an E–W street (si). The streets measure in width between 3.50 and 3.90 m and the 8th century BC houses follow the same alignment as the streets, so there can hardly be any doubt about the regular planning of the harbour quarter in the early colonization phase.³⁹¹

In Syracuse the street grid existed before 650 BC; it is laid out over the whole of Ortygia, the main artery linking the Apollo Sanctuary on the Isthmos with the Athena (or Artemis) Temple on the highest point of the settlement and also with the Arethusa Spring. Early houses dated at before 700 BC were situated close to a later stenopos in Syracuse and apparently paid heed to the still not constructed thoroughfare, just as seemed to be the case for the early houses in Megara Hyblaea. Just north of the Apollo Sanctuary a street was laid out which followed the Apollo temenos for about 15 m.³⁹²

Recently the results concerning the early planning of the lay-out of the early colonies have been questioned, but they seem to hold true.³⁹³ One may also refer to Mertens' observations regarding the northern and southern gateways of the walls of the secondary colony of Poseidonia, which in contrast with the direction of the street grid follow the direction of the temples,³⁹⁴ identical for the Athena Temple in the north and the Hera and Apollo temples in the south;³⁹⁵ the early entrances to the settlement apparently paid regard to the lay-out of the sanctuary.

Our information from the early colonization period is sparse and scattered, but there seems to be a clear tendency. The sanctuaries were essentially involved in the general lay-out of the colonial settlements. In his paper on early Greek town-planning in the Western Greek colonies, Fischer-

Hansen concludes by stating several points, with the following of which I agree: 1). There was an over-all and communal division of land in lots in the city as well as in the chora. 2). There was an over-all common orientation of civic and religious units, which in several settlements also comprised the outlying sanctuaries. 3). The temenos was important and was conceived as an integral part of the urban plan from the earliest period.³⁹⁶

Although the evidence as regards the first colonization phase of the Western Greek colonies is still scanty, there seems to be no doubt that some kind of organizational factor was acting from the beginning. In some cases the position of the sanctuaries seems to have been decisive for the lay-out of the street grid. The temples and the stoai are the earliest monumental examples of architecture, while the one identified early building of a possibly political function, the ekklesiastorion in Metapontion, apparently had a double religious/political function. During the Archaic period we have no evidence in the Western Greek colonies for a political agora with bouleuterion and prytaneion, although these building types are generally considered essential elements for a polis administration and the latter even was regarded as an essential bond between colony and city-state in the Motherland.³⁹⁷

In my opinion, these circumstances speak for an organizational system in the early Western Greek colonies differing from the one known later in Classical Greek polis administration and colonizing tradition. Malkin states that a polis was

³⁹¹ Cf. in general Mertens 2006, 72–3. For Naxos, cf. AR 2000–2001, 173; Mertens 2006, 72 and fig. 87 and for the recent excavation results, Lentini 2006, with conclusions p. 505. The “sacello C” along which one of the early Naxos street was running, is dated to the 7th century BC, cf. Mertens 2006, 126.

³⁹² For Syracuse, cf. Pelagatti 1978 and 1982; Voza 1993–4 and 1999; *EAA sec. suppl.* 5, 273–4; Nenci & Vallet 2005, 159–64, and Mertens 2006, 73–5.

³⁹³ Haug 2007; her conclusions can hardly be maintained after the new results of the Naxos excavations.

³⁹⁴ Mertens 2006 164–5 and fig. 285.

³⁹⁵ Cf. above note 388.

³⁹⁶ Fischer-Hansen 1996, 349–51.

³⁹⁷ Cf. Malkin 1987, 114–34, on the Hestia cult in the colonies, the Sacred Fire and the Public Hearth. (Conclusions, 133–4).

not a pre-condition for colonization and Mele sees the colonization as a religious act.³⁹⁸ Taking into account the above-mentioned indications of the role of the sanctuaries in the general lay-out of the early settlements, I am inclined to look for such an early organizing element not in the secular, but in the religious sphere. Again the material evidence points to the Apollo sanctuaries as taking up a central position, as has been underlined by several scholars, seeing the oikistes as representatives of Apollo in Delphi.³⁹⁹ However, the second half of the 7th century BC and the early 6th century BC, seems to open a phase of new initiatives for the Western Greek colonies with many secondary colonies and the street grids laid out over the whole town in both primary and secondary colonies.⁴⁰⁰ This is also the time for the one known early building of political character, the wooden predecessor to the ekklesiastorion in Metapontion. This second phase may perhaps indicate a change in the central administration.

External relations

The Argive Heraion and Argos

Relations with other areas of Greece

The closest ties of the early Argive Heraion are those to the second most important Northeast Peloponnesian Hera sanctuary, the one at Perachora; they were observable in several early bronze types⁴⁰¹ and in the banqueting traditions,⁴⁰² but are seen also in the local production at both sites of terracottas, seal stones, and ivories as well as in some Archaic reliefs, often so closely corresponding that it is difficult to decide their origins; in both sanctuaries were found terracotta models of houses or temples and to a great extent they had the same cultic traditions,⁴⁰³ some of which were shared with the Hera Sanctuary of Tiryns and other Peloponnesian sanctuaries.⁴⁰⁴ However, the links with Perachora are definitely the closest.⁴⁰⁵

Relationship existed with many other Hera sanctuaries as well as with those of Apollo, Artemis and Athena, observable not only in the banqueting traditions,⁴⁰⁶ but in several common rituals, such as

the weaving of robes for the cult statue, the role of water in the cult, and the consecration of specific votives connected with the house, as for example keys and the terracotta models of houses or temples.⁴⁰⁷ Polignac states that the four deities “were the most involved in the wave of sanctuary-building” and characterizes them in the following way: “Hera is the extrarurban deity par excellence, while Athena is the goddess of the acropolis” and Apollo “the archegetes” as well as “the protector of well-organized societies.”⁴⁰⁸

In Homer, Argos, Mycenae and Sparta are considered most favoured by Hera,⁴⁰⁹ and Hera cults were widely spread in the Northeastern Peloponnese with five sanctuaries in Argos,⁴¹⁰ a Hera sanctuary on the Acropolis of Corinth besides the one at

³⁹⁸ Malkin 2002, 1, states that “the polis was not a pre-condition for colonization” and Mele 2007, 60, characterizes the early Greek colonization as “un’atto religiosamente rilevante”. Cf. also Di Vita 1990, 346: “No ... true polis ... by 750 BC.”

³⁹⁹ Cf. below p. 126 and note 488 with references to Malkin, Snodgrass and Fischer-Hansen.

⁴⁰⁰ Fischer-Hansen 1996, 349–51. The street grid, which he saw as presumably introduced in the early colonies, is now known from the earliest Naxos (cf. above p. 118 and note 391).

⁴⁰¹ Cf. IS IV, 72 and 79–81 for Late Geometric personal ornaments, which were similar in the two sanctuaries; they cannot be seen as representing general Corinthian/Argive connections; e.g. the hammer pins of Argos manufacture are not found at Perachora, cf. IS IV, 81.

⁴⁰² Cf. IS V, 55–8, for the banqueting traditions.

⁴⁰³ Cf. IS V, 64–6, 83–4 and cf. above pp. 81, 84–5 and 95–7 and notes 72, 100–1, 103, 105, 108–9, 113 and 204. For the terracotta models of houses or temples, cf. below p. 141 and note 582, and cf. in general Menadier 1996, 156–72.

⁴⁰⁴ References, note 403. Both Tiryns and Tegea to a large degree correspond in their Geometric bronzes with the Argive Heraion, cf. IS IV, 78–81, and for Tegea, cf. also pp. 60, 72 and 74–6. For the Hera Sanctuary at Tiryns, cf. below p. 129 and p. 138 and notes 509 and 562 (the Hera statue).

⁴⁰⁵ For a general discussion cf. IS V, 89 and below pp. 130–1.

⁴⁰⁶ IS II and III.

⁴⁰⁷ Cf. above pp. 84–5 and p. 96–7 and notes 101, 103, 105–6, 200 and 203 and references below p. 141 and note 582.

⁴⁰⁸ Polignac 1995, 25–6.

⁴⁰⁹ Homer, the Iliad, IV, 51–2. For Sparta cf. below note 413 and for Mycenae, the Hera sanctuary of which is not located, cf. the horos stone above note 182; Hall 1995, 598–600, argues for a Hera sanctuary on top of the Mycenaean Acropolis instead of the more generally accepted Athena Sanctuary, a suggestion which I do not find proven.

⁴¹⁰ Cf. above note 325.

Perachora, Hera sanctuaries in Mycenae and Tiryns, and at several other sites in these regions.⁴¹¹ The Hera sanctuary west of the Heraion was apparently founded from the Heraion around 725 BC and judging from the very close similarity in the finds of the two sanctuaries, they continued under the same administration.⁴¹² A few Greek sanctuaries situated outside the Argolid were dedicated to the Argive Hera, as *e.g.* in Kos and in Sparta.⁴¹³

On the whole, Hera sanctuaries seem to exist all over Greece. Although they apparently were infrequent in the north of Greece⁴¹⁴ as well as in Athens⁴¹⁵ and Megara,⁴¹⁶ they are numerous in other parts of Central Greece, especially in Boiotia.⁴¹⁷ They are found on several Greek islands, most notably Delos and Samos, but also *e.g.* on Euboea.⁴¹⁸ Although Hera seems to be the only deity in the early Argive Heraion, there are several examples in Greece of Hera cults being connected with other deities – among which are both Apollo⁴¹⁹ and Athena.⁴²⁰ In general, the ties of Hera with either of these deities give the impression of close cultic relations and social links.

As regards Argos, the early outside relations reached Attica and the Cyclades and were here especially connected with a search for metals, and in the 6th century BC they also included Samos.⁴²¹ However, primarily the initiatives of Argos are of a military character, exemplified by the attacks on Asine and Nauplion and the wars with Sparta.⁴²² In general, the impression of the external relations of Argos from the Late Geometric period onwards is that of a war-like attitude to other Greek communities, continuing into the Classical period.⁴²³

Relations with the Eastern Mediterranean

As stated several times, the relations of the early Argive Heraion with the Eastern Mediterranean differ considerably from those of early Argos. The Egyptian late 8th/early 7th century BC bronze statuette of Harpocrates from the Argive Heraion⁴²⁴ is one of several Egyptian bronzes found in Greek sanctuaries, of which some even indicate an insight into the Egyptian religious milieu. It has been convincingly suggested that Athena is identified with the Egyptian goddess of Neith and Hera with Mut.⁴²⁵ Ap-

parently there is no secure evidence for connections between Argos and Egypt.⁴²⁶

⁴¹¹ Of the Hera Bounaia Sanctuary on the Acropolis of Corinth, we do not know more than its bare existence (Pausanias. 2.4.7). Pausanias mentions also Hera sanctuaries in Sicyon and Phlius, Pausanias. 2.11.1, and 2.13.4; *cf.* also Bookidis 2003, 250. For my views on Hall's method of identifying Hera sanctuaries in the Argolid, *cf.* above note 324.

⁴¹² For my rejection of the suggestion that the nearby Hera cult developed out of a Hero cult at the Mycenaean Tholos Tomb, *cf.* IS IV, 90–1, and for its continued close relations with the Argive Heraion, *cf.* IS V, 88 and *cf.* also Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 158.

⁴¹³ For Kos, *cf.* Eitrem 1913, 380, No. 44 and for Sparta, Pausanias 3.13.8. Here and in Pausanias 3.11.9, several other Hera sanctuaries are mentioned in Sparta.

⁴¹⁴ Eitrem 1913, 369–403 and LIMC, IV 1 (Hera), in particular 660–71, and *cf.* following notes. For Thessaly, *cf.* also Simon 1997.

⁴¹⁵ The 7th month in Athens was dedicated to Hera and the Athenians celebrated *hieros gamos* (Eitrem 1913, 371–2); but I am not aware of a Hera sanctuary in Athens. For Attica, *cf.* LIMC, IV 1, 563, No. 20, a Hera Temple on the road from Phaleron to Athens.

⁴¹⁶ Eitrem 1913, 372.

⁴¹⁷ Schachter 1981, 238–51; Tomlinson 1980; Parisi Presicce 1985, 52–4; and Simon 1997.

⁴¹⁸ The Hera Sanctuary on Delos, Dugas 1928; Plassart 1928; and Bruneau & Ducat 2005, 279–81, No. 101. For Euboea, *cf.* references Mele 1977, 493–5, especially the Archaic legal inscription, above note 88.

⁴¹⁹ According to Pausanias, 3.11.9, there were sanctuaries of Hera and Apollo close to the Agora of Sparta. In Mon Repos on Korkyra, the Hera and Apollo sanctuaries were placed close together (*cf.* Kalligas 1969, with fig. 1, and for the Hera Sanctuary in Mon Repos in general also Dontas 1976). Apparently, the Mon Repos and the Perachora Hera sanctuaries were closely related, both with a Hera Akraia cult as well as a Medea cult, *cf.* Menadier 2002.

⁴²⁰ *Cf.* *e.g.* the joint Athena-Hera inscription from Krissa, IS III, 38–49 with fig. 1. It is suggested that the inscription comes from the Athena Pronaia Sanctuary in Delphi; but I am not aware of any Hera cult here, unless it might be a (Hera)/Eileithyia cult.

⁴²¹ For relations with Attica and the Cyclades, *cf.* above pp. 76, 91 and notes 33 and 162–3 and for Samos, IS V, 90.

⁴²² *Cf.* above p. 111 and notes 320–1; one example of the wars with Sparta is the Sepeia disaster (above pp. 80 and 112 and notes 63 and 337).

⁴²³ *E.g.* the conquests of Mycenae and Tiryns, *cf.* above p. 112 and note 337.

⁴²⁴ IS V, 40 and fig. 3.

⁴²⁵ IS II, 57 and IS V, 41 and 93–4, note 24.

⁴²⁶ A faience Bes statuette in Argos and some faience scarabs, *cf.* BCH, 54, 1930, 480 (Vollgraff) and Courbin 1955, 312, fig.

At the Argive Heraion we do not have any examples of direct Phoenician contacts, the Phoenician faience figures, amulets, and scarabs as well as other objects in faience and glass at the sanctuary are votives, which chiefly were produced inside Greece,⁴²⁷ are similarly known from Argos.⁴²⁸ Nor are there any signs of the sanctuary having connections with Cyprus⁴²⁹ in contrast with Late Geometric Argos. The relations of the warrior elite of Argos with the upper-class warriors of Cyprus, presumably originally based on mercantile interests in the copper, resulted in close social links, especially observable in the adoption of the Cypriot banqueting tradition,⁴³⁰ but also in Cypriot type bronze bowls and possibly in a Cypriot theme for Late Geometric terracotta statuary.⁴³¹

There is no material evidence for Argos having connections to the Eastern Mediterranean Mainland,⁴³² in contrast with the Argive Heraion, where there are bronze fibulae as well as bronze vessels of Assyrian, North Syrian or Phrygian origin, chiefly dated to the second half of the 8th century BC, and to a great extent locally imitated.⁴³³ The banquetting equipment was found correspondingly in other Greek sanctuaries dedicated to Apollo, Artemis, Athena, and Hera and the imports were perhaps acquired in joint enterprises by these sanctuaries.⁴³⁴ There are striking similarities between, on the one hand, the banquetting vessels (lebetes as well as phialai) of the two Heraia, the Argive Heraion and the Heraion at Perachora and, on the other, the context of Tumulus MM at Gordion from around 750 BC, suggesting that the banquetting tradition at the two Greek sanctuaries was modelled on that of Phrygia.⁴³⁵ Many North Syrian and Mesopotamian bronzes of the 9th–8th centuries may have reached Greece in the late 8th century BC, coming into circulation as a result of the upheavals in the Eastern Mediterranean caused by Sargon II's conquests.⁴³⁶ However, the adoption of the Phrygian banquetting traditions by the above-mentioned sanctuaries point to peaceful relations with this Near Eastern region and very likely the Assyrian/North Syrian bronze vessels for banquetting were imported via Phrygia.

The Phrygian relations with Greek sanctuaries went even further. The wooden throne dedicated

shortly before or around 700 BC by King Midas of Phrygia to Apollo in Delphi was presumably of the same type as the wooden furniture of Tomb MM in Gordion; it has the character of a diplomatic gift and I fully agree with Oscar Muscarella in his suggestion that this gift should be viewed in terms of political interests.⁴³⁷ Apparently Midas, the powerful ruler of an Asia Minor region, saw the political power in Greece as placed not in any Greek settlement, but above all in the sanctuary of Apollo

3 are most likely products of Greece, *cf.* note below and for the Bes statuette, *cf.* also Hölbl 2008, 212, where the Bes figures in general are declared not to be Egyptian.

⁴²⁷ "Phoenician" faiences at the Argive Heraion, *AH* II 370–4; *IS* I, 202; and Caskey 1952, 184, No. 121, *cf.* Hölbl 1979, 99 and Hölbl 2008, 202–14, and for the production of such faiences in Naukratis, Perachora, Rhodes and Samos, *cf.* *Perachora* II, 461–520 (Jameson) and Hölbl 1979, 99; Hölbl 2008, 212, states that the 7th century BC Rhodian products were dominating in Greek sanctuaries of female deities. However, the 8th century BC votives of glass scarabs, *AH* II, 371–2, Nos. 40–1, are regarded as Phoenician, Hölbl 2006, 99. The possible fragment of an ostrich egg, *AH* II, 353, is not verified; according to Baumbach, 2004, 84, it is a bored fragment of shell used as an amulet.

⁴²⁸ Above note 426.

⁴²⁹ For the so-called Cypro-Levantine fibula, *AH* 900, and the bull head attachments of bronze formerly regarded as Cypriot, *cf.* *IS* II, 58, note 49.

⁴³⁰ *Cf.* above p. 91 and for the Cypriot banquetting traditions of Argos *IS* III, 42–4, and Strøm 2001, 368–71.

⁴³¹ For the bronze bowls, *cf.* *IS* IV, 84 and 118, note 12, and *IS* V, 55 and for the terracotta statuettes of warriors on horse-drawn chariots, *IS* II, 59, and *IS* V, 61.

⁴³² *IS* II, 58–9 and *IS* V, 55.

⁴³³ *IS* V, 41–54. The earliest siren attachment, *AH* 49, is now dated to shortly after 750 BC, *cf.* above note 117. Apparently the genuinely Phrygian fibulae should now all be dated earlier than 700 BC, since most parallels are from Tomb MM, *cf.* above note 28, or from Tombs W, G or K III, all relatively earlier than Tomb MM, *cf.* *IS* V, 95, note 42. The latest Gordion counterpart for an imported Phrygian fibula, *AH* 894, comes from Tomb S 1, *IS* V, 47, now dated to the late 8th century BC, *cf.* De Vries 2005, 43.

⁴³⁴ *IS* II, 50–6.

⁴³⁵ *IS* V, 55–8.

⁴³⁶ *Cf.* *IS* II, 47–8 with earlier references and for later studies, especially Curtis 1994; Morris 1997, 65–7 and Held 2000. As a result of Sargon's conquests, such objects presumably were widely distributed in the Eastern Mediterranean and they may have reached Greece in many ways.

⁴³⁷ Herodotus 1, 14, *cf.* *IS* V 55–6 with references to Muscarella, note 126.

in Delphi, in which view he was followed by the Lydian King Gyges, slightly later than Midas, and then in the 6th century BC by Kroisos.⁴³⁸

Relations with Central Italy

Neither in the Argive Heraion nor in Argos do we have any material evidence for direct contact with Central Italy in the 8th to 6th centuries BC. This applies to Etruscan bucchero sottile as well as to the few Italic bronze votives in the Argive Heraion, which may have reached the sanctuary from Sicily or South Italy, however not via Argos, where no Italic bronzes are recorded.⁴³⁹

In other Greek sanctuaries, the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Delphi and Olympia as well as such Mainland Greek sanctuaries as Dodone and Perachora and those of several islands including Euboea and, in particular, Samos, we see a different pattern. One Italic bronze fibula in Olympia is of 9th century BC date, but the majority of Italic metal votives in these sanctuaries belong to the period *c.* 750–*c.* 650 BC,⁴⁴⁰ as do the few Italic bronzes known from Greek tombs.⁴⁴¹ One South Etruscan stamped silver diadem comes from Olympia and is dated to around 650 BC.⁴⁴² However, the majority of early Italic finds in Greek sanctuaries are bronzes, which comprise fibulae and various vase types,⁴⁴³ as well as Italic/Etruscan warrior equipment such as horses' harness, lance heads, swords, helmets, greaves and above all Geometric and Orientalizing shields with stamped decoration.⁴⁴⁴ The Italic/Etruscan bronzes in Greek sanctuaries are usually interpreted as dedications by Greeks and as signs of trade, piracy or spoils of war.⁴⁴⁵ However, the Etruscan warrior equipment found in Greek sanctuaries present a picture, which closely resembles that of the upper class warriors' burials in Central Italy during the latter half of the 8th and the 7th centuries BC. To a great extent they are well-known prestige objects without practical use.⁴⁴⁶ In Italy, they continue an earlier tradition of the 10th–9th centuries BC, where warrior equipment of miniature size were placed in the tombs of upper-class deceased persons.⁴⁴⁷ Most likely, all had the same symbolic value as signs of the high rank of the person in question and when found in Greek sanctuaries the same categories of

objects must have had the same symbolic value. In this connection it is worth remembering that, also in Italy, stamped shields come from religious contexts⁴⁴⁸ and that at least one early Italic bronze object in Olympia should be seen as an Italic dedication, definitely of religious and possibly of official character. This is a wheeled tripod censer apparently of local Apulian origin and dated to the second quarter of the 7th century BC.⁴⁴⁹ Summing up, I find reasons to follow the Etruscan archaeologists, M. Cristofani and G. Bartoloni, in their view that the early Etruscan prestigious bronzes in

⁴³⁸ For the absolute chronology of Midas (723–677 BC) and Gyges (shortly later), *cf.* Berndt-Ersöz 2008, 29.

⁴³⁹ IS V, 38–40.

⁴⁴⁰ Strøm 2000, 73–7; Naso 2000 a, 196–200; and Naso 2000b, 157–61; except for the solitary early Olympia fibula, Philipp 1981, 263, No. 988, pl. 59, I am sceptical about Naso's 9th century BC chronology of several Italic bronzes in Greece. We are not informed about the lowest chronological limit of the shaft-hole-axes and the Italic razor in the possession of a British consul in Athens, Naso 2000b, 159, fig. 78, may have been bought anywhere in the Mediterranean, including Italy.

⁴⁴¹ *Cf.* IS V, 39 and note 13, and Strøm 2000, 74 and note 77, finds from Korkyra and Exochi. The find circumstances of the 8th century BC Villanovan bronze belt bought on Euboea by the first Danish Classical archaeologist, P.O. Brøndsted, are not known, *cf.* Strøm 2000, 74 and note 76; but I support Naso's suggestion that its good preservation points to a funerary context, Naso 2000a, 200 and fig. 4. Malkin 2002, refers to two unpublished Etruscan fibulae found in Chalkis.

⁴⁴² Strøm 1971, 75–7 and 85–8 and absolute chronology, p. 175; Naso 2000a, 200 and 2000b, 160–1 and fig. 82.

⁴⁴³ Strøm 2000, 74–7 and Naso 2000a–b; Naso 2000a, 199 and 2000b, 158, now refers to *c.* 250 bronze objects, of which about one third are fibulae.

⁴⁴⁴ Strøm 2000, 74–5 and Naso 2000a–b. The latest study of Italic weapons and armour, found also in Greece, is given by Iaia 2005, 45–149 (helmets and shields).

⁴⁴⁵ Strøm 2000, 75, references notes 95–6; Naso 2000a, 198, and Naso 2000b, 160, apparently also regards them as spoils of war.

⁴⁴⁶ The observation applies especially to the over-size helmets and the bronze shields. Of the many stamped shields I have examined, I have never found any trace of an inner strengthening, which would be necessary for such a thin metal plate, if it should offer protection in a battle, nor is there room for it, *cf.* Strøm 1971, 19 and Strøm 2000, 75–6 with notes 101–9. *Cf.* also Iaia 2005, 249–50.

⁴⁴⁷ Strøm 2000, 76–7.

⁴⁴⁸ Strøm 2000, 76 and note 110.

⁴⁴⁹ Söldner 1994, *cf.* Strøm 2000, 74 and 78.

Greek sanctuaries were dedications by upper class Etruscans.⁴⁵⁰

In Delphi, there were two Etruscan treasuries of the 5th century BC⁴⁵¹ and from Pausanias we are informed of a throne dedicated to Zeus in Olympia by the Etruscan king Arimnestos, presumably some time in the 7th century BC.⁴⁵² A throne is a symbol of the power of an Etruscan aristocratic ruler and at least one bronze fragment in Olympia should be interpreted as a fragment of a South Etruscan throne, dedicated around 650 BC, possibly by the ruler of Veji.⁴⁵³ Like the throne dedicated to Apollo in Delphi by the Phrygian king Midas, the Etruscan thrones in Olympia are tokens of the high official status of the dedicator in secular as well as religious respect and in both cases the dedications have the character of a diplomatic gift, which, in my opinion, implies that in 8th – 7th century BC Etruscan Italy – as well as in Phrygia – the rulers recognized that the political power in contemporary Greece was lying not in any Greek settlement, but in the Panhellenic sanctuaries of Olympia and Delphi.

Relations with the Western Greek colonies

Greek sanctuaries and settlements/city-states

Apart from the above-mentioned few Italic bronzes, we have as far as I know no material evidence for possible contacts between the Argive Heraion and this region and the same conclusion applies to Argos.

The impetus behind the western Greek colonization beginning around 750 BC presumably was of varied origin. The need for access to more fertile regions for some areas of Greece may well be one important reason;⁴⁵⁴ however, I do not doubt that access to the metal sources of Italy played an essential role in the early Western Greek colonization.⁴⁵⁵ The two earliest Greek colonies, Pithekoussai and Cumae, are Euboean and so are several other early Western Greek colonies;⁴⁵⁶ the Euboeans with their early mercantile engagement in both east and west must have played a leading role in the earliest Greek colonization in Italy.⁴⁵⁷ On the other hand, some of their early settlements

have an ephemeral character, probably because the Lelantine war between Chalkis and Eretria (c. 710–650 BC) resulted in a serious set-back to Euboean initiative.⁴⁵⁸ Apparently, the Euboean settlement of Pithekoussai never developed into a city-state, but was substituted by the early Euboean colony of Cumae on the Italic Mainland just across the Neapolitan Bay, while Korkyra, also said to be founded by Euboeans, was taken over by the Corinthians some time before 700 BC.⁴⁵⁹

Some rather unimportant Greek settlements were considered active in the early Western Greek colonization such as Achaean and Locrian settle-

⁴⁵⁰ Strøm 2000, 75 and 77 with references note 99 to Cristofani and Bartoloni. Cf. also Iaa 2005, 249–50.

⁴⁵¹ Jacquemin 1999, 73, the Treasury of Caere (5th century BC) and that of Spina (early 5th century BC) and for the 5th century BC cippus of the Tyrrhenians, cf. Colonna 1993, 61–7; and Naso 2000a, 202.

⁴⁵² Strøm 2000, 77–8 with notes 129–33.

⁴⁵³ Strøm 2000, with fig. 1; Naso 2000a, 198 and 2000b, figs. 80–1, gives the same interpretation and suggests that another bronze fragment in Olympia was part of the same throne.

⁴⁵⁴ Mertens 2006, 14–5.

⁴⁵⁵ The finds of early Elba iron in Pithekoussai, often referred to, e.g. by Ridgway 1992, 93, is refuted by Treister 1996, 30. Nevertheless, the search for metal must be regarded as an important impetus for colonization, cf. Ridgway 1992, 99–100. I do not consider it fortuitous that the earliest Greek settlements in Italy, Pithekoussai and Cumae, were the northernmost ones, placed closest to the Italian ore deposits (cf. Nijboer 1998, 235–44 and the map 236, fig. 47). For Pithekoussai, cf. Ridgway 1992, 45–120 (the latest study of the material from Pithekoussai is Nizza 2007, with earlier references), and for early Cumae, cf. Mertens 2006, 36–9. For the many problems concerning the early Euboean interest in Italy, cf. Ridgway 2000; Walker 2004, 20, refers to the paucity of resources on the island for Euboean interest in import of raw materials, and refers, 142–7, to Pithekoussai; Naso 2000a, 199, interprets the 7th century BC North Etruscan bronzes in Olympia as evidence for contacts to the area of the *Colline metallifere*.

⁴⁵⁶ Mertens 2006, 36–43 and cf. note above.

⁴⁵⁷ E.g. Ridgway 1992, 11–30; Parker 1997, 52–8; Mertens 2006, 43.

⁴⁵⁸ For Euboean colonization, cf. also Parker 1997, 45–93 (here the chronology of the Lelantine war) and cf. Mertens 2006, 43.

⁴⁵⁹ For Korkyra, cf. e.g. Kalligas 1984; Parker 1997, 55; and *CPCInv*, 361–3 (Korkyra). Morgan 1998, regards the Euboean colonization of Korkyra as unreliable, with conclusions, p. 300.

ments,⁴⁶⁰ whereas other larger and more important settlements took a restricted part in the colonization of Sicily and South Italy before and around 700 BC. Although Corinth founded several colonies along the Adriatic Coast including Korkyra,⁴⁶¹ it had only one primary colony in Italy, *i.e.* Syracuse, and Sparta had only Taras.⁴⁶² Sicyon and Athens did not take part in the early Western colonization, the earliest known Athenian colony being Sigeion in the Troas, dated to the early 6th century BC.⁴⁶³ Nor is Argos mentioned among the colonizers in Western Greece.⁴⁶⁴ These circumstances may make one curious about, which Greek communities actually were the instigators of the early Western Greek colonization.⁴⁶⁵

One is struck by the many Hera sanctuaries in the Western Greek colonies. Several are known in Sicily, although for the greater part not excavated;⁴⁶⁶ and they are particularly numerous in Southern Italy, where there are Hera sanctuaries inside or outside almost every Greek colony, primary as well as secondary.⁴⁶⁷ Mertens mentions Hera as the most important goddess in Greek Southern Italy.⁴⁶⁸

Considering the lack of Argive colonies in Western Greece, it is surprising that at least one South Italian Hera sanctuary was dedicated to the Argive Hera,⁴⁶⁹ the Heraion at Foce del Sele, situated at the Sele River, not far from Poseidonia with its own important Hera Sanctuary.⁴⁷⁰ At both places, the earliest strata give evidence of local habitation before the arrival of the Greek colonists around 600 BC, which should be taken as the date of the foundation of the sanctuary as well as the settlement.⁴⁷¹ Many Hera sanctuaries were either – as in this case – situated at a river, through which it had connection to the sea, or else close to the sea; this applies to urban sanctuaries such as Elea, one of the Gela sanctuaries, Metapontion and Poseidonia, as well as to extra-urban or sub-urban sanctuaries, as *e.g.* the Hera Lacinia sanctuary at Capo Colonna outside Kroton and Cumae, where the Hera Sanctuary is situated on a promontory close to the sea between two bays, which may have served as harbours.⁴⁷² As noted above, water played an important role in Hera cults in Greece.⁴⁷³ In Italy Nuragic bronze ships were dedicated in two Hera sanctuaries, the Lacinia Sanctuary at Capo Colonna outside Kro-

ton⁴⁷⁴ and the Hera sanctuary in Gravisca, the port of Tarquinia in Central Italy, the latter ship bearing a votive inscription to Hera.⁴⁷⁵ At the Heraion of Foce del Sele, ships may have been a part of the cult ceremony.⁴⁷⁶ The important role played by the

⁴⁶⁰ Graham 1983, 118–9 and Mertens 2006, 46–54 and 59–61.

⁴⁶¹ *CPCInv.* 468.

⁴⁶² Mertens 2006, 43–4 and 73–6 for Syracuse and 56–8 for Taras.

⁴⁶³ For Sigeion, *cf.* Graham 1983, 32–4 and *CPCInv.* 1014.

⁴⁶⁴ Dunbabin 1948, 14–5, tries to connect Argos with the Western Greek colonization, but admits that it is a mere conjecture. His references to imported Argive pottery do not hold true, since the vases in question primarily are either Cycladic or local.

⁴⁶⁵ *Cf.* above note 398.

⁴⁶⁶ According to Eitrem, 1913, 381–2, there were Hera sanctuaries in the following Sicilian cities: Akragas, Akrai, Heraia, Panormos, Selinus and Thermon Himeraiai. For two Archaic Hera sanctuaries at Selinus, on the Marinella Hill and the Gaggera Hill, respectively *cf.* Mele 1977, 504–6; Parisi Presicce 1985, 74–83; Tusa *et al.* 1986, 54–63 (Parisi Presicce); De Angelis 2003, 111 and 134; Mertens 2003, 203 and 234–5 and Mertens 2006, 99–100 and 204. For a Hera sanctuary in Naxos, *cf.* Mele 1977, 504–6 and Mele 1991–92, 17–20 and fig. 14, a Hera inscription. For an urban sanctuary near the harbour and an extra-urban Hera Sanctuary in Gela, *cf.* Parisi Presicce 1985, 63; and *cf.* in general Bergquist 1992, 111–22.

⁴⁶⁷ *Cf.* Eitrem 1913, 381–2 and Parisi Presicce 1985.

⁴⁶⁸ Mertens 2006, 49.

⁴⁶⁹ I do not follow the scholars, who see the origin of the colonial Hera cults and specifically that of the Argive Hera cult in Achaean settlements (*cf. e.g.* Parisi Presicce 1985, 60 and LIMC IV, 1, 659 (Hera)); I cannot find evidence of Hera being especially favoured in the Achaean compared with other Greek regions and there is as far as I know no information of an Argive Hera cult in Achaean, *cf.* above pp. 119–20 and notes 409–18.

⁴⁷⁰ Mertens 2006, 167–8; De la Genière 1997; Donnarumma 1997. According to De la Genière & Greco 2006–2007, 140–1, the so-called first temple of Hera at Foce del Sele is not a temple, possibly a sacred, unroofed open area.

⁴⁷¹ Mertens 2006, 54–5.

⁴⁷² *Cf.* Mele 1977 and Parisi Presicce 1985; for Elea, *cf.* Tocco Sciarelli 1997; for Gela, Parisi Presicce 1985, 63 and note 50; for Metapontion and Poseidonia, *cf.* Mertens 2006, 46–55; for Kroton, *cf. e.g.* Maddoli 1984 and for Cumae, Mertens 2006, 38, fig. 41.

⁴⁷³ *Cf.* above pp. 96–7 and notes 204–7.

⁴⁷⁴ Spadea 1994, 22–4 and Spadea 1997, 249–50 (not precisely dated).

⁴⁷⁵ Lilliu 1971, 289–90.

⁴⁷⁶ Far up in the 19th century AD, ships were carried in the religious processions of Madonna del Granato, the chapel situated above the Heraion of Foce del Sele, which is mentioned in most references, above note 204.

goddess of Hera in the early Western Greek colonisation presumably was linked with the seafaring aspect of her cult.⁴⁷⁷

To a great extent, the Hera sanctuaries in the Western Greek colonies represent the same cult traditions as in Greece, *e.g.* in the aspects of the goddess as *kourotrophos* and her connections to the house exemplified *e.g.* by the votive keys. However, one common aspect of the Hera sanctuaries in the colonies was less characteristic of Hera in Greece and apparently not recorded for the Argive Heraion until its appropriation by Argos, that of Hera *oplosma*, the war-like Hera; it is, however, a comprehensible feature to be favoured by colonial sanctuaries founded in a region, where the local inhabitants might be hostile.⁴⁷⁸

As regards historical times, it is unanimously accepted that the Oracle of Apollo in Delphi was the political factor behind Greek colonization. Albeit, for the earliest colonization period, the second half of the 8th and the early 7th century BC, there are divergent opinions, chiefly because of the fact that the genuinity of several early oracle answers are questionable.⁴⁷⁹ However, the important role of Delphi from the earliest Greek colonization period seems to be accepted by such scholars as Malkin, Snodgrass and Morgan, although the latter does not accept the suggestion that the Apollo Sanctuary in Delphi might have previous knowledge of the conditions in the areas of Greek colonization.⁴⁸⁰ Actually, the widely reaching western Mediterranean contacts of Delphi were established at least as early as around 750 BC, as exemplified by the many Italic prestige weapons and armour of bronze in the sanctuary; they provide evidence that the Apollo Sanctuary in Delphi at this time, contemporary with the earliest foundations of Western Greek colonies, already was recognized as politically important by the aristocracy of Italy.⁴⁸¹ In my opinion, there is every reason to believe that the Apollo Sanctuary in Delphi had previous geographic knowledge of Italy and I do not regard it as fortuitous that the earliest Western Greek colonies were founded from Euboea, on which island there was at least one important Apollo sanctuary and close ties with Delphi.⁴⁸²

The early colonization oracle answers, which are

accepted by Morgan as genuine are those of the oikistes of Kroton, Gela, Rhegion/Zancle, Syracuse, and Taras.⁴⁸³ The answers are given to private persons, one even – that of Gela – to oikistes from two different regions of Greece, Rhodes and Crete, and the one regarding Kroton was given to a private person asking a question with no relation at all to colonization. The hero-status often acquired by the oikist makes him a person far above an emissary appointed by mortal people, as stated in particular by Malkin.⁴⁸⁴

The studies of the governmental and political aspects of the early Greek colonies have shown that the administrative buildings later characteristic of the city-states are lacking here,⁴⁸⁵ while the one known example of an early Agora seemed to be originally laid out as a religious centre. As in Greece, the earliest monumental architecture consisted of temples and stoai. Sanctuaries were founded from the very beginning of the Western Greek colonization outside the settlements as well as inside. On the other hand, there are definite signs of a central organization of the early colonies, seen for instance in the division in lots of the inhabited area as well as the chora and for some early colonies in the street grids, which not only paid heed to the

⁴⁷⁷ Cf. *e.g.* Parisi Presicce, 1985, 66–7.

⁴⁷⁸ For the cult at the Argive Heraion, cf. above pp. 95–8. For Hera sanctuaries in Western Greece, cf. for example for the keys, references to Greco above note 200 and for Hera *kourotrophos*, Maddoli 1984, 318 and Cipriani 1997, 219; and for Hera *oplosma*, Maddoli 1984, 316–7 and Cipriano 1997, 217–8.

⁴⁷⁹ Amandry 1950, 149–62 and 232 with earlier references; Parke & Wormell 1956, 49–51; Fontenrose 1978, 42; Parisi Presicce 1985, 64; Malkin 1987; (Of the about 50 Delphic oracle answers on colonization, Morgan 1990, 148–90, considers that about 10 are genuine (Conclusions 184–190).

⁴⁸⁰ Malkin 1987, 7 and 27–91; Morgan 1990, 172–7, with references to Snodgrass.

⁴⁸¹ Cf. above pp. 122–3 and notes 444–50.

⁴⁸² Cf. especially, the Apollo Daphnephoros Sanctuary in Euboea, *Eretria* I; Mazarakis–Ainian 1987; and Parker 1997 and for early Euboean finds in Delphi, above p. 109 and note 304.

⁴⁸³ Morgan 1990, 186 and discussion of the oracle answers, pp. 148–90 and cf. in general, references above note 479.

⁴⁸⁴ Malkin 1987, 204–60.

⁴⁸⁵ Cf. above pp. 116–8.

sanctuaries, but in some cases even linked important sanctuaries together as *e.g.* those of Apollo with other sanctuaries. Viewed as a whole, the contemporary archaeological evidence, although meagre, seems to point to the organizing factor behind the lay-out of the early colonies as having been sacral rather than secular⁴⁸⁶.

Taking into account the general influence of the Apollo sanctuaries in the development of the early polis organization in Greece, the role played by Apollo in Delphi in oracle answers to the *oikistes* as well as his cult in the title of Apollo Archegetes,⁴⁸⁷ it is difficult not to see Apollo in Delphi as the organizing factor behind the early Greek colonization, as concluded long ago by Malkin, who is followed by other scholars.⁴⁸⁸ Details in the role of the *oikistes* may be discussed;⁴⁸⁹ the daily problems of an early colony should be dealt with by the *oikist*, but the essential problems, such as the lay-out of the settlements with the early street grid and the division of the *chora* in lots, point to one and the same organizing factor behind all the early colonial foundations. As stated by Malkin, the *oikistes* had to receive minute instructions from Delphi before setting out,⁴⁹⁰ and I see no reason why close contacts should not be kept up as far as regards the most important religious and organizational aspects of early colonial life. The *oikist* must have had the daily responsibility for carrying out the centralized orders; but, in my opinion, one cannot disregard the symptoms of one and the same organizational power behind the lay-out and management of the early colonies, which could hardly be the case, if each *oikist* was acting independently. The most reasonable explanation would be that Apollo in Delphi and his priesthood continued their dominating influences.

The *oikist* was often honoured with a hero-cult, perhaps at a later date and by the city-state; the best known hero-cult dated on archaeological evidence, that of Lamis in Megara Hyblaea, is from the late 7th century BC.⁴⁹¹ According to Malkin, the origin of the *oikist* was decisive for the naming of the mother city.⁴⁹²

There were Apollo temples inside most Western Greek colonies,⁴⁹³ where they often were closely connected with Hera, as seen for example in the

main sanctuaries of Metapontion and Poseidonia. Hera's sea-faring role must have played a part in the colonization and perhaps have led to closer ties with Apollo than in the Motherland, although both from an early date formed part of the same net-work of sanctuaries. For decades, the influences by both Hera and Apollo in the early Western Greek colonization have been underlined by several scholars.⁴⁹⁴ The very placing of the Apollo and Hera sanctuaries, the former chiefly in the centre of the town, the latter often, as in Greece, in the outlying territory, gives the impression of a well-laid scheme of dual character. Considering Apollo's role in the colonization and Hera's importance in the religious sphere of the Western Greek colonies, one may get the impression that this strategic placing of sanctuaries was premeditated. I am inclined to transfer Polignac's ideas of a bipolar foundation of the sanctuaries of the city-states to the colonial sphere and seen as initiatives taken by the very sanctuaries in question; this hypothesis would avoid some of the difficulties raised by Polignac's ideas, as *e.g.* the chronological problems.⁴⁹⁵ If this were the case, the initiatives may be seen as taken by the sanctuary authorities of the two most influential and important deities in early Greek colonization.

The changes observed in the late 7th and early 6th

⁴⁸⁶ Cf. above pp. 116–9.

⁴⁸⁷ For Apollo Archegetes, cf. in general Malkin 1986; the Altar (Thuc. 6, 3) is not securely identified, but it was built immediately on disembarkation on the coast of Naxos, cf. also Mertens 2006, 40.

⁴⁸⁸ Malkin 1987, 27 and 89–91; cf. Morgan 1990, 172–4; Fischer–Hansen 1996, 349–51, who follows Malkin and also refers to Snodgrass.

⁴⁸⁹ Malkin 1987, 27–91, the role of the *oikist*.

⁴⁹⁰ Malkin 1987, 27 and 59–91.

⁴⁹¹ For the hero-cults of the *oikistes*, cf. above note 484 and for Lamis above p. 116 and note 378.

⁴⁹² Cf. Malkin 2002, 212.

⁴⁹³ Cf. *e.g.* above Metapontion, Poseidonia and Cumae and cf. Mele 1977; Parisi Presicce 1985, in particular, pp. 82–5 and Mele 1991–1992, for Hera and Apollo cults in the Western colonies.

⁴⁹⁴ Cf. references to Mele and Parisi Presicce, note above. Mele 1991–1992, however, in my opinion, underrates the role of Apollo.

⁴⁹⁵ Cf. above note 6.

centuries BC with the foundation of several secondary colonies and the major laying out of the street grid over the whole town may indicate the time, when the secular administration was taking over. It is the period immediately following our earliest epigraphic proof of the existence of a Greek city-state, the Dreros laws.

Final conclusions

The present study has not altered my earlier conclusions regarding the relations between the early Argive Heraion and Argos, which were based on analyses of the published archaeological material. Judging from differences in the early architecture of the two sites, their local metal products as well as their external relations, which chiefly were deduced from the bronze imports and copies of such imports, the sanctuary was regarded as independent of the settlement of Argos until around 675/650 BC. Only the present widening of the study material have underlined their diversity. On the one hand, there is the domestic cult of the Argive Heraion with its primarily female visitors and its extensive network within a specific group of Greek sanctuaries, especially situated on Mainland Greece; their interrelations, which comprised banqueting traditions, external relations, and possibly joint trading, have shown to include several cultic aspects; this network, which included sanctuaries of Apollo, may have had influence on the goddess of Hera's part in the early Western Greek colonization. On the other hand, there is the settlement of Argos with its seaward outlook, which presumably can be seen in connection with a search for metals, and its Late Geometric elite warriors' tombs, a sign of class distinctions, but most likely also the result of this very interest in metal sources, which may have led to the close relations with the contemporary society of upper-class warriors in Cyprus and an adoption of their banqueting traditions. The seafaring aspects of early Argos may be partly responsible for its comparatively isolated position on the Greek Mainland with its continuing hostile attitude towards other Peloponnesian communities.

Like many other sanctuaries, the early Argive

Heraion was independent economically, its income from agriculture supplemented by a sale of the many and varied products manufactured in or in close connection with the sanctuary. In the Late Geometric period, both the Argive Heraion and Argos have a high economic status, but to all appearances from different sources and in different lines of development. Although the basic element for their economy is the same, the cultivation of the fertile Argive Plain, they experience diametrically opposite stages of development. The economic level of the Argive Heraion is gradually increasing throughout the Geometric period, starting on a very humble level and only in the Late Geometric period giving evidence of wealth, which apparently was based on a high degree of collaboration with a specific group of Greek sanctuaries. Whereas Argos already from the Protogeometric period onwards had indirect access to mineral sources, which they utilized for manufacture of goods and which may be seen as the basic element for the wealth of their warrior class.

From the Late Geometric period onwards, the male leading members of Argos showed interest in the Mycenaean Prosymna tombs around the sanctuary, founding grave cults at several tombs.⁴⁹⁶ It may well have been the notable riches of the sanctuary, exemplified *e.g.* by the monumental bronzes (some of which may have been exhibited on the Old Temple Terrace), that instigated Argos to their subsequent appropriation of the sanctuary. The earlier proposed date for this event, based on archaeological material, to some time before 575/550 BC is confirmed by the epigraphic evidence given by the *damiourgos* inscription of the second quarter of the 6th century BC.⁴⁹⁷ In my opinion, the appropriation most likely took place some time in the second half of the 7th century BC. It is presumably on the background of these altered circumstances that the building activity in the sanctuary around 550 BC should be viewed, executed by the city-state of Argos and indicating a revitalization of the cult life of the sanctuary.

⁴⁹⁶ Cf. IS IV, 91–2 and IS V, 88–9.

⁴⁹⁷ Cf. above note 41 for the architecture around 550 BC and p. 100 and notes 232–5 for the *damiourgos* inscriptions.

However, it is not until the Early Classical period that the Argive Heraion was an integral part of the building activity and the ceremonial enterprises of Argos. On this background the hypothesis formulated by Johnathan Hall, that the exclusive Argive control of the Heraion was not executed until the 5th century BC, is understandable; but it does not agree with the evidence of the archaeological material and is definitely contradicted by the above-mentioned *damiourgos* inscription.⁴⁹⁸ It is only after the recovery from the disaster at Sepeia that Argos begins to exploit the ceremonial resources of the Argive Heraion in a propagandistic manner, as shown by the initiation around 470 BC of the great Hera Festivals with its races and games and at the same time the religious processions leading from the city-state to the sanctuary.⁴⁹⁹ At this date, I find Polignac's interpretation of the procession as a religious/political symbol of the appropriation of the territory convincing.⁵⁰⁰ The years between c. 460 and 440 BC witness the veritable boom of monumental official building activity in the Argive Heraion, reflecting that of the administrative centre of Argos, the Agora.⁵⁰¹ However, the lay-out of the early Classical sanctuary has always presented one puzzle: the central place below the Old Temple Terrace was left open for decades, until the Second Temple was erected some time after the burning down of the Old Temple in 423 BC, this in spite of the fact that the open area had long been surrounded by new monumental buildings. The Second Temple, the core of this official building program, must from the beginning have formed an integral part of the plan.⁵⁰² A reasonable explanation for the delay in its construction has never been given, nor am I in a position to offer one. However, in my opinion, one should take into account the probable existence of an understandable opposition by the personnel of the sanctuary, who must have regarded it as a blasphemous act, an almost anti-religious procedure to abandon the venerated and still functioning Old Temple, which for a period of at least about 250 years had housed the cult image and presumably other important cult objects, not all portable and transferable.

The head priestess at the time, Chryses or Chryseis, had been in office since 480/479 BC and the

few known pieces of information about her term of office indicate that she was generally respected. Her statue was erected in her life time in front of the Temple and in the treaty between Argos, Tylissos and Knossos around 460/450 BC it was stated that a heifer should be offered to (the Argive) Hera; also her term of office, known from the list of priestesses, was given so accurately that it became of importance for contemporary as well as later historians.⁵⁰³ I should be inclined to look for an explanation of the considerable delay in the erection of the Second Temple in the very person of Chryseis, in her apparent influential position and her probable aversion to the initiative.

The story of the burning down of the Old Temple is in itself strange. Why was this extremely old woman living alone in the sanctuary, burdened with all the duties of a normal priesthood, including the night watch, during which she fell asleep, letting the lamps set fire to the temple?⁵⁰⁴ Was there at that time a conflict between the head priestess of the sanctuary and its administration in Argos, causing the administrative body of Argos to deny her the necessary assistance? Afterwards there was apparently no attempt to prosecute her for her failure of duty. Could this be because the fire actually conformed well with the plans of the men of power in Argos? The flight of Chryseis to either Phlius or Tegea put an end to the last shred of autonomy at the Argive Heraion and according to Thucydides

⁴⁹⁸ Cf. Hall 1995, 613 (Conclusions). Also the sanctuary of the heros of Argos, situated near Sepeia and of importance in the Kleomenes episode, may be interpreted as an extension of the territory of Argos east of the Inachos river before 500 BC.

⁴⁹⁹ Cf. Pindar 10th Nemean Ode (464 BC) and above p. 113; Amandry 1980 and Amandry 2002; Hall 1995, 592–3 and 611–2 with a reference also to the monumental building at Chonika of the first half of the 5th century BC, which Hall interprets as connected with the "Sacred Way" from Argos; according to Marchetti 2000, 285–6, the earliest road between Argos and the Argive Heraion was Classical.

⁵⁰⁰ Polignac 1984, 31–4 and 41–5 and Polignac 1995, 33–4 and 87–8, cf. Graf 1996, 55.

⁵⁰¹ Cf. above p. 113 and note 350.

⁵⁰² Cf. Lauter 1973 and Pfaff 2003, 6.

⁵⁰³ Cf. above pp. 98–9 and p. 81, note 78.

⁵⁰⁴ According to Parissiniou 2000, 2 and 17, the Temple must have been lit by oil lamps at that time.

(4, 133) her successor was appointed by the city-state of Argos. For a period of about 200 years after the appropriation by Argos, the sanctuary of the Argive Heraion seems to have maintained some diminishing sort of independence, which with the erection of the Second Temple was definitively ended.

The hypothesis advanced by several scholars that the Argive Heraion originally was a cult centre for all communities of the Argolid,⁵⁰⁵ is not confirmed by the published archaeological material. Actually, the Geometric bronzes in general show closer relations with the Corinthia than with the Argolid and in many cases, the early bronze finds (Early Geometric and Middle Geometric I) are equally characteristic of both regions. The bronze votives of the earliest period consist only of pins, which were offered together with the dresses by women, who were likely to follow old family traditions, but could not in any way be considered official representatives of their respective communities. In Middle Geometric II, the bronze votives comprise other kinds of women's personal ornaments and the growing wealth of the sanctuary is verified by for instance the first examples of bronze tripod production which, in my opinion, were ordered by and produced at the sanctuary. However, not until the Late Geometric period do we meet a rich variety of bronze votives and at the same time we have evidence for East Mediterranean connections, which differ from those of the contemporary settlements of the Argolid. Geographically, the range of visitors to the sanctuary is gradually widening from the Northeastern Peloponnese to Central Peloponnese already in Middle Geometric II and eventually to Central and Northern Greece.⁵⁰⁶ However, the cult traditions were primarily connected with women and their family life, chiefly women of rather humble status, and definitely not official representatives of the surrounding Argive settlements, as is implied with the wording: "Cult centre for communities", not to speak of "Confederate sanctuary."⁵⁰⁷

From the very beginning of its existence as a sanctuary, the Argive Heraion must have had an altar and a priesthood performing sacrifices and other religious ceremonies; the early votive material does not give any indication of particular connections

with one specific outside community, nor with the male inhabitants in any Northeast Peloponnesian settlement and there is no reason to see the priesthood of the early sanctuary as appointed by or in any way subordinated to any of these settlements.⁵⁰⁸ The early Argive Heraion conforms well with the idea of a Greek sanctuary as an independent community by its own right, its cult begun for strictly religious motives, as must have been the case also for Tegea.

The three Northeast Peloponnesian sites, to which the early Argive Heraion shows the closest ties are Tiryns, Mycenae, and Perachora, all with Hera cults. With Tiryns there exists in the Late Geometric and Archaic periods a certain correspondence in votive gifts as well as in cultic traditions and there was also similarity in the appearance of their Archaic wooden cult statues, a seated Hera.⁵⁰⁹

As regards Mycenae, the Hera cult of which settlement is still not exactly located, there are few counterparts to the early votives of the Argive Heraion and therefore no archaeological indication for a foundation of the sanctuary from Mycenae; the correspondence in the Late Geometric and Archaic votive material is chiefly observable for the Heroon of the Agamemneion.⁵¹⁰ The Late Geometric

⁵⁰⁵ Cf. above pp. 73–4 and note 9 and below p. 132 (Mazarakis–Ainian).

⁵⁰⁶ Cf. Introduction.

⁵⁰⁷ Hall 1995, 613, uses the word "confederate sanctuary".

⁵⁰⁸ For the selection of priestesses in the early Argive Heraion (cf. above note 213) as well as for several other aspects of life in an early Greek sanctuary, we do not have any information today. However, the archaeological material, I have been studying, indicates the existence of a network between a specific group of early Greek sanctuaries, which may remind of monasteries in various later religions, each monastery a self-supporting community, but at the same time part of a greater religious association. Perhaps studies along these lines may reflect on the earlier religious communities.

⁵⁰⁹ Cf. above p. 119 and note 404 for the early bronze votives and the later terracottas and pottery votives and for several religious traditions and below, p. 138 for the Hera cult statue, a seated wooden statue at both sites. Jantzen 1975, 104–5, fig. 25, a Classical cup with a Hera inscription found in the "Oberburg". For the Tiryns Sacral Law with the names of Zeus and Athena, cf. above note 229.

⁵¹⁰ Cf. above pp. 84–5 and notes 101 and 103 for corresponding votive traditions in the Agamemneion.

monumental Terrace for the Old Argive Hera Temple is definitely imitating Mycenaean Bronze Age structures and there is a striking similarity to the earliest terrace wall of the late 8th century BC on the Acropolis of Mycenae, where a temple was erected in the second half of the 7th century BC.⁵¹¹ At that time Mycenaean structures were observable at many other Argive sites, possibly even on the site of the Heraion itself, in the ruins of the Early Mycenaean Palace for the family buried in the tholos tomb west of the Heraion.⁵¹² It does not seem possible to decide which sanctuary was leading in the architectural imitation. However, there are very tangible links to Mycenae in the Geometric Period, above all in the continued use of at least parts of the Late Helladic road system, in particular, the road leading from the so-called “Ayios Georgios Bridge” near the Acropolis of Mycenae to the Argive Heraion. The road was in use as late as the 20th century AD and had a branch leading from the Heraion to Tiryns. Mycenae is situated near the Tretos pass, which connected the Peloponnese and the Corinthia, and through other parts of the road system, Mycenae had connections with various sites in the Argolid and the Corinthia.⁵¹³ The Mycenae–Heraion road must have been vital for the eastward external relations of the Argive Heraion, which from the Early Geometric Period included the Corinthia, the roads from Mycenae were leading also to Phlius and Sicyon, from the region of which latter settlement it was easy to reach Perachora by sea avoiding the large settlement of Corinth (Fig. 1).

From the time of its foundation in Middle Geometric II, possibly in the second quarter of the 8th century BC,⁵¹⁴ the bonds of the Hera Sanctuary at Perachora were particularly close with the Argive Heraion.⁵¹⁵ There is no obvious reason for a sanctuary being founded from Corinth at this remote place by a small natural harbour, since Corinth had its own well-functioning harbours closer to the settlement, Kenchreai and Leochaion.⁵¹⁶ It is a well-known feature for many Hera sanctuaries in Greece as well as in the Western Greek colonies, that they were extra-urban, in itself a suggestion of independence of nearby settlements. The date of the Hera Akraia foundation at Perachora is contemporary with the considerable expansion of the extern-

al interests of the Argive Heraion, judging especially from the Near Eastern imports, which begin around or shortly before 750 BC.⁵¹⁷ The extremely close similarities in the archaeological material and the cult traditions of the two Hera sanctuaries may give rise to the question, whether the already well-established inland sanctuary of the Argive Heraion could have had a hand in the foundation of the Hera Sanctuary at Perachora? For the Argive Heraion it would mean a base at the sea, which was becoming more necessary as the Near Eastern, especially Phrygian relations were strengthened. The Near Eastern imports of the Argive Heraion had close similarities in Perachora and they may well have arrived via the harbour of Perachora. The maritime aspects of several Hera sanctuaries in

⁵¹¹ For the Terrace, *cf.* Appendix, and for the Mycenae Terrace, Klein 2002.

⁵¹² *Cf.* IS I, 174.

⁵¹³ Steffen 1884; Lavery 1990 and Lavery 1995; and Hope-Simpson & Hagel 2006, 150–2 and 180 (M 4). The Mycenaean road system was leading also to Tenea, Kleonai, Nemea, Phlius and Corinth. There were other Mycenaean roads between the Argive Heraion and Mycenae, but there is not the same evidence for their being used in Post-Mycenaean times. Hall 1995, 601, sees the Hera sanctuary west of the Heraion and the Agamemneion, about 1 km from Mycenae, (both situated close to the road) as evidence for its use in the Late Geometric period. According to Wace 1949, 27, Geometric pottery was found in the fields near the road, implying its continued use in the Geometric period. It was not intended for vehicles, but for horses and draught animals. As late as the 1960s it was definitely a frequented foot-path, when I walked its full length.

⁵¹⁴ *Cf.* Menadier 1996, 129 with reference to Morgan 1994, 129, for the early pottery finds at Perachora; Morgan’s chronology in Middle Geometric II and certainly by the second quarter of the century, seems to conform well with the date of the earliest pins found at the site, Geom. I B, mostly Early Geometric, but lasting into Middle Geometric II, *cf.* Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984, 91, Nos. 400–2 and 408–9; for absolute chronology, *cf.* also IS IV, 115, note 275.

⁵¹⁵ *Cf.* above p. 119 with references notes 401–5.

⁵¹⁶ For the small, natural harbour of Perachora, *cf.* Blackman 1966; the ships possibly had to anchor in the bay. Morgan 1994, 131–5, wonders about the role Perachora might play in a Corinthian society; while refuting the theory by Sinn 1990, that it was founded as an asylum sanctuary, she still sees the sanctuary as founded by Corinth and so does Bookidis 2003, 250.

⁵¹⁷ *Cf.* above notes 117 and 433.

Greece as well as in the Western Greek colonies were observable even in the inland Argive Heraion and in accordance with those of Perachora,⁵¹⁸ and the outside links of the Argive Heraion had from early on been greater towards the region of Corinthia than to Argos. The question of a foundation of Perachora by Argos, based on the close similarities between the two sanctuaries, has been studied by Blanche Menadier, who rejected it. However, she did not consider the possibility of the Argive Heraion, not Argos, having acted as a “*primus motor*”.⁵¹⁹ On the present archaeological evidence, the suggestion can hardly be proven, but it seems to me worth keeping in mind.

The answers to the many questions concerning the origin of some Greek cults may be of varied character. In many cases specific nature phenomena may have given rise to a cult, in others the cult presumably developed out of Mycenaean cults. Often there seems to be a chronological gap after the Mycenaean palace cults, while a continuation from LH IIIC cults, founded after the great destruction of the Mycenaean palaces, appears to be more general.⁵²⁰ At the Argive Heraion there is a chronological gap after LH IIIB, when the Mycenaean residence, which presumably was a palace only in the Early Mycenaean period, was given up and until the establishing of the early sanctuary. Sakellarakis has tentatively suggested that the Minoan–Mycenaean seals, which were found in some Greek sanctuaries, including the Argive Heraion and Perachora, were heirlooms dedicated in the Archaic Period by priesthood families, reaching back to the Bronze Age. The gap in habitation at the former sanctuary and the late foundation of the latter does not make the hypothesis likely as regards these two sanctuaries.⁵²¹

Another problem, which is still under debate is the actual relationship between the Mycenaean palace culture and the later Greek culture. There is no doubt that the destruction of the palaces caused a distinct cultural break. Although it is too complicated a question to deal with here, I am, on the surface, inclined to follow the conclusions reached by John Chadwick on linguistic grounds and by some archaeologists on the basis of the forms of houses and tombs reminding of the Middle Helladic ones,

as well as of the continuation of elementary pottery production *etc.*, that the Doric Greeks were the lower class Mycenaean population, of which our knowledge is still limited.⁵²² The humble modes of expression observable in the very early sanctuary of the Argive Heraion do not reflect Mycenaean palace culture; such a phenomenon does not emerge until the Late Geometric Period and then in the manner of imitation, as in the monumental terrace for the Old Temple.

Hera is mentioned in the Linear B tablets, but some scholars regard her name as plausibly of a pre-Hellenic origin.⁵²³ For possible Prehistoric ancestors of the North East Peloponnesian Hera cults, I am inclined to look even further back than to the Middle Helladic period. Apparently, many of the well-known Hera sanctuaries in Greece were situated on sites with Early Helladic occupation; this applies to the sanctuaries of *e.g.* Olympia, Perachora, Samos, and Tiryns as well as the Argive Heraion.⁵²⁴ The pre-Hellenic cult of the “Great Mother”, which was introduced in the Neolithic Age, had many forms of expression. The domestic aspects of the Greek Hera cults suggest an origin in an earlier house cult, performed by women of the more ordinary classes and such a cult may have continued unobtrusively for centuries at another level than the official Mycenaean palace cult. A pre-Hellenic origin of the cult without its later palatial aspects might also contribute to an explanation of the relationship with some local cults in

⁵¹⁸ Cf. above pp. 96–7 and 124–5 and notes 204–5 and 475–7.

⁵¹⁹ Menadier 1996, 153 and 157–72, where she underlines the religious connections between the Argive Heraion and Perachora. Cf. also IS V, 55–8 and 89.

⁵²⁰ Cf. *e.g.* references above note 19.

⁵²¹ Sakellarakis 1976, 308 (Conclusions) and 290–4, Nos. 20–29 (Perachora) and Nos. 33–7 (the Argive Heraion)

⁵²² Cf. the presentation of the debate by Lemos 2002, 191–3 with references to Chadwick and several archaeologists, among them Snodgrass 2006, 311–7. However, Irene Lemos follows those linguists, who reject Chadwick’s conclusions.

⁵²³ For Hera on Linear B tablets, cf. LIMC IV, 1, 659; Levêque 1997, 267, note 1, refers to Chantraine for the name of Hera as plausibly being of pre-Hellenic origin.

⁵²⁴ Cf. references IS I, 174 for the Argive Heraion; Kyrieleis 2006, 26–7 for Olympia; Perachora I, 51–2; Milojević 1961 for Samos and cf. *e.g.* Tiryns IV.

the Western Greek colonial areas, where cult traditions corresponding with those of Athena and Hera were observable and the cults apparently easily exchangeable.⁵²⁵ Again, it is a hypothesis, which would require serious, detailed studies in order to be verified or rejected.

Among the many scholars, who have studied problems concerning the Prehistoric relations of early Greek sanctuaries, professor Mazarakis-Ainian takes up a special position. In his impressive book on rulers' dwellings and temples he gives a detailed analysis and an up-to-date survey of all known rulers' dwellings and early Greek temples in 1997, the time of his publication. He reaches the conclusion that the Greek temples developed out of the rulers' dwellings of the Early Iron Age and he sees the apsidal and rectangular houses of the Early Iron Age and not the Mycenaean palatial *megaron* as the primary source for the Greek temple building,⁵²⁶ thereby he stresses the cultural break at the destruction of the Mycenaean palaces and the continuation from the LH/LM IIIC periods into the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. However, I do not follow his conclusions regarding the rulers' religious power in the Early Iron Age. According to Mazarakis-Ainian, it was the role of the ruler to dictate the religious functions and like the Minoan/Mycenaean ruler he had the religious prerogatives. Although this may be the case in some settlements, it does not seem to hold true *e.g.* in Chios and Zagora, where Hoepfner has recently pointed out that the open place equivalent with the Agora in the later city-states, was primarily connected with the sanctuary and not with the ruler's dwelling, from which building the sanctuary was separated.⁵²⁷ And Mazarakis-Ainian's conclusions regarding some early extra-urban sanctuaries, that they were "places, where various chiefs or kinship groups would have periodically met to honour together the gods",⁵²⁸ cannot be applied to the Argive Heraion, nor to several other early extra-urban sanctuaries for female deities; they were chiefly sought by women, who had no public influence and apparently rarely a high social status. As regards the banqueting traditions, they were not exclusively connected with upper-class inhabitants of Early Iron Age settlements, since they were linked with

life in sanctuaries as well and played a particular role in the Hera sanctuaries. Although professor Mazarakis-Ainian's theories presumably are correct in some cases, they can, in my opinion, not be generally applied to Greek sanctuaries. As he himself points out, early Greek cult life had many modes of expression and various backgrounds and there does not seem to be a uniform pattern.⁵²⁹

In the above-stated cultural differences between the early Argive Heraion and Argos, as exemplified by the archaeological material, there are signs of the very early and rather long lived independence of the Argive Heraion from Argos. However, I do not find any examples of cultural or organizational influences from one site to the other until the 6th century BC, when Argos was an accomplished city-state and its appropriation of the Argive Heraion a *fait accompli*. On the other hand, if one looks in a wider perspective at the relations between the early Greek sanctuaries and settlements, one may get a different impression.

For the three aspects of organization in early Greek sanctuaries and settlements, which I have chosen to study here, the results vary. As regards economy, the information, although scarce and scattered, points to the sanctuaries as leading in the formative inventions of early monetary and coinage economy. According to my studies, the monetary value system of drachmai and obeloi was created in a specific group of Greek sanctuaries and the sanctuaries may even have played an essential part in the early coin minting, as suggested by the "Wappenmünzen" die in the Poseidon Sanctuary at Sounion, and by the bronze weight for 6th century BC Sybaris coins from the Athena Sanctuary at Timpona della Motta; perhaps also the considerable amount of early electron coins in the Artemis Sanctuary of Ephesos indicates some connection with early coin minting. Throughout Antiquity, Greek banking activities took place in the sanctuaries, in particular those of Apollo in Delos

⁵²⁵ Cf. *e.g.* above notes 100, 105–6 and 200 and p. 125.

⁵²⁶ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997.

⁵²⁷ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 393. Cf. Hoepfner 2006.

⁵²⁸ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997. Conclusions 393–6.

⁵²⁹ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 393–6.

and Delphi. Taking into account the considerable wealth, which already in the Late Geometric period was collected in the Greek sanctuaries, one may wonder if these activities may not have originated here. At least from the late Archaic period onwards, we have evidence of sanctuaries appointing witnesses to loan documents and depositing the documents in the sanctuaries, *i.e.* being in charge of loan transactions which, judging from the everyday aspects of the late Archaic documents from the sanctuary of Korkyra, indicate a tradition of some standing.⁵³⁰

As regards the centralized organization/administration, we have very little evidence from the early Greek sanctuaries, although the many obligations connected with the various ceremonies and rituals of the sanctuaries from an early date must have required a certain degree of organization; however, the rules presumably were passed on orally. On the other hand, there can hardly be any doubt that our earliest epigraphic evidence for Greek urbanization, the Dreros Laws with the earliest known epigraphic use of the word “polis”, dated to around 650 BC or shortly afterwards, are firmly attached to the Apollo Delphinios cult. The building, on which the laws were written, was the cult building, erected more than half a century earlier, and the offices connected with the *hetaireiai* of the city-state of Dreros developed out of an earlier cult practice in the Apollo Delphinios Temple. The building functioned as the earliest known *prytaneion* and the adjoining large open area, the later political agora, was laid out simultaneously with the temple. Later on the Apollo Delphinios sanctuaries of Miletos and Olbia follow the same pattern. Within a settlement there must be family ties and other kinds of connection between the different groups of inhabitants, which complicates any attempt at a distinction between cult officials and other kinds of authorities, and presumably the priests of the Apollo Delphinios Temple at Dreros belonged to the leading families of the settlement. Nevertheless, the priesthood at the Apollo Delphinios cult must have been active in the early urban organization of Dreros. The Agora of Dreros as well as the agorai in several other Greek settlements were primarily laid out for religious pur-

poses, while probably also serving the marketing activities connected with early Greek sanctuaries. The third main administrative structure later seen as a criterion for a Greek city-state, the *bouleuterion*, seems to be first erected in the Apollo Sanctuaries of Delos and the Hera-Zeus Sanctuary of Olympia, and possibly even earlier in Delphi. They appear to be constructed for organizational needs in connection with the emergence of religious/political associations as the *Symmachi* of Elis (and possibly the *Amphictyoni* of Delphi) and their 6th century BC chronology pre-date any known *bouleuterion* in a Greek city-state. As was the case with the earliest written laws, the earliest archaeological expressions of the form of organization, which later were taken as criteria for a Greek city-state, seem to be particularly closely linked with the God of Apollo, his sanctuaries and his priesthood.

Around 700 BC, Apollo in Delphi had reached a position of such political importance that the God and his sanctuary was subject to political diplomacy effectuated by King Midas of Gordion. Already from around 750 BC, several Greek sanctuaries, in particular the Apollo Sanctuary in Delphi and the Hera-Zeus Sanctuary in Olympia, received dedications from the aristocracy of Italy and within the next 100 years, the latter sanctuary was subject to corresponding diplomatic gestures from Etruscan rulers, which should be viewed in a religious/political light.⁵³¹

As regards the Western Greek colonization from the second half of the 8th century BC, the role of Apollo in Delphi can hardly be exaggerated. I follow Malkin in seeing the oracle and the priesthood of Apollo in Delphi as the organizing factor behind the actual sending out of the colonists, but I am also inclined to see the Apollo Sanctuary as responsible for establishing the detailed organization of the

⁵³⁰ Cf. above p. 82 and note 89 for the Korkyra loan documents.

⁵³¹ I have met with the objection that the foreign dedications were meant to impress the elite of the Greek settlements, meeting for the Panhellenic Festivals. Since the Pythian Games were not introduced until the early 6th century BC and the Olympic Games developed gradually from *c.* 700 BC, this can hardly be the motive behind the early dedications, cf. above p. 109 with note 308 and cf. note 217, respectively.

early colonies, in which the sanctuaries seem to play a central role from the very beginning.

The interrelations between early Greek sanctuaries and settlements/city-states are manifold and may not follow the same line of development in all cases, apart from acknowledged differences between urban and extra-urban sanctuaries. The problems are in themselves complex and the material on which they may be solved are of varied character. Also, as pointed out by both Snodgrass and Polignac, the period of early urbanization is an Age of experiments.⁵³² The organizational aspects, which I have chosen to study here, give indications of some Greek sanctuaries and their priesthood having played an important role in the development of the early urban organization. The earliest known Greek city-state laws, the Dreros Laws, dated to around or shortly after 650 BC, are regarded by experts as representing the initial phase of Greek law giving, not a transfer of oral laws.⁵³³ The earlier aspects of organization, which may be seen as leading to urbanization such as the first examples of objects of monetary value; the organized trading with foreign countries; the diplomatic acknowledgement by a foreign ruler of a Greek community; and the very initiative to colonization are all more likely to be connected with Greek sanctuaries than with Greek settlements. The archaeological expressions of urban administration are above all linked with Apollo sanctuaries. After its early manifestation in Dreros, the urban development spread throughout Greece during the second half of the 7th and the 6th centuries BC.

The study material has been widespread and diverse and my conclusions generally have the character of indications, which will require further studies to be fully clarified. I find it essential that one continues to study the early Greek sanctuaries, not as appendices to settlements, but as the independent communities they were. The two kinds of early Greek communities, sanctuaries and settlements, should be dealt with on equal terms and as far as possible on contemporary material.

Appendix

The Archaic temple at the Argive Heraion – once again

In 1988 I suggested a new reconstruction of the Archaic Temple of the Argive Heraion⁵³⁴ based on the sparse architectural information of the site itself, the preliminary report by C.L. Brownson⁵³⁵ and earlier studies by several scholars, above all P. Amandry, A. Petronotis, A.E. Kalpaxis, and J.C. Wright.⁵³⁶ Since then our insight into Greek temple architecture of the 7th century BC has increased considerably due in particular to American studies of Corinthian temples and to several publications by the Norwegian scholar, Erik Østby.⁵³⁷

Considering the few remains on the site and the deplorable publication of the Old Temple Terrace and the Archaic Temple,⁵³⁸ any attempt at a reconstruction of the Archaic Hera Temple can only be seen as a suggestion, unless perhaps renewed excavations may alter the picture or some day the many architectural elements mentioned by

⁵³² Polignac 2003, 66, with reference to the title of the book by Snodgrass 1980.

⁵³³ Cf. above p. 101 and note 240. The earliest known examples of literary use of the word “polis” are contemporary with or slightly later than the Dreros Laws, cf. Hansen 2004, 31, references to Archilochos, Tyrtaios and (a little later) Alkaios.

⁵³⁴ IS I, 178–91 and fig. 7.

⁵³⁵ Brownson 1893. For my paper, I used the detailed text of Brownson. Billot 1997, 21, correctly observes that in his very sketchy plan, Brownson, pl. XII, he has made an error (actually of less than 5 mm on the plan) in the position of his long east-west trench on the Upper Terrace. Taking into account the general carelessness of several drawings of these excavations, to be observed even in the final publication (cf. below note 559), I see no reason to disregard Brownson’s text, which is outstandingly detailed compared with the final publication.

⁵³⁶ Amandry 1952, 223–6; Petronotis 1968, 44–55; Kalpaxis 1976, 42–7, figs. 23–30; and Wright 1982, 189–91.

⁵³⁷ Cf. e.g. Gebhard & Hemans 1992; Gebhard 2001; Rhodes 1987 and 2003; Østby 1986; Østby 1993, 199 (most of the references to Pallantion here have since been published): Østby *et al.* 1994 and Østby 2005b.

⁵³⁸ *AH I*, 110–1, fig. 50 and pls. IV–V and VIII.

Brownson as found beneath the so-called “layer of black earth” west of the Second Temple should come to light.⁵³⁹ Nevertheless, in my opinion, the information collected from the above sources and studies are, if considered in their entity, sufficient to visualize the type of building standing on the Old Temple Terrace.

In my suggested reconstruction, the peripteral temple had a long, narrow cella, according to Brownson’s information *c.* 33 m in length; the cella walls presumably consisted of sun-dried mudbricks in half-timber. The remains of the site give no possibility of settling the position of a pronaos wall, which I therefore did not attempt to place, whereas I proposed the existence of a deep opisthodomos. The peristasis of my suggested reconstruction had 5 x 13 (or 14) wooden columns, probably placed on stone bases. The southern stylobate is partly preserved, the red limestones of its stylobate placed in an early technique, diagonally joining. The large intercolumnation of the stylobate, measured by Amandry to be either 2.70 or 2.71 m with an interaxis of 3.50 m, indicate wooden columns and a light entablature, presumably of wood as well.⁵⁴⁰ The roof also must have been of a light construction, probably either thatched or “wattle and daub”, since no remains of terracotta tiles have been noted, neither on the Terrace nor in the “black earth” west of the Second Temple, which did contain building stones from the Archaic Temple.⁵⁴¹

Considering the given intercolumnation and the width of the Terrace, there is, in my opinion, not room for a hexastyle temple. The known position of the southern stylobate serves as a fixed point for measurements across the terrace. The northern area of the Terrace is very uneven; however, the southernmost stone of the northwestern stone projection must indicate the northern limit of the Terrace. A temple with five columns in front could be placed inside this limit, as observed long ago by Kalpaxis, whereas if the Temple were hexastyle, the northern columns, apart from those placed on the stone projection, would rest on insecure ground.⁵⁴² Judging from the width of the Terrace and the known position of the southern stylobate, I do not find it possible to visualize a temple measuring much

more than *c.* 15 m in front, which is exactly the measures given by Brownson for his two so-called “platforms” of rather less than 4 m in width and standing with a distance of *c.* 7 m. Each “platform” consisted of black material above a layer of dark red soil, which Brownson and Kalpaxis interpreted as remains of the cella walls, with which I am in agreement, seeing the overlying black material as the burnt remains of the wooden superstructure and columns. My suggested position of the cella walls in EW direction was based on Brownson’s information that he came upon the northern, *c.* 33 m long “platform” *c.* 8 m inside the east end of the Terrace and that “the pavement of irregular polygonal slabs” lay beyond the west end of the “platform.”⁵⁴³

In my proposed ground plan, the back cella wall paid regard to the large, so-called “bothros” in the west end of the Terrace, on which no bearing wall could rest,⁵⁴⁴ as well as to one of the incised marks on the stylobate, which according to Petronotis indicates an important crosswall in the cella. The exact position of the east antae of the cella walls cannot be determined. I suggested the place of the only stone, which, besides those of the stylobate, is considered to be found *in situ* and which has a cross

⁵³⁹ Cf. IS I, 184–5.

⁵⁴⁰ Cf. IS I, 186 and note 84 with references to Amandry and Kalpaxis and cf. Østby 2006, 32–3. (For Capital C, sometimes connected with the Old Temple, cf. above note 41).

⁵⁴¹ Cf. IS I, 186; Mallwitz 1981, 634–5 and Østby 2006, 32–3, who all oppose the views given by Pfaff 1990; Billot 1990, 115–7, and Billot 1997, 25–6 and later also by Gebhard 2001, 55, that among the three-peaked antefixes on the site, there are specimens belonging to the Archaic Temple. Østby uses the same arguments as given by me: “that it is difficult to reconcile with the total lack of the material from the temple site.” Nor is there any mention of terracotta tiles in the black fill west of the Second Temple containing architectural stone elements from the Old Hera Temple.

⁵⁴² Cf. Billot 1997, 68–9, figs 1–3. Moreover, the stones of the projection visible inside the northern columns in Billot’s reconstructions, have now been cleared away; they were just lying on the surface.

⁵⁴³ Brownson 1893, 213–4.

⁵⁴⁴ Cf. below. In AH I, 11, fig. 50 and pl. V, the rear cella wall of the reconstructed ground plan of the Temple is resting on this “bothros”, which, possibly for exactly this reason, is left out of the reconstruction in the publication.

mark on its upper side; it is situated so far inside the Terrace wall that its position is in accordance with Brownson's information of his first recording of the northern so-called "platform".⁵⁴⁵ I estimated the width of the cella walls to *c.* 50 cm, but they may well be wider, as suggested by M.-F. Billot; however, according to Brownson's observations, the distance between them cannot be less than 7 m.⁵⁴⁶

Re-opening the discussion of the ground plan of the Temple, Billot seems to disregard most results obtained by the above-mentioned scholars. Because of a minor error in Brownson's very sketchy drawing of the Terrace, she rejects the detailed information in his text,⁵⁴⁷ as she rejects or ignores Petronotis' and Kalpaxis' observations.⁵⁴⁸ Billot returns to the excavators' original conception of the Temple as given in the final publication: A cella with a small pronaos and opisthodomos and a peripteros of 6 x 14 columns.⁵⁴⁹ Her starting point is the same as that of the excavators, the quadrangular stone frame with an inner fill of smaller stones, which they regard as the base for the cult image and therefore have placed centrally at the west wall of their proposed cella;⁵⁵⁰ whereas it in my suggested reconstruction is situated in the opisthodomos. Later scholars leave the question of a pentastyle or a hexastyle peristasis open.⁵⁵¹

At a recent cleaning up of the Terrace by Christopher Pfaff and his staff, the construction of the so-called "bothros" and its immediate surroundings have become clear. The "bothros" forms an almost trapezoid structure with a large central hole. Its northern side is parallel with the southern stylobate and its eastern side is situated at a right angle to it and is flush with the eastern line of the stone frame. These two sides of the "bothros" measure *c.* 4.60 m, whereas the western side of the "bothros" is placed in an oblique angle and measures *c.* 6 m. (The southern side is today covered by a large heap of stones). The "bothros" is built of the same enormous stones conglomerate as the rest of the Terrace and must belong to the same construction phase, since the limestone slabs of the surrounding pavement are placed carefully around it, paying heed to its previous existence. The quadrangular stone frame (the so-called "cult base") is, howev-

er, built on top of the pavement. The "bothros" definitely forms an intentional and original part of the Terrace.⁵⁵² The area has three distinct phases: 1) The Terrace with the "bothros"-structure, 2) the overlying large slabs of the pavement surrounding the "bothros" and finally 3) the stone frame resting on the pavement. In my suggested ground plan, the centre of the "bothros" is placed exactly in the east-west axis of the Temple. Whatever its function,⁵⁵³ its very construction as an integral part of the Terrace and its position in close connection with the Temple, which it precedes, is a sign that it had a vital religious purpose.

Important for the present discussion is the fact that the quadrangular stone frame was built so close against the "bothros" that there is no room for a rear cella wall immediately west of the stone frame, as suggested by the excavators and Billot. For obvious reasons a bearing wall could not be placed

⁵⁴⁵ Brownson, 213, *cf.* Kalpaxis 1976, text to fig. 26, and IS I, 181. On his first day of digging, Brownson came upon worked stones, which most reasonably should be identified with the Eastern stylobate. I do not at all understand the suggestion by Billot 1997, 21, note 106, that they might belong to an altar east of the temple, since she on pp. 30–1, identifies the site of the Altar with the area East of the Second Temple. Nor do I see any room for an altar between the east stylobate of the Temple, which certainly must have existed, and the east wall of the Terrace. For the site of the Altar, *cf.* above p. 93 and note 179.

⁵⁴⁶ IS I, 180, *cf.* Billot 1997, 21.

⁵⁴⁷ *Cf.* above note 535.

⁵⁴⁸ Billot 1997, 57–70.

⁵⁴⁹ Billot 1997, 68–9, figs. 1–3, *cf.* *AHI*, fig. 50 and pl. V.

⁵⁵⁰ Billot 1997, 58, *cf.* *AHI*, 111. The frame of small stones is illustrated by Kalpaxis 1976, 46, fig. 30.

⁵⁵¹ *Cf. e.g.* Gruben 2001, 108–9; Baumbach 2004, 78, fig. 4.9, illustrates his text with my suggested ground plan, while accepting Billot's absolute chronology; Østby 2006, 30, leaves the question open, at the same time arguing for a very early chronology.

⁵⁵² Billot 1997, 57, calls the "bothros" suspect and suggests that it is a later addition. This suggestion can now be definitely rejected.

⁵⁵³ Whereas the outer stones of the structure are very carefully laid, the stones immediately surrounding the central hole give the impression of having been forcefully broken up. I am inclined to believe in the possibility of some kind of superstructure, forcefully removed; a long, smooth groove just inside the west side of the "bothros" may suggest some installation connected with water.

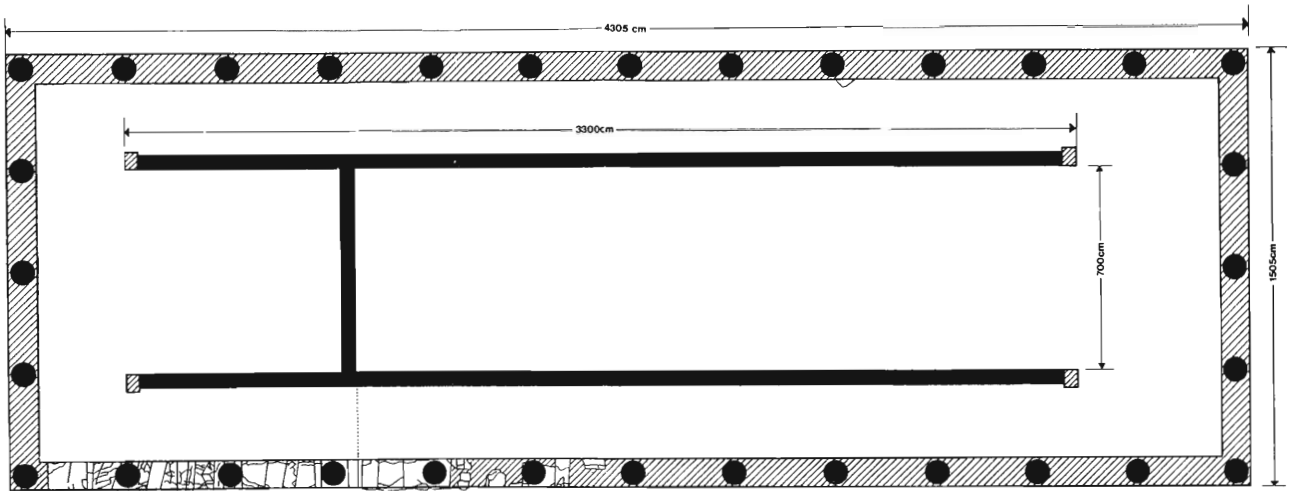


Fig. 10. The Argive Heraion. The Archaic temple. Suggested Reconstruction.

on top of a structure with a large central hole. A rear cella wall placed west of the stone frame would have to be built at least 5 m further to the west; the western stylobate would therefore be situated very near the west end of the Terrace, in itself an awkward position; it is also a contradiction to Brownson's information about the length and position of the northern cella wall.⁵⁵⁴ Moreover, it would place the "bothros" with its large central hole inside the cella in an impossible arrangement, where it collided with the cult image, which traditionally was placed near the rear wall of the cella.⁵⁵⁵ According to the information regarding the incised marks on the stylobate as well as the position of the "bothros", the cella rear wall must have been placed east of the quadrangular stone frame, so that, whatever its function, this latter structure cannot have been situated in the cella and therefore cannot be interpreted as the foundation for the base of the cult image. The premises for the reconstruction of a hexastyle temple are incorrect. Like the "bothros", the stone frame had its function in the deep opisthodomos of the Temple.⁵⁵⁶

For the above reasons, I find Billot's suggested ground plan of the Archaic Hera Temple unacceptable. The position of the preserved southern stylobate is certain and with her suggested width of the peristasis most of the northern stylobate would rest on insecure ground. This is the case in spite of her suggested contraction of the front intercolumniation, which is in contrast with the known intercolumniation of the southern stylobate, one of our few

certain points of information. It is also inconsistent with our knowledge of early Mainland Greek temple architecture, where the front intercolumniation is either identical with that of the sides or even longer; as can be seen from her own references, a contraction of the front columns is primarily a Western Greek phenomenon.⁵⁵⁷ She pays no heed

⁵⁵⁴ The resulting position of the rear cella wall with its consequences for the position of the western columns in Billot's reconstruction would hardly leave room for walking outside the temple neither on its northern, nor on its western side.

⁵⁵⁵ In all of her suggested ground plans (Billot 1997, 68–9, figs. 1–3), the rear cella wall, immediately behind the stone frame, would rest on the "bothros". In two of them, figs. 2–3, her estimated length of the cella walls supersedes Brownson's information with 3–4 m and in one, fig. 2, she places the "bothros" in an adyton with a connecting door from the cella right in front of it, which would make any practical use of this door extremely difficult.

⁵⁵⁶ Billot 1997, 20, rejects the possibility that an object of cultic significance could be placed in the opisthodomos. It is obvious that the early Greek temples had various functions as e.g. seen in the metal workshops of the Athena Alea Temple in Tegea and the Apollo Daphnephoros Temple of Eretria, cf. above note 94, or in the Apollo Temple of Halieis, Jameson 1974, 1995 and 2004, 170, and in the hearth temples as e.g. Dreros. Such an eminent scholar as Pierre Amandry discussed the possibility of the Omphalos having been situated in the opisthodomos of the Apollo Temple in Delphi, Amandry 1992.

⁵⁵⁷ Concerning the references, Billot 1997, 58, note 7, to specific temples, the Isthmia Temple is not likely to have had a peristasis, cf. Rhodes 2003, 92 and Østby 2006, 33, and the other temples referred to in her note are either later or, for the greater part, situated in the Western Greek colonies.

to the marks on the stylobate and their interpretation by Petronotis. From the close connection between the “bothros”⁵⁵⁸ and the stone frame, it is not possible to place the rear cella wall behind the stone frame. On the whole, I see no reason to alter the general lines of my reconstructed groundplan of the Archaic Hera Temple in the Argive Heraion (Fig. 10).⁵⁵⁹

As regards the cult image, I suggested that the stone pillar in The National Archaeological Museum of Athens Department of Sculpture No. 2702, which was found in the burnt layer west of the Second Temple together with many architectural stone elements from the Archaic Temple, should be interpreted as the stone seat for the original wooden cult statue:⁵⁶⁰ therefore this must have been a seated figure and in this feature it corresponds with the majority of the female terracotta statuettes from the site.⁵⁶¹ Billot seems inclined to accept my interpretation of the stone pillar – with a high back and a slightly hollow seat – as the support for a wooden seated statue; however, she interprets it as the seat for the Archaic wooden cult statue transferred by the Argives from the Hera Temple at Tiryns and seen by Pausanias in the Second Temple.⁵⁶² This proposal is unacceptable. At the time of Pausanias’ visit to the Argive Heraion, the stone pillar lay buried considerably more than 3 m below the surface in the deep gap west of the Second Temple. Together with the building stones coming from the Old Temple, it served as a foundation for the upper layers of black earth mingled with Archaic and possibly a few early Classical votives;⁵⁶³ the so-called black earth began c. 3 m (eight to ten feet) underneath the surface. In Pausanias’ time, the stone had been buried here for 500–600 years, to come to light only during the American excavations in the 1890s.⁵⁶⁴ If my interpretation of the stone as the seat for a wooden statue is basically accepted, as Billot seems inclined to do, I see no other possibility for its interpretation than the seat for the original wooden cult statue of the seated Hera in the Archaic Temple, apparently lost in the fire of 423 BC. The provenance of the stone is a guarantee that it was never placed in the Second Hera Temple and any statue seen here by Pausanias is unlikely to have ever been placed in

the burnt down and demolished temple on the Old Temple Terrace at the Argive Heraion.⁵⁶⁵

The two different visions of the Archaic Hera Temple in the Argive Heraion are of significance

⁵⁵⁸ I also reject her suggestion, Billot 1997, 19, note 88, that the “bothros” could be identical with the so-called pocket (marked O on Brownson 1893, pl XII); this “pocket” was found in connection with the cella wall, which cannot possibly have passed over the “bothros” and the “bothros” is surrounded by the pavement, which Brownson came across only later.

⁵⁵⁹ As long as we have only Waldstein’s publication to rely on, a more detailed reconstruction of the ground plan is not possible. I hope that Dr. Pfaff’s present initiative to work on the Upper Terrace of the Argive Heraion will result in renewed studies and perhaps excavations in order to solve some of the many remaining problems of the Geometric/Archaic sanctuary. The cleaning up of the Upper Terrace has shown that the drawing in the final publication, *AHI*, pl. VII, is incorrect and careless as regards the pavement as well as the “bothros”. Therefore, I do not re-publish IS I, fig. 7, where my temple plan rests on the incorrect drawing of the pavement.

⁵⁶⁰ IS I, 195–6, figs. 18–9. Here I compared the throne with the central supports for stone perirrhanteria and tentatively dated it to the second half of the 7th century BC, where it might have replaced a wooden throne. Since then Gebhard 2001, 51–3, fig. 5, has published a photograph of a limestone block found in a Late Geometric well in Corinth with very similar tool marks, possibly from an adze, cf. Rhodes 1987 and 2003. From this new comparative material I am now more inclined to see the Argive Heraion throne as contemporary with the Temple and the cult image.

⁵⁶¹ IS I, 195–7, fig. 20. Billot 1997, 27, rejects the reference to the terracotta statuettes. For the number of seated terracotta statuettes as compared to standing ones at the Argive Heraion, cf. above note 103. Cf. also IS V, 59 and notes 149–50.

⁵⁶² Pausanias. 2.17.5; Billot 1997, 27–8.

⁵⁶³ Cf. IS I, 184–5 and 201.

⁵⁶⁴ Cf. Brownson 1893, 224 and 225 and IS I, 195 and 201. Except for the still unpublished copper coins and one possibly Early Classical bronze figure, the objects in the black layer west of the Second Temple are all Archaic, cf. IS I, 202 and 185 with notes 75–6.

⁵⁶⁵ For this reason alone I am sceptical towards Billot’s suggestion that the Archaic *agalma* placed on a column, which Pausanias saw in the Second Temple (Pausanias. 2.17.5), was an original cult image at the Archaic Heraion (Billot 1997, 28–9), although her proposal seems to be accepted by several other scholars as Baumbach 2004, 101, and Østby 2006, 27, note 62, and p. 30. One should bear in mind that the Argives transferred other statues from the conquered cities, as e.g. another statue from Tiryns, which Pausanias saw in the Apollo Lykeios Temple of Argos (Pausanias. 8.46.3). The statue on the column may also originally come from Tiryns, cf. LIMC IV 1, 661–2.

also for its chronology. Billot's reconstruction gives a structural similarity to the Archaic Temple of Artemis Alea at Tegea, dated to the late 7th century BC, and to the Hera Temple at Olympia, dated to around or shortly after 600 BC.⁵⁶⁶ On the other hand, my suggested reconstruction of the temple with its long, narrow cella and 5 x 13 columns points to an earlier date in the 7th century BC and the technical details of the stylobate to a date in the first half of that century, apparently accepted by Billot.⁵⁶⁷ A chronology in the first half of the 7th century BC is in accordance with that of the Old Temple Terrace, which must have been intended as an imposing foundation for the Temple.⁵⁶⁸

The Old Temple Terrace on which the Archaic Hera Temple was built is generally dated to around 700 BC. Late Geometric II sherds were found deep inside the Terrace wall⁵⁶⁹ and several monumental objects dated to around or shortly after 700 BC, had been placed on the Terrace itself, indicating the time, when the pavement was finished and the Terrace in function. Most important of these is the large Early Protocorinthian pyxis,⁵⁷⁰ but there are also several fragments of monumental bronze vessels of corresponding absolute chronology.⁵⁷¹

The published information about the finds on the Terrace and in the Temple is very sparse.⁵⁷² As regards the still unpublished pottery, it is mostly confined to Brownson's and Waldstein's general references.⁵⁷³ From Waldstein's note books in King's College Library in Cambridge, I have tried to supplement the published information:⁵⁷⁴ The excavators noted two levels on top of the Terrace, distinguishing between finds on the surface and finds which were taken at a level below the visible part of the foundation stones, *i.e.* presumably contemporary with the time of the erection of the Temple. Several times Waldstein states that the pottery sherds found at this lower level were Mycenaean, Primitive, Geometric, Argive Linear, and Protocorinthian, whereas he does not mention Corinthian pottery, which he refers to as found elsewhere on the site.⁵⁷⁵ From his more general notes and from Hoppin's publication of the vases in AH II one may conclude that his Geometric pottery is predominantly Argive Geometric, since Waldstein at one point states that there were no Dipylon fragments on the Upper

⁵⁶⁶ Billot 1997, 25–6.

⁵⁶⁷ Billot 1997, 25 and 70.

⁵⁶⁸ Cf. also Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, 157; Gebhard 2001, 43 with references note 2; and Østby 2006, 30.

⁵⁶⁹ Frickenhaus & Müller 1911, 27 and fig. 2, *cf.* IS I, 178 and note 42 and IS V, 117, note 376.

⁵⁷⁰ Cf. Kalpaxis 1976, 43 and note 182, and IS I, 178 with note 46 and fig. 4 (Late 8th century BC or around 700 BC). Billot 1997, 17, seems to accept this suggestion. Østby 2006, 30, note 75, observes that Amyx 1988, 20, No 217, now places the pyxis in his category MPC I, which would suggest a date shortly after 700 BC.

⁵⁷¹ Cf. IS I, 192–3, the North Syrian goat's handle of bronze (*c.* 700 BC) and the three bronze objects fallen from the Terrace, the North Syrian handle plate with a standing bull (*c.* 700 BC), the Greek cast griffon protome (second quarter of the 7th century BC) and the fragment of a Geometric Greek hammered tripod leg (late 8th or early 7th century BC).

⁵⁷² See in particular IS I, 191–2.

⁵⁷³ Cf. IS I 191–2 with note 131 and p. 201.

⁵⁷⁴ Waldstein's notebooks (catalogued under the name of Sir Charles Walston) comprised in all 52 books, the last number of which I was not able to see; it consisted of letters. There were also photographs, including excavation photographs from the Argive Heraion, but none from the top of the Temple Terrace. Most notebooks measured *c.* 23 x 13 cm, while some were smaller. The notebooks contained much miscellaneous material, which had no relation to the Argive Heraion. As regards the Argive Heraion excavations, they gave the impression of being loose remarks made in preparation for the publication and were often repeating themselves. They are hand-written and difficult to peruse, also because of the scattered German words in the English text and there are some, to me illegible, words. The books were unpaginated and the page numbers in the following note are my own.

⁵⁷⁵ Waldstein's Note book 14, p. 16 (about the publication AH II). Vases: clear specimens of lowest layer of Upper temple, Primitive + primitive forms of Protocorinthian...

Note book 23, p. 11: Upper Terrace. After destruction (though Pausanias saw thymelia) – most cleared away & also used as filling below – Then from position washed away – until only thin layer of burnt mass – in below this which was covering of foundation of extant wall – only earlier objects.

p. 15: best Protocorinthian – Linear Geometric ornamentation. This certainly existed in earliest times here & we find it in Old Temple with prim. & Mycenaean (where we do not find Dipylon).

Note book 24, pp. 1–3 ...on upper Terrace of Old Temple ... Below ashes of conflagration of Old Temple on polygonal pavement, there is still extant some 20 feet of wall... below alla rustica not visible when temple was completed. And I may at once say here that in there again certainly found Primitive, Mycenaean or Protocorinthian together.

Note book 39, p. 18: Black layer... while further down more Argive Geometrical & also under part of wall of Old Temple – immediately over polygonal pavement near this wall – are earliest time.

Terrace; his term Argive Linear as well as that of Protocorinthian both seem to refer to Early Protocorinthian, although they may also include examples of Middle Protocorinthia. Even though far from instructive, Waldstein's notes do not contradict my proposed absolute chronology for the Archaic Hera Temple to the first half of the 7th century BC; it was in particular based on technical criteria, on comparisons with other 7th century BC temples as well as on the suggested elongated groundplan with 5 columns in front.⁵⁷⁶

Recently, Erik Østby has restudied the problems concerning the Archaic Hera Temple at the Argive Heraion. Finding support in Vitruvius 4. 1. 3 that this was the earliest Doric Temple, he points to the possibility of influences from architectural details in Mycenaean tombs such as the Treasury of Atreus and the Tomb of Clytemnestra and he suggests that the wooden entablature of the Hera Temple had a carved triglyph frieze and the wooden columns were fluted. He views the Hera Temple in the light of the general revival of Bronze Age cultural traits in the Late Geometric period⁵⁷⁷ recognizable also in the very Temple Terrace, as pointed out by Wright long ago.⁵⁷⁸ According to Østby, an Argive sanctuary might be more disposed for such influences than a Corinthian one, where on the other hand the stone architecture developed earlier because of natural sources of the easier cut poros stone.⁵⁷⁹ On the published evidence, Østby's theories cannot be verified. He concludes by stating that the temple may be dated "quite possibly as early as the early 7th or even late 8th century, if the temple was contemporary with the terrace".⁵⁸⁰ Since I also regard the Archaic Hera Temple as planned in immediate connection with the Terrace and built not long afterwards, I am quite open for an earlier and more definite absolute chronology than formerly suggested. However, taking into account that my suggested chronology of the Terrace is based not only on finds inside the Terrace wall, but also on the Early Protocorinthian pyxis and the chronologically homogeneous group of monumental bronze vessels found on or fallen down from the Terrace, I do not find it possible to date the Temple to before 700 BC, as suggested by Østby. Seen as a whole, the information points to a date around or shortly after

700 BC for the completion and earliest function of the Terrace and therefore for the earliest possible date of the Archaic Temple.⁵⁸¹

In summing up, I see no reason for altering the main lines of my earlier suggested reconstruction of the Archaic Hera Temple at the Argive Heraion. I find my earlier proposed date of the Temple Terrace to c. 700 BC valid and still see the Archaic Temple as planned and built in close functional and near chronological correspondance with the Temple Terrace. The Temple was built some time during the first half of the 7th century BC and probably early in the period. In the Temple, I still hold the cult image to be a wooden statue of a seated goddess that, already in the 7th century BC and most

p. 19–20; I should like to call Protocorinthian–Argive–the form of Geometrical not Dipylon (which is missing) but Argive Geometrical...

p. 21: but many Zwischenstufen & vases which in form must be chosen as Mycenaean, Geometrical, many Pflanzenornamenten ... – most important Gattung ... Protocorinthian are in their nature also Geometrical – simple shapes, arbalos (Drawing of an EPC lekythos) plates etc. as well as ornamentation. We must carefully distinguish them from these which have this form, but different ornamentation = orientalizing and like Egyptian... I thus call these Argive in contradiction to Protocorinthian & here I distinguish again.

p. 22: ...& as I have said the feeling of Argive, Arg Geom. + Mycenaean seems to meet in many early ones from Old Temple.

⁵⁷⁶ IS I, 187–93; IS IV, 187 and IS V, note 376, for absolute chronology. My comparisons, IS I, 190–1, with the First Apollo Temple of Corinth and the Archaic Poseidon Temple of Isthmia were mostly of technical character and are not altered by the new evidence that the Isthmia Temple just like the first Apollo Temple presumably did not have a peristasis, Rhodes 2003, and Østby 2006, 33–4. (For the absolute chronology of the two Corinthian temples, to the first half of the 7th century BC, cf. references IS I, 189, note 108, and for the Poseidon Temple at Isthmia, Gebhard 2001, 41–3).

⁵⁷⁷ Østby 2006, 32–4, with note 81 and cf. 19–25, for the Mycenaean tombs.

⁵⁷⁸ Wright 1982, 198.

⁵⁷⁹ Østby 2006, 33–4, cf. Rhodes 2003, 89–90 and 93–4, and cf. Rhodes 1987.

⁵⁸⁰ Østby 2006, 33.

⁵⁸¹ Østby 2006, 30, comments that the date of the Early Protocorinthian pyxis only gives a *terminus ante quem*, which of course is correct if considered separately, but, in my opinion, loses some of its significance when viewed together with the many contemporary bronze finds connected with the Terrace.

likely from the very consecration of the Temple, was seated on the above-mentioned stone throne, now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens.

This absolute chronology leaves no room for an imaginary earlier temple on the Terrace. Although the well-known terracotta model of a house or temple, dated to the first quarter of the 7th century BC, may well have some religious connection with the consecration of the Temple, it can in no way be considered a model of an earlier, simpler temple building on the Old Terrace. I am inclined to view the Argive Heraion terracotta model in the light of Schattner's views, as a votive offering to the Goddess of Hera, probably a symbol of the temple shortly to be erected. Such a votive offering need not have been given by persons from the outside, but may just as well be an offering by the priestess(es) of the sanctuary.⁵⁸²

Considering the existence of early cult buildings in other Greek sanctuaries, it is of course possible that a more primitive predecessor to the Archaic Hera Temple was built somewhere on the site. However, it must be earlier than *c.* 700 BC, and we do not today have any knowledge of its possible position. Østby suggests that an earlier temple might have been situated below the Terrace, in

the area, which later was levelled for the Second Temple.⁵⁸³ Another and perhaps more likely possibility is the area underneath the Old Temple Terrace; here the position of the so-called "bothros", obviously of religious importance, may indicate the continuation of an earlier cult. For both suggestions we must admit that today we possess no information at all and in the present situation should refrain from further speculations, hoping for future excavations of the area.

⁵⁸² IS I, 191, *cf.* Schattner 1990, 22–6, Cat. No. 1, figs. 1–3. For the different theories of the function and significance of the miniature buildings, pp. 210–2. According to Schattner, they are most likely votives. Recently, Nordquist 2005 discusses the problems because of such fragments having been found in the Athena Alea Sanctuary of Tegea. Some models come from tombs, where they presumably had a different significance; but chiefly they are found in sanctuaries and always in sanctuaries of goddesses, predominantly in Hera sanctuaries (including Perachora), but also in some Artemis and Athena sanctuaries.

⁵⁸³ Østby 2006, 30.

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