An Archaeology of Ancestors

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Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece

CARLA M. ANTONACCIO

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Cults of Epic and Mythical Heroes

This chapter discusses hero shrines for which archaeological evidence indicates at least the late Iron Age for the inception of cult and epigraphic or literary testimonia identify their dedication. To give a few excluded cases, where the archaeology and the written record are tenuous: Erechtheus at Athens, and Pyrrhos at Delphi; Amphiaraos because his shrine is not established until the fifth century; and Aiakos because his heroön on Aegina is only attested in Pausanias (although Herodotos also preserves an important narrative about his power).[1] Herakles is a special case, clearly both god and mortal; his cults are not considered here. Even Achilles, greatest of epic heroes, has no reference to cult at his tomb before the fifth century; the archaeologically attested Black Sea cults at Olbia Beikush and several other locations date only from the period of Milesian colonization in the sixth century.[2] Strikingly, these shrines are independent of actual burials, though a cult may be said to be celebrated at the site of a hero's tomb.

The shrines included here are divided into two categories: to epic heroes and to heroes of myth not mentioned in epic.[3] A third section discussses "sacred houses," interpreted as structures for the celebration of hero cult, especially local heroes, in the late Iron Age

1. Erechtheus: Kron 1976:40-45; see especially Jeppeson 1987, esp. 33-35, suggesting that *Iliad* 2.550-1, crucial to arguments for Erechtheus's cult, is an interpolation. Jeppeson does not refer to Kardara 1960; Price 1979:225-26 believed a cult on the Nike bastion of the Acropolis was certainly Submycenaean or Protogeometric, following Kardara 1960. See now Mark 1989, 1993 on the early cult on the Mycenaean bastion, which Kardara sees as a joint cult place of Athena and Erechtheus. Mark reports that a supposed "Archaic naiskos" is 5th c. in date; a Late Irong Age or early Archaic renovation of the bastion cannot be connected with Erechtheus. Amphiaraos: Petrakos 1968; Schachter 1981:19-26; Aiakos: Pausanias 2.29.6-8; on the Aiakidai cf. also Herodotos 8.64; 5.80, and see now Kearns 1989:113-15; 160-61 on Erechtheus; 47, 141 on Aiakos, 147 on Amphiaraos; Fontenrose 1961, Stähler 1989 with references for Pyrrhos/Neoptolemos. For Theseus and others with later cults, see Ch. 5.

2. Hedreen 1991:314.

3. Preliminary discussion in Antonaccio 1992 and 1993.

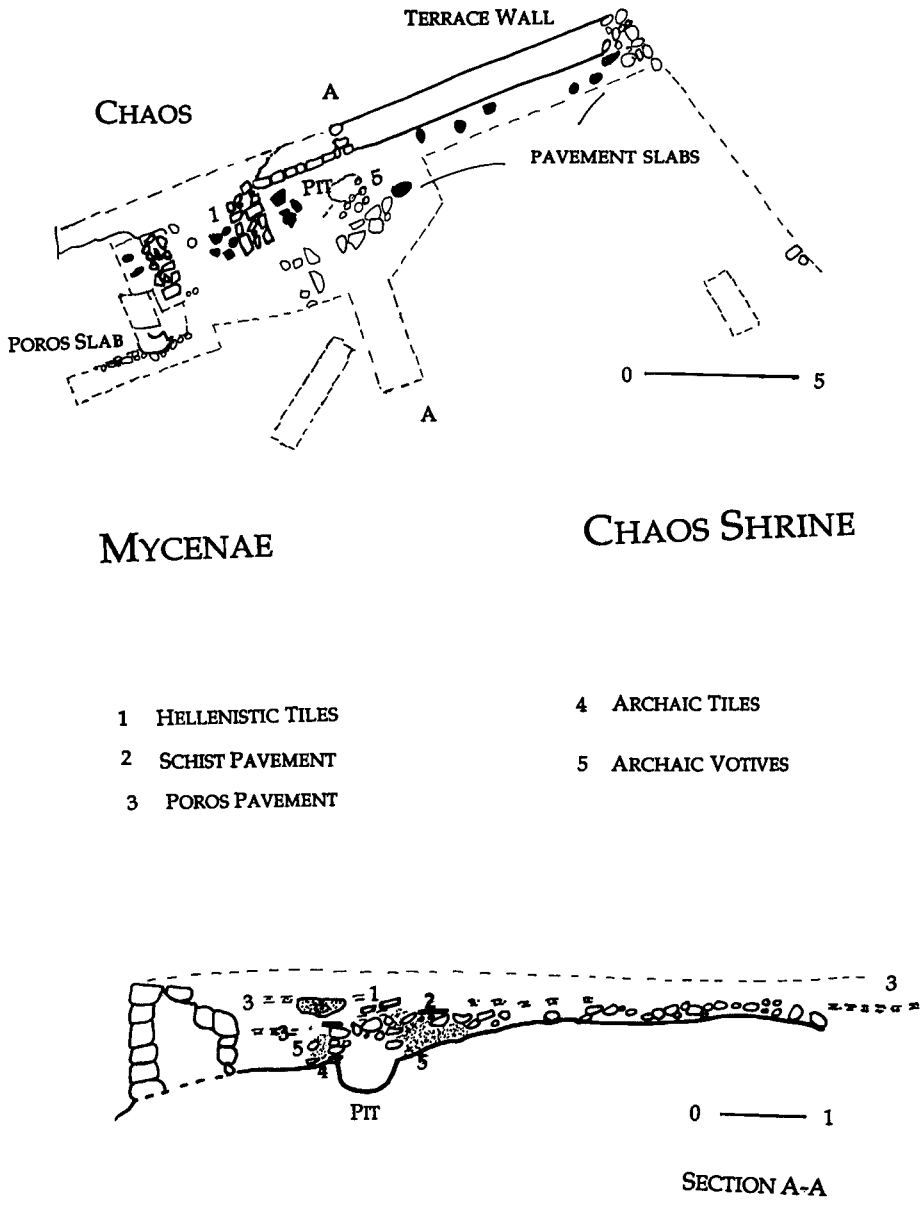


Figure 14: Mycenae, Chaos Shrine

and Archaic periods.

Heroes of Epic

The Shrine at the Chaos, Mycenae (Agamemnoneion)

This small sanctuary, located approximately 1 km from the acropolis of Mycenae on the left bank of the Chaos streambed, is usually identified as a shrine of Agamemnon, an identification now not universally accepted (fig. 14).[4] Its modesty belies its importance; Morgan and Whitelaw call it "the main cult place at Mycenae from the late 8th century."[5] The shrine had two main phases. To the first belongs a rubble wall that formed the northern limit of the shrine and several dozen Archaic roof tiles, as well as a "barbecue pit" along the interior of the north wall. 0.20 m below the top of this wall an irregular and only partly preserved paving of schist slabs was laid in a Hellenistic phase, to which ca. 20 tiles with the legend Δαμόσιοϙ'Αργήων can be assigned, making it an Argive state shrine at that time.[6]

The abundance of tiles in the western part of the walled area probably means that section was roofed, while the central portion was an open court. Below the paving in the west section, a largely Archaic deposit of material was incorporated into a fill of stones. The deposit included fifth and fourth century pottery as well, and fragments of the earlier tiles were incorporated into the paving. Objects in the "Archaic" deposit clearly date to the later fifth and fourth centuries, that is after the assumed Argive destruction of Mycenae in 468 (and before the Hellenistic renewal of the shrine). It may be that iron nails and fragments of carbonized wood mixed in with the deposit do not represent a destruction at that date, but some other occasion of damage. The Hellenistic phase, then, entailed a cleanup of the sanctuary, which perhaps never went entirely out of use. The "barbecue pit" was sealed, earlier votives dumped and a schist flagging laid down. Some extension or renovation of the structure is indicated by the poros limestone working debris found at the top of the packing and the stone pavement. If the debris also

4. Primary publications: Cook 1953a, b; see also Foley 1988 as cited.
5. Morgan and Whitelaw 1991:89.
6. Cook 1953a:30-33, 67. Five specimens were stamped Ἐπὶ Ἰκετίνου ἐπόησε Κλεώνυμος (see below).

overlay the pavement, as the description and section both indicate, either the pavement was not a final surface but covered with a coat of clay or the poros chips are signs of still another phase, after the pavement. The stamps on the Hellenistic tiles indicate a date "hardly later than the 2nd century B.C." and are similar to examples from near the Lion Gate and on the summit of the citadel (temple site). All can be referred to the Argive *koma* of Mycenae.[7]

The votives from the deposit begin in late Geometric and continue until the early fifth century in some quantity, with a few from the later fifth and early fourth. There is little from the Hellenistic period, but the relative amounts may be due to the circumstances of preservation.

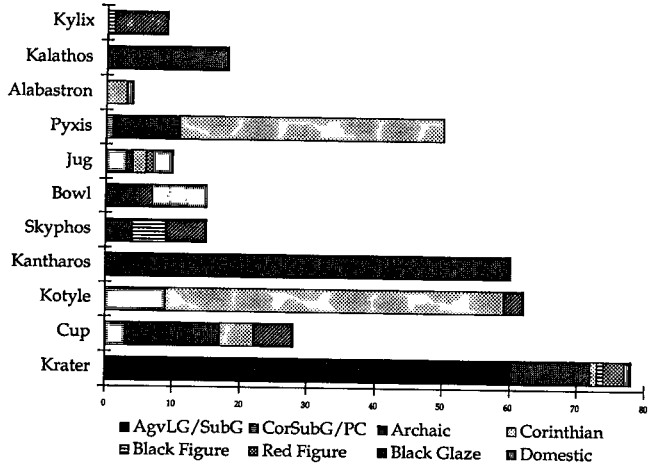


Figure 15: Pottery[8]

7. Cook 1953a and the section p. 31, fig. 6, plan pl. 13b. The summaries of material that follow are based on the published material (Cook 1953a); on this now see Hägg 1987a:96. There is a large unpublished body, some of which I examined in 1986; part is noted as appropriate. To the later phase of the shrine belong the inscribed basin fragments (below).

8. Argive Late and Subgeometric, see Coldstream 1968:132: Coldstream classes some of Courbin's LG II c as SubG. He assigns cat. nos. A 9, A 13 (Cook 1953a fig. 11 and pl. 18) to his LG II "Schliemann Painter" (p. 137). A 1 he calls SubG (p. 146 n. 5); A 8 he places at the end of the series (p. 147 n. 1). B 1 is the Archaic successor to this krater type (147 n. 4). The high conical feet are perhaps a local feature (p. 146). See also Foley 1988:62.

Archaic: Cook draws attention to the deposits at the Secondary Shrine (Blegen 1939) and that found in 1949 at the Heraion: 1953a:44 n. 20. Cups were also popular at Enyalios's shrine at Mycenae (see below) and the Prosymna tombs. Cf. Hägg 1987a:98 for Prosymna and the Heraion. Several miniature skyphoi and kantharoi, found at the Heraion in 1949: Caskey and Amandry 1952: nos. 195-6 pl. 53, and no. 199 pl. 53.

Corinthian Black Glaze: 4th c. skyphos: Cook 1953a:59 n. 54, compared to Blegen 1937a fig. 498 no. 108 (from a child burial in T. XIII); cf. also Amyx and Lawrence 1975: no. 329, p. 70, pls. 13, 50, dated to around 350; no. 331, 325-300. Lekanis lid: Cook 1953a: no. 556a, pl. 96 pls. 18,

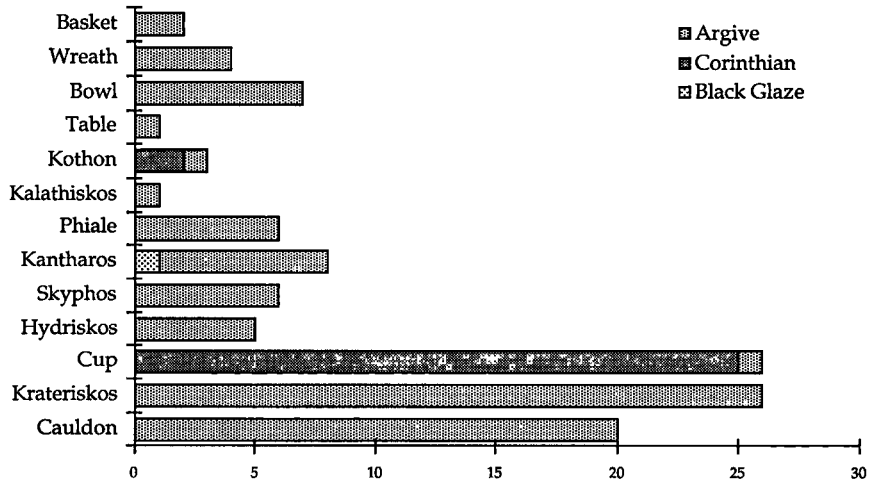


Figure 16: Argive Miniatures[9]

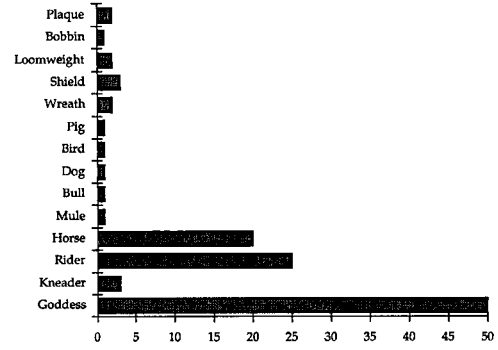


Figure 17: Terracottas from the Chaos Shrine[10]

57 (unglazed); cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, no. 1248, pl. 169 pl. 42. Not published: small bowl, footed saltcellar type of 5th-4th c. date. Cf. inv. B23, poorly glazed inside with a band of glaze outside, archaic in date: Sparkes and Talcott 1970 no. 939, pp. 137-38, pl. 33 and fig. 8; cf. no. 904, with echinus wall, pl. 34, first quarter of the 5th c.

Domestic: Cook 1953a, "barbecue pit" p. 32; domestic wares p. 34. Chytrai: cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970, no. 1942, lidless? pl. 94; and a necked chytra no. 1946, both pp. 224-25. Lopas: Sparkes and Talcott 1970 no. 1965, p. 227, fig. 18, pl. 95, 2nd quarter of the 4th c.; Amyx and Lawrence 1975 no. 670, p. 125 pls. 29, 62, Casserole I. Lid: shallow profile, low button knob; cf. Sparkes and Talcott 1970 no. 366, pl. 125 nos. 31, 62, 2nd c.?

9. On bowls (dinoi), see Caskey and Amandry 1952 nos. 238-240, pls. 55-56; with protomes, nos. 243-245; p. 200 n. 44 referring to the "recent finds at Mycenae," i.e., the shrine of Agamemnon. Nos. 264-266, pl. 53: miniature phiale, kothon, kantharos; no. 267, a jug (not illustrated). A large deposit of votive material at Phlius provides many parallels: Biers 1971.

10. Cook 1953a:62 n. 57 for Argive sites with goddess type. He adds: "These primitives are associated with the cult of male as well as female beings (e.g. Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros)." See also Foley 1988:102-13; Hägg 1987a:98.

	Fibula	Pin	Ring	Disc	Spear	Knife	Nails
Bronze	1	1	0	0	0	0	0
Iron	0	2	1	0	1	1	5
Lead	0	0	0	1	0	0	0

Figure 18: Metal Objects from the Chaos Shrine [11]

The dedication of the shrine to Agamemnon, says Cook, makes the kraters, which are thought to be appropriate for ritual bath water, "almost embarrassingly appropriate."[12] The identification of the shrine's presiding entity rests on two fragmentary inscriptions on pottery. The first, and most complete, occurs on the rm of a bowl or krater, poorly glazed on the inside and horizontal surface of the lip. Cook restores the name Agamemnon ('Αγ]αμέ[ν}μνο *vac.*) and notes: "The letters may be of the 4th century or early Hellenistic." Another small fragment of rim, with good black glaze that "suggests a pre-Hellenistic date" carried part of Agamemnon's name (——ǫν——). Both were found "in the archaic deposit below the Hellenistic floor level."[13] Another vessel, a large basin with crimped rim of coarse fabric and traces of poor glaze on the exterior, carried an inscription on two fragments, one with part of Agamemnon's name, the other indicating dedication: ——νονι ϙ—— and ——εθηκε *vac.* One fragment was found at the paved floor level, the other with the Hellenistic tiles; the date for the lettering is given as first century B.C.E. or C.E. According to Cook, "the identification of the shrine, both before and after the Hellenistic remodelling, is thus established."[14]

Marinatos, however, believed that in the earlier phase the shrine was dedicated to Hera, which would help explain the

Argive riders: Cook 1953:64 n. 67. Riders are also present in the deposit from the Athenian Agora (Burr 1933) and the Menidhi tholos (Wolters 1899). These riders are not armed, but clasp the horse's neck; see Hägg 1987a:98.

11. The fibula is a western European type said to be rare in Greece, but found at the Heraion: Cook 1953a:66 cat. L.2. Pin: Cat. L. 3, Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984:170 no. 2253, pl. 69, and p. 201-202: mid-7th c.

Pins: Cat. L. 11 (bis): Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984:213 no. 3495, pl. 86; p. 218, 700 B.C.E. and 222 no. 3613, pl. 87; p. 253 f., late 8th/7th c. More on metalwork: Foley 1988:80-86. See Hägg 1987a:98, who notes the scarcity of metal.

12. Cook 1953a:33. Wolters called such kraters *louteria*; they are also present at the Menidhi tholos. (See Ch. 2 and Wolters 1899:128 ff., as well as 1899.) These vessels are also known from other votive deposits in the Argolid (cf. Cook 1953a:34 nn. 8-9; at the Argive Heraion, below) and in Attica (cf. Ch. 2), Though not in such profusion. On 7th c. Argive, Foley 1988:71-73, Morgan and Whitelaw 1991.

13. Cook 1953a:64, fig. 38 cat. no. J1 (now lost), J2; p. 33, described as fourth century. I thank J. M. Cook for discussing this material with me.

14. Cook 1953a:65-66 fig. 38, J3.

preponderance of female terracottas, absence of metal votives more suited to a male hero, and lack of connection with the tombs or other monuments of the citadel area. If he is right, the large number of kraters and cups, "appropriate to the needs of a male being,"[15] would then need explanation. He made his comments, though, before the full publication of the shrine had appeared.[16] There are in addition some striking dissimilarities to the assemblages from the Argive Heraion: a very few pins, only two wreaths, no *koulouria*, no metal offerings, no seals, no Near Eastern imports, and the insistence in the earlier periods especially on kraters. This last feature may perhaps be contrasted to the popularity at the Heraion of hydriai, though kraters were found there, including some of Geometric, pedestaled type.[17]

As already noted at Prosymna and the Heraion, however, simple matches between votives and deities are not possible. As Morgan and Whitelaw also point out, cups and kraters need not indicate a male deity; these finds occur at securely identified sanctuaries of female deities.[18] It is certain only that the cult of Agamemnon was practiced on this spot from the fourth century on; earlier votives exist, but as Cook noted, the earliest were very fragmentary when deposited.[19] There is nothing that demands the conclusion that Agamemnon was always honored on this spot, and the possibility that a female deity also received cult here, though not necessarily as a hero's sponsor, remains open. Then again, travelers using the road from the Heraion might have deposited an offering such as that commonly given to the goddess or as appropriate to their identities and concerns. The absence of metal may have less to do with the recipient of cult than the modest nature of the shrine.

The establishment of the shrine as an Agamemnoneion under control of Argos would fit well that city's consolidation of the Argive plain following the sack of Mycenae in 468 and related events. As late as 480/79, the Mycenaeans were able to send a contingent to fight the Persians at Plataia. It would be in Argos's interest to usurp Agamemnon, at the same time as they renovated the temple on the citadel and the fountain house associated with Perseus

15. Cook 1953a:33; Caskey and Amandry 1952:211-12, n. 53. See also Hägg 1987a.

16. Marinatos 1953:87-88; Cook's account of the sanctuary below.

17. Cook 1953a:173, 174 no. 64, 65, 67, pl. 50; no. 236, from a column krater, no. 237, handle of a miniature krater, pl. 53. See also above.

18. Hägg 1987a; Morgan and Whitelaw 1991:89 + n. 50; though they note my objections (1987), I did not reject an identification with Agamemnon based solely on ceramics.

19. Cook 1953a:33 + n. 1.

just outside the Lion Gate.[20]

The Cave at Polis Bay, Ithaca (Odysseion)

A ruined cave at the northwest side of Polis Bay on the west coast of Ithaca was excavated under the direction of S. Benton in the 1930s.[21] The site was first investigated in the 1860s by the landowner; Schliemann paid a visit during his operations in 1864 and reported briefly on the finds. W. Volgraff also excavated at the site in 1904. These earlier activities resulted in confused stratigraphy and the partial destruction of a structure built inside the cave; Benton's team also had to contend with flooding and boulders from the roof's collapse, which obstructed the site.[22]

Pottery from the cave demonstrates apparent continuity of use from the early Bronze Age until Roman times. There is no break at the end of the Late Helladic period in the ceramic sequence.[23] The character of Bronze Age use of the site is not known, however. There were a few sherds from the Early and Middle Helladic phases, including pithoi and a handful of Minyan and Mattpainted sherds. The Late Helladic material was not internally stratified, but the group contained more from the later part of the period, most of it locally made. Human bones also occurred in the Mycenaean stratum, but their precise context could not be recovered. A roughly paved area was set into the clay of the stratum, leading Benton to suppose that the Late Helladic deposit was votive in nature and the site a shrine from the late Bronze Age onward.[24]

That the cave was a sanctuary, at least after the Bronze Age, cannot be doubted. There is specifically votive material in quantity, including a series of terracottas ranging from the "primitive" handmade examples found on many sites to an unusual Geometric terracotta sphinx, as well as large numbers of Archaic and Classical female figurines. Types include standing and seated females and masks; in the Hellenistic period, the masks continue, with more than a hundred examples noted. There are also nymph reliefs of Hellenistic date and three sherds from the same period with inscriptions to the Nymphs.[25] In all periods, drinking and pouring shapes predominate in the pottery. A group of very fine tripods, objects that usually characterize a major sanctuary, must mean the cave sheltered an important cult. Fragments of several tripods were found together with pottery from Iron Age to fourth century in date. Two tripods came from an ash layer inside the face of a wall that divided the cave into front and back portions and dated to at least 300; they were found on either side of a step from one level to the other. Two more were found on top of the wall. Benton thinks the first two may have flanked the steps; the others "may have been still standing in position at the top of the wall when the roof fell in."[26] The presence of these early votives in a fourth century context is notable (see below).[27]

The dedication of the cult to Odysseus in particular, however, rests mainly on a late Hellenistic terracotta mask with a dedication to Odysseus and the famous series of bronze tripod cauldrons discovered in the cave, numbering at least 13, recalling *Od.* 13.13-14, 345-50, and 362 ff.[28] This find prompted the interpretation of all the finds as votives going back to the heroic past. There are several problems with the identification of this cave as a shrine to Odysseus, however. Epigraphic evidence exists for other deities in the cave besides Odysseus and the Nymphs. An Archaic inscription in two non joining fragments, found by the nineteenth century proprietor, mentions Athena and Hera.[29] In addition to the other terracotta finds, ca. 30 small terracotta masks represent Artemis.[30] Odysseus is attested only once, and late, on a female mask. If it were not for the tripods, the ascription of the shrine to Odysseus would be without any support earlier than the Hellenistic period.

According to Benton, victors in putative games for Odysseus dedicated the tripods, as at Olympia, Delphi, and other sites. For the existence of these games, Benton cites an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander in Asia Minor, recording the Ithacans' reply to an invitation to newly instituted games for Artemis Leucophrene in

20. Cf. Jameson 1990.
21. Reports: Benton 1934-5; 1938-39.
22. See the introductory remarks, Benton 1934-5:15-18.
23. Benton 1934-5:52-54; 1938-9:13-19, and 1949; cf. Coldstream 1968:221-25; Morgan 1988:315-16, and Coulson 1991 esp. 45 and 60.
24. Benton 1934-5:50-73, esp. 57 + n. 7. Cf. Rutkowski 1986:65 + n. 99 (use of Cretan caves for habitation, burial, cult) and 201. Price 1979:221-22 supposes that a late Iron Age discovery of the Mycenaean material gave rise to the cult of Odysseus.

25. Benton 1938-9:33, 34-35.
26. Benton 1934-5:31; 48, 50.
27. Cf. the remarks of Snodgrass 1971:281-86; Benton's dating of the tripods is somewhat too high; see Morgan 1990:198.
28. Benton 1934-5:31 and 54 + n. 5; 1936; 1938-9:43; see Antonaccio 1993, 1994a.
29. Benton 1934-5:16 n. 2: *IG* IX.1 no. 653. For a better edition, cf. Volgraff in *BCH* 29 (1905) 165-66 no. 10; Jeffery 1990:234 no. 3, ca. 550? Cf. also pg. 231 + n. 2 with pl. 45. Schliemann seems to mention only one inscription, not two as according to Benton; Schliemann 1864:44-48.
30. Benton 1938-9:43 nos. 62-64; 1938-9:56: about 125 examples in all.

206.[31] According to Benton, they in turn invite the Magnesians "to their games, the Odysseia [lines 15-16], and order that the inscription be set up in the Odysseion [lines 28-29], perhaps this very shrine, the games no doubt being held in the small plain outside. The place of assembly from which this inscription is dated was called the Odysseion [line 1-2], but we do not know if it is the same shrine, or if there was a separate building."[32] She suggests that the tripods are dedications by early victors in these games and associates an inscribed bronze disc in the British Museum with a victory as well. However, the Magnesian inscription does not mention either an ἀγών or ἆθλα for Odysseus, and the British Museum disc (possibly from Kephallenia) is a dedication to the Dioskouroi.[33] At any rate, this would be the kind of heroic propagation typical of the Hellenistic period.

Tripods, moreover, were not reserved for male deities nor for sanctuaries with games; they are better seen simply as prestigious dedications.[34] It is true that great numbers have come from Olympia and some from Delphi, where male deities were honored and games celebrated; but they are known from sanctuaries of female deities as well, especially Hera and Athena, and from another cave site (Mt. Ida).[35] In the absence of clear evidence to the contrary, Odysseus is best regarded as a relative latecomer to the cave. The earliest deities that can be certainly associated with it are Hera and Athena; next are the Nymphs, and Odysseus last. The games, if any, as well as the assembly called the Odysseion, would be late also;

31. Kern 1900 no. 36; Benton 1934-5:53-54 + nn. 8-9.

32. Square brackets mine; Benton 1934-5:43 + n. 8. Lines 15-16 καὶ καλεῖν τὸν δᾶμον τὸμ Μα|γνήτων ἐν τὰν προεδρίαν τοῖς Ὀδυσσείοις (but also lines 21-22 καλέσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπὶ ξένια ἐπὶ τὰν πάτριον ἑστίαν, ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ θεαροδόκον τὸν ὑποδεξούμενον τὰς ἀεὶ παραγινομέναι[ς] θεαρίας παρὰ τῶμ Μαγνήτων). Lines 28-29: ἀναγράψαι| δὲ τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἐστάλας δύο καὶ ἀναθέμεν τὰμ μὲν ἐν τῶι [Ὀδ]υσσείωι,| τὰν δὲ ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τᾶς Ἀθανᾶς; lines 1-2: Ἐπὶ δαμιοργῶν...[ἐκκλησία ἐν] τῶι Ὀδυσσεί[ωι. There is in fact no mention of games for Odysseus in this inscription; rather, the Ithacans accept the invitation to the games for Artemis: δέχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ὃν τίθεντι τᾶι Ἀρτέμιδι (line 18). Cf. no. 35 in Kern's corpus, a reply to the same invitation by the Kephallenians in Same: in lines 18-20, using the same formulae as in the corresponding lines of no. 36, they invite the Magnesians to the Proedria of the Dionyseia, but also specifically to a sacrifice and *agon* for Kephalos (καὶ ἐν τὰν θυσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τοῦ Κέφαλου ὃν τίθη|τι ἁ πόλις). The inscription is to be set up in the agora beside the *hieron* of Artemis (lines 34 ff.).

33. *IG* IX 1.649, no. 952 in the corpus of inscriptions in the British Museum. See Jeffery 1990:231, 234 no. 5, pl. 45, from Kephallenia? ca. 550-25, a fragmentary disc dedicated to the Dioskouroi in victory over the Kephallenians.

34. See Maass 1978:3-4.

35. Maass 1985:3-4; on p. 4 n. 24 he lists sanctuaries where tripods have been found; included are the shrines of Artemis Orthia, Athena Chalkioikos, Sparta; Aphrodite and Hermes, Kato Simi (Crete); Athena Lindia (Rhodes); Athena Polias, Athens; the Samian Heraion; a possible Heraion at Mon Repos, Corfu. Add the Argive Heraion: Waldstein 1902-4.II:294-95 nos. 2218-2223, pls. 123-124, and cf. Brommer 1985 s.v. Dreifuß.

certainly both the inscription from Magnesia and the solitary dedication to Odysseus date to the same era (and it is interesting that the final context of the tripods is late fourth to third century as well). The tripods need not indicate an early association with Odysseus; arguing this from the epigraphical evidence from Asia Minor, and also projecting the games back into the Iron Age on account of the tripods, is perilously circular. They are more likely dedications to Hera and Athena, as elsewhere, and known to be worshiped here; signs of the importance of Corinthian trade in this area from the early Iron Age.[36]

The Shrine of Helen and Menelaos at Therapne

Perhaps the most important Bronze Age site in Lakonia, Therapne is located above the Eurotas River east of Sparta (fig. 19). There is no question of the identification of this shrine. Mentioned by several ancient authors, the location of the shrine was first proposed by L. Ross in 1833, and Tsountas and Kastriotis carried out excavations in 1889.[37] Tsountas uncovered evidence of Mycenaean occupation, and Kastriotis investigated the platform of the Classical shrine (fig. 20). These early seasons recovered the lead figurines characteristic of Spartan votive deposits and demonstrated the long duration and richness of the offerings.[38] The original season in 1909 focused on clearing the platform and examining the area all around it. As is typical for sanctuaries, there is no true stratification for much of the Menelaion; the votives washed down from their original sites of deposition.[39] The excavations turned up large amounts of terracotta, bronze sheet, small bronzes, lead figurines, some objects in silver, stone, ivory, and bone, miscellaneous glass paste and stone objects, and pottery.

Two inscribed bronzes provide definite proof that Helen and Menelaos both received offerings: a bronze pointed aryballos with an inscription to Helen, wife of Menelaos, and a bronze *harpax*, also

36. Morgan 1988 and 1990.

37. See Ross 1833; P. Kastriotis, *ArchEph* 1900:74-87. Alkman fr. 14b (ed. Page 1962) lines 19-21: καὶ ναὸς ἀγνὸς εὐπύργω Σεράπνας. Herodotos 6.61.19-21: τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης ἱρον τὸ δ' ἐστὶ ἐν τῇ Θεράπνῃ καλεομένῃ, ὕπερθε τοῦ Φοιβηίου ἱροῦ. See also Isokrates 10.63, Pausanias 19.7-20, Polybius 5.18.21 ff., Livy 34.28.

38. Cf. Catling 1976-7:24; Wace et al. 1908-09; Catling 1992.

39. Cavanagh and Laxton 1984:24:"...it is clear that stratigraphy alone cannot solve the problem of chronology. Moreover, the nature of the levels will mean that contamination must be expected."

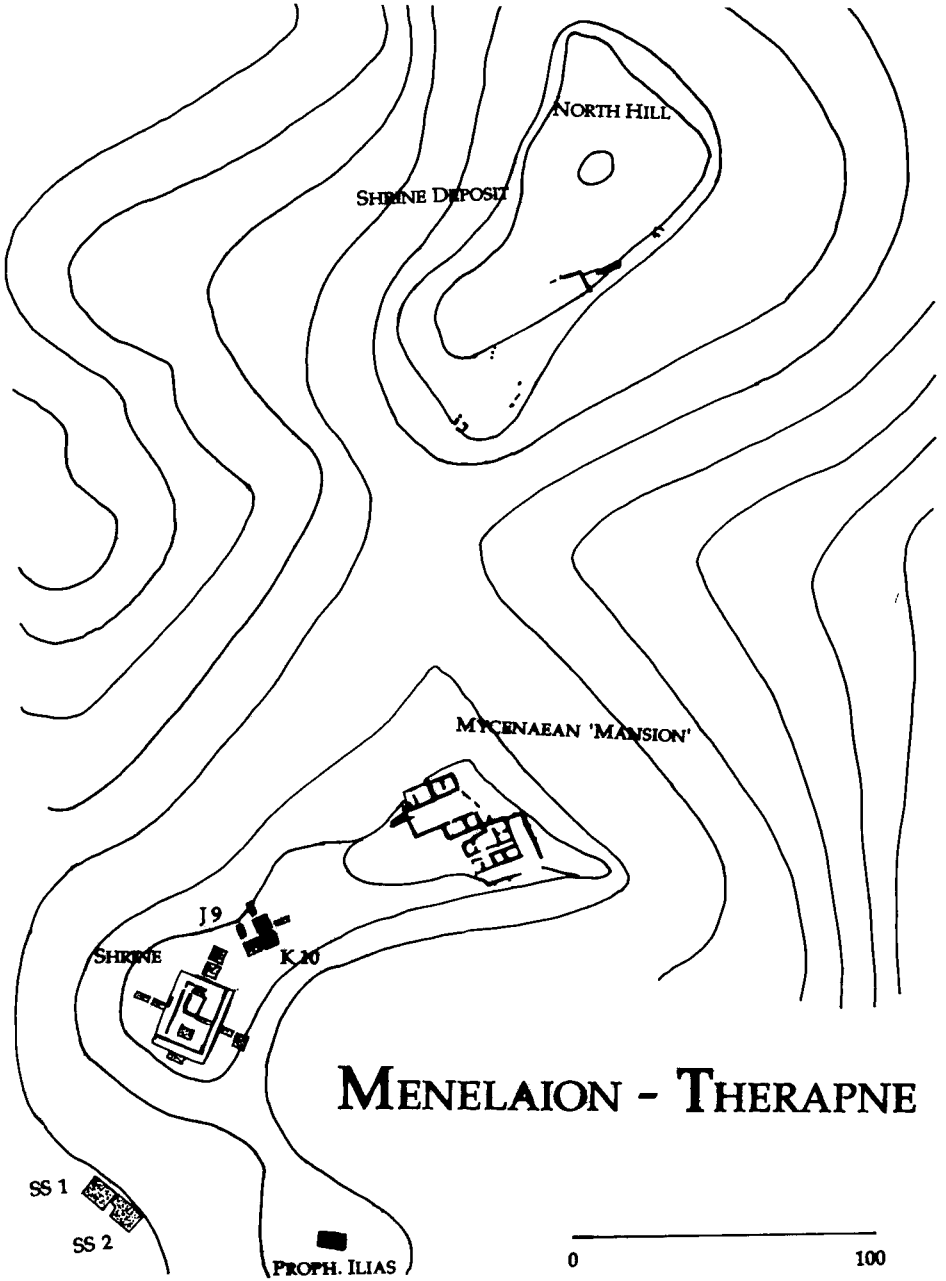
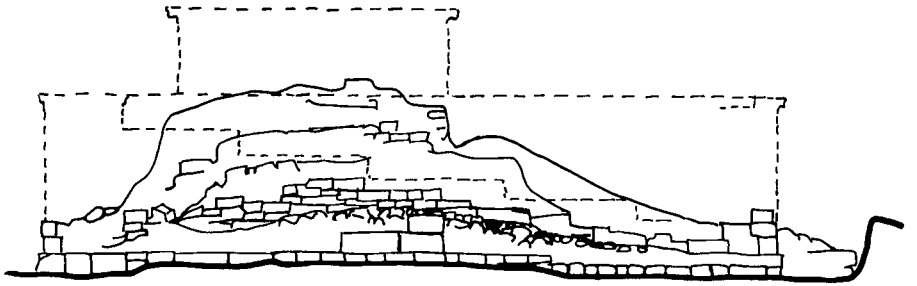
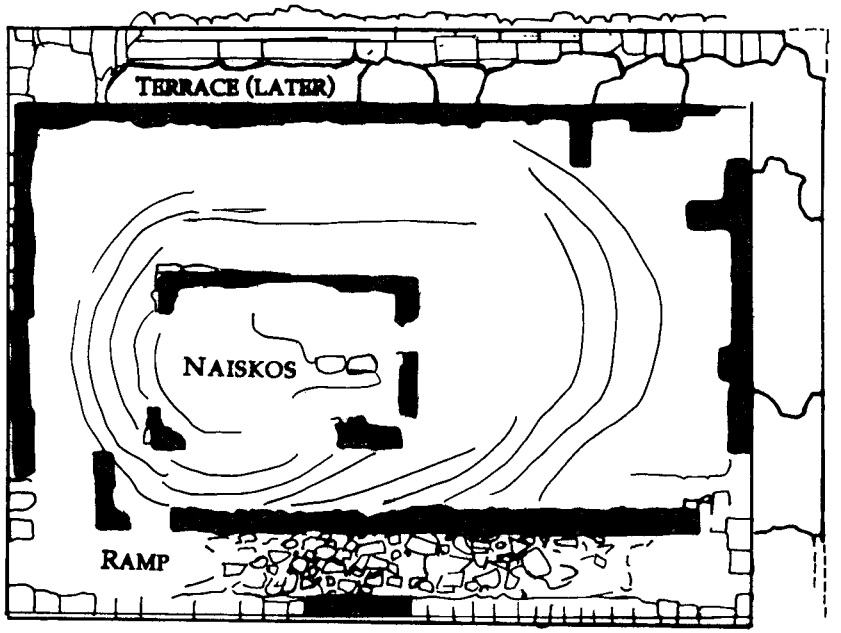


Figure 19: Therapne





MENELAION 0 5

Figure 20: Menelaion, plan and section

dedicated by inscription to Helen. They date to approximately 675-50 and 575-50 respectively.[40] A blue limestone stele designed to carry a bronze statuette (probably of a sphinx or lion) also appeared; it was inscribed with a dedication to Menelaos alone. The date is early fifth century (by letter form).[41]

The prehistory of Therapne may be summarized as follows. The northern part of the plateau carrying the hero shrine was occupied in MH III, and there was also a LH I-IIA phase (without any architectural evidence). In LH IIB, a complex known as Mansion 1 was built, and replaced by Mansion 2 after an earthquake in LH IIIA. Mansion 2 was abandoned before the end of LH IIIA1, and no LH IIIA2 or IIIB1 material was found. One hundred years later, the lower terrace of the hill was reoccupied, and Mansion 3 was built; it was destroyed by fire in late LH IIIB.[42]

The absence of any material later than LH IIIB2 in the vicinity of the Classical shrine on the western edge of the plateau means that continuity of occupation from Bronze Age to the Iron Age cannot be demonstrated for Therapne.[43] The latest Late Helladic material was washed in from the site of Mansion 2 above, and no structures of the Bronze Age could be associated with it.

The best stratigraphy in 1909 was at the northeast corner of the platform; on virgin soil the excavators found fragments of Late Helladic pottery and some stones above, separated by earth from the next feature, a floor of compacted poros limestone chips.[44] Above the floor lay a stratum of sherds, bronzes, and terracottas. The pottery, according to Cavanagh and Laxton, was Subgeometric, Lakonian I and II. Next came a sterile layer of earth, followed by more broken poros beaten into a hard floor, which went with walls thought to belong to a house or storeroom. Another stratum of votive material followed this second poros pavement, including bronzes, terracottas, lead figurines, miniature vases, fragments of Panathenaic amphorae, and pottery of Lakonian III, IV and V. In the top stratum were fragments of ribbed black glaze (late fourth century) and

40. *AR* 1975-76:14; Catling 1975:267-68; Catling and Cavanagh 1976; Jeffery 1990:446, 448 no. 3a + pl. 75, ca. 600? R. Catling 1992:66 + nn. 27-29 for a pointed clay aryballos. See also Skutsch 1987:190 for the form of Helen with a digamma.

41. Catling 1976-7:36-37: "We are thus assured that both Menelaos and Helen were separate recipients of dedications at the shrine, and it is even possible that each of them had their own altar."

42. Catling 1976-77:28-34, site plan fig. 2. LH IIIA2 was subsequently found on the south end of this hill: Catling 1983:24-25. In fact, occupation of all the hills north and south of the Menelaion is now certain.

43. Cf. also Coulson 1985:31 n. 18; Catling 1983:24-25, 29 contra Catling 1976:90.

44. Wace et al. 1908-9:114; plan and section pl. 5.

stamped tiles and antefix fragments (third century).[45]

Beyond the far reaches of the fill at the east, a section of dark earth held lead figurines, Archaic terracottas and bronzes, and Subgeometric and Lakonian II sherds; it also yielded cut blocks of soft white poros, one with a fragmentary inscription.[46] Finally, blocks of poros were recovered in the fill on the north and east, hard and coarse-grained, some with U-shaped lifting bosses. Others were noted in the terrace added to the south and east sides of the shrine.

The shrine probably had two parts at least in its later phase. An enclosure consisting of a high wall of limestone blocks was topped by marble or limestone Doric order frieze and coping, which possibly carried statues.[47] Within this wall, a *naiskos* in bluish limestone faced onto a platform, in turn reached by a ramp on the west side. The *naiskos* also seems to have been decorated with disc acroteria.[48] Tomlinson sees three phases: an initial cult in the eighth to seventh centuries, which may or may not have involved a shrine; Lakonian tiles represent either a renovation of this first building, or it was "built only at the probable date of the tiles, to embellish the mound which was the focus of cult." Then, the enclosure elaborated this core in the late sixth century. The original excavators assigned the blocks of white poros from the fill to a predecessor to the shrine on the conglomerate foundations. Of the coarse-grained poros blocks, they state, "it is impossible to say to what building they belonged. It seems at all events to have been earlier than the one still standing": a *naiskos* on a conglomerate platform. The earlier building is designated the Old Menelaion.[49]

Based on the results of their study of the lead votives and their contexts from the recent excavations, Cavanagh and Laxton came to the conclusion that the Old Menelaion should be sited on the foundations and pavement of poros chips at the northeast corner of the platform, and that it dates to the end of the seventh century. Further, they believe that the Old Menelaion was the earliest temple on the site. The pavement precedes the platform, which cannot therefore be earlier than ca. 500 (dating by pottery). Catling places the Old Menelaion on the innermost foundation within the

45. Wace et al. 1908-9:113.

46. Wace et al. 1908-9:112; on phases of the shrine, see below. Inscription p. 87-88 Jeffery 1990:190, 199 no. 13; "(*IG* V.I. 224, Αρτ̣αμ, restored Αρτα[μιτος? late 7th or early 6th c.) ca. 600-550?"

47. Tomlinson 1992:249; see Catling 1976-7:35 fig. 22; p. 253, he mentioned triglyphs in a hard white limestone.

48. Tomlinson 1992:249; Catling 1976-7:35 fig. 23-4.

49. Wace et al. 1908-9:113.

conglomerate platform and suggests that the fifth-century phase left this building in place, only adding the ramp and platform itself.[50] (See further below.)

A large quantity of material has been excavated since the turn of the century; material from the 1970s has been only partially published. From the early excavations, ca. 300 terracotta figurines, including plaques and mould-made examples. Male and female examples include kneading women, horses and riders (most with female riders astride or sideways); also birds, lions, horses, "grotesques," and loomweights.[51] The first chronological group is said to "coincide with the importation of Proto-Corinthian pottery."[52] Between four and five thousand lead miniatures of all forms, a Lakonian specialty, were also listed. Among them were single and double pins, discs and pierced discs, and rosettes, similar to full-scale votives here and on other sites.[53]

In bronze, the earliest pins seems to be Late Geometric; they range down to the early sixth century in date.[54] There were also rings, discs (plain and rosette); strips with repousse dots and lappets, dice, miniature vases, birds on stands, pendants, double axes in miniature, fibulae, some human statuettes, bowl fragments (including one mesomphalic phiale), as well as a sickle, reminiscent of the iron examples dedicated to Orthia (Boardman dates similar objects from the Orthia sanctuary into the seventh century).[55]

Of the Geometric pottery it is said that it "is mostly of the later variety in which slip was used, and no further comment is required by it."[56] Droop's observation that Subgeometric and Lakonian I occurred together is confirmed by Boardman for Orthia; he also stresses the difficulty of assigning a single style to this term.[57] Droop summarizes the ceramic finds "in close proximity to the building" as "a

50. Cavanagh and Laxton 1984:34; Catling 1977:413-14.

51. Wace et al. 1908-9:116-126 figs. 2-5, pl. 6.

52. Wace et al. 1908-9:117. This group "A" comes under the heading, "Found with Geometric, Proto-Corinthian, and Laconian I Pottery." By Boardman's revised chronology, this would mean no later than 620; see Boardman 1963:6. The latest study of Lakonian pottery is Margreiter 1988: she changes some of the terminology for the material, but not the dating.

53. Wace et al. 1908-9:127-141, figs. 6-10, pl. 6. See Boardman 1963:6-7; Cavanagh and Laxton's study basically supports Wace's classificatory scheme. Pins: Wace et al. 1908-9, fig. 8.15, 16. Discs: fig. 8.31, 32, 34. Rosettes: fig. 7.25-30.

54. Wace et al. 1908-9:144; Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984:128-29 no. 1431 (LG); 282-83 + n. 73, no. 4875, early 6th c.

55. Wace et al. 1908-9:144-50, figs. 13-14, pl. 8; Boardman 1963:5-6.

56. Wace et al. 1908-9:150; Boardman 1963:2-3. Sherds in Cambridge: W. Lamb, *CVA* Cambridge Fasc. 1 (Oxford 1930) pl. 3 nos. 116-121 are LG. See also Cartledge 1979:103, 112, and esp. Margreiter 1988; cf. R. Catling 1992 and below.

57. Wace et al. 1908-9:150; Boardman 1963:3.

plentiful supply of Spartan Geometric ware, of Sub-Geometric, of Lakonian I, and Lakonian II, but of the later developments very few examples were turned up." On the latest dating this would mean most of the material is to be dated before 580.[58]

The resumption of excavations in the 1970s added more of the same material. Included were some bronze vessels (mesomphalic phialai and miniature oinochoai), small pendants in the form of an oxhead and a crouching mouse, a lion figurine, bronze pins of Late Geometric and Early Orientalizing types, and sheet bronze with repousse decoration, including guilloche shield borders. In addition, Catling reports iron spits, spearheads, sword fragments, plowshares (an indication of participation by the wider Lakonian population, or seasonally appropriate?), and terracotta "grotesques." Pottery ranged through all periods of Lakonian, with much black glaze, especially lakainai, and aryballoi, with a column krater also present. There were small amounts of figured Lakonian and Corinthian wares. Fragments of sixth and fifth century Panathenaic prize amphorai were reported, and very few of the ceramic miniatures so prevalent at other Lakonian sanctuaries.[59]

The trenches in which these were found were opened all around the Menelaion, but the most important feature is the Great Pit, located ca. 20 m from the northeast corner of the Menelaion, containing trenches J.10 and K.9. These trenches revealed a deep fill over a Mycenaean level without any associated architecture. The Pit, ca. 15 m in diameter and 2 meters deep, was created to provide fill for a terrace for the altar or *naiskos*. Into it were thrown masons' working debris, and it was used as a place for forging clamps. Refilling took place in part in the sixth century. It held votives of the sort described above, and was subsequently intruded upon by one or two pits of fourth century date. These contained few later votives but mostly building debris: roof tiles, rubble, some cut stones, and marble architectural fragments including a triglyph.[60] The unexpected depth of fill suggested that the rock in this area was quarried down for building material for the shrine of the fifth century, then leveled with this debris at hand.[61]

58. Wace et al. 1908-9:150; Boardman 1963:4.

59. Catling 1976-7:38-41; 1977-78:31. On the pins, see above. Lead figurines: Cavanagh and Laxton 1984, esp. 35-36. On miniatures see below. Iron implements in quantity are known from the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Pherai in Thessaly; see Kilian 1983. Pottery chronology: Boardman 1963.

60. Catling 1976:88-89; 1977-8:31; cf. 1975-6:14-15.

61. *AR* 1976:14.

Catling suggests a wood-framed stoa as the origin for the tiles, but Tomlinson only mentions Lakonian tiles for the *naiskos*, and nothing about a stoa. A test of the stratigraphy in the 1909 trench at the northeast corner indicated that the foundation courses on which the conglomerate blocks of the Classical shrine were laid might belong to an earlier phase (i.e., the Old Menelaion).[62] This is not mentioned by Cavanagh and Laxton, who wish to place the Old Menelaion on the walls and associated pavement of poros chips at the northeast corner assigned by Wace to a storeroom (in view of the focus of the monument on the natural rock outcrop, this seems unlikely). Catling does not mention the "blocks of hard, coarse-grained poros, some of which have U-shaped projections for lifting them into position" found by Wace and Thompson on the east side of the Menelaion terrace and also built into the retaining wall of the supporting terrace added (perhaps in the second quarter of the fifth century) to the original platform on the east and south (see above).[63] This technique is commonly dated to the late sixth or early fifth century. The projections on the Menelaion blocks resemble bosses like those on the Old Temple of the Argive Heraion, not the grooves of the Aphaia Temple; if the dates are similar, an early structure of the same date (third quarter of the seventh century) may have been built at Therapne.[64] If it employed the hard and coarse-grained poros blocks, this building may be other than the Old Menelaion, whose wall blocks were of a white, soft poros. On the other hand, the coarse-grained blocks may have been part of a foundation for the Old Menelaion. In the latter case, their presence in the conglomerate foundations would preclude the use of the conglomerate to support the Old Menelaion.[65]

A small test excavation was conducted in 1985 on the southern terraces below the Menelaion at a spot where surface finds of votive material were plentiful.[66] Two small trenches revealed a sequence of strata, though they were shallow and without chronological significance.[67] The area nearby was lacking in such a concentration, which

62. Catling 1977-8:31.

63. The lifting feature is compared to that on the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina; these are also noted by Wright at the Heraion, on the stylobate blocks. Wace et al. 1908-9:108-116, esp. 112-113 n. 1 (this note is incorrectly numbered at the bottom of the page: n. 2 is the reference cited); Wright 1982:190-191, nn. 20-22.

64. See Coulton 1974:7; Wright 1982:190-91; cf. Antonaccio 1992.

65. Cavanagh and Laxton 1984:34.

66. R. Catling 1986 (I owe this reference to J. Sanders); Catling 1985-6:29-30; partial publication in R. Catling 1992.

67. R. Catling 1992:57.

itself in turn was of a character different than the assemblage from the shrine up the hill. The preliminary reports and the publication of the pottery describe two different contexts: in the preliminary report, R. Catling details a ploughed zone with plentiful votive pottery, some intact small vessels, terracotta and bronze objects succeeded by a deep wash level, richest of all in votive finds, including fragments of terracotta plaques and figurines and some lead and iron objects. Below this, especially in the south, the excavators encountered a "stone debris deposit" of water-worn limestone, schist, conglomerate, mudbrick and plaster fragments, crammed with stones of various sorts. On top of this debris were many vases, but not beneath. No "intact *in situ*" Archaic deposit was found where the stone debris was absent.[68] A somewhat different account accompanies publication of the pottery, however: two groups are distinguished, both essentially seventh century. Most of the pottery is small forms: lakainai, aryballoi, pyxides, mugs, skyphoi, and miniature amphorai. Some larger fragmentary shapes included amphorai, kraters, hydriai, and stands. Group I is the larger, occurring mostly in the east end of the excavation, "embedded in a shallow but dense layer of stone rubble which extended beyond the excavation to the north and east."[69] This sounds like the "stone debris deposit" of the preliminary reports, but the directions do not match. Group I is within the years 800-740/30 for the most part: Subgeometric and Lakonian I. Group II was located at the west end of the excavated area, probably spreading beyond the limits of the excavation. It is smaller and later, 630-600, late Lakonian I. Both groups were found in direct contact with a hard layer of wash that collected after the end of the Bronze Age, but both were in turn covered by eroded materials from uphill, possibly from the site of the shrine. Joins between the wash layer and the deposits indicate that not all the upper level material is secondarily deposited. (The first deposit was extensively disturbed by ploughing.)

Under the Archaic material and stone debris was "a hard, compacted level, itself probably a wash deposit that accumulated over a long period." This held few sherds, all before LH IIIB-C. Small probes in two spots beneath this level produced concentrations of rubble, another stratum of wash below, and then walls of limestone and conglomerate rubble. These are interpreted as two phases of building, dated by associated pottery to LH IIIB-C. Bedrock was reached be-

68. R. Catling 1986:207.

69. R. Catling 1992:57.

low these remains.[70]

The excavators ruled out an altar or secondary shrine on the spot, because of the lack of architectural remains (excepting some tile, a broken poros block possibly from the Old Menelaion, and antefix fragments). A deposit eroded or cleaned out from the Menelaion itself was also considered unlikely, since the material was too scattered. However, the architectural fragments are ascribed to the sanctuary up the hill, as are some of the votives. The other more intact material "almost certainly originates in the 'stone debris deposit' and has either been washed out or ploughed out in the quite recent past."[71] The stone debris itself is derived from Mycenaean ruins on the spot or just uphill, and H. Catling suggests that the Mycenaean buildings up the slope "had further collapsed by the 7th century B.C."[72] Therefore, the Archaic deposit constitutes the earliest phase of cult activity on the hill: Subgeometric and Lakonian I pottery, some Protocorinthian and Early Corinthian; miniatures of large shapes not before encountered; and bronze strips, a diadem, possible armor plate, and fragments of bronze vessels. The styles of terracotta figurines included Archaic and some Daedalic: plaque fragments, spindle whorls and loomweights, model thrones, and a horse. Three inscriptions were reported, including one to Menelaos on a phiale rim of probable sixth century date. The early date of this material has led the excavator to suggest that "this rather unprepossessing heap of rubble" attracted votives because of an association with a heroic past. The *terminus* of such dedications at the end of the seventh century, he believes, is related to the erection of the first shrine (Old Menelaion). He states, "the tradition that linked the cult with the burial-place of Menelaos and Helen [was] consolidated. The Spartan state may have played a role in transforming what had perhaps been a centre of unofficial cult into a major state sanctuary."[73]

The very small area excavated, as acknowledged by Catling, cannot allow for certainty or broad conclusions. The inability to assign votives clearly to the wash from the Menelaion or to a position in situ in the stone debris suggests a dump, however. Catling reported that the concentration of votives was much more intense a generation ago, before deep ploughing had occurred; one stated reason for

70. R. Catling 1986:207.
71. R. Catling 1986:210.
72. Catling 1977-78:29.
73. Catling 1985-6:210-11.

undertaking an excavation on the spot was the progressive erosion and cultivation of the terrace. If this deposit was in fact more extensive than at present, it is more likely to have been a dump than a deposit per se, and the limited time frame makes sense. As discussed below, the earlier focus of the monumental architecture is the natural rock, not Bronze Age remains. It seem that another deposit of similar character was located on the North Hill, together with traces of Bronze Age architecture; it has apparently not been investigated further.[74]

The Menelaion's development parallels the Orthia sanctuary in Sparta: cult commenced at the end of Late Geometric, the first structures erected no earlier than about 700. (pavement and altar).[75] At the Menelaion, the Old Menelaion was late seventh to early sixth century in date, possibly about 590.[76] (The question of a simpler predecessor to the Old Menelaion remains open.) Both Catling and Cartledge suggested Spartan success in the First Messenian War as a stimulus for building activity in the late seventh century. The Old Menelaion may be part of a program that expanded the shrine at Orthia; the fifth century phase has been associated with the victory at Plataia, which would make it a large "thank-offering to Menelaos, the national military hero."[77]

Whatever the architectural accompaniment might have been, the date of cult activity should be reckoned from the earliest votives; this would be very late in the Iron Age, or early seventh century.[78] The form and simplicity of the architecture may partly be due to the choice of a natural outcrop for the site, eventually enclosed by the conglomerate platform. Helen's precedence at the shrine, her possible origins as a nature deity, and her relationship to the Dioskouroi, said to live under the earth at Therapne, may help to account for the choice of site and its treatment, in addition to the treatment of Mycenaean remains.[79] The chthonic associations of Helen may have applied to some extent also to Menelaos, by exten-

74. Catling 1976-7:35; 1976:90.
75. Boardman 1963: 7 + n. 24; see now Tomlinson 1992:248-49; cf. Pettersson 1992, Ch. 5.
76. Cavanagh and Laxton 1984:34-35.
77. *AR* 1978:42; Cartledge 1979:120-21. On dates for the Messenian Wars, see Parker 1991.
78. For possible PG pottery, see above. LG could be well down in the 7th c.: Boardman 1963:3; Coldstream 1968:215; slip is used on the LG products imitating EPC finewares, but is not always used. Cf. Droop, *BSA* 13 (1906-7) 124; Wace et al. 1908-9:150.
79. For literary references to Helen and her cult, cf. Wide 1893:340-46; Farnell 1921:323-24 and 410 s.v. 'Ελένη; see Skutsch 1987. The earlier dedications seem to belong to Helen. Dioskouroi: Alkman fr. 7 (ed. Page 1962). On the cult of the Dioskouroi in Sparta, Sanders 1992; cf. Hibler 1992.

sion; his worship at the shrine may date to a slightly later time.[80] As Catling reports, there are no Mycenaean remains in direct proximity to the Menelaion, though Bronze Age walls were located below the monument. Rather than accept the premise that such remains were cleared to build the shrine, which would seem contrary to its assumed purpose, attention should be directed to the rock outcrop it was centered upon and preserved. Perhaps this feature was the traditional site of a cult of Helen in her aspect as nature deity or was associated with the chthonic powers, her brothers. It may later have been considered the site of Helen and Menelaos's tomb, which would accord with the established underwordly character of the site, but it is not necessary for a tomb to be present at a hero's shrine.[81] As H. Catling remarks: "The shrine is thus a classic instance of cult created deliberately out of nostalgia for the Heroic past...It must be assumed that still in the eighth century there remained signs of the vanished splendours of Therapne that would have identified it as a Hero's home; it could have been that the natural knoll now enclosed by the classical shrine may have been identified as the tomb of Menelaos and Helen."[82]

Phrontis at Sounion (Attica)

Sounion is known for temples to Poseidon and Athena, but a cult and shrine of Phrontis, the steersman of Menelaos, also has been proposed.[83] The *Odyssey* (3.278-85) narrates Phrontis's death off the cape and his burial on the promontory. Abramson advanced the most plausible candidate for a cult place: a *peribolos* and *naiskos* on the north slope of the hill with the later temple to Athena. A deep pit excavated by Staïs in the eastern part of Athena's Classical *temenos* contained a huge number of votive objects: pottery from the seventh century onward, female terracottas, rings, bronze and clay statuettes of males, females, and animals, iron swords and spearheads, a pin,

80. Cf. *Odyssey* 4.563-9 for Protesilaos's promise of life in Elysion to Menelaos, perhaps to be considered with the Dioskouroi who live under the earth at Therapne: Alkman fr. 7, where Menelaos, Helen, and the Dioskouroi are all honored (lines 12-13: ἐν Θεράπναις τιμὰς ἔχουσι); cf. Pindar *Pythian*. 11.61 ff., *Isthmian* 1.31 etc. (for a full account, Wide 1893:309-325).

81. Catling 1975:255-56; 1976:88, 90.

82. Catling 1976-7:34; see also 1975:265. While no graves of any period have been found at the Menelaion site, Catling discovered several burials among the walls on Aetos Hill; these were unknown to the Iron Age worshippers and at any rate located at some distance from the shrine: *AR* 1980-81:16-19, 16.

83. Cf. Dinsmoor 1971:4; Ridgway 1977:32; Picard 1940, and Abramson 1979 esp. 8-15. Papathanosopoulos 1983 concentrates on the kouroi from the site (see further below). See also Kearns 1989:41-42, 106, 130, 205 ("a sailing hero").

earrings, miniature shields, miniature tripods of metal, terracotta painted plaques, and fragments of marble kouroi. Abramson stresses the "heroic" character of most of this deposit,[84] but with the possible exception of the terracotta shields, all the items found by Staïs in the pit could be offered to a variety of divinities.

A second pit was located on the southeast side of the hill with Poseidon's temple. It held dedications of the seventh century, including more bronze objects, weapons, terracotta plaques, figurines, beads, and scarabs.[85] An unusual rectangular terracotta plaque representing a ship rowed by its crew, the helmsman strikingly prominent, suggests Phrontis at the helm of Menelaos's ship. Staïs found about 30 other mostly fragmentary plaques, many with holes for suspension, though this scene is unique. A marble relief depicting a youth crowning himself is thought to represent a victor at naval games held in honor of the hero.[86] The plaque comes from the pit in the Athena *temenos*; the relief was part of the fill used to level the terrace and its original placement is unknown.

Papathanasopoulos sees two phases in the cult's development at Sounion: pre-temple and post-temple. In the first phase, four kouroi were erected in the later seventh century on the promontory where Poseidon's temple later stood. In this earlier period, according to Papathanasopoulos, the cults of Poseidon and Athena were not celebrated on the site. The earliest deitites were Phrontis and chthonic powers, which he identified as the Dioskouroi.[87] Papathanasopoulos argues these brother heroes, patrons of sailors, were appropriate to the place and time because of the expanding Athenian naval power. He stresses the masculine, military character of the deposits to support his contentation that Athena was a latecomer to the site (yet ignores the "female" items such as rings, earrings, and pins and Athena's warrior identity).[88] According to his view, Poseidon and Athena are introduced because of their ancient chthonic natures. As additional support for the presence of Phrontis on the site, Papathanasopoulos cites the numerous ceramic vessels with the name *Onetor kalos* or patronymic *Onetorides*,

84. Abramson 1979:9-11, citing Staïs 1917:207-209, figs. 17-19.

85. Dinsmoor 1971:2; Staïs 1917:192-201.

86. Abramson 1979:4-5 figs. 1-2; cf. Ridgway 1970:49-50 + fig. 70. Staïs's finds: Papathanasopoulou 1983:82.

87. This revives Staïs's old theory, in which the kouroi represent the divine twins translated to the heavens because of a star pattern around their nipples. See Papathanasopoulou 1983:83 and Staïs 1917:191.

88. Papathanasopoulou 1983:83.

which begin in the sixth century. The link between Phrontis son of Onetor killed by Apollo while at sea and the Dioskouroi lies in their roles as saviors of sailors. The patronymic seems to be especially current in the fourth century, as well as the name of a hero.

Abramson's suggestion that a small *naiskos* north of the Temple of Athena belonged to Phrontis effectively countered Picard's identification of a heroön at the fouth century fortification wall near the Temple of Poseidon; it is in fact a bastion.[89] The *naiskos* is dated to the second half of the fifth century. Ridgway argues that a base inside, with an oval cavity in its upper surface suitable for a kouros, is probably reused in its present position.[90] The early *peribolos* in all probability belongs to Athena, whose temple in the fifth century rose on the site; the late date of the *naiskos*, contemporary with the Athena temple, and reuse of a kouros base (and statue), make conscious archaizing a strong possibility.[91]

The presence of several other deities besides Athena and Poseidon is known on the promontory, and the attribution of *naiskos* and pit deposit to Phrontis cannot be considered certain.[92] Especially untenable is Papathanasopoulos' 'historical' component, derived from Homer's account of Phrontis' death, as the origin of Phrontis' cult at Sounion: a hero's grave. There are no tombs in the area; the 'typical and very characteristic genesis of cult', i.e., honors paid to Phrontis on the site of his tomb, have no reflection in the archaeological features of the site.[93] Furthermore, in spite of Papathanasopoulos' reasoning, the late introduction of Athena and Poseidon is doubtful. Kearn's view is that the Homeric mention of Sounion "refers to a pre-existing cult rather than supplying the inspiration for a late phenomenon: why mention Phrontis and Sounion otherwise?" This, however, fails to persuade. It is perhaps better to see Phrontis, if he is present at all, as a later addition to the Olympian cults on the promontory. This later cult featured the Archaic pottery with *kalos* inscriptions including his name and the Classical *naiskos*.

89. Abramson 1979:1-3, 9; 12-15; anticipated by Dinsmoor 1971:51. Independently, the same conclusion in Papathanasopoulou 1983:84.

90. Ridgway 1977:52 + n. 9; Dinsmoor 1971:51

91. S. Morris (personal communication) suggests that the so-called early *peribolos* is actually the retaining wall for an artificial tumulus, analogous to that of Pelops at Olympia, for which the small *naiskos* would serve as a sort of propylon. (The building does not seem to contact the proposed *peribolos* wall, however.)

92. Zeus Sounios, Zeus Meilichios, Asklepios, Apollo, Aphrodite Pontia, Hermes, Priapos, and Minos Tyrannos (a Phrygian import) are mentioned in Papathanasopoulou 1983:100; though these are all late. The weapons could easily belong to Athena.

93. Papathanasopoulou 1983:91, also argued by Kearns 1989:131; cf. Dinsmoor 1971:2, discussing the "9th c." swords in the pit on the promontory of Poseidon's temple: "A hero's (Phrontis's?) grave may have been inadvertently destroyed during later levelling of the hill and the swords from it placed in the pit along with the 7th to 5th century B.C. votive offerings also found there." Dinsmoor also mentions two EH graves on the north slope of this last hill and one LH III grave on the promontory of Poseidon, but gives no details; no prehistoric graves are listed by Hope Simpson 1981.

Amphion and Zethis at Thebes

Amphion and Zethis were twin sons of Zeus and Antiope, the daughter of Tantalos. In the *Odyssey*, they are called founders of Thebes.[94] Their burial place in Thebes is described by Pausanias (9.17.4-7) and an Early Helladic tumulus, 20 m in diameter, has been linked to it.[95] Excavated by Spyropoulos in the early 1970s, it was found to have been looted in the LH III period.[96] I. Loucas and E. Loucas suggested the area was respected until the Byzantine period and used for rituals and funeral games.[97]

Most of the case for this cult appears to be the passage in Pausanias that records how the people of Tithorea each year attempted to steal earth from the tomb of Amphion and Zethos and bring it to the tomb of Antiope, their mother, to ensure the fertility of their land (and to the detriment of the Thebans).[98] They did this in accordance with an oracle of Bakis, possibly seventh or sixth century in date. I. Loucas and E. Loucas accept this as proof of a divine kingship on which the prosperity of the Theban people depended. There is however no other evidence for cult or hero worship at the EH tumulus at any time, and Schachter observes that "the ritual involving the peoples of Thebes and Tithorea looks...like archaizing on the basis of a poetic source...There is no evidence that the Ampheion was anything more than a landmark, even in classical times."[99]

Heroes of Myth

The heroes in this category are grouped following the usual

94. Homer, *Odyssey* 19.522-3; cf. Pausanias 2.6.4; 9.5.6. See *LIMC* II.I.718-23.

95. Spyropoulos 1981; Loucas and Loucas 1987; cf. Keramopoullos 1917:381-92, and Fossey 1988:203.

96. Reports in *ArchDelt* 27, 1972:307-308; *ArchDelt* 28, 1973:248-52; *AAA* 6 (1972) 16-27; cf. Symeonoglou 1975:274-75.

97. Loucas and Loucas 1987:100, citing Keramopoullos 1917:387, 395.

98. Pausanias 10.32.10-11.

99. Schachter 1981:29.

distinction between local and epic heroes.

Pelopion at Olympia

Located in the sanctuary hosting the most ancient and prestigious of the panhellenic games, the Pelopion, purported funeral mound and shrine of Pelops, is sometimes advanced as an example of a Mycenaean hero cult which continued into historical times.[100] According to one tradition, Herakles inaugurated worship of Pelops, setting aside the *temenos* and sacrificing into a bothros.[101] Pindar mentions tumulus and marker but without reference to Herakles.[102] Though the poet says that Pelops is buried at Olympia and the object of cult, later traditions held that his *peribolos* and bones were separate. Pausanias says his remains were kept in a bronze box in the sanctuary of Artemis Kordax and does not mention a tomb but a *peribolos* only.[103] The extant remains, just south of the temple of Hera, include a propylon on the southwest that creates an entry into an irregular, six-sided enclosure surrounding a low hill. Dörpfeld's early work identified three phases: a prehistoric *peribolos* (Pelopion I), an Archaic enclosure (Pelopion II), and a Classical *temenos* (Pelopion III) (fig. 21). Herrmann thought that the sixth century gate probably had no walled enclosure to go with it; possibly it was surrounded by a fence of stone posts with cuttings for two or three wooden crossbars, some of which have been discovered at various points around the Altis. Current research, however, has dated the propylon to the Classical period and eliminated the Archaic phase.[104]

Dörpfeld accepted the heroön and games as the work of Herakles (i.e., Bronze Age) but concluded that the mound was a cenotaph without a tomb.[105] No grave came to light in Dörpfeld's excavation

100. See Hermann 1962, 1980 and the remarks of Price 1979:223-24.

101. Pausanias 5.13.1-2: τοῦτο ἀπονεῖμαι τῷ Πέλοπι Ἡρακλῆς ὁ Ἀμφιτρύωνος λέγεται...καὶ ὡς ἔθυσεν ἐς τὸν βόθρον τῷ Πέλοπι.

102. *Olympian* 1.90-93; *Olympian* 10.24.

103. Pausanias 6.22,1; cf. 5.13,4-6. For the other tradition, cf. Nagy 1979:117; 1986; 1990b:16-35; Burkert 1983:95 + n. 7; Kurke 1991:134. On relics see Ch. 5.

104. Herrmann 1980:63 + n. 43, and Mallwitz 1972:122 fig. 98; Kyrieleis 1992.

105. Dörpfeld 1935:122-23. He also cites Pausanias 6.22.1, reporting that Pelops's bones were shown in the sanctuary of Artemis Kordaka near Pisa. On the early excavations see Mallwitz 1988:79-89.

Figure 21: Pelopion (DAI Athens neg. no. Ol 303)

beneath the Classical *temenos*,[106] but he did discover Early to Middle Helladic houses. Below, he located a curving line of stones that he followed through a series of test trenches and designated it Pelopion I. It ran southwest to northeast around the perimeter of the *temenos* from the Classical gate almost to the northwest corner of the enclosure. Though admitting he could not follow the progress of his Pelopion I through more than a quarter of its restored diameter of more than 30 m, Dörpfeld was convinced he had found the prehistoric predecessor to the Classical precinct. The stone ring marked off a low rise, actually an extension of the hill of Kronios. The nineteenth century excavations also revealed a propylon with two phases, sixth and fifth/fourth centuries, and a later irregular hexagonal enclosure of cut poros limestone blocks, possibly fifth century.[107]

Hermann and Mallwitz both pointed out difficulties in interpretation raised by the stratigraphy reported by Dörpfeld. One of the Early Helladic houses, House 5, lay in the restored path of his Pelopion I, and was also covered by the northwest corner of his Pelopion II and III (Archaic and Classical phases); a Middle Helladic pithos grave appeared approximately 6 m inside the same corner. As Dörpfeld noted, a layer of sand overlay his stone ring, followed by a *Humusschicht* full of bronze and terracotta votives, then a *Bauschutt* (construction debris) of earth and stone chips. Although he executed a total of 19 test trenches, he published sections for only two of them, in addition to broad sections through the Altis at two points. A comparison of the sections near the northeast and northwest corners of the Pelopion shows different stratigraphy at these points 20 m apart.[108] As noted, the ring lies approximately 1.50 m below the level of Early Helladic House 5 and Grave 1.

Mallwitz makes it clear that the reconstructed curve of the tumulus itself cannot actually have followed the line suggested by Dörpfeld in his published section, south from the Heraion through the Pelopion and its gate. The top of the preserved walls of House 5,

106. See Dörpfeld in Adler et. al. 1897:73 and 1892:65-67 with pl. 42. A renewed examination was made by Dörpfeld in 1929-30, Dörpfeld 1935:75-81, 118-25, figs. 3-6, 21-25. Recent syntheses: Herrmann 1962 especially 18 ff.; Hermann 1972:49-59; Mallwitz 1972:133-37; Herrmann 1980 and below.

107. Dörpfeld 1935:123; see figs. 21 (Mallwitz 1988 fig. 6.5), 23, 24 and Beil. 2 in vol. II. See also Mallwitz 1988, restating and amplifying his views published in 1972. For a dispute between Dörpfeld and Furtwängler concerning the prehistoric origins of the sanctuary, see Herrmann 1962:5.

108. Dörpfeld 1935 figs. 4, 5, 6, and 22.

which seems to lie in the path of the ring, is at -1.50 m; the restored level for the mound of Pelopion I is drawn at ca. -1.30 m. Further, a later wall, "wall a," was laid directly over the walls of House 5 and lay at -1.30 m.[109] Since the *Humusschicht* with Geometric votives lies between -1.30 and -1.20 m, there could be no height to which any mound of Pelopion I could rise. He concluded the that the ring was not a creation of the Bronze Age but a 'trick of nature'.[110]

Herrmann meanwhile atttempted to circumvent these arguments against the very existence of the ring. To get around the problem of the house remains in the tumulus, he assumed, first, that the "Mycenaean" ring would have been placed deeper than the Middle Helladic structures nearby, to provide earth to build up a mound around an existing small natural rise. He then proposed that Dörpfeld's plan of the circle (or its traces) and the varying levels at which he found the stones or indications of their positions is a hopeful reconstruction and can be ignored. Instead, he postulates that the true path of the ring avoided House 5 (at the northeast angle of the Classical enclosure), forming an irregular circuit. Since the natural lay of the land rises slightly south to north, the ring could in fact have run somewhat below the Middle Helladic levels. But in the end, he dispensed with the mound altogether and concluded that the ring is simply a marker for a sacred area. In the absence of any datable find, he accepted a *terminus ante quem* provided by the dark stratum with Iron Age votives (*Humusschicht*).[111]

Until recently, all the scholars concerned with this problem were agreed that further excavation in the Altis would be the only way to arrive at a definitive solution to the problem of its history. This is now taking place, with renewed excavations for which only preliminary reports are available.[112] This work indicates that Pelopion I is not a work of nature, though Mallwitz was right that it is earlier than the Early Helladic houses. A tumulus formed by a closed ring of stones and covered with slabs of limestone; it is dated by pottery to EH II (while houses 4 and 5 are EH III). The Kladeos River reached to the tumulus in the late eighth and early seventh century, and cut into the black stratum.[113] Though an undisturbed part of the

109. Dörpfeld 1935:135; vol. II pl. 5 (Mallwitz 1988, fig. 6.7). See fig. 3 (Mallwitz 1988 fig. 6.6) for a section beneath House 5 and Mallwitz 1988:87.

110. Mallwitz 1972:135-37; 1988:87. On the *Humusschicht* , see below.

111. Herrmann 1980:65-67.

112. *AR* 1987-88:27: houses are EH III; and a pot burial of a child, late EH to early MH I, "in a horizon overlying the kerb wall of the tumulus." No trace of Iron Age, or Mycenaean, cult. Cf. *AR* 1989-90:30; *AR* 1990-91:24; Kyrieleis 1992 (reporting up to 1989).

113. *AR* 1989-90:30 + fig. 21.

Humusschicht yielded LH IIIC and Submycenaean and Protogeometric material, it is doubtful if continuity of cult can be demonstrated for the Pelopion, since this material is a dumped and leveled fill.[114]

The archaeological evidence, then, shows that the levels as recorded by Dörpfeld do indicate some sloping of the ground downward from north to south (from the Heraion to the Pelopion). This may be observed in the levels of the Early to Middle Helladic burials and the houses, as well as the lowest levels of sand and pebbles where recorded.[115] The slope, however, does not account for the much greater depth of Pelopion I in relation to the Early Helladic houses. For Herrmann's interpretation, there is also the remaining problem of Pithos Grave I which lies ca. 6.50 m within the stone ring and would be difficult to avoid including in the circle, no matter how elliptical or irregular, if it is to be continued at all along the course recorded as secure by Dörpfeld. The pithos lies at -1.60 m, resting at a level of -2.11 m. Another pithos has ben discovered north of the tumulus, in a sandy level ca. 0.5 m below which the stone ring was located. The burials was that of a child, dated to the transition between Early and Middle Helladic. In the same context, post holes probably belonging with House 5 were observed. Clearly, the stone ring or tumulus does not define an entire burial ground; to the two pithoi in the vicinity of the Pelopion can be added a third, discovered by Dörpfeld at the Metroön, and other apsidal houses lie immediately east of the Pelopion as well.[116] Furthermore, Hermann would like to ignore levels in test trenches along the assumed course of the ring for remains which Dörpfeld reported as not absolutely certain. After all, Hermann himself distinguishes these from four trenches where Dörpfeld records 'no traces or only uncertain ones.'[117]

The *Humusschicht*, which was loaded with bronze and terracotta votives, indeed provides a *terminus ante quem* for the remains below. This layer comprises an *Altarschicht*: the material thrown out from an Archaic cleanup of the Altar of Zeus that stood in the Altis.[118] It cannot, therefore, be associated with the Pelopion itself as evidence for a continuous cult from Mycenaean to Archaic times. Its even distribution also argues against a pre-Archaic Pelopion; such

114. Kyrieleis 1992:22.
115. See the section in Dörpfeld 1935.II pl. 5; I: fig. 5, 6.
116. Kyrieleis 1992:33; see Dörpfeld 1935 taf. 3.
117. Dörpfeld 1935:120, figs. 3-4.
118. Herrmann 1980 n. 57; Mallwitz 1988:81-86; *AR* 1990-91:31.

material would not be dumped onto or within a *temenos*.[119]

What and when, then, was Pelopion I? This feature must be dated before late Early Helladic, since it is covered by late Early Helladic and Middle Helladic houses and burials. It does not appear to be a proper tumulus with burial pithoi, like the EH III tumulus near the nearby museum.[120] It certainly had no Iron Age phases. If a marker, as Herrmann proposed, the stone ring encircling the House of Tiles at Lerna in the Argolid suggests a possible comparison.[121] At Lerna, the stones appear to be of similar character; they formed a circle 19 m in diameter over the central portion of the ruins, and a low mound formed of the debris from the House. They were placed deliberately, in a very regular circle, but were not coursed and did not constitute a true retaining wall or foundation. Unlike the ring at Olympia, they were laid out at a consistent level. It is clear that at Lerna the stones marked off the destroyed building; there is no precise correlation at Olympia of ring with architecture or graves, and the prehistoric houses over the kerb raise questions about the rise of the tumulus. The function of the circle is difficult to imagine; it was certainly not respected beginning already in the Middle Helladic period.

It is difficult to escape Mallwitz's conclusion that the Mycenaean Pelopion is a mirage: The *temenos* of Pelops seems a purely Classical feature. If so, Kyrieleis is right to wonder why the Classical cult was located at this particular spot. He concludes that the flooding of the Kladeos isolated and defined the mound, which was chosen by early celebrants of the feasts in honor of Zeus as the burial place of Pelops.[122] These feasts, for which there is archaeological evidence just north of the Pelopion in the area of the Prytaneion, are also attested at Isthmia, and feasting is clearly an important feature of the Iron Age (see chapter 4). W. Slater has recently drawn attention to the language of Pindar *Olympian* I, where Pelops 'reclines as a banqueter, Ἀλφειοῦ πόρῳ κλιθείς, by the banks of the Alpheios.[123]

If a continuous funerary cult is ruled out, it remains to consider the origins of the games.[124] Instead of appealing to myth for the origin of

119. Mallwitz 1972:137; Dörpfeld 1935:78.
120. Papakonstantinou 1992:59 + pl. 19.
121. Caskey 1956 with fig. 3 below, fig. 5, and pl. 42a, this comparison is now made by Kyrieleis (1992:23). Cf. also the treatment of the burial building at Lefkandi (Antonaccio 1994c).
122. Kyrieleis 1992:24.
123. Slater 1989:489-92. Dörpfeld in Adler et al. 1897:73 and Herrmann 1980:63 both remark that only the literary testimonia that precisely locate the Pelopion allowed its identification, and they contrast these sources with the relatively uninformative archaeology.
124. Protonotariou-Deïlaki 1980, 1990a, 1992 accepts continuous cult at a hero's grave at Olympia (and elsewhere), without reference to any of the archaeological evidence, relying instead wholly on the literary accounts.

the Olympic (and other panhellenic) contests, archaeology provides a valuable perspective.[125] Morgan has studied Olympia and Delphi in their local contexts and examines patterns of ritual and dedicatory behavior. She stresses the early association of the sanctuary with Zeus, as well as with Hera, Gaia, and Themis, rather than Pelops. Morgan sees the preponderance of metal dedications as competitive expressions of status, first among the "petty chieftains" of the West Peloponnese, later among the elites of widely scattered communities. Olympia's location was ideal for competition and display from an early date.[126] Morgan and Mallwitz both emphasize the necessity of using archaeology to investigate early cult activity at Olympia, and from their work it seems certain that Pelops's cult is late, belonging to an Archaic phase of activity and reorganization; Pindar's ode with its reference to Pelops's tomb (*sama*), rather than reflecting an ancient cult, reflects its installation in ritual, if not myth.

Opheltes/Archemoros at Nemea

A sixth century entrant in the panhellenic contest cycle, Nemea's games were dedicated to Opheltes, the child killed by a viper when his nurse was distracted by the Seven Against Thebes on their way from Argos. Upon his death, the child became Archemoros, and the Seven instituted funeral games in recompense for his death.[127] Recent excavations at Nemea have revealed a precinct that corresponds to Pausanias's description of the temple and *peribolos* of Opheltes (2.15.2-3).[128]

The irregular pentagon, open to the sky, dates to the third century. Contructed of limestone orthostates ca. 50 m in height, measuring ca. 30 m by 25 m, buttresses reinforced the walls along the interior. This foundation probably supported a fence. A porch possibly allowed entry at the north wall toward the east end. Stella Miller remarks how closely the structure resembles the Pelopion at Olympia.[129] This phase corresponds to the construction of the Temple of Zeus, but two earlier phases, early and late Archaic, were

125. Nagy 1986, though working entirely from philology, provides an important discussion of the myths of Pelops; see also Kurke 1991.

126. Morgan 1990:29; see also 43 + n. 52, 45 ff. and Ch. 3.

127. Cf. Miller et al. 1990:25-27 + n. 21 for the myth. A late variant aetiology makes Herakles the founder of the Games and sanctuary after his victory over the Nemean lion: Miller et al. 1990:25 + n. 20: Vergil *Georgics* 3.19; cf. *LIMC* II (1984) 472-75 *s.v.* Archemoros.

128. S.G. Miller 1988, 1990:27-29, 104-110. Excavation reports: *Hesperia* 49 (1980) 194-98; 50, 1981:60-65; 53, 1984:173-94.

129. Miller 1988:143.

traced. In these phases (first half and second half of the sixth century), the basic dimensions were the same, but the walls were built of rubble and were curvilinear rather than angled. A. Futrell suggests the late Archaic *peribolos* consisted of a mudbrick wall covered with tiles, which were found during the excavations.[130] The early Archaic phase may have been more formal: ashlar masonry in the southwest corner, but large unworked stones were found along the west wall and northwest corner. This phase is poorly understood, but it seems to date to the establishment of the Nemean games. Within the enclosure, several blocks may have been the altars mentioned by Pausanias. An arrangement of stones near the enclosure's center originally formed a structure 1.40 m by 3.15 m in the late Archaic phase; it seems to have been an *abaton* like one in the Athenian Agora, and many votives came from this area.[131]

This complex corresponds very well to Pausanias's description of the *temenos* as a θρίγγος λιθῶν, 'enclosure of stones', and its identification as the sanctuary of Opheltes seems secure. It has no tomb, however, and its pedigree extends only to the sixth century. This accords with the recent work at the Pelopion, demonstrating the lateness of this very similar structure. Both cults were fabricated to support the foundation of panhellenic games.

Ptoios and Apollo at Akraiphnia

The heyday of the Ptoion, sanctuary of Apollo Ptoios in central Euboia, was in the sixth to fourth centuries, which saw the dedication of kouroi and tripods. However, bronzes and pottery date the beginning of cult activity at the place called Perdikovrysi to the Late Geometric period.[132] According to one theory, in this early phase, Apollo and the hero Ptoios shared a cult, but during the early sixth century, Ptoios received his own shrine a short distance to the east, at Kastraki.[133] At each location in the Archaic and Classical periods, the male divinity had a female companion: Athena Pronoia with Apollo and possibly a *kourotrophos* type for Ptoios, with her own shrine on the upper slopes of the site.[134] However, the richness

130. In Miller et al. 1990:108.

131. Futrell in Miller et al. 1990:106.

132. Guillon 1943:103; Ducat 1971:49-65, 96-100, pls. 4-10; 150, 155, figs. 21-23 for the earliest finds: much of the pottery seems now to be lost; cf. Fossey 1988:265-75.

133. Guillon 1943 map pl. 5; 99-115. See also Schachter 1981:52-73, Fossey 1988:271.

134. The presence of Athena Pronoia, at least, may be as late as 500; Ducat 1971:433-44. Schachter thinks the nymph Euxippe or Zeuxippe accompanies Ptoios; Schachter 1967:9.

of the early dedications and the lack of specific reference to Ptoios alone at Perdikovrysi argue against the scenario that he was the sole deity at the site, forced out by Apollo around 600-580. Further, the evidence for cult at Kastraki and the first dedications of tripods specifically to Apollo at Perdikovrysi overlap, refuting the allegedly clear displacement of Ptoios by Apollo.[135]

There are a number of possibilities for the origins of Ptoios: "un mort heroïse," a toponym or a nature god. He is certainly local, and his cult is paralleled to some extent by others in a complex of Boiotian cults. If he is also prehellenic, as Guillon believes, it is true that there is no archaeological evidence at either part of the site that reaches back beyond the late eighth century. Whether Ptoios shared a cult with Apollo from the eighth century or was first installed at Kastraki in the sixth century is not possible to say.[136]

The Shrine of Hyakinthos at Amyklai

The *-nth* suffix of the name Hyakinthos indicates a pre-Greek origin, and this heroic figure's worship probably preceded that of Apollo at Amyklai. Since the site was a place of cult in LH IIIB-C (below), Hyakinthos is usually thought to be the "pre-Dorian" recipient, and Apollo's worship melded with his by post-Mycenaean interlopers.[137] Pettersson has now suggested that the Hyakinthia festival originally was a Mycenaean cult of the dead. Fragments from Amyklai of a lifesized terracotta female figure carrying a kylix, a figure which on larnakes is associated by K. Kilian with a death cult, are part of Pettersson's argument (see below). The philological and mythological aspects are not of concern here, however, rather, the claim that archaeology supports continuity of cult from the LH III period through a Dark Age, in connection with a local

135. Ducat 1971:439-442. See also Schachter 1967:3; Schachter 1981:54-58, where he argues that Apollo did usurp an older cult of Ptoios at Perdikovrysi; the Olympian took over the cult of an oracular deity and his female associate, who are also personifications of the mountain and spring on the site. "The mere absence of evidence locating the Hero Ptoios at Perdikovrysi does not mean that he was not Apollo's predecessor" (p. 58).

136. Ducat 1971:442 also sees the term Ptoios as a toponym, one of the possibilities proposed also by Guillon. Schachter 1967:7 doubts Ptoios's precedence at Kastraki.

137. Cf. Tsountas 1892, Buschor and von Massow 1927, Demakopoulou 1982, Calligas 1991, and Georgoulaki 1988 for the Bronze Age. A good summary of the arguments concerning Hyakinthos, Apollo, Dorians, and Achaeans is in Cartledge 1979:79-94. The debate on the Dorians continues: cf. Cartledge 1992. A different view in Dietrich 1975: Hyakinthos as a cult figure of a Dorian segment of the Mycenaean population, not the import of an invading band. Cf. also Price 1979:226-27, who thinks that the myth may be Bronze Age, while the hero cult only arose when the Dorians came to power (in the Iron Age).

hero cult.[138]

The site was first explored in 1892 and 1925. Tsountas found a MH settlement, including two tombs, as well as Bronze Age figurines and Iron Age pottery and bronzes. The German excavators explored stratification outside a terrace wall enclosing the sanctuary. This comprised three levels: an uppermost dating Byzantine and later; an ash layer with material from Archaic to Hellenistic in date; and a layer of clay, in which the top 0.12 m contained Geometric, the rest Mycenaean of the fourteenth century. In between was a good deal of Protogeometric, but some Mycenaean sherds occurred with it, as well as a terracotta female figurine and the fragment of an animal statuette.[139] Recently, renewed excavations have revealed part of a LH settlement, as well as LH chamber tombs nearby.[140]

A Late Helladic cult of some sort seems demonstrated by the wheel-made terracotta animal figurines, though their discovery in the settlement nearby raises doubts. Their continuous production through the Dark Ages has been proposed and is often cited as proof of religious continuity between the Bronze and Iron Age, but there seems to be a gap in the tenth century.[141] Since the stratigraphy is not reliable, and there is no associated architecture, evaluation of the ceramic evidence must be based on a stylistic analysis. The possible immediate association of LH IIIC and Protogeometric does not prove continuous development from the latest Late Helladic to the Protogeometric material. The gap for both pottery and terracottas seems to run from the early eleventh to mid-tenth centuries. This conclusion closely accords with the usual view that Lakonia was uninhabited, or at least its major Bronze Age sites deserted, for 100 to 200 years after the close of the Bronze Age.[142]

138. Made by the earliest excavators, especially Buschor and von Massow 1927:12; cf. Snodgrass 1971:131 n. 27. Most important: Demakopoulou 1982.

139. Cartledge 1979:81-82; Buschor and v. Massow 1927:32-33. The figurine was high in the PG level; the sherds and animal fragment were in the middle of this stratum. One Mycenaean sherd from a similar depth was illustrated, Beil. VI,4.

140. Early report in Waterhouse and Hope Simpson 1960:74-76 + fig. 3; cf. *ArchDelt* 36 (1981) B':126-29, also reporting EH and Roman traces.

141. See Cartledge 1979:84-85, citing Nicholls 1970. Calligas 1992:39 doubts both a LH sanctuary and a settlement on the site, arguing the votives were brought in with soil from elsewhere during the 6th c. Recent work has proved LH habitation, however (previous note). Coulson supports Cartledge's defense of discontinuity in the sequence: Coulson 1985:64 + nn. 113-15 and 1988:23 + nn. 11-13 (still skeptical). The possibly PG fragment (Buschor and v. Massow, Beil. VI.5, from the "PG" layer) has crosshatching resembling that on Iron Age pottery, but its date is questioned by both Cartledge and Coulson, and the German excavators compare the paint on the animals to that of the female, Mycenaean terracottas (p. 37). Further illustrations of 12th c. animals: Nicholls pl. 2d; Tsountas, *ArchEph* 1892:14 + pl. 3.1, 1a, 3, 4. I now find Demakopoulou reached the same conclusion as well about discontinuity:1982:62 + pl. 28 no. 70.

142. Cartledge 1979:86-88 believes newcomers from northwest Greece were the carriers of the

The other evidence is more difficult to date: spearheads, tripod legs, possibly a sword, and a pin from the 1925 excavation that could be either Submycenaean or Protogeometric; this variant is Protogeometric at sanctuaries as well as tombs. In the Argolid and Corinth it is known from tombs with advanced Protogeometric pottery.[143]

Though there is, consequently, no archaeological proof of continuity, the gap is less wide than at the Menelaion; there is also the very old name of Hyakinthos, which seems to have been preserved, and possibly the habit of offering terracotta animals, though Demakopoulou says all are Mycenaean.[144] It may be that these traditions were maintained by a small native refugee population, which also preserved some of the Mycenaean traits to be seen in the Protogeometric pottery. Cartledge mentions (in another connection) the story in Herodotos (4.145 ff.) recounting how Minyans from Amyklai went off to settle Thera. He dates this event to around 800. The Minyans "were presumably survivors of the Bronze Age population of Lakonia, who had taken to the hills (Taygetos) during the Mycenaean 'time of troubles' and returned to the plain when the dust had settled."[145] Demakopoulou does not believe that the post–Bronze Age users of the shrine had any connection with the last Mycenaeans on the site; in her view, they brought with them the worship of Apollo. She concedes continuity, however, in the sanctity of the site and worship of one of the deities, basing her conclusions on the different character of the Protogeometric pottery and the new offerings of metal. To account for the survival of Hyakinthos's name and worship, as well as the sanctity of the site, Demakopoulou

PG style into Lakonia; agreed by Coulson 1985:64-65, who thinks that the close association of Mycenaean and PG artifacts at Amyklai suggests "whatever gap in continuity occurred was by no means a long one," assuming that there was continuing accumulation of wash down the hill. However, Cartledge notes the self-evident discontinuity between the ash layer (Archaic to Hellenistic) and the Byzantine layer, in spite of their juxtaposition (1979:82). Most recently, Lakonian imports to Asine have been isolated that also narrow the gap in the Lakonian sequence: Wells 1983:42, 64, nos. 37, 345, 346; late 11th c.? (I am indebted to W. Coulson for this reference). See Margreiter 1988:13-14 on stratigraphy and chronology, Demakopoulou 1982:79-96 on discontinuity at the end of the Mycenaean period; on pottery, 71-72, pl. 52.

143. Kilian-Dirlmeier 1984:71 no. 207, pl. 8 (Sparta Museum no. 693); Buschor and v. Massow 1927:36. Metal offerings: Demakopoulou 1982:73-78. See now Calligas 1992 and Pettersson 1992:94.

144. Buschor and v. Massow 1927:39, listing a bird found by Tsountas and their own finds of a few legs from large terracotta quadrupeds. They note the difference in both style and paint from the Mycenaean and assign them to the Geometric period. However, Demakopoulou states that all the animals are Mycenaean, including those called Geometric by the Germans: 1982:63 + n. 174; ignored by Pettersson 1992:106, and Dickinson 1992:113-14.

145. Coulson 1985:64-65, specifically mentions the figurines in connection with this hypothetical group of survivors; Cartledge 1979:108.

suggests a remant Bronze Age population in the area, as here.[146]

Pettersson, on the other hand, suggests that there is no break from LH IIIC to Protogeometric. He sees the origins of the Hyakinthia in a late Bronze Age crisis: "The cult of the dead Hyakinthos could be interpreted as an ancestor worship, the main function of which was to create group cohesion."[147] For Pettersson, the Dorian identity is a creation of the Spartan *polis*, not an historical reality, and he can find no trace of antagonism between Dorian Sparta and Achaian Amyklai in early Iron Age material culture, which features a uniform Protogeometric style, to confirm the traditional account of Amyklai's annexation by Sparta.[148] While intriguing, this idea remains a conjecture. It is easier to dismiss Calligas's contention that the chance find of a Middle Helladic tomb such as those found by Tsountas or of Protogeometric tombs is what prompted Hyakinthos's hero cult.[149] He thinks that finds like the iron sword and the early bronze pin originated in Protogeometric tombs that somehow have been missed by excavators.[150] There is no evidence at all for Protogeometric tombs or a Protogeometric settlement, both of which are proposed by Calligas because he believes that Protogeometric pottery could only have originated in an Iron Age *oikos* and its tombs: he claims cult was carried out only in chieftains' houses in the Early Iron Age.

Shrine of Alexandra/Kassandra and Agamemnon

A votive deposit excavated in 1956 at Sklavokhori, about 1 km south of the shrine of Hyakinthos, belongs to a shrine of Alexandra, known from Pausanias (3.19.6), who also mentions a statue of Clytemnestra and tomb of Agamemnon. Though no architecture was discovered, a huge number of objects was recovered from a very small area, which indicates it was a sanctuary dump: terracotta figurines and relief plaques, miniature vases, metal objects, and pottery, including examples with inscriptions. The shapes represented were lakainai, skyphoi, aryballoi, cups, many carrying the word "dedicated," ἀνέθηκεν, but without mentioning the deity. The rims

146. Demakopoulou 1982:90-96.

147. Pettersson 1992:97.

148. Pettersson 1992:99, 108.

149. Calligas 1992:45-46; see also Dickinson 1992.

150. Calligas 1992:45: "we have no concrete evidence that communal worship was held in sanctuaries or shrines during the Early Iron Age." Calligas also denies that any settlements existed before the 9th c., only isolated *oikoi* and their tombs. See discussion of Lefkandi in Ch. 4.

of some hydriai, however, carried fragmentary inscriptions restored as the names Alexandra and Agamemnon. The dates ranged from late eighth century to Hellenistic; most were sixth century.

More than 1000 plaques of 50 different types were also recovered: a seated male with kantharos before a snake comprised a basic theme. Some also showed a seated male with standing female, the snake between and feeding from her phiale. Other plaques depicted banquet scenes, riders on horseback, and armed men. Some odd tubes or pipes with Dionysos reclining and dancing satyrs were also published.[151] Once again, as at Therapne, this may be a case of an older, local deity, Alexandra, who was assimilated to Kassandra when Agamemnon was later brought into the picture in the sixth century–the period when the plaques begin, so many showing "heroized" males, some accompanied by females.[152]

The Heroön of Astrabakos at Sparta

A small *temenos* at the city wall in the western sector of Sparta, this shrine was excavated early in the first campaigns at Sparta. The stratified finds ranged from "Geometric" to "late Greek."[153] The excavators identified the sanctuary as a heroön, based on a series of terracotta plaques of the well-known "hero-relief" type. They recovered approximately one hundred examples, 8 cm square, most of very summary execution. Some show a seated male making a libation, a female pouring into his kantharos. Others depict a male standing before a snake; there are also riders, banqueters, and female statuettes wearing *poloi*, as well as naked male figurines.[154] A few miniature pots included Geometric, Protocorinthian, Corinthian, black and red figure, and black glaze pottery, both ribbed and moulded wares. Though Wace claimed that the "Geometric pottery from the lower stratum does not differ from that found elsewhere in Laconia and at the Artemesium [sanctuary of Orthia]," it includes

151. *Prakt* 1956:211-12 pl. 104-5; *Ergon* 1956:100-104, fig. 105; 1960:167-73, figs. 186-7 for the graffiti. Terracotta tubes: fig. 185. *AR* 1957:12-13; *BCH* 81 (1957) 548-551, and a few sherds in Margreiter 1988. Relief stele from the area with inscription: Tod and Wace 1906:65-66, no. 441, i.e. *IG* V.1.26 (inscription, 2nd/1st c., set up in the *hieron* of Alexandra): pl. 176-7 (relief showing draped female with kithara and round altar, approached by three smaller males, one with patera). Cf. *AM* 3 (1870) 164 ff., Salapata 1990a, b and Pausanias 2.16.6.

152. Wide 1893:333-39 for further references: Cartledge 1979:112, 139 thinks the worship of Agamemnon was begun when politically expedient, after Sparta failed to subjugate Tegea and turned to "diplomatic subordination" to achieve its aims.

153. Wace 1905-6:288.

154. Wace 1905-6:289-91 figs. 3-6. For hero-reliefs, Tod and Wace 1905:102-113 §3 "Archaic Hero Reliefs." Cf. Hibler 1992, Sanders 1992.

some Protogeometric, including a fine trefoil-lipped oinochoe and large portion of a skyphos. Wace connects this site with the heroön of Astrabakos mentioned by Pausanias: the heroön is said to be nearby the tomb of Theopompos, which is opposite the sanctuary and temple of Lykourgos. This is said to have an altar, which is equated with an altar discovered by the banks of the Eurotas; based on this, the present shrine is given to Astrabakos. The evidence is very tenuous; at any rate, no tomb or inscription has been found.[155]

Two other shrines, one on the road to Megalopolis from Sparta, the other at Angelona, not very distant from Epidauros Limera, are candidates for heroa. Dickens identified the fomer as the site mentioned by Pausanias (3.20.8) with a statue of Athena Parea and a shrine to Achilles.[156] Four thousand whole and eight thousand fragmentary miniature vessels were recovered, as well as a few terracottas, ca. 50 lead figurines, miscellaneous small finds, and pottery "ranging in date from Orientalizing to Hellenistic."[157]

The Angelona site also produced a number of miniatures, a few terracottas, some ribbed black glaze, a few loomweights, a terracotta plaque, a marble relief showing a draped male before an altar, a bronze snake, and various poros limestone blocks (none in situ). Wace concluded from the reliefs and snake, which he thought symbolized a hero, and the miniatures, paralleled at other shrines of similar character, "that such vases always indicate an heroön."[158] In particular, he identified the miniature kantharoi with those held by the male figures in the reliefs. Wace expressed this opinion, however, before the beginning of excavations at the Orthia sanctuary, which also produced these pots. But Droop observed that these miniatures might be found at any Spartan shrine: each of these cases remain possible but not certain instances of hero worship; the votives alone are not conclusive.[159]

The Tombs of the Hyperboreans, Delos

Herodotos (4.32-5) tells of the fantastic Hyperboreans and the two pairs of Hyperborean virgins, Laodike and Hyperoche and Opis

155. Wace 1905-6:291, 293. For PG, cf. Coulson 1985:30, 31 n. 15, 32 n. 31 (sherds in Sparta and Cambridge); Coldstream 1968:213, and Pausanias 3.16.6.

156. Dickens 1906-7.

157. Dickens 1906-7:173. For miniatures, see Dawkins et al. 1929:106-107, fig. 82.

158. Wace and Hasluck 1904-05.

159. Cf. Droop in Dawkins et al. 1929:106: "miniature votive pots...are to be found at the site of any shrine in the district."

and Arge, who on separate occasions visited Delos from the ends of the earth. The first pair brought mysterious offerings wrapped in straw. They never returned to their homeland, so the Hyperboreans brought further offerings to their nearest neighbors and entrusted their conveyance from hand to hand until they reached the island. The second pair came to Delos, says Herodotos, with Apollo and Artemis (ἅμα αὐτοῖσι θεοῖσι), with the offering prescribed to Eleithyia for easy delivery in childbirth (τῇ Ἐλειθυίῃ ἀποφερούσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠκυτόκου τὸν ἐτάξαντο φόρον). Herodotos mentions that the *sema* of Hyperoche and Laodike, who died at Delos, was in the Artemesion, while the *theke* of Opis and Arge was behind the Artemesion. The identifications of these two monuments are disputed, but they are discussed here because the *theke*, located by the French before the Stoa of Antigonos, is in fact a built chamber tomb.[160]

The shrine is located before the middle of the stoa. It is a horseshoe-shaped walled enclosure built of various sorts of stone, the ends of the walls blocked along the north side by a low platform. The platform aligns precisely parallel to the stoa's façade, flanked on either side by the foundations for numerous votive monuments. The stoa dates to the third quarter of the third century, and the votive monuments on epigraphical evidence date to the early second through the first half of the first century. The enclosure is dated by its masonry style and the sherds incorporated into its mortar (late fourth century at least).[161] Rather than an altar, the platform is a *prothysia*, a bench to stand on while sacrificing into this *abaton*.[162]

Within the enclosure a masonry construction, incompletely preserved, consists of two compartments perpendicular to each other, with two upright monoliths where they meet. The smaller compartment is actually the dromos of a tomb, which passed through the stone uprights, or jambs, into the larger burial chamber proper. Unlike most chamber tombs, this was built on the surface rather than cut into a hillside. The chamber was disturbed, but five vessels of LH I and III date, together with human bone fragments, came out of it; the dromos produced nothing.[163] No mention is made of any other finds, but the tomb is considered almost unanimously to be the *theke* referred to by Herodotos as ὄπισθε τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου, πρὸς ἠῶ

160. Bruneau and Ducat 1983:144-45, 149-50, nos. 32 and 41. For a summary of the myth and cult of the Hyperboreans on Delos, see pp. 34-35.

161. Courby and Poulson 1912: Ch. III.1, 63-74.

162. Bruneau and Ducat 1983:144 + n. 3; cf. the arrangement at Argos, above.

163. Courby and Poulson 1912:68-70, fig. 89-93; cf. Vatin 1965.

τετραμμένη, ἀγχοτάτω τοῦ Κηΐων ἱστιητορίου, 'behind the Artemision, facing east, close by the *hestiatorion* of the Chians.' At the *theke*, Herodotos says, the Delian women sing a hymn for the maidens and collect offerings (ἀγείροντας); the thigh bones are burned at an altar and the ashes deposited on their *theke*.[164] The altar is not further described, and no other offerings are mentioned by the author.

Very extended discussion has been devoted to this structure.[165] If it is the monument described by Herodotos, his description is the earliest evidence available for it; there are no inscriptions to verify the identification, no offerings mentioned in the fill, and the construction of the enclosure, as has been shown, dates probably to the earlier part of the third century. If Herodotos is accepted as evidence for this location, therefore, the cult goes back at least to the first quarter of the fifth century; if not, there is no archaeological evidence for it prior to the building of the enclosure in the early Hellenistic period. Though this grave escaped the Athenian purifications of the sanctuary in 540-28 and in 426, it is not unique in this regard, and it cannot be certain that exceptions are all to be regarded in the same manner. There is no evidence for cult between LH III and the Archaic period; certainly not for its being a "lieu sacré" in the Mycenaean period.[166]

A semicircular enclosure is located at the outside rear wall of the same stoa near the west end. The enclosure wall of cut poros blocks and a triangular coping date later than the construction of the stoa, but four boundary stones, inscribed ἄβατον, *abaton* (not to be entered), should date to the fifth century by their letter forms. The Hellenistic enclosure probably replaces an earlier one marked by these reused markers. No finds came from within and nothing was

164. Herodotos 4.35: τῶν μηρίων καταγιζομένων ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ τὴν σπονδὸν ταύτην ἐπὶ τὴν θήκην...ἀναισιμοῦσθαι ἐπιβαλλομένην. On the Hyperboreans and their cult as attested by Herodotos and epigraphy, Tréheaux 1953.

165. After Courby's initial cautious suggestion in 1912, a full exposition of the case for cult and continuity is Gallet de Santerre 1958:165-73, 271-72; Gallet de Santerre 1975:248 n. 4 for those authors who followed his general theory about the cult function of the island in the Bronze Age. Contra: Roux 1973:525-44; responses by Gallet de Santerre 1975 and Bruneau 1975. The arguments about the topography are circular and inconclusive, cf. Vatin 1965:270 who doubts a connection between these tombs and the myth before the Iron Age. There is no Iron Age archaeological evidence, so Vatin's date must be founded on the general view that hero cult is an Iron Age phenomenon.

166. Vatin 1965:269. On the purifications, Bruneau and Ducat 1983:20-21. Graves of the Hellenistic period on Delos: 2 decapitated, possibly crucified males and some other evidence for interments near the House of the Comedians in *BCH* 85 (1969) 913-15; 93 (1969) 1039. These possibly are to be connected with piratical raids or other violence in the first century B.C.E. A random interment opposite the block of the House of the Comedians: *BCH* 88 (1964) 900-901. Other graves are those near the Altar of Zeus Polieus, of Iron Age date, and behind the Archegesion, see below.

found in a test trench placed inside the enclosure.[167] Roux calls the *abaton* placed so close to the 'Hyperborean tombs,' a monument which belonged to one of the many Delian heroes, whose identity is now lost.[168]

At the *sema* of Hyperoche and Laodike, according to Herodotos, the young women of Delos offered a lock of their hair wrapped around a spindle at this shrine before marriage. The young men did the same either with their hair or first beards, but they wrapped it around an herb of some kind (περὶ χλόην τινὰ εἰλίξαντες τῶν τριχῶν). In the excavation of the precinct of Artemis, a poorly preserved area of pebble paving was encountered, laid down in a partial circle on a cutting in the bedrock. A coping block found in the area is assigned to a Hellenistic enclosure wall, making this monument, identified as the *sema*, analogous to the *theke* in form.[169] Pottery from the excavation includes LH I and III, as at the *theke*, but there are no burials and no bones associated with the area. Later pottery includes Corinthian: two spindle whorls and fragments of a bronze lebes were reported.[170] As Bruneau and Ducat state, the only salient argument in favor of the identification is the Herodotean passage that locates the *sema* by the entrance to the Artemesion.[171] The paving and earlier pottery, however, suggest links with other similar pavements, especially in the Argolid (see chapters 2 and 5).

Attica: Sacred Houses

Several buildings of apparently domestic character have been assigned a chthonic cult function based on their proximity to Bronze Age remains or the nature of the associated finds. One house has been associated with the hero Akademos in the immediate vicinity of the Academy in Athens; this is sometimes given as an example of

167. Courby and Poulson 1912:97-102; Bruneau and Ducat 1983:146 no. 34 with references. There are two other triangular *abata* at Delos: one at the corner of a building complex just north of the Sacred Lake; the other at the southeast corner of the Agora of the Italians. Both are Hellenistic in date. Cf. Bruneau and Ducat 1983:191 no. 63; 199 no. 71, with bibliography.

168. Roux 1973:531.

169. Bruneau and Ducat 1983:149 no. 41; Replat and Picard 1924:217-63, 247-63 figs. 16-17.

170. Replat and Picard 1924:259; Vatin 1965:229 + n. 6. In an earlier report, Replat and Picard reported "Cycladic, Mycenaean, and Geometric" sherds directly in contact with the semicircular paving: *BCH* 47 (1923) 527; a kouros and fragmentary sphinx came from the area as well: 254-58, figs. 19-22.

171. Bruneau and Ducat 1983:150.

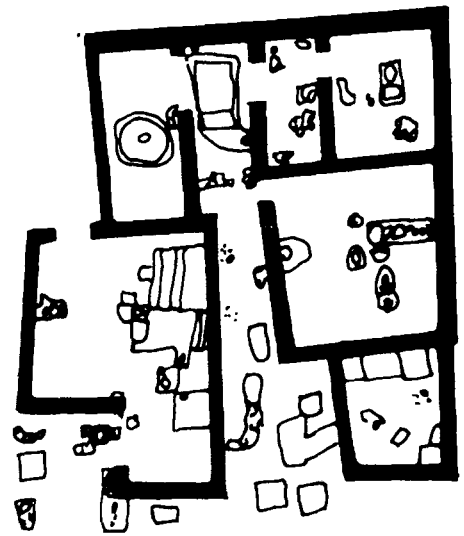


Fig. 22a: House of Akademos

pre-Homeric hero cult.[172] In considering this evidence, a discussion of other so-called cult houses will shed some light on early cult apart from major sanctuaries or shrines. Taken in conjunction with the studies made by Ferguson and Nock, these houses perhaps reveal another aspect of ancestor or domestic cult, at least in Attica.[173]

"House of Akademos"

A seven-room house of very irregular plan at the Academy has been associated with the eponymous hero Akademos (fig. 22a).[174] Ritual activity certainly took place in the building: sacrificial pyres

172. E.g., Coldstream 1976.

173. Ferguson 1944 and Nock 1944. This is not the place to enter into an extended discussion of early Greek *temene* or sacred architecture, though several of the constructions have been included in such discussions. See Drerup 1968, and Mazarakis 1988, as well as Fagerström 1988b.

174. Travlos 1971:42-3, s.v. Akademia; plan of area fig. 62. Drerup 1969:31-32 with literature and plan: Subgeometric in date. See also Lauter 1985a:159-63. Fagerström 1988b:46, Athens 2, incorrectly states this is located "at the west side of the Agora, not far north of Athens 1" (i.e,. the Geometric oval house on the south side of the Agora). Cf. Price 1979:226; 288.

with up to four distinct layers had been made throughout the structure and in front of it. The ash and charcoal contained broken pottery, including lekanai, oinochoai and drinking cups, animal bones, and shells. Some pyres were set off by rows of stones or larger rough markers of rock.

A circular hearth was found in the northwest corner room, with four thick layers of clean ash. Two parallel drains were cut running north to south in the west room; sherds of a large amphora and more cups were found inside.[175] A particularly large pyre was found in the central corridor (*diadromos*). Nearby, an Early Helladic house was also excavated. The unspecified contents of a well-like deep shaft nearby reportedly proved cult activity in the area, and another similar shaft was investigated 37 m to the west. Finally, 150 m northwest, more than 200 Protogeometric vessels of different shapes and sizes were nested together in rows within an area nearly 10 m in extent.[176]

The excavators assigned the Early Helladic house to the 'first settler' in the area, Hekademos, and interpreted the Iron Age remains as honors paid the first 'settlers and heroes' after the *synoikismos* of Theseus. Travlos drew attention to a black figure sherd from the Agora with a partial inscription restored as Ηεκ[αδεμος, "Hekademos." With the deposit of Protogeometric pottery, this sherd and a late reference in Diogenes to Akademos make up the evidence for a Protogeometric cult to Hekademos.[177] The sherd was found far from the Academy, however, and the Protogeometric deposit, without context and far from both houses, cannot be considered evidence for such a cult, and the written source is late.

While any cult of Akademos/Hekademos is pure speculation, use of the seventh century house remains at issue. Fagerström opts for "a farmstead, or, if Athens had coalesced into a *polis* at the time, a patrician's house...there remains nothing to denote this structure as holy."[178] Lauter also stresses the 'profane' character of the Academy house. He interprets the round hearth or *bothros* (sacrificial pit) in

175. P. Stavropoullos, *Prakt* 1958:7. The drains interpreted as *Opferrinnen* (offering trenches) by Drerup 1969:32.

176. *Prakt* 1958:8 pl. 6 a, b. This find was never further illustrated or described.

177. *Prakt* 1958:9; cf. Travlos 1971:42. Drerup makes no judgment about the excavators' opinions, merely reporting them. Written reference: Diogenes Laertius 3.7. The sherd is Agora inv. P 10507, from a one-piece amphora by the KX painter: Beazley 1956:27,36; Vanderpool 1946:133-34 no. 26, pl. 3.2-3; Moore and Phillipides 1986:117 cat. no. 126 + pl. 15. See also Shapiro 1989:142 + pl. 65b; Kyle 1987:71-72, 76.

178. Fagerström 1988b:47.

the northwest corner room as nothing more than the setting for a pithos that was used later as a receptacle for discarded ash.[179] Similarly, Lauter sees the *Opferinnen* as drains, part of some sort of industrial installation.[180] The numerous sacrifical pyres and the repeated renewals of the floor that they necessitated contradict this interpretation, however. Lauter reconciles the contradictory evidence by reference to the epigraphically attested ἱερὰ οἰκία, sacred houses, of the fourth century. Such structures were not exclusively *temene*, but houses that were rented out for the greater part of the year for private use, and which according to the terms of the lease were given over to a cult association for its annual celebrations.[181]

The presence of graves of the late Iron Age period a short distance to the northeast is a feature remarked only by Lauter, who connects the graves (which date from the late eighth to the fourth century) with the celebration of funerary banquets in the house. The Protogeometric deposit is still unexplained. As we have seen, there is much evidence for feasting at or near graves beginning in the Iron Age. Lauter suggests that the Academy house was used by a burial association that shared a common hero cult. An association of this type could be based on a *genos* or one of the Attic *orgeones* (sacrificing associations).[182] These organizations celebrated a common hero as ancestor, but there is no evidence at the Academy to prove that the activity was directed toward Hekademos: the sherd originates in the Agora, and Vanderpool did not even suggest that name in the initial publication of the sherd. Shapiro further remarks that Akademos is only mentioned in a single myth from Plutarch (*Theseus* 32.3), which recounts the help given by Akademos to the Tyndaridai when they came to Attica to rescue Helen. He connects this account with the sixth century cult of the Anakes, or Dioskouroi, in Attica.[183] The impetus at any rate was not the Early Helladic "relics."

179. Lauter 1985a:160.

180. Lauter 1985a:160.

181. Later 1985a:161-62, referring to Poland 1909. The work of Ferguson and Nock is obviously of great importance for interpreting these structures, but Lauter seems unaware of it. Sacred houses: on Chios, belonging to the *genos* of the Klytidai, Sokolowski 1969:118; at Priene, Wiegand and Schrader 1904:172-82. Feasts: *IG* II-III^2 2350; see further below on cult houses near cemeteries.

182. Lauter 1985a:162 nn. 233-38. Similar circumstances at Thorikos, Lauter 1985a:163 with references. In assigning the Academy House to a *genos* (and the Tourkovouni house to one of the *oregeones*, below), he seems unaware of Bourriot's work on *gene*, especially the second half dealing with their apparent untraceability in contemporary cemeteries (see further below Ch. 5 for discussion).

183. Shapiro 1989:150-51.

"House of the Kerykes"

Another Late Geometric house was built just outside the course of the fourth century *temenos* wall at Eleusis.[184] The excavators reconstructed a courtyard, entry, and series of rooms of irregular plan and size supported on the south by a terrace wall (fig. 22b). A triangular south corner room was followed by two small rectangular rooms; a central rectangular chamber extended the entire width of the building, with a *bothros* at the back wall leading into a covered drain that discharged beyond the court. The last room in the series, on the north, was a large one nearly 5 m by 4, with a central post base, and semicircular ring of stones in the northeast corner.[185] Lauter provides another reconstruction; he believes the narrow court is in fact an alley or side street, which ran past an elevated front porch, not corridor. The preexistence of the street dictated the triangular shape of the south room. The bothros and its buried drain appear to him to be best suited to household or industrial, rather than cultic, purposes.[186]

Finds from the seventh century include much household pottery, especially in the two southernmost rooms: amphorai, chytrai, bowls, jugs and other unglazed, smaller forms, many filled with ash. Some small painted pieces were found near the amphorai. The same sort of material came from the north end of the porch or verandah. Lauter believes the north room could have been a permanent domicile and the two smaller rooms with offerings to the south reserved for cult.

After the seventh century destruction of the building, cult continued during the sixth century in a square *naiskos* built nearby to the southeast. Unbeknownst, apparently, to Lauter and others, the excavations uncovered a burial east of the house, directly under the later *naiskos*.[187] An altar was constructed and black figured pottery offered together with female terracotta figurines. In the late Archaic period, the sanctuary *peribolos* wall enclosed this area, and a small stoa was built over it.[188] Sacrificial pyres were also found to

184. Drerup 1968:33, Abb. 29 (plan); Lauter 1985a:163-69, Abb. 22 (reconstruction). Primary publication: Kourouniotis and Travlos 1937; cf. also Mylonas 1961:59; Fagerström 1988b:43-44 (Eleusis 1, "Holy House").

185. Accepted by Drerup 1968:33.

186. Lauter 1985a:166.

187. Travlos 1983:333-36; cf. fig. 12 on p. 335, fig. 14 on p. 336. This is undated (thanks to J. Binder for discussion).

188. Travlos 1983 fig. 11 on p. 324 for a selection; cf. Lauter 1985a:167-68; cf. Kourouniotis and Travlos 1937:49-51; figs. 5 (altar and *naiskos*), 8-11 (terracottas), 12-13 (pottery). See also Travlos 1983:334. The pyres are being restudied and published by K. Kokkou-Vyridi: cf. summary in Hägg et al. 1988:72, not fully published in that volume; for some illustrations, cf. Travlos

the northwest; a thick deposit was located by an early retaining wall of the Telesterion with terracotta figurines, painted votive plaques, Protocorinthian pottery, and some gold sheets. This material dated to the eighth to seventh centuries. Another deposit before the Archaic retaining wall held similar objects and small metal finds of sixth to fifth century date. A third deposit was discovered outside the north Archaic retaining wall; these may or may not be in situ.

Lauter suggested that the proximity of the complex to the sanctuary and the long-term use of the area point to a more important group connected with the cults of Demeter and Kore, rather than the occasional haunt of one of the *orgeones* or another small cult band. An inscription from a later period mentioning the sacred house of the Kerykes provides a possible candidate or model for the group using this building.[189] Lauter assembles examples of later sacred houses outside Attica, which may indicate that the tradition so strongly characteristic of Attica existed elsewhere.[190] Travlos's candidate is the Eumolpidai, based on his identification of the burial as a member of the Eumolpid *genos*, possibly a Hierophant who died in the later eighth century and was heroized. He publishes no finds from the burial, and its relationship to the complex is therefore uncertain. Fagerström denies any sacral function because the house was encroached upon by the sanctuary, rather than preserved, but this ignores the later *naiskos* on the site.[191]

Tourkovouni Complex

Tourkovouni is a summit of two peaks of just over 300 m, situated to the northwest of Lykavettos in the Attic plain. Rescue and conservation work was undertaken here in recent years because of damage by quarrying, road building, and landscaping activities, not to mention the disturbances caused by pot hunters and excursionists.[192] The reexamination and full publication of this site in the environs of Athens has important and useful consequences for this section of evidence and for the general conclusions as well.[193]

1983:337 + figs. 15-16. References: Mylonas1961:56-57.

189. Lauter 1985a:168 + n. 261. (The inscription is found in Dittenberger, *Syll.*^{2} 597,2.24.)

190. Lauter 1985a:168 n. 262 (Chios, Priene), pp. 169-76 (Tenos and Naxos houses near contemporary cemeteries; add Asine).

191. Fagerström 1988b:44. If the early excavators in Attica wished to make every structure into a "Sacred House," Fagerström turns them all into "substantial...farm buildings."

192. Lauter 1985a:11-18.

193. By Lauter; earlier notices: Wrede 1934:13, 29, fig. 9; surface finds examined by Brommer

The first evidence from Tourkovouni dates to the Neolithic, though cult activity is traced to the late eighth century or early seventh.[194] Lauter restored an oval foundation on the north, higher peak as belonging to a hut of moderate size, possibly with a bench on the interior. Ceramic evidence associated with this building consists mostly of household wares, including cooking pots, pitchers, plates,

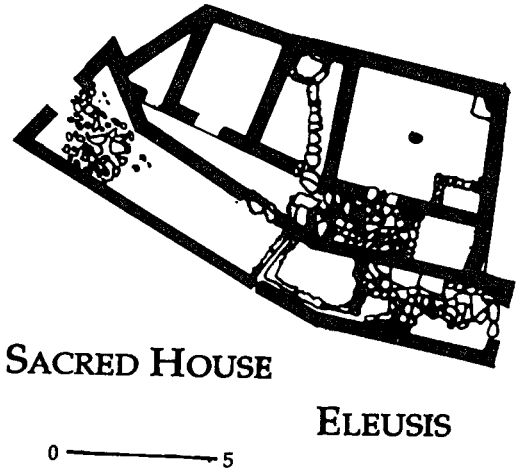


Fig. 22b: Sacred House, Eleusis

and saucers. There were also cups or mugs, skyphoi, kotylai, bowls, and kalathoi of the later eighth to sixth centuries, some decorated, some black glazed. A small percentage of the total was votive or cultic: a miniature with pierced base, fragments of a clay tripod, and terracotta figurines. The presence of animal teeth and bones suggested sacrifices.[195]

Sited on an isolated, windswept peak, the hut is probably, as Lauter concludes, not a normal dwelling, shelter, or storage, despite the great preponderance of household pottery. There is almost no evidence for storage vessels such as amphorai or pithoi or even large shapes such as the hydria. Pottery miniatures and the pierced pieces probably indicate cult activity. The cooking ware is very plausibly connected with a cult involving the preparation of food to be offered

1972:262 nos. 100-102; Langdon 1976:101-102 + nn. 9-10. See now Fagerström 1988b:47 (Tourkovouni 1).

194. Lauter 1985a:120-22.

195. Lauter 1985a:128-31, 138-39. Fagerström rejects the bench, but upholds the interpretation of the site as "an open-air sanctuary."

or consumed.[196]

Remains of another construction located on the south peak, apparently of the same date as the hut, were half quarried away. Part of a curved foundation and parallel inner walls or buttresses were found; only very poorly preserved pottery of coarse fabrics could be recovered, seemingly prehistoric. A few obsidian flakes were also collected. This early material predates the walls, and the only other associated find was a deposit of ash within the west part of the construction.[197] Lauter reconstructs not a house or other roofed structure but a tumulus (or cenotaph), although there are inner walls or supports. The lack of pottery suggests no continuing use of the area; Lauter sees it as the focal point of the cult in the house of the north peak, a form of *abaton*, commemorating (if not holding the remains of) the "hero-founder" of the cult. In view of the destruction of the remains, this interpretation remains highly speculative. Lauter's interpretation depends on the literary evidence for cult meals not involving blood sacrifice, which he believes are always chthonic. Because animal remains are present as well, he is compelled to entertain the idea that two phases of cult existed, the earlier more purely funerary or heroic; the other, probably later, when the emphasis at least was more "Olympian."[198]

The eighth century cult house continued in use until the end of the seventh century. A hiatus in activity then ensued, during which the house fell into ruin and part of its foundations was washed away. A deposit of miniature pottery, including a grooved mug, demonstrates a resumption of activity in the fifth century. The cooking and household pottery does not reappear, however, and the ceramics recovered are few in number and undecorated. Three pierced bases suggest ritual of a similar nature despite the break in continuity, since they were found in the earlier material also. This fifth-century evidence was recovered from within fill of the mid-fourth century or later; there seems to be another, unexplained gap in the evidence from the early to mid-fourth century.[199]

Later, in the late Classical period a *peribolos* and altar were erected on the site of the Iron Age hut. The *peribolos* was roughly

196. Lauter 1985a:129-34.

197. Lauter 1985a:122, 127-29.

198. Lauter 1985a:129-30, 137-38. See further Ch. 5 on the inadvisability of such a strict division in offering practice.

199. Lauter 1985a:139-44. The two brief gaps in material evidence are support for an oral preservation of the tradition of cult activity or the sanctity of the site, and suggestive for such cases as Amyklai.

pear-shaped, consisting of a low wall with tile coping; within it at the west end was an altar, and possibly a platform at the east. Though there seems to be no hard evidence for a structure of any sort on it, Lauter suggests a statue stood in the open air at this spot. The identification of the deity is not secured through inscription or other reference. Pausanias's mention of the mountain Anchesmos, with a statue of Zeus Anchesmios on its summit, tempts Lauter, but he admits it is only a possiblity.[200]

Lauter believes that a recognition of the heroic past determined the choice of Tourkovouni in the eighth century, and that a nostalgia for earlier times caused the late Classical resumption of cult. The Tourkovouni hut features match examples of peak cults and of Sacred Houses in Attica and elsewhere, but the so-called tumulus on the south peak necessitates Lauter's appeal to nostalgia.[201] Lauter finds further confirmation of the cult's chthonic character in the cooking vessels, best suited for the preparation of porridge-like recipes. Bloodless offerings are supposed to be especially appropriate for the *chthonioi*, or Olympians in their chthonic aspect, and in funerary rituals. However, libations could be part of any sort of offering, and ritual feasting involving the use of household pottery is attested archaeologically in very various contexts.[202]

The isolation of Tourkovouni, the absence of evidence for a major divinity, and the modesty of the sanctuary and its offerings (especially early in its history), however, suggest the sort of lesser observance recorded as *thalysia*: first fruits offered after a harvest. In Hellenistic sources, the gods mentioned are Pan, Hermes, Herakles, Priapos, Demeter, Dionysos, and the Nymphs. Heroes are also honored in this way, but receive sacrifice as well, so no strict categorization is possible. Any heroic aspect to cult at Tourkovouni remains undemonstrated.[203] An isolated burial in the tumulus would

200. Lauter 1985a:145-46; 150-54. Cf. Fagerström 1988b:47.

201. Lauter 1985a:134-35; cf. Langdon 1976.

202. *Opferrinne* characterize funerary contexts (above, Ch. 2, more below). Preparation of meals in sanctuaries is implicit in sacrifice; the publication of masses of votives misleads us. Cooking and dining ware in sanctuaries is found at Samos, Olympia, and Aigina, for example, presented by U. Kron and U. Sinn (with reference to Olympia) in Hägg et al. 1987:135-47, a list which now includes Isthmia. Though sacrifice of animals is usual, it is very often accompanied by agricultural produce, either in its natural state or prepared in various ways. Libations: Burkert 1985:70-73: "In special cases the offering of first fruits stands on its own, *without* animal sacrifice, or even in contrast to it" (p. 68, emphasis mine).

203. Cf. Burkert 1985:67 + nn. 7-11: *Anthologia Palatina* VI.42 (Pan), 299 (Hermes), 36 (Demeter), 44 (Dionysos). See Rouse 1902:149-51 and below. Brommer 1985 compiled lists of offerings attested in literature and inscription; fruit and vegetables go to half the Olympians and the Nymphs, Pan, Muses, and Horai, along with various sorts of food. He also listed the types of vessels given to the gods; there are no discernible patterns in this written evidence; cf. Stengel 1898.

be very peculiar. Whatever the nature and date of the remains on the south peak, it was not important enough to be maintained, renewed, or remembered at any time after its construction.

Lathouresa Complex

Lauter has also published an eighth century settlement on a hill called Lathouresa near Vari in Attica.[204] The small group of irregularly planned buildings on the hill is dominated by a complex designated the *Anaktoron*: four rooms strung together, the apsidal central chamber (II) fitted with a bench along the walls. A hearth or fire altar stood just outside. Lauter interprets this structure as the residence of the *archegetes* of the settlement and communal dining hall for ritual meals.[205] A circular tholos just to the west he calls the center of a chthonic cult. An early investigation by G. Oikonomos in the late 1930s reported '25 small houses and a small sanctuary...that, completely undisturbed, contained a large quantity of votives.'[206] Terracottas, rings, fibulae, earrings, bracelets, and other items of silver, bronze, lead and iron were recovered.[207]

Unfortunately, the report does not describe the sanctuary. Oikonomos found votives 'especially in the sanctuary, but also in the houses.' Since Oikonomos says he explored the sanctuary and the small houses 1-6, he is probably speaking of the settlement area, and not a *naiskos* on the north spur, when mentioning the sanctuary.[208] Lauter believes that the tholos and Oikonomos's 'small sanctuary' are identical: an illegal sounding in the tholos fondations yielded ash and charcoal, small animal bones, and fragments of miniature pots and terracottas. Lauter notes the lack of an exterior altar and infers that the cult took place inside the tholos and that the character of the votives implies hero cult. As parallels for such a cult, he draws on the Sacred Houses discussed above and from the

204. Lauter 1985b. See also Morris 1987:68, 97-98; Fagerström 1988b:48-50. Apparently a "defense wall" is not ancient, but dates to the 1930s: A. Mazarakis, personal communication (June 1986); see now Hägg et al. 1988:112 n. 16.

205. Lauter 1985b:14-26, plans Abb. 1, 2 and reconstruction fig. 3. The apsidal room served a local dining association and their occasional guests (p. 24). See also p. 71; Hägg et al. 1987:112 + n. 15; Fagerström 1988b:48 does not think the benches were for seating (or votive display, apparently) but terraces for structural support on the slopes.

206. Lauter 1985b:43-49 (n. VIII); plan Abb. 6 and photograph Taf. 9b.

207. Lauter 1985b:48-49; *AA* 55 (1940) 77 (Welter reporting on the excavation). Attempts by Lauter and others to find and study the material in the National Museum were unsuccessful.

208. *AA* 55 (1940) 177; for the *naiskos*, Lauter 1985b:57-63; geography, 1-2. Welter mentions 25 houses and a small sanctuary: with the tholos, there are 25 structures on the hill. How exact this count was is questionable.

finds in a 'phratry sanctuary' on Aegina, from the Agamemnoneion at Mycenae, and the Menelaion at Sparta. This is a selective choice and not the full range of situations in which such finds are known and appropriate. F. Seiler agrees with a cultic function, but thinks meals took place in the structure, while the votives indicate it also functioned as a place for deposition, increasingly so over time.[209] Fagerström speaks of "diverse activities in the respective rooms," including "conspicuous storing" in the *anaktoron*. He restores the tholos as an altar because of the "fire-blackened votives," eliminating the building altogether.[210]

The presence of votives in the houses, not just in the tholos, raises questions about Lauter's interpretation of the entire hilltop. Although he believes it to be a settlement, he admits the absence of household ceramics and evidence for normal habitation activities.[211] The chthonic cult stressed by Lauter is not necessarily reflected in the building or the votives, and he reports finding cups and plate fragments, as well as animal bone, on the floor inside. Recent work by Morris and Cooper shows that tholoi on other sites, similar in many respects, were the foundations for temporary tents erected on festal occasions to shelter seated (not reclining) diners.[212] Mazarakis states that votives came from under the bench in the tholos, so that the bench is a later addition anyway. In fact, he actually believes the tholos is later than the rest of the remains (i.e., Archaic rather than Iron Age).

The entire installation on Lathouresa may have been used seasonally, in the same way as Tourkovouni (which would explain the almost exclusively votive material recovered).[213] The tholos and its finds do not mandate a hero cult; though a connection of Lathouresa with the cemeteries nearby at Vari is attractive, the distances involved are too great to make this likely.[214] Possibly a

209. Lauter 1985b:24 sees connections with hero cult particularly in the assemblage of offerings; references n. 77. Seiler 1986:20-24, cites much of the comparanda noted by Lauter.

210. Fagerström 1988b:49-50.

211. Lauter 1985b:35, notes the lack of LG coarse and household wares, which he suggests could be due to the short period of occupation. He also suggests the use of metal, wood, and leather receptacles, but Ober 1988 points out that the thorough exploration of the site by Stavropoulos would have removed much evidence.

212. Cf. Gernet 1981:14-15. See Cooper and Morris 1990; cf. Seiler 1986:7-24; Hägg et al. 1987:113 n. 19. Fagerström 1988b:50 dismisses the tholos altogether, opting for "an open-air altar enclosure."

213. Lauter rejects specifically the possibility of seasonal or purely cultic use for the whole in his early remarks: 1985b:5-6.

214. On the "divinity of heroic character" of the tholos, he remarks the location of the tholos in the center (agora) of the settlement, and connects this with the tombs of heroic founders in Greek cities. Fagerström witholds an opinion about the honorand of his "altar." Lauter 1985b:63-8, esp.

burial association used the cult places on Lathouresa; a tumulus at the foot of the hill (with seventh century burials?) is reported by Lauter but no details are available.[215]

This chapter has demonstrated the rarity of hero cult before the Archaic period, whether for epic or local heroes. In fact, hero cult is often suggested on little evidence. On the other hand, the early shrine of Menelaos at Sparta is noteworthy and suggests that Spartans found hero cult a particularly useful ritual construct early in their history. What has emerged, though, is a concern for extended rituals connected with the dead and a great deal of evidence considering drinking or feasting as an important social institution in the Iron Age.

66; for maps, see Curtius and Kaupert 1885:no. VIII, and a sketch map in *AA* 1983:312 fig. 5 (with Lauter's corrections 1985b: 66 n. 130).

215. Lauter 1985b:64 with fig. 9; Morris 1987:68; on p. 97 he calls it "6th c." It was not found in 1977, but in 1965 (cf. *ArchDelt* 21 B 1 *Chron.*:95-96). No grounds for dating are given; it was enclosed on three sides by a 4th c. wall.