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THE ARGOLID 800-600 B.C.,  
AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY

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## ABSTRACT

Ever since Schliemann's excavations in the Argolid, the area has been popular with archaeologists. One hundred years later the Geometric period is fairly well known in certain aspects but in other ways it is still unclear and even less is known about the immediately succeeding period, the early Archaic.

The aim of this thesis, therefore, is to present the archaeological evidence for both the later part of the Geometric and early Archaic periods, the eighth and seventh centuries, and to examine the differences and the changes that occur within that time at the various sites, noting in particular the contrasts between the eighth and seventh century. This is a purely archaeological survey; historical accounts are not considered except in passing. The thesis attempts to put into proper perspective the position of Argos in relation to her neighbours in the Argolid, and the position of the eastern peninsula in relation to the central plain. Reasons are also suggested for the sudden and important changes noticeable in the seventh century.

All the major facets of the archaeological evidence are presented, each in its own chapter beginning with the sites themselves, including distribution maps and a site index. Trends in settlement patterns from the LHIII B to the Archaic period are noted, with particular attention to the Geometric and Archaic. The graves are then considered with an index of all graves of the eighth and seventh centuries. Contrasts and comparisons are made between the periods at each site. Pottery is examined by period and site, then metalwork in terms of the different types of artifacts found in the eighth and seventh centuries. The evidence of terracottas is treated in the same way and inscriptions and script are studied; finally the evidence for sanctuaries and cults brings together much of the previous material.

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AA</u>	<u>Archäologischer Anzeiger</u>
<u>AAA</u>	<u>Athens Annals of Archaeology</u>
Alin, <u>EMF</u>	Alin, P., <u>Das Ende der mykenischen Fundstätten auf dem griechischen Festland.</u> Lund, 1962.
<u>ADelt.</u>	<u>Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον</u>
<u>AE</u>	<u>Ἐφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική</u>
<u>AJA</u>	<u>American Journal of Archaeology</u>
<u>AM</u>	<u>Mitteilungen des deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</u>
Angel, <u>Lerna II</u>	Angel, J.L., <u>Lerna, a Preclassical Site in the Argolid; Results of Excavations Carried Out by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Vol. II: The People.</u> Princeton, N.J., 1971.
<u>Annuario</u>	<u>Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente</u>
<u>AntJ</u>	<u>Antiquaries Journal</u>
<u>BCH</u>	<u>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</u>
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Boardman, <u>AGG</u>	Boardman, J., <u>Archaic Greek Gems; Schools and Artists in the Sixth and Early Fifth Centuries B.C.,</u> London, 1968.
Boardman, <u>GrG</u>	Boardman, J., <u>Greek Gems and Finger Rings.</u> London, 1970.
Boardman, <u>IslG</u>	Boardman, J., <u>Island Gems.</u> London, 1963.

<u>BSA</u>	<u>Annual of the British School at Athens</u>
<u>CAH</u>	<u>Cambridge Ancient History</u>
<u>ClRh</u>	<u>Clara Rhodos</u>
Coldstream, <u>GG</u>	Coldstream, J.N., <u>Geometric Greece</u> . London, 1977.
Coldstream, <u>GGP</u>	Coldstream, J.N., <u>Greek Geometric Pottery</u> . London, 1968.
Cook, <u>GPP</u>	Cook, R.M., <u>Greek Painted Pottery</u> . London, 1960.
Courbin, <u>CGA</u>	Courbin, P., <u>La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide</u> . Paris, 1966.
Courbin, <u>TGA</u>	Courbin, P., <u>Tombs géométriques d'Argos I</u> . Paris, 1974.
<u>CQ</u>	<u>Classical Quarterly</u>
DAI	Deutsches archäologisches Institut
Desborough, <u>GDA</u>	Desborough, V.R.d'A., <u>The Greek Dark Ages</u> . London, 1972.
Desborough, <u>LMTS</u>	Desborough, V.R.d'A., <u>The Last Mycenaeans and Their Successors</u> . Oxford, 1964.
Desborough, <u>PGP</u>	Desborough, V.R.d'A., <u>Protogeometric Pottery</u> . Oxford, 1952.
Deshayes, <u>Argos</u>	Deshayes, J., <u>Argos les fouilles de la Deiras</u> . Paris, 1966.
Drerup, <u>Griechische Baukunst</u>	Drerup, H., <u>Griechische Baukunst in geometrischer Zeit</u> . <u>Arch. Homeric</u> II, 1969.
<u>EA</u>	<u>Etudes archéologiques</u>
<u>Ergon</u>	<u>Τὸ Ἔργον τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας</u>
Faraklas, <u>AGC X</u>	Faraklas, N., <u>Τροιζηνία, Καλαύρεια, Μέθανα</u> . <u>Ancient Greek Cities X</u> , 1972.
Faraklas, <u>AGC XII</u>	Faraklas, N., <u>Ἐπιδαυρία</u> . <u>Ancient Greek Cities XII</u> , 1972.
Faraklas, <u>AGC XIX</u>	Faraklas, N., <u>Ἐρμιονίς-Ἄλιός</u> . <u>Ancient Greek Cities XIX</u> , 1973.
<u>FdD</u>	<u>Fouilles de Delphes</u>



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with Europe and Asia. Oxford, 1956.
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Athens, 1975.

<u>JDAI</u>	<u>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</u>
Jeffery, <u>LSAG</u>	Jeffery, L.H., <u>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</u> . Oxford, 1961.
<u>JHS</u>	<u>Journal of Hellenic Studies</u>
<u>JHSArch.</u>	<u>Journal of Hellenic Studies. Archaeological Reports.</u>
<u>KCh</u>	<u>Κρητικά Χρονικά</u>
Kilian-Dirlmeier, <u>Anhänger</u>	Kilian-Dirlmeier, I., <u>Anhänger in Griechenland von der mykenischen bis zur spät- geometrischen Zeit. Prähistorische Bronzefunde XI.2</u> , Munich, 1979.
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Leekley and Noyes, <u>AESG</u>	Leekley, D. and R. Noyes, <u>Archaeological Excavations in Southern Greece</u> . Park Ridge, N.J., 1976.
<u>ÖJh</u>	<u>Jahreshefte des österreichische archäologisches Institut in Wien</u>
<u>OlBer</u>	<u>Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Olympia</u>
<u>OlFor</u>	<u>Olympische Forschungen</u>
<u>OpArch.</u>	<u>Opuscula Archaeologica</u>
<u>OpAth.</u>	<u>Opuscula Atheniensi</u>
<u>Prakt.</u>	<u>Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθηναῖς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας</u>
<u>RA</u>	<u>Revue archéologique</u>
<u>RE</u>	Pauly-Wissowa; <u>Real-Encyclopädie der klass- ischen Altertumswissenschaft</u>
<u>REG</u>	<u>Revue des études grecques</u>
<u>Sanctuaries</u>	<u>Sanctuaries and Cults in the Aegean Bronze Age</u> . (ed. by R. Hägg and N. Marinatos), Stockholm, 1981.
Siedentopf, <u>Tiryns VI</u>	Siedentopf, H.W., W. Rudolph, H. Dohl, V. Willerding and W. Voigtlander, <u>Tiryns VI</u>

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Weapons from the End of the Bronze  
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An Analysis of the Settlement. (with  
B. Hulthen and S. Olsson), Stockholm,  
1983.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In 1953 the French excavators at Argos discovered the now-famous Panoply Grave containing part of what seemed to be a hoplite's armour. It caused great excitement because it was the first find of its kind in the Argolid of the Geometric period but it also caused certain problems with regard to the accepted history of Argos. How could an Argive possess such equipment at that date, c. 730-710? It had been known from ancient sources that Argos had been an important military power and modern historians generally placed that importance in the seventh century. The Panoply Grave with its implication that Argos was militarily strong in the eighth century therefore meant the beginning of an entire rethinking of Argive history in the Geometric period.

Well thirty years after this discovery the debates over the position of Argos in the Late Geometric period are still heated. Some see the Panoply Grave as an example of the astounding military height Argos had reached. Others think of it as an isolated phenomenon, preferring instead to see the dead warrior as a wealthy aristocrat flirting with a new trend. Regardless of the answer, the questions raised by this grave have played the role of arousing a greater interest in the archaeology of Argos and the Argolid in the Geometric and Archaic periods. Excavations especially those since 1950 by the French at Argos, the Swedish at Asine, the Germans at Tiryns, the British at Mykenai, the Greeks at Mykenai and Nauplia and the Americans at Porto Kheli have contributed immensely to our knowledge of these sites.

The period from 800 to 600 B.C. nevertheless remains enigmatic in many ways. Names such as Mykenai and Tiryns immediately bring to mind Mykenaian palaces and splendour and an aura of grandeur and prosperity. One does not so easily conjure up images of an eighth-century Tiryns or Mykenai. For the seventh century the images are

even hazier. In part then my own interest in this period is to clarify this indistinct and somewhat confused and distorted picture.

The traditions give contradictory accounts of events in the Argolid at that time. The recurring theme throughout centres around Argos and King Pheidon. Under that great leader Argos became the most powerful city both within the Argolid and even beyond since the traditions speak of an empire extending as far south as Kythera. Among Argos' main signs of power are its destructions of several towns, among them Asine and Nauplia. The traditions do not usually provide absolute dates for the events they mention, and when they do, others suggest very different dates. One can attempt to find solutions to the various conflicts posed by the traditions but an historical approach may perhaps never be completely satisfactory due simply to the contradictory nature of the evidence. An archaeological survey of this period can thus serve a useful purpose by providing an independent source of information into which to place the historical references. This work will therefore deal with the archaeological evidence alone. The historical accounts of events of that period, although they are known and the problems connected with their interpretation are appreciated, will not be dealt with to any extent. It is hoped that this work will provide a better perspective with which to view the traditions which in themselves have caused unresolved problems.

Various aspects of the Argolid, in particular of the Geometric period, have been treated in the past. A general work dealing with the Argolid in both prehistoric and historic periods is R.A. Tomlinson's Argos and the Argolid (1972), a useful general study combining both history and archaeology and using Argos as its focal point. Recently T. Kelly published A History of Argos to 500 B.C. (1976) in which he discusses at some length the entire problem of the



position of Argos and Pheidon and related historical questions.

Archaeologically the resources are slightly more diverse beginning with general works such as J.N. Coldstream's Geometric Greece (1977), providing a thorough regional examination of the evidence, and his Greek Geometric Pottery (1968), still the standard work for any student of the pottery of that period. Another work dealing with pottery but this one devoted exclusively to the Argolid is P. Courbin's La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide (1966), an exhaustive and complete study of this distinctive school in which the chronology of the pottery, the compositions and motifs, painters, wheelmade and handmade pottery as well as each of the shapes are thoroughly examined. Courbin concentrates entirely on the pottery without risking many historical conclusions based on it.

Another aspect of the evidence for the Geometric period in the Argolid is covered by R. Hägg in Die Gräber der Argolid (1974) in which the graves are examined site by site from the Submykenaian to the Late Geometric period. The work proves extremely useful for a study of regional differences within the Argolid. In Les tombes géométriques d'Argos I (1974) Courbin again gives a detailed account, this time of the graves excavated by the French in Argos between 1952 and 1958. Over the years there have been many excavation reports dealing with various sites, beginning with Schliemann's work at Mykenai and Tiryns one hundred years ago, and continuing up until the present day. Work at Mykenai and Tiryns has progressed over the years; Wace and his colleagues from the British School excavated from the 1920's until the 1950's. Most of the remains were from periods other than the Geometric and Archaic although Geometric graves and the Agamemnoneion were published in the 1950's in BSA. At Tiryns the work by the Germans has proved of continuing interest although recent work has tended to concentrate on areas of prehistoric habitation. In

Tiryns I (1912) Frickenhaus, Müller and Oelmann discussed some the Geometric and Archaic material and the 'temple' over the old palace. At Argos Vollgraff excavated early in this century but from the early 1950's until today the work has steadily increased from year to year. Both the French and Greeks have been excavating the city, with reports yearly in BCH and ADelt. From this work a greater knowledge of Argos in both the Geometric and Archaic periods has been provided, as well as for all other periods from the Neolithic onwards. Other major publications include The Argive Heraeum in two volumes, published in 1902 and 1905. In it, Waldstein and others discuss the remains at this sanctuary site, but unfortunately the work was undertaken at a time when archaeological techniques and priorities were not what they are today and the publication suffers as a result. More recently Caskey and Amandry went over the site and published their findings in Hesperia 1952. In 1938 Frödin and Persson published Asine in which both the prehistoric and historic remains were investigated. Recently in the 1970's more work has been carried out at the site, showing that Geometric Asine was a sizeable community. P. Kavvadias excavated the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary at Epidauros from the 1880's until the early years of this century. His reports were published in Praktika but later Papademetriou published his own account of the site in Praktika 1948-1951. In the 1970's Lambrinudakis continued work at the sanctuary and found evidence of Mykenaian cult activity under the Geometric remains. For the other sites their reports have been published over the years in the various archaeological journals; these are general reports and they do not of course concentrate on the Geometric or Archaic period. Bibliographies for each site are in fact given in the following chapter.

It is interesting that the major works noted above by Courbin, Hägg and Coldstream all deal with the Geometric period.

Nothing comparable has been attempted for the Archaic period, undoubtedly mainly because of the scantiness of the material. In fact there has been no systematic investigation of the archaeological evidence as a whole for this period. Some of the modern historical works do deal with that century, as in Kelly's A History of Argos to 500 B.C. for example but in this case and in others, the works are purely historical and great emphasis is placed on King Pheidon. The Archaic period is indeed an important one, in particular the first hundred years, in the Argolid's history. Both the eighth and seventh centuries were times of many changes, politically, socially and militarily within the region. It is these changes which prove of interest, not only those changes that occurred from the eighth to the seventh century, but also those among the various sites within each period, changes for example in settlement patterns, burial customs, pottery styles, the fortunes of other industries, and so on. One aspect of this study will therefore focus on regional diversity within the Argolid.

Related to the question of regional diversity is the position of Argos itself within the Argolid. For many years the term 'Argive' has been used to denote anything within the geographical area of the Argolid, whether this is referring to the sites themselves or pottery or any sort of artifact coming from that region of Greece. Archaeologists write about 'Argive' pottery or 'Argive' terracottas of the seventh century, or 'Argive' bronzework. This use of the word 'Argive' reinforces the notion of a dominant centre, one responsible for all the manufactured goods of the area. The reason for this lies partly in the nature of the archaeological evidence and partly in the ancient sources, both of which place great emphasis on Argos itself. Are modern students justified in continuing this assertion of a domination by Argos and was this domination in evidence in both

the eighth and seventh centuries? This work will attempt to achieve a better and more accurate perspective on Argos itself and its position within the Argolid. For the purpose of clarity the word 'Argive' will only be used when referring to Argos, while 'Argolic' will be used when dealing with material from the other sites or the Argolid as a whole. The only exception will be the Argive Heraion which will remain as such because of convention.

Was Argos as strong as traditions and some modern historians claim? Did the city ever actually possess an empire stretching all along the eastern Peloponnese as Herodotos I.82 claims? Could this empire have existed in the eighth or seventh century? Does the archaeological evidence support claims of an Argive superiority? These are the kind of questions this study will attempt to answer. The work undertaken by people such as Courbin, Hägg and Coldstream focus on Argive preeminence, one which is most evident in the eighth century particularly the Late Geometric period of the second half of that century. Argos has produced the most pottery and it has yielded the most graves of that period but although the archaeological evidence has afforded a fairly clear picture of eighth-century Argos, relatively little is known about the seventh century. The lack of archaeological works dealing with the period from 700 to 600 B.C. leads one to postulate a state of general collapse in the area. One might well ask oneself what happened after c. 700 B.C. in terms of pottery, bronzework, graves and other remains. Upon closer examination one finds that the area continues to exist archaeologically in the seventh century - graves continue to be dug, people continue to use pottery and they continue dedicating pins at sanctuaries. The main question however is the scale with which that existence manifests itself. What therefore needs to be examined is the nature of the remains in the seventh century and what those remains imply with

reference to the position of Argos and the Argolid in general at that time. In order to do this Argos will be treated as only one of the many sites of the Argolid where archaeological remains have been found. The evidence from Tiryns, Mykenai, Asine and other central plain sites will provide a clearer picture of life at that time. Work has also progressed in the eastern Argolid, especially in the area of Porto Kheli and Koiladha, but the area in general is still only superficially known. A dichotomy nevertheless seems to have existed between the central plain and eastern peninsula and in the following chapters the archaeological remains will be examined in order to clarify, if possible, the position of the eastern Argolid in relation to the rest of the Argolid in both the eighth and seventh centuries.

The study is arranged in chapters, each one devoted to a particular facet of the archaeological record. The first is a site index and survey of settlement patterns with special attention to the developments in the later part of the Geometric and early Archaic periods. The material can thus be examined in its proper geographical context. Within each chapter the material is discussed in chronological order, where possible, to emphasize the changes within the period between 800 and 600 B.C.

CHAPTER 2

DISTRIBUTION OF SITES

## 2.1 Site Index

### 1. Ayia Marina

EHII-?III LHI-III(A-B)

Theokhares, D.R., ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 84-93.

Faraklas., AGC XIX (1973), 10 and Figs. 9a, 9b, 11a, 11b.

Catling, H.W. JHSArch. (1973/74), 13-14.

Michaud, J. BCH XCVIII (1974), 612.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson., Gazetteer (1979), no. A44a.

Located on the east coast of the island Spetsai about 200 m. south of the city of the same name, the site of Ayia Marina has yielded settlement remains consisting of buildings and a well of the EH period. In addition there are various sherds of the LH period.

### 2. Ayia Paraskevi

H

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 10 and Fig. 15a, 15b.

This site too is on the island Spetsai, on the west coast directly opposite the city of Spetsai. Surface finds indicate the presence of a sanctuary in the Hellenistic period.

### 3. Ayios Ioannes

C H R

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 12 and Fig. 15a, 15b, 16a, 16b, 17a, 17b.

Faraklas mentions that the site was both a settlement and a sanctuary, as seen from surface finds. It is in the eastern peninsula about 7 km. south of modern Palaia Epidauros.

### 4. Ayios Leonidas

LH G C H? R?

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 11 and Figs. 12a to 17b.

From surface finds Faraklas points out the presence of a settlement in these periods, although the evidence for the Hellenistic is uncertain. In the Classical period the site also functioned as a watchtower and it may have continued as such into the Hellenistic. The site lies approximately 4 km. NW of Palaiokhori.

Immediately NW of Ayios Leonidas at a site which Faraklas calls simply "NE of Dimaina", a watchtower existed in the C, H and R periods, though uncertain in both the H and R periods.

#### 5. Ayios Stathis

EH

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 16, Fig. 11a, 11b.

Although unexcavated the site shows evidence of having been a settlement in the EH period. It is located on the island of Poros in a mountainous area about 2 km. NE of Poros.

#### 6. Akhladokambos: Hysiai

LHIIIB A C H

Pausanias II.XXIV.7.

Frazer, Pausanias III (1898), 214.

Winter, F.E., Greek Fortifications (1971), 43, 158.

Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 37, 9.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A15.

Tomlinson states that the fortified akropolis dates to the sixth century B.C. The town was destroyed in 416 B.C. by the Spartans although there was a fortification there in both the fifth and fourth centuries. When Pausanias visited it the site was in ruins while Frazer at the end of the last century reported seeing walls and towers of polygonal masonry on the akropolis. Most recently Hope-Simpson and Dickinson found surface sherds of the C and H periods as well as circuit walls of either C or H. Besides this they also found



LHIIIB sherds. The site lies in the SW corner of the Argolid just east of the modern village of Akhladokambos and about 5 km. from ancient Kenkhreiai.

#### 7. Akra Milianos

A? C H R

Ecole française d'Athènes, BCH LXXIX (1955), 246.

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 10, Fig. 14a, 15a, 15b, 16a, 16b.

Rudolph, W., Hesperia XLIII (1974), 105-31.

Surface finds denote the existence of a settlement in the C, H and R periods. Nearby there was also a sanctuary in the A, C, H and R, though uncertain for all of them. Faraklas makes a distinction between the sanctuary and settlement, calling the sanctuary Akra Milianos "A" and the settlement "B". The site is located on the coast at the southern end of the eastern peninsula opposite Spetsai and approximately 2 km. to the east of ancient Kosta. In 1970 a small excavation was carried out in the area and numerous Classical sherds were found. The settlement here also seems to have been abandoned or destroyed in the fourth century, as at Porto Kheli.

#### 8. Alea

R

Pausanias VIII.XXIII.1.

Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XIX B1 (1964), 127.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 57.

The site is located about 4 km. south of modern Alea in the NW corner of the Argolid. Pausanias mentions sanctuaries of Athena Alea and Artemis Ephesia as well as a temple and statue of Dionysos. Today walls are still visible on the akropolis as well as a canal and building of the Roman period.

9. Amoriani

G

Courbin, CGA (1966), 120, 190, 333 n. 8.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 405.

Hägg, R., OpAth. X (1971), 41-52.

Kritzas, C.B., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 248.

Courbin and Hägg note a couple of LG pots from Amoriani, one a LG amphoriskos and the other a kyathos of Corinthian LG fabric. The site is about 3 km. SE of Midea in the central Argolic plain.

10. "Tou Andreiomenou to Mnema"

C H

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 12, Fig. 15a to 16b.

In both these periods there existed a watchtower here, in south central Epidauria about 400 m. north of modern Vothikion.

11. Angelokastro

R

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 11 and Figs. 17a and b.

From surface sherds it appears that the site was a settlement in the Roman period. It is located in the northern regions of the Argolid, close to the Corinthian border.

12. Ano Phanari

C H R

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), Figs. 15a to 17b.

This site is located on the eastern coast on the Epidaurian Gulf, near the modern village of Ano Phanari, and about 8 km. SE of Palaia Epidaurios. Surface finds give evidence of both a settlement and watchtower in these periods; the site is unexcavated.

### 13. Argive Heraion

N EHII-III MH LHI-IIIIB G A C H R

- Stamatakes, H., AM III (1878), 271-286.  
Imhoof-Blumer, F. and P. Gardner, JHS VI (1885), 83-84.  
Waldstein, C., AH I-II (1902,1905).  
Kastriotis, P., AE (1920), 53-56.  
Wace, A.J.B., BSA XXV (1921-1923), 330f.  
Blegen, C.W., AJA XXIX (1925), 413-427.  
Blinkenberg, C., Fibules grecques et orientales (1926), 28, Fig. 6.  
Woodward, A.M., JHS XLVII (1927), 237-238.  
Oikonomos, G.P., AE (1931), 1-53.  
Jenkins, R.J.H., BSA XXXII (1931-1932), 23-40.  
Blegen, C.W., Prosymna (1937),  
----, AE (1937), 377-390.  
----, AJA XLIII (1939), 410f.  
Payne, Perachora I (1940), 42f.  
Persson, A., New Tombs at Dendra near Midea (1942), 155f.  
Nilsson, M.P., Minoan-Mycenaean Religion<sup>2</sup> (1950), 480f.  
Caskey, J.L., Hesperia XXI (1952), 185-221.  
Amandry, P., Hesperia XXI (1952), 222-274.  
Jacobsthal, Greek Pins (1956), 4, 12, 14f., 38.  
Verdelis, N., AE (1956), Chron. 10-11.  
Daux, G., BCH LXXXII (1958), 705-707.  
Blegen, C.W., AJA LXIV (1960), 159f.  
Cook, GGP (1960), 22f.  
Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., AE (1960), 123-135.  
Alin, EMF (1962), 37f.  
Mollard-Besques, S., Les terres-cuites grecques (1963), 48.  
Desborough, LMTS (1964), 77f.  
Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 4.  
Courbin, CGA (1966), passim.  
Higgins, R.A., Greek Terracottas (1967), 50f., 84.  
Bergquist, Archaic Greek Temenos (1967).  
Kirsten and Kraiker, Griechenlandkunde (1967), 341.  
Coldstream, GGP (1968), 405.  
Drerup, Griechische Baukunst (1969), 57f.  
Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 156.  
Snodgrass, DAG (1971), 57.  
Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 33-34, 230- 246.

- Lauter, H., AM LXXXVIII (1973), 175-187.  
Hägg, Gräber (1974), 60-62.  
Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 62f.  
Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 285-289.  
Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A4.  
Wright, J.C., JHS CII (1982), 186-201.

The site is located between Argos and Mykenai, about 5 km. SE of the Mykenai citadel and 7 km. NE of Argos. Although the sanctuary itself does not appear to be earlier than the Geometric period, the area was occupied in the Neolithic and the EH, MH and LH periods until the LHIII B. The habitation remains of these periods are fairly abundant with remains of walls and pottery scattered over the slopes. Minyan and Matt-painted ware are especially evident. The LH remains consist primarily of Cyclopean walls and many tombs have been discovered ranging in date from the EH to the LH period. Blegen, followed by Bintliff, suggested that the Heraion was a palace site in the LH period.

The break after the LHIII B is quite a long one as there appears to be nothing until the MGII period when the sanctuary itself was established. The Old Temple was built in the late eighth or early seventh century. There were different building phases and additions to the sanctuary until the fifth century when the temple was rebuilt c. 423. The finds from the G period on are numerous, including bronzes, pottery, gold jewellery and ornaments, ivory ornaments, stone beads and seals, etc. In some of the Mykenaian chamber tombs Geometric objects were deposited, some perhaps thrown away after being used in the sanctuary but most deliberately put there. This has been used as evidence of a hero cult or cult of the dead. The sanctuary continued to be used throughout the historic period and it was still quite important when Pausanias visited it in the second century A.D.

#### 14. Argos

N EH MH LHI-IIIC SM PG G A C H R

- Martha, J., BCH III (1879), 193.  
Schmidt, J., AM VI (1881), 357.  
Imhoof-Blumer, F. and P. Gardner, JHS VI (1885), 84-91.  
Hirschfeld et al., RE (1896), 787-788.  
Vollgraff, W., BCH XXVIII (1904), 364-399.  
----, BCH XXX (1906), 5-45.  
----, BCH XXXI (1907), 139-184.  
----, BCH XXXIII (1909), 171-200.  
----, BCH XXXIV (1910), 331-354.  
Arvanitopoulos, A.S., Prakt. (1916), 72-82.  
Vollgraff, W., BCH XLIV (1920), 219-226.  
Johansen, K.F., Les vases sicyoniens (1923), 7f., 45, 171, 190.  
Ecole française, BCH LII (1928), 476-479.  
Vollgraff, W., Mnemosyne LVI (1928), 313-327.  
Béquignon, Y., BCH LIV (1930), 480.  
Karo, G., AA XLVI (1931), 260-262.  
Jenkins, R.J.H., BSA XXXII (1931-1932), 23-40.  
Papaspiridi-Karouzou, S., ADelt. XV (1933-1935), 16-53.  
Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 605.  
Arnold, I.R., AJA XLI (1937), 436-440.  
Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1952), 413-426.  
Deshayes, J., BCH LXXVII (1953), 59-89.  
Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 90-104.  
Gallet de Santerre, H., BCH LXXVII (1953), 211.  
Roes, A., BCH LXXVII (1953), 90-104.  
Charitonides, S., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 410-426.  
Higgins, Terracottas I (1954), 8f., 268f.  
Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1954), 8.  
Roux, G. et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 158-189.  
Courbin, P., BCH LXXIX (1955), 1-49.  
Deshayes, J. et al., BCH LXXIX (1955), 310-331.  
Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1955), 9f.  
Courbin, P., BCH LXXX (1956), 183-218.  
----, Archaeology IX (1956), 166-174.  
Deshayes, J. et al., BCH LXXX (1956), 361-399.  
Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1956), 9f.  
Jacobsthal, Greek Pins (1956), 4, 20f., 29, Fig. 38.

- Courbin, P. BCH LXXXI (1957), 322-386.
- Daux, G. et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 637-687.
- Ecole française, BCH LXXXI (1957), 537.
- Marcadé, J., BCH LXXXI (1957), 405-474.
- Roux, G., REG LXX (1957), 474-487.
- Vollgraff, W., BCH LXXXI (1957), 475-477.
- Charneux, P., BCH LXXXII (1958), 1-15.
- Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1958), 6.
- Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 615-616.
- , BCH LXXXIII (1959), 754-774.
- Alexandri, O., ADelt. XVI B (1960), 93.
- Ecole française d'Athènes, ADelt. XVI B (1960), 94-95.
- Hammond, N.G.L., CQ LIV (1960), 33-36.
- Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1960-61), 10.
- Daux, G., BCH LXXXV (1961), 675.
- Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1961-62), 9.
- Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XVII B (1961/62), 55-57.
- Alin, EMF (1962), 42f.
- Daux, G. BCH LXXXVI (1962), 716, 905-909.
- Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1962-63), 15.
- Courbin, P., EA (1963), 59-102.
- Daux, G., BCH LXXXVII (1963), 748-751.
- Mollard-Besques, S., Les terres-cuites grecques (1963), 47f.
- Verdelis, N.M. and O. Alexandri, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 57-63.
- Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1963-64), 8.
- Daux, G., BCH LXXXVIII (1964), 848-849.
- Desborough, LMTS (1964), 80f.
- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 122-127.
- Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 127.
- Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1964-65), 11f.
- Daux, G., BCH LXXXIX (1965), 896-897.
- Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 12.
- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XX B (1965), 157-158.
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- Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), 802-849.
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- Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1967-68), 9.
- Coldstream, GGP (1968), 405, 337f.
- Daux, G., BCH XCII (1968), 1003-1045.
- Ervin, M., AJA LXXII (1968), 270.
- Papachristodoulou, I., ADelt. XXIII B1 (1968), 127-131.
- Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1968-69), 13-14.
- Daux, G., BCH XCIII (1969), 966-1024.
- Deshayes, J., BCH XCIII (1969), 574-616.
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- Bommelaer, J.-Fr. et al., BCH XCIV (1970), 765-798.
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- , ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 154-155.
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- , BCH XCV (1971), 736-770.
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- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 74-82.
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- Snodgrass, DAG (1971), 57.
- Bommelaer, J.-Fr., BCH XCVI (1972), 229-251.
- and Y. Grandjean, BCH XCVI (1972), 155-228.

Croissant, Fr., BCH XCVI (1972), 137-154.  
 ----, BCH XCVI (1972), 883-886.  
 Desborough, GDA (1972), 161, 72, 166f.  
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 Catling, H.W. JHSArch (1972-73), 14.  
 Croissant, Fr. and P. Aupert, BCH XCVII (1973), 475-500.  
 Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 94-122.  
 Ecole française d'Athènes, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 153-155.  
 Kritzas, C.B., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 122-135.  
 ----, AE (1973), 106-119.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1973-74), 9-11.  
 Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 205-210.  
 Ecole française d'Athènes and G. Touchais, ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 259-261.  
 Kritzas, C.B., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 212-248.  
 Courbin, TGA I (1974).  
 Croissant, Fr. et al., BCH XCVIII (1974), 759-782.  
 Hägg, Gräber (1974), 18-47.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1974-75), 9-10.  
 Croissant, Fr. et al., BCH XCIX (1975), 695-708.  
 Kanta, A., AAA VIII (1975), 259-275.  
 Catling, H.W. JHSArch. (1975-76), 11-13.  
 Aupert, P. et al., BCH C (1976), 747-758.  
 Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 57f.  
 Aupert, P. et al., BCH CI (1977), 667-683.  
 Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 326-331.  
 Kokkos-Vyridis, K., AE (1977), 171-194.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CI (1977), 544-549.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1977-78), 23-26.  
 Aupert, P. et al., BCH CII (1978), 775-802.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CII (1978), 661-666.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1978-79), 13-16.  
 Aupert, P. et al., BCH CIII (1979), 617-619.  
 Caskey, M.E., AJA LXXXIII (1979), 324.  
 Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A8.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1979-80), 25-28.  
 Aupert, P. et al., BCH CIV (1980), 689-699.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CIV (1980), 595-599.



- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1980-81), 13-14.  
 Aupert, P. et al., BCH CV (1981), 891-917.  
 Caskey, M.E., AJA LXXXV (1981), 453-454.  
 Courtils, J. des, BCH CV (1981), 607-610.  
 Piérart, M. BCH CV (1981), 611-613.  
 Sakellariou, M.B., Ἀρχαιολογία (1981), 83-95.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CV (1981), 787.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1981-82), 21.  
 Aupert, P., BCH CVI (1982), 263-277.  
 ---- et al., BCH CVI (1982), 637-651.  
 Piérart, M., BCH CVI (1982), 117-138.  
 ----, BCH CVI (1982), 139-152.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CVI (1982), 545-547.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1982-83), 25-26.  
 Abadie, C. et al., BCH CVII (1983), 839-853.  
 Amandry, P., BCH CVII (1983), 627-634.  
 Touchais, G. BCH CVII (1983), 761.

This site, the most important in the Argolid in the Geometric and Archaic periods, is dominated by the Larissa hill with its Medieval castle on the summit. To the north lies the lower, rounded Aspis and to the east extends the lower city. The site has been extensively excavated by the French School and the Greek Archaeological Service but as the modern city overlies the ancient remains, its history can only be discovered sporadically. The first major activity was at the beginning of this century when Vollgraff found walls of the Bronze Age on the Larissa. He was able to show that the Mykenaian fortification extended from the Larissa to the area of the modern museum in the lower town although the settlement itself during the prehistoric period was probably concentrated on the Aspis. The Deiras cemetery also began to be excavated in the early 1900's, yielding tombs of the Mykenaian period. Some of the objects in them however dated to the Geometric period thus indicating that the tombs had been the site of worship at that time. Sites such as

Mykenai and Tiryns reached their apex in the LH period but Argos' most important prehistoric remains date to the Middle Helladic while in the Late Helladic the site seems to have suffered a reduction in size and importance and to have been eclipsed by her more famous Late Bronze Age neighbours.

There seems to have been very little if any break after the LHIIIIC although the settlement area now shifted to the lower city. Several cist graves of the Submykenaian period have been excavated. Some of these were located in the Deiras cemetery, thus providing an important link between the Mykenaian and later periods. The finds from the SM and later periods include hearths, wells and building remains scattered throughout the area of the modern city. Argos is the best representative of the Protogeometric period in the Argolid and excavations continue to show that it was a large and prosperous centre by the late Geometric period. In the Classical period the city expanded rapidly with the theatre, odeion and agora added. Additions and refurbishings to these structures were carried out in the Hellenistic period while the Roman period saw the construction of a well-preserved bath complex. The city continued to be inhabited into the Byzantine and later periods.

Approximately 1 km. WNW of the Aspis, near the Xerias River, Hope-Simpson and Dickinson noted the existence of EHII remains at a site called Makrovouni.

#### 15. Aria

##### LHII-III A

Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 244.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 47.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 10.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 59.

Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 311-312.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A19.

This site is located about 2.5 km. east of Nauplia on the road to Epidaurus. The finds consist of chamber tombs.

16. Asine

EHI-III MH LHI-IIIC SM PG G A C H R

Imhoof-Blumer, F. and P. Gardner, JHS VI (1885), 100.

Oberhummer, E., RE II (1898), 1582.

Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 26.

Nilsson, M.P., The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion (1927), 114f.

Karo, G., AA XLV (1930), 113-114.

Frödin and Persson, Asine (1938).

Furumark, A., The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery (1941), 76f.

Desborough, PGP (1952), 204f.

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., AE (1953-54), 318-320.

Cook, GPP (1960), 22f.

Alin, EMF (1962), 47f.

Desborough, LMTS (1964), 82f.

Hägg, R., OpAth. VI (1965), 117-138.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 19.

Courbin, CGA (1966), *passim*.

Ålin, P., AJA LXXI (1967), 183.

Kelly, T., Historia XVI (1967), 422-431.

Kirsten and Kraiker, Griechenlandkunde (1967), 384.

Styrenius, C.-G., Submycenaean Studies (1967), 129.

Ålin, P., OpAth. VIII (1968), 87-105.

Coldstream, GCP (1968), 132-133.

Papachristodoulou, I., ADelt. XXIII B1 (1968), 132-133.

Drerup, Griechische Baukunst (1969), 63f.

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 157-158.

Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1970-71), 11.

Caskey, M.E., AJA LXXV (1971), 299.

Caskey, J.L., CAH<sup>3</sup> I Pt.2 (1971), 783f.

Hägg, R., OpAth. X (1971), 41-52.

Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCV (1971), 867-875.

Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 30-56.

- Snodgrass, DAG (1971), 57.
- Styrenius, C.-G., ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 113-114.
- and A. Vidén, AAA IV (1971), 147-148.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1971-72), 9.
- Desborough, GDA (1972), 162, 169, 13.
- Dietz, S. and C.-G. Styrenius, ADelt XXVII B1 (1972), 231-232.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVI (1972), 650-652.
- Tomlinson, R. Argos and the Argolid (1972), 42, 75, 226.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1972-73), 14-15.
- Dietz, S. and C.-G. Styrenius, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 155-156.
- Hägg, I. and R. Hägg, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 156-159.
- Hägg, Asine Fasc. I (1973).
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVII (1973), 299.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1973-74), 11.
- Hägg, Gräber (1974), 47-56.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVIII (1974), 606-607.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1974-75), 10.
- Aupert, P., BCH XCIX (1975), 617.
- Dietz, S., Archaeology XXVIII (1975), 157-163.
- Styrenius, C.-G., OpAth. XI (1975), 177-183.
- Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 59.
- Wells, Asine II Fasc. 4:1 (1976).
- Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 312-315.
- Caskey, M.E., AJA LXXXI (1977), 512-514.
- Touchais, G., BCH CI (1977), 551.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1977-78), 27-28.
- Backe-Forsberg, Y. et al., Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine. Fascicle 2. Finds from the Levendis Sector, 1970-72. Boreas 4:2 (1978).
- Hägg, I. and J.M. Fossey, Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine. Fascicle 5: Field Work on the Middle Slopes 1973-79. Boreas 4.5 (1979).
- Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A20.
- Rafn, B., Asine II. Results of the Excavations East of the Acropolis 1970-1974. Fascicle 6. The Post-Geometric Periods. Part 1: The Graves of the Early Fifth Century B.C. (1979).
- Hägg, I. and J.M. Fossey, Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine. Fascicle 4. The Hellenistic Nekropolis and Later Structures on the Middle Slopes, 1973-77. Boreas 4.4 (1980).
- Dietz, S., Asine II. Results of the Excavations East of the Acropolis 1970-1974. Fascicle 1. General Stratigraphical and Architectural Remains. (1982).

Wells, Asine II Fasc. 4:2 (1983).

----, Asine II. Results of the Excavations East of the Acropolis 1970-1974.

Fascicle. 4. The Protogeometric Period. Part 3: Catalogue of Pottery and Other Artefacts (1983).

The site of Asine, located on the Argolic Gulf about 10 km. southeast of Nauplia, occupies a fairly large area, comprising the akropolis (Kastraki) with the surrounding lower town and the Barbouna hill to the north. It was excavated by the Swedish School in the 1920's and more recently in the 1970's. Throughout the Helladic period the settlement seems to have been fortified with quite considerable occupation remains in both the MH and LH periods on the akropolis. There are no signs of destruction in the LHIIIIC but the remains decrease considerably. If the site was abandoned it was for a relatively short time as it now appears to have been occupied in the SM period, one of the few sites in the Argolid where SM vases have been definitely identified. Various house remains have been found dating to the LHIIIIB-C as well as later periods, including the PG and G. Graves of the perhistoric periods are numerous and include chamber tombs, cists, earth-cut graves and pithoi. Recently in the Levendis and Barbouna hill areas further excavations have been carried out which give greater evidence of the Geometric occupation. A particularly important find has been the discovery of a LG house with two infant cist graves beneath the floor. The Geometric remains form abundant occupation layers, and include the foundations of a temple (of Apollo Pythaeus?) at the very top of the Barbouna hill.

Pausanias mentions that the site suffered destruction at the hands of the Argives and this is well corroborated by the archaeological evidence suggesting that the desertion occurred c. 700 and lasted until the Hellenistic period. In the intervening centuries the evidence is very negligible besides the sanctuary material; three

graves have been excavated the date of which has now been lowered from the sixth to the fifth century. There is no other evidence of occupation for the time between c. 700 and the Hellenistic period. Several tile graves of the latter period have recently been excavated, having been dug into the ruins of the earlier Geometric houses. Fortifications of this date may reflect Antigonid rule. The Hellenistic period has also yielded press-houses while for the Roman period the major remains are a bath complex.

#### 17. Bedeni Kiapha

LH C H

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 12, Figs 12a, 15a, 15b, 16a, 16b.

Faraklas points out the existence of a fortification or watchtower at this site in these periods. It is in the eastern peninsula about 8 km. south of Palaia Epidauros and 6 km. southwest of Ano Phanari.

#### 18. Berbati

N EHI-III MH LHI-IIIB2 G C H R

Karo, G., AA L (1935), 200-202.

----, RE Suppl. VI (1935), 606.

----, AA LI (1936), 138-139.

Jantzen, U., AA LIII (1938), 552-557.

Lord, L.E., AJA XLIII (1939), 78-84.

Courbin, P., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 117.

Blegen, C.W. and M. Lang, AJA LXIV (1960), 159f.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 38f.

Desborough, LMTS (1964), 77, 221.

Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1964-65), 11.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 5.

Säflund, G., Excavations at Berbati 1936-1937 (1965).

Courbin, CGA (1966), passim.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 405.

Weinberg, S. CAH<sup>3</sup> I pt.1 (1970), 557f.

- Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 53.  
 Snodgrass, DAG (1971), 57.  
 Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 34.  
 Hägg, Gräber (1974), 56-58.  
 Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 70.  
 Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 305-307.  
 Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A5.

Berbati, situated 6 km. east of modern Mykenai and about 2 km. west of modern Prosymna, was an important Bronze Age settlement. Northwest of it were discovered tombs of the MH period as well as a tholos tomb. The LH has produced house remains, chamber tombs and a pottery kiln. After the LHIIIB, the next occupation was not until the Geometric period when a late ninth century grave was built into chamber tomb III. Northwest of the prehistoric akropolis a settlement grew up from the Geometric to the Roman period, but it does not appear to have been occupied in the Archaic period.

#### 19. Dhendra (Palaiokastro)

N EH MH LHI-IIIC SM PG G A C H R

- Persson, A., The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea (1931).  
 Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 606.  
 Lord, L.E., AJA XLIII (1939), 78-84.  
 Walter, O., AA LV (1940), 214-219.  
 Furumark, A., Mycenaean Pottery (1941), 52, 66, 70.  
 Persson, A., New Tombs at Dendra near Midea (1942).  
 Ecole française, BCH LXXV (1951), 113.  
 Verdelis, N.M., AE XCVI (1957), 15f.  
 Åström, P., ADelt. XVI B (1960), 94.  
 Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XVI B (1960), 93-94.  
 Hood, M.F.S., JHSArch. (1960-61), 9-10.  
 Daux, G., BCH LXXXV (1961), 671-675.  
 Ålin, EMF (1962), 40f.  
 Hägg, R., OpAth. IV (1962), 79-102.  
 Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1962-63), 15.  
 Daux, G., BCH LXXXVII (1963), 746-748.

- Vanderpool, E., AJA LXVII (1963), 280-281.
- Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 63-65.
- Åström, P., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 134.
- Daux, G., BCH LXXXVIII (1964), 729-730.
- Desborough, LMTS (1964), 77.
- Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 6-7.
- Courbin, CGA (1966), passim.
- Mylonas, G., Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age (1966), 127.
- Åström, P., AM LXXXII (1967), 54-67.
- Styrenius, C.-G., Submycenaean Studies (1967), 129.
- Verdelis, N.M., AM LXXXII (1967), 1-53.
- Walberg, G., OpAth. VII (1967), 161-175.
- Coldstream, GGP (1968), 405.
- Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 54-56, 92-98.
- Snodgrass, DAG (1971), 57.
- Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 41.
- Hägg, Gräber (1974), 58-60.
- Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 60f.
- Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 283-285.
- Touchais, G., BCH CI (1977), 554.
- Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A6A
- Touchais, G., BCH CIII (1979), 561.

This site, situated in the central Argolic plain at modern Midea, about 12 km. SE of Mykenai, is as Hope-Simpson reports, one of the chief Mykenaian fortresses of the Argolid and is surpassed in size only by Gla in Boeotia and Petra in Thessaly. Trenches were dug on the akropolis of Midea where Cyclopean walls were found. At the end of the LHIII B the akropolis was destroyed at the same time as other Mykenaian sites but was later reoccupied. Recent unpublished excavations have revealed a Neolithic habitation and MH tombs while the most important discoveries of the Bronze Age are the Mykenaian tombs and their contents, the most interesting of which is the famous bronze cuirass. The evidence for the LHIII C period consists of graves and here as at Asine, a few vases of the SM period point to occupation at that time. Several pots of the Geometric and later periods have



been found in the area of the LH tombs indicating the presence of a settlement in the historic period. Traditions tell us that the site was destroyed by the Argives in the LG or early Archaic period, a fact which depends on the identification of this site as ancient Midea. Finally, the site was inhabited when Pausanias visited it.

## 20. Didyma

C? H? R

Pausanias II.XXXVI.4

Frazer, Pausanias III (1898), 298.

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 9, Figs. 14a to 16b,

Surface finds indicate the presence of a settlement here perhaps in the Classical and Hellenistic periods as well as a probable sanctuary in both these periods. The evidence for a sanctuary is stronger however for the Roman period. Pausanias, who visited it in the second century A.D., reported seeing sanctuaries of Apollo, Poseidon and Demeter. The site is about 1 km. southeast of modern Didyma in the southwest part of the eastern peninsula.

## 21. Douka

A

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 156.

Mrs. Deilaki reports the remains of an Archaic building at the top of the Touloupa peak. The building is probably a temple. Pieces of bronze metal were also recovered from the temple. The site is located in the NW Argolid, a few kilometres north of Orneiai.

## 22. Eileoi (Karakasi)

EHII MH LHIII A? C H R

Philadelphus, A., Prakt. (1909), 182.

Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 35f.

- Fimmen, KMK (1921), 13.  
 Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 606.  
 Welter, G., Troizen und Kalaureia (1941), T.1  
 Ålin, EMF (1962), 52.  
 Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 32.  
 Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), Figs. 11a, 11b, 13a, 13b, 15a, 15b, 16a, 16b.  
 Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 61.  
 Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A12.

Eileoi, or Karakasi, is situated in the eastern peninsula about 400 m. north of modern Eliokastro and about 9 km. northeast of Hermione. The LH remains include cist tombs and vases found below the ancient akropolis while in the historic periods there was a settlement here with remains of circuit walls. The site has been equated with ancient Eileoi.

#### 23. Elaious (Speliotaki)

A C H

- Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 121-122.  
 Daux, G., BCH XC (1966), 791-792.

A large votive deposit was discovered here, dating from the sixth century to the Hellenistic period. The deposit included miniature pots and terracotta figurines. About 100 m. away from this, a rectangular building was excavated, oriented NE-SW and it has been identified as the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The site is 5 km. SW of Kyveri village and about 2 km. south of Speliotaki.

#### 24. Epidauros Sanctuaries

EHII MH LHI-IIIIB G A C H R

- Kavvadias, P., Prakt. (1881), 1-40.  
 ----, Prakt. (1882), 75-83.  
 ----, AE (1883), 148-158.  
 ----, Prakt. (1883), 45-50.  
 ----, Prakt. (1884), 54-63.

- Koumanoudes, S.A., AE (1884), 83-85.
- Kavvadias, P., Prakt. (1885), 29-31.
- Stais, B., Prakt. (1886), 79-82.
- , Prakt. (1887), 67-68.
- Kavvadias, P., Fouilles d'Epidaure I (1891).
- , Prakt. (1891), 26-27.
- , Prakt. (1892), 54-56.
- , Prakt. (1893), 9-10.
- , Prakt. (1896), 31-32.
- Wernicke, K., RE II (1896), 60.
- Kavvadias, P., Prakt. (1897), 28.
- , Prakt. (1898), 17-18.
- , Prakt. (1899), 103-105.
- , *Τὸ Ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ* (1900).
- , Prakt. (1901), 49-51.
- , Prakt. (1902), 78-92.
- , Prakt. (1903), 59.
- Keramopoulos, A.D., AE (1903), 97-115.
- Kavvadias, P., Prakt. (1904), 61-62.
- , Prakt. (1905), 43-89.
- , Prakt. (1906), 91-119.
- , Prakt. (1907), 183-186.
- Giamalides, Ch.A., AE (1911), 174-177.
- , AE (1913), 125-129.
- Svoronos, I., AE (1917), 83-87.
- Kavvadias, P., AE (1918), 115-154.
- , AE (1918), 155-171.
- , AE (1918), 172-195.
- , Prakt. (1922-1924), 116-117.
- Hiller, G., AE (1925-1926), 67-86.
- Kavvadias, P., Prakt. (1925-26), 139-140.
- Mitsos, M., AE (1933), Chron, 10-20.
- Robert, F., BCH LVII (1933), 380-393.
- Mitsos, M., AE (1936), 136-146.
- Herzog, R., AE (1937), 522-526.
- Martin, R., BCH LXX (1946), 352-368.
- Papademetriou, I., Prakt. (1948), 90-111.
- , BCH LXXIII (1949), 361-383.
- , Prakt. (1949), 91-99.

Papademetriou, I., Prakt. (1950), 194-202.  
 Ecole française, BCH LXXV (1951), 113-114.  
 Papademetriou, I., Prakt. (1951), 204-212.  
 Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 246.  
 Gerkam, A. von and W. Müller-Weiner, Das Theater von Epidauros (1961).  
 Ålin, EMF (1962), 51 and n. 285.  
 Desborough, LMTS (1964), 42f, 78.  
 Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 22.  
 Burford, A., The Greek Temple Builders at Epidauros (1969).  
 Sakellariou, A., RA (1971), 3-14.  
 Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 11, Figs. 10a to 17b.  
 Lambrinudakis, V., Prakt. (1974), 93-101.  
 Mitsos, M., AE (1974), 75-84.  
 Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1974), 57-62.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1974-75), 10.  
 Aupert, P., BCH XCIX (1975), 617-618.  
 Lambrinudakis, V., Prakt. (1975), 162-175.  
 Mitsos, M., AE (1975), 19-27.  
 Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1975), 101-107.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1975-76), 12.  
 Aupert, P., BCH C (1976), 607-610.  
 Lambrinudakis, V., Prakt. (1976), 202-209.  
 Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 61.  
 Mitsos, M., AE (1976), 83-91.  
 Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1976), 111-118.  
 Lambrinudakis, V., Prakt. (1977), 187-194.  
 Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1977), 98-105.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CI (1977), 551-554.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1977-78), 28.  
 Lambrinudakis, V., Prakt. (1978), 111-121.  
 Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1978), 37-42.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CII (1978), 672.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1978-79), 17-18.  
 Caskey, M.E., AJA LXXXIII (1979), 324-325.  
 Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A27.  
 Lambrinudakis, V., Prakt. (1979), 127-129.  
 Mylonas, G.E., Ergon (1979), 20-21.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CIII (1979), 559-561.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1979-80), 30-31.

- Lambrinudakis, V., Prakt. (1980), 103.  
 Mitsos, M., AE (1980), 210-216.  
 Mylonas, G.E., Ergon (1980), 28.  
 Lambrinudakis, V., Prakt. (1981), 157-181.  
 ----, Sanctuaries (1981), 59-65.  
 Mylonas, G.E., Ergon (1981), 46-48.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CVI (1982), 549-551.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1982-83). 28.

In historic times the general area was sacred to both the gods Apollo Maleatas and Asklepios. The Apollo cult was established on the slopes of Mt. Kynortion and the finds show that the site was inhabited as a settlement as early as the EH period and from the number of figurines and other votives it may have been a place of worship in the Late Helladic. Mykenaian finds directly below the later altar suggest the possibility of continuity of cult from the Bronze Age although there is a gap in the evidence after the Late Helladic period until the Geometric period, at which time the cult certainly was in existence. The Asklepios cult later superseded the earlier cult of Apollo Maleatas so that by the fourth century B.C. worship was devoted primarily to Asklepios. The main building activity at the Asklepios sanctuary occurred in the fourth century. The remains are considerable, including temples, a gymnasium, the famous theatre and associated buildings.

## 25. Frankhthi Cave and Hill

N L H G A C H

- Daux, G., BCH XC (1966), 786-791.  
 Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1967-68), 10.  
 Daux, G., BCH XCII (1968), 803-807.  
 Jacobsen, T.W., ADelt XXIII B1 (1968), 145-148.  
 Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1968-69). 14-15.  
 Ervin, M., AJA LXXIII (1969), 347-348.  
 Jacobsen, T.W., ADelt. XXIV B1 (1969), 126-129.

- Jacobsen, T.W., Hesperia XXXVIII (1969), 343-381.
- Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1969-70), 14.
- Ervin, M., AJA LXXIV (1970), 271.
- Jacobsen, T.W., ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 169-171.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCIV (1970), 971-973.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1971-72), 10.
- Jacobsen, T.W., ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 236-241.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVI (1972), 652.
- Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), Fig. 8a, 8b.
- Jacobsen, T.W., Hesperia XLII (1973), 45-88, 253-283.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1973-74), 13.
- Jacobsen, T.W., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 268-282.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVIII (1974), 610-612.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1974-75), 12.
- Aupert, P., BCH XCIX (1975), 618-621.
- Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 69f.
- Caskey, M.E., AJA LXXXI (1977), 514-515.
- Touchais, G., BCH CI (1975), 555-557.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1977-78), 28-29.
- Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A43.
- Jacobsen, T.W., Hesperia L (1981), 303-319.

The cave is located on the west coast of the eastern peninsula on the Argolic Gulf, about 5 km. north of the modern town of Kranidhi and about 300 m. southeast of Koiladha. It was important particularly in the Paleolithic and Neolithic periods. Hope-Simpson and Dickinson mention that LH, G, C and H sherds were found in and around the cave.

Immediately to the north of the cave, at a site called Frankhthi Hill, Faraklas reports remains of a settlement of the LH, G, A, C and R periods. The site was apparently a harbour as well and may be the site of ancient Mases.

## 26. Galatas

A? C? H? R?

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 14 and Figs. 15a to 18b.

The site is situated about 400 m. southwest of modern Galatas, across from Poros. Surface finds show the probable existence of a sanctuary although both its identification as such and its periods of occupation are uncertain.

27. Gouri-Gliati

C? H? R?

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 15 and Figs, 16a to 18b.

The evidence is from surface finds only, and they indicate a probable settlement whose periods of occupation however, are uncertain. The site is on the east coast of Methana.

28. Gymno

MH LHII-III B C H?

Lord, L.E., AJA XLIII (1939), 78-84.

Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1961-62), 31.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 18.

---- and J.F. Lazenby, The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's Iliad (1970), 66, Pl. 6a.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 62.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A11.

Hope-Simpson reports Mykenaian sherds indicating the existence of a settlement in the LH period but in the Classical period the site seems to have been primarily a watchtower. It is a summit located in the Argolic plain, about 3 km. northwest of modern Sterna near the border of the Corinthia, off the Inakhos River. Apparently this was a strategic site and one of considerable importance in the LH period. Hood thinks it may possibly be equated with Mykenaian Orneiai but this is tentative only.

29. Gyphtokastro

MH LH A C H R?

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 12, Figs. 11a 10 12b, 14a, 14b, 16a 10 17b.

About 1 km. southwest of modern Stavropodion and about 6 km. northeast of Karnezaiika, surface finds show the presence of a settlement. Faraklas notes that the site was fortified in the Late Helladic period. In the historic age from the Archaic until the Roman period a sanctuary also existed here but its periods of occupation are uncertain. Furthermore the site was also fortified from the Archaic until and possibly including the Roman period.

### 30. Haliki

EH? MH LH?

Welter, G., Troizen und Kalaureia (1941), T. 1, p. 10.

Buck, R.J., Hesperia XXXIII (1964), 235.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 36.

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 14, Figs. 12a, 12b.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A37.

Haliki lies on the east coast of the eastern peninsula about 2 km. south along the coast from modern Galatas. Middle Helladic pottery has been recorded and Faraklas thinks there was a settlement in that period since house walls were found on the edge of the beach as well as MH polychrome ware with some EH pottery. Hope-Simpson also reported seeing what appeared to be LH sherds.

### 31. Hellenikon

C? H

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 12, Figs. 15a to 16b.

This unexcavated site was apparently a fortified settlement in both the Classical and Hellenistic periods. It is in the southwest part of the Epidauros region, 200 m. northeast of modern Karnezaiika and 4 km. northeast of Iria.



### 32. Hermione

EHII-III MH LHII-III B G A C H R

- Imhoof-Blumer, F. and P. Gardner, JHS VI (1885), 99-100.  
Philadelphus, A., Prakt. (1909), 172-184.  
Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 35f.  
Bölte, F., RE VIII (1913), 835-841.  
Philadelphus, A., AE (1917), 107.  
Fimmen, KMK (1921), 13.  
Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 606.  
Furumark, A., Mycenaean Pottery (1941), 50.  
Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1955), 13.  
Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1955), 76-83.  
Ecole française, BCH LXXX (1956), 271-273.  
Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1956), 76-80.  
Ecole française, BCH LXXXI (1957), 545-546.  
Jameson, M.H., Hesperia XXVIII (1959), 109-116.  
Ålin, EMF (1962), 52.  
Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 31.  
McAllister, M. and M.H. Jameson, Hesperia XXXVIII (1969), 169-185.  
Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 9, Figs. 9a to 17b.  
Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 63.  
Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1976), 108-111.  
Stikas, E., Prakt. (1976), 200-201.  
Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1977-78), 29.  
Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A41.

The prehistoric remains are about 500 m. WSW of the ancient city, on the coast south of the hill of Gron. The remains include much surface pottery of the EH to LHIII B. The historic city itself was located to the east on a promontory extending out into the bay. The remains are considerable and include various temples, circuit walls, fountains and a Roman aqueduct. Most of these remains however, date to the later historic times. For the earlier periods the evidence consists mostly of sherds.

### 33. Hermionis: Apollo Platanistios Sanctuary

H R

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 15, Figs. 17a, 17b, 18a, 18b.

On the border of Troizen and Hermionis there was apparently a temple in both the H and R periods. The date of the temple is certain, however the location is approximated.

34. Hermionis: Demeter-Kore Sanctuary

C? H? R

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), Figs. 14a to 16b.

This is a sanctuary site in the south part of the Hermionis region. Its existence is only ascertained for the R period and its location is approximated.

35. Hydra (Dhokos) (not on maps)

EHII LH H

Papathanassopoulos, G., AAA IX (1976), 17-23.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A39A.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson note the discovery of a shipwreck in the bay of Skindos, north of the islet of Dhokos. The wreck itself dates to the EHII period although around the bay of Dhokos itself pottery of the EHII, LH and H periods has been recovered.

36. Hyrnethion

H R

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 11, Figs. 16a to 17b.

A sanctuary has been located here, about 3.5 km. north of the Apollo Maleatas sanctuary. The remains date to the H and R periods.

37. Hyrnethion: Artemis Koryphaia Sanctuary

A? C? H? R?

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 11 and Figs. 14a to 17b.

Faraklas notes the existence of a sanctuary at this site, immediately SW of Hyrnethion. Its periods of occupation are uncertain however.

38. Iria

N EHII MH LHI-IIIC G A? C H

Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 605.

Gebauer, K., AA LIV (1939), 287-294.

Dunbabin, T.J., JHS LXIV (1944-45), 82.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 50f.

Desborough, LMTS (1964), 78.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 28.

Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 130-131.

Jantzen, U. et al., AA (1968), 373-374.

Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 30, 56.

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 13, Figs. 10a to 12b.

Döhl, H. in Siedentopf, Tiryne VI (1973), 127-194.

Willerding, W. in Siedentopf, Tiryne VI (1973), 221-240.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 63.

Schilbach, J., AE (1976), 126-132.

Touchais, G., BCH CII (1978), 670.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A23.

Hope-Simpson reports that house remains have been excavated while Scoufopoulos saw Mykenaian blocks and LHIIIB-C sherds. Besides this, sherds of the Geometric to the Hellenistic period have been recovered. In both the LH and C periods the site was a fortification and Ålin also reports graves and LH houses. The site may have been used as a place of refuge after Mykenai was destroyed. It is located at the modern town of the same name in the southeast Argolic plain, a little over 1 km. from the coast.

Prehistoric sherds have also been found on a low hill nearer the coast so that in fact the site combines two distinct areas.

39. Kaimenikhora

C? H? R?

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 15, Figs. 16a to 18b.

The evidence from surface finds points to a fortified settlement in all three periods, although they are all questionable. The site lies on the west coast of the Methana peninsula, about 1 km. south of the northern coast, across the bay from Palaia Epidauros.

40. Kalloni (Ayios Yeorgios)

EH LHIIIA-B C

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 39.

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 15, Figs. 11a, 11b, 13a, 13b, 16a, 16b.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A32.

Many LH and C sherds have been found at this site which is on the north coast of Troizenia about 6 km. southwest of the Isthmus of Methana. The settlement was probably of a fair size and lay in a strategic place, guarding the coast road and the pass to Khoriza.

41. Kalogria

H

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 12, Fig. 17a.

Surface finds here reveal the presence of a settlement in the Hellenistic period. It is located in the southeast part of the Argolic plain, 3 km. southeast of modern Kandia.

#### 42. Kandia

EHII-III MH LHI-IIIIC G H R

- Frazer, Pausanias III (1898), 299.  
Möbius, H. and W. Wrede, AA XLII (1927), 365.  
Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 605.  
Gebauer, K., AA LIV (1939), 287-294.  
Walter, O. AA LV (1940), 220-221.  
Dunbabin, T.J., JHS LXIV (1944-45), 82.  
Ålin, EMF (1962), 49f.  
Hägg, R., OpAth. VI (1965), 132 n. 90.  
Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 26.  
Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XX B (1965), 157.  
Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 130.  
Coldstream, GCP (1968), 405.  
Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 30, 56.  
Snodgrass, DAG (1971), 57.  
Döhl, H. in Siedentopf, Tiryns VI (1973), 214, 215 n. 41.  
Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 64.  
Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A21.

The site is an akropolis hill in the southeast part of the central plain about 200 m. north of modern Kandia and about 1 km. from the coast. Ålin reports that some of the fortification dates to the MH period but its main period of construction is the LHIII. Some of the fortification walls of Cyclopean construction may have been rebuilt or extended in the Geometric period since on the lower terrace pottery and house foundations of that date were found. The EH remains consist mainly of pottery and an apsidal house but MH and LH houses and walls have been excavated on the akropolis and lower town. Gebauer also discovered Roman buildings and recently Hope-Simpson and Dickinson have noted Hellenistic remains as well.

#### 43. Kastraki

LH?

- Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 12, Figs. 12a, 12b.

A fortification seems to have existed here in the LH period. It lies in the central part of the eastern peninsula to the west of modern Vodikion.

44. Kastraki Dimainas

EH? MH? LH?

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 11, Figs. 10a to 12b.

This site, unexcavated, was possibly a settlement in these periods, though all of these are questionable. It lies in northeast Epidauria near the Corinthian border, about 11 km. from the east coast of the Argolid.

45. Kastro Khoriza

LH?

Mobius, H. and W. Wrede, AA XLII (1927), 365.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 42.

Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 31.

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), Figs. 12a, 12b.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A32A

The site is about 6 km. south of modern Ano Phanari and 5 km. from the coast. It was a Mykenaian watchtower.

46. Katsingri (Prophitis Ilias)

LHII-III B A H R

Karo, G., AA XLV (1930), 112-113.

Lord, L.E., AJA XLIII (1939), 78f.

Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1962-63), 16.

Daux, G., BCH LXXXVII (1963), 748.

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 65f.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 11.

Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 31, 53, 57.

Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 42.

Balcer, J.M., AJA LXXVIII (1974), 149.

Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 303-308.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A24.

In the south part of the central Argolic plain and about 5.5 km. east of Tiryns and 3 km. east of Nea Tiryntha is a hill with a Mykenaian settlement on top. An Archaic temple and votive deposit were also discovered and there are traces of a lower town. In the third century B.C. it was a fortification, a fact which like Asine and Mykenai, may reflect the presence of the Antigonids.

#### 47. Kazarma

EHII MH LHI-IIIC PG C H

Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 605.

Lord, L.E., AJA XLIII (1939), 78-84.

Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 244.

Álin, EMF (1962), 51.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 20.

Krystalli, K., ADelt. XXII B (1967), 179-180.

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., AAA I (1968), 236-238.

Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1968-69), 14.

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., AAA II (1969), 3-6.

----, ADelt. XXIV B1 (1969), 104-105.

Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCIV (1970), 961.

----, BCH XCV (1971), 867.

Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 30, 57.

Winter, F.E., Greek Fortifications (1971), 43f.

Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 94.

Kritzas, C.B., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 248.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 64.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A25.

Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1979-80), 30.

The site is in the central Argolic plain approximately midway between Nauplia and Palaia Epidauros. It is about 700 m. southeast of modern Vroutzaiika and almost 16 km. northeast of Nauplia. The remains of the Mykenaian period include the famous

bridge, building foundations and sherds. A tholos tomb of the LHI-IIIIC was discovered in the late 1960's and the presence of walls suggests that the site was fortified in the late Classical or Hellenistic period although Winter feels that the fortification dates to the fifth or fourth century B.C.

#### 48. Kenkhreiai

EH? G? C

Pausanias II.XXIV.7.

Frazer, Pausanias III (1898), 212.

Wiegand, Th., AM XXVI (1901), 241-246.

Bölte, F., RE XI (1922), 165-167.

Scranton, R.L., Hesperia VII (1938), 538.

Lord, L.E., AJA XLIII (1939), 78f.

----, M.A. Frantz and C. Roebuck, Hesperia X (1941), 95-103.

Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 34f.

Lord says there was a watchtower here in the Classical period. Historically the site is noted as the burial ground of the Argives killed at Hysiai in 669 B.C. Kenkhreiai is in the southwest part of the central plain, west of the Argolic Gulf, approximately 5.5 km. northwest of modern Myloi.

#### 49. Kephalari

N EHII-III MH LHIIIB A C H R

Arvanitopoulos, A.S., Prakt. (1916), 79.

Lord, L.E., Hesperia VII (1938), 496-510.

Scranton, R.L., Hesperia VII (1938), 538.

Lord, L.E., AJA XLIII (1939), 84.

----, M.A. Frantz and C. Roebuck, Hesperia X (1941), 112.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 15.

Papachristodoulou, I., ADelt. XXII B (1967), 182.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A12.

Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1979-80), 28.

Touchais, G., BCH CIV (1980), 599-601.



The only traces of the Neolithic period are sherds of Urfirnis ware but this does not indicate a sure occupation. There was undoubtedly a settlement in the MH and LHIII B periods however, as seen in the numerous sherds. Archaic sherds have also been recovered and from the Classical to the Roman period the site was a fortification. It is situated in the central plain about 5 km. south of Argos and about 4.5 km. northwest of the coast.

#### 50. Kephalari Cave

N EHII-III MH G C

Felsch, R.C.S., AM LXXXVI (1971), 1-12.

Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1972-73), 15.

Felsch, R.C.S., AAA VI (1973), 13-27.

Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVII (1973), 293-296.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 64.

Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 324-325.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A12A

The cave's main period of importance was the Paleolithic and Neolithic, much like the Frankthi Cave. Finds of later periods are also noted however. The cave is located about 6 km. southwest of Argos.

#### 51. Khoriza

LHIIIA-B G A C H R?

Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 38.

Fimmen, KMK (1921), 13.

Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 606.

Jameson, M.J., Hesperia XXVIII (1959), 116f.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 52.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 35.

Khatzimikhali, V.N., ADelt. XX B (1965), 130-131.

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), Figs. 12a, 12b, 14a, 15a, 15b, 16a, 17a.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A39.

The evidence for this site, which is on the island of Hydra about 2 km. west of the modern town of Hydra, is not very considerable. There is much LHIII material and Hope-Simpson also remarks sherds of G, A, C, H and R periods. In the Classical period it was probably a town.

52. Koiladha

LHI-III B C H

Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 606.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 52.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 29.

Jacobsen, T.W., Hesperia XXXVIII (1969), 343.

Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 30, 57.

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 9, Figs. 11a, 11b, 14a, 14b, 15a, 15b.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 64-65.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A43.

This site on the west coast of Hermionis about 3 km. northwest of modern Kampas and about 300 m. northwest of the Frankthi Cave, was a small settlement in the LHIII B as seen by the remains of walls. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods a fortification or watchtower was built here.

53. Kokkygion

A? C H R

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 9, Figs. 4a, 4b, 15a, 15b, 16a, 16b.

This is another site where there are in effect two sites, A and B, both of which were sanctuaries. Site A was a sanctuary in all four periods though questionable in the Archaic and Classical and site B was in existence in the C, H and R periods, questionable in the Classical. It is situated in Hermionis, 3 km. northwest of modern Hermione.

54. Kokla

LHII-IIIIB

Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1981-82), 23.

Touchais, G., BCH CVI (1982), 547.

Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1982-83), 26-27.

Touchais, G., BCH CVII (1983), 761.

Winter, N.A., AJA LXXXVIII (1984), 52.

At this site, 5 km. SW of Argos, K. Dymakopoulou found a tholos tomb as well as several chamber tombs. The tholos is dated to the LHIIIA1 while the chamber tombs date from the late sixteenth to the thirteenth century.

55. Koliaki

A? C? H? R?

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 12, Figs. 15a to 17b.

The only evidence for this site are graves although their dates are not well-established. Koliaki lies in the northeast part of the eastern peninsula about 300 m. west of modern Koliaki and about 4 km. south of Palaia Epidauros.

56. Koroni

C H R?

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 12, Figs. 15a to 17b.

Located at the modern town of the same name this site seems to have been a settlement in the C, H and R periods though that of the Roman is uncertain. Nearby, at what Faraklas simply calls Koroni "B", sherds and wall foundations indicate both a settlement and fortification with the same periods of occupation as Koroni "A".

57. Kosta

LH

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 10, Figs. 11a, 11b.

Here, at the extreme south end of Hermionis about 3 km. southeast of modern Porto Kheli, Faraklas reports a settlement as indicated by surface sherds and other finds.

58. Kourtaki

G A R

Archaeological Service, ADelt. XXII B (1967), 178-179.

Papachristodoulou, I., ADelt. XXIII B1 (1968), 131-132.

Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1968-69), 14.

Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCIV (1970), 961.

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 155-156.

Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVI (1972), 646-647.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 65.

Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 335.

A large votive deposit dated to the end of the seventh century was discovered here in the late 1960's. The finds include some interesting Archaic skyphoi and kraters as well as terracotta figurines of seated women and horsemen. When the excavation was extended, wall foundations were unearthed but their relationship with the deposit is not clear. A Geometric pottery deposit was also found below the Archaic layer. The site may have been a workshop connected with the sanctuary of Demeter Mysia mentioned by Pausanias (II.XVIII.3) or with an Archaic temple nearby. The site is situated in the central plain about 4 km. east of Argos.

59. Kouzounos

EH? MH? LH? H?

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 10, Figs. 9a to 11b, 15a, 15b.

Faraklas reports the presence of a fortified settlement here in all these periods; however the evidence is questionable.

The site is located on the island of Spetsai a little over 2 km. south of modern Spetsai on the east coast.

60. Kyveri

LHIIIA-B

Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 121-122.

Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 130.

Ervin, M., AJA LXXI (1967), 299.

Krystalli, K. and I. Papachristodoulou, ADelt. XXII B (1967), 179f.

Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1968-69), 14.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 64.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A14.

Several Mykenaian chamber tombs were excavated at this site, about 2 km. northwest of modern Velandheia and 4 km. south of Lerna.

61. Lazaretto

A? C? H? R?

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 15, Figs. 15a to 18b.

This site lies in the eastern peninsula on the coast opposite the island of Poros, and about 700 m. southeast of modern Galatas. Indications are that there was a sanctuary of Athena Apatousia though its dates of occupation are uncertain.

62. Lemonodasos

C? H R

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 15, Figs. 16a to 18b.

At this site, a little to the south of Haliki in the eastern peninsula, Faraklas notes the existence of a settlement the occupation of which is uncertain in the Classical but certain in both the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

63. Lerna

N EHI- III MH LHI-IIIIB PG G A C H

Furtwängler, A., AM VIII (1883), 195-199.

Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 24.

Boethius, C.A., RE XII (1925), 2085-2089.

Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 605.

Lord, L.E., M.A. Frantz and C. Roebuck, Hesperia X (1941), 103-109, 111-112.

Gallet de Santerre, H., BCH LXXVII (1953), 211-213.

Caskey, J.L., Hesperia XXIII (1954), 3-30.

Courbin, P., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 117-119.

Caskey, J.L., Archaeology VIII (1955), 116-120.

----, Hesperia XXIV (1955), 25-49.

Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 240-244.

Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1955), 13.

Protonotariou, E., AE XCIV (1955), Chron. 1-8.

Caskey, J.L., Hesperia XXV (1956), 147-173.

---- and M. Eliot, Hesperia XXV (1956), 175-177.

Ecole française, BCH LXXX (1956), 266-270.

Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1956), 12.

Verdelis, N.M., AE XCV (1956), Chron. 12f.

Caskey, J.L., AJA LXI (1957), 148.

----, Hesperia XXVI (1957), 142-162.

Ecole française, BCH LXXXI (1957), 538-543.

Caskey, J.L., Hesperia XXVII (1958), 125-144.

Daux, G., BCH LXXXII (1958), 709-713.

Heath, M.C., Hesperia XXVII (1958), 81-121.

Caskey, J.L., Hesperia XXVIII (1959), 202-207.

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 617-618.

Caskey, J.L., Archaeology XIII (1960), 130-133.

----, Hesperia XXIX (1960), 285-303.

Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1960-61), 8-9.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 45f.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 13-14.

Courbin, CGA (1966), *passim*.

Papachristodoulou, I., ADelt. XXII B (1967), 182.

Caskey, J.L., AJA LXXII (1968), 313-316.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 406.

Gejvall, Lerna I (1969).

Weinberg, S., CAH<sup>3</sup> I pt.1 (1970), 575f.

- Wiencke, M.H., Hesperia XXXIX (1970), 94-110.
- Angel, Lerna II (1971).
- Caskey, J.L., CAH<sup>3</sup> I pt.2 (1971), 784-788.
- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E. ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 83.
- Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaeen Citadels (1971), 19f.
- Snodgrass, DAG (1971), 57.
- Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 20, 43.
- Courbin, IGA I (1974), 118.
- De Vries, K., Hesperia XLIII (1974), 80-104.
- Hägg, Gräber (1974), 62-64.
- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXIX (1974), 247.
- Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 65.
- Banks, E.C., Hesperia XLVI (1977), 324-329.
- Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 317-323.
- Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A13.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1979-80), 28.
- Rutter, J.B., Hesperia LI (1982), 459-488.

Lerna, near the coast of the Argolic Gulf across the bay from Nauplia and near the modern town of Myloi, is a site the importance of which lay especially before the LH period. Much Neolithic ware has been found as well as houses and inhumations of the same period and near the House of the Tiles stone walls of the Neolithic have also been found. The settlement seems to have reached a peak in the EHII period; this is the date of the construction of the House of the Tiles; and at this time Lerna enjoyed wide trading contacts within the Aegean area. Various buildings of the different prehistoric periods have been excavated - the interim reports can be read in Hesperia 1954-1959 - and as at most sites, a long period of abandonment followed the LHIIIB. In the Geometric period part of the area was used as a burial ground and among the graves is an interesting pithos burial with LG pots. Wells of the G, C and H periods have also been found and apparently the site was occupied at least as late as the fourth century B.C. Nearby a few early Mykenaian tombs have been excavated as well as a late Geometric grave and some

of the Classical period; these are associated with the town of that period.

64. Leukakia

C H

Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 28.

Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 244.

Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 312.

A temple and graves of both the C and H periods are known from this site, approximately 6.5 km. east of Nauplia.

65. Ligourio

LHIIIA-B C or H R

Pausanias II.XXVI.1

Lord, L.E., Hesperia VII (1938), 511-527.

Scranton, R.L., Hesperia VII (1938), 528-538.

Lord, L.E., AJA XLIII (1939), 78-84.

----. M.A. Frantz and C. Roebuck, Hesperia X (1941), 112.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 51.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 21.

Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 131.

Kritzas, C.B., ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 215-218.

Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 87.

Touchais, G., BCH CI (1977), 551.

Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1977-78), 26.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A26.

Near Ligourio, about 800 m. east of modern Khoutalaiika on the road from Nauplia to Palaia Epidauros, Hope-Simpson reported Mykenaian sherds, tentatively dated as LHIIIB. In the historic period the site appears to have been a fortification but it is not certain whether it dates to the Classical or Hellenistic period. Two Mykenaian chamber tombs have also been discovered, as well as a late Roman building. Mrs. Deilaki also reports a number of EH and MH sites in



the area of Ligourio.

66. Loutra Methana

EHII LH C H R?

Ålin, EMF (1962), 52.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 41.

Kirsten and Kraiker, Griechenlandkunde (1967), 483.

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 16, Figs. 11a, 11b, 16a to 18b.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A35.

At this site located in the Methana peninsula about 300 m. south of modern Methana, Hope-Simpson reports a settlement of the LH and later periods as well as finds of the EH period including sherds and obsidian.

67. Mount Lykone (not on map)

C? H? R

Pausanias II.XXIV.6.

Gardner, E.A., JHS X (1889), 273.

Frazer, Pausanias III (1898), 210.

Vollgraff, W., BCH XXXI (1907), 179-180.

Meyer, E., RE XIII (1927), 2309.

When Pausanias went there he saw a sanctuary of Artemis Orthia on the summit and images which were said to be those of Polykeitos, thereby suggesting a Classical date. The ruins of the sanctuary were excavated in 1888 and the presence of Roman coins of Constantius II shows that the sanctuary was in existence as late as the fourth century A.D. Pausanias reports that the site is on the road from Argos to Tegea.

68. Magoula

C H? R?

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), Figs 15a to 17b.

There is not much information about this site except that it was an akropolis settlement. Its location is approximated and its occupation is uncertain in both the H and R periods. The site is located on the north coast of Methana.

69. Magoula (Monastiraki)

LHIIIA-B G

Philadelphus, A., ADelt. V (1919), Chron. 34-40.

----, BCH XLIV (1920), 384.

Wace, A.J.B., Mycenae, an Archaeological History and Guide (1949), 4f, 130, 137.

Charitonides, S., AE (1952), 19-33.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 37.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 2.

Courbin, CGA (1966), Pl. 81.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 406.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 66.

Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 290.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A3.

Hope-Simpson reports traces of Mykenaian habitation and a cemetery of chamber tombs. Ålin saw traces of walls and sherds on the hill to the southwest of the modern village and traces of a settlement on the east side. An interesting LGI cylindrical pyxis has been found as well but other evidence for G occupation is meagre. The site is located in the north central Argolic plain about 3 km. south of the Mykenai akropolis.

70. Magoula Kephalaria

EHII-III MH

Kritzas, Ch., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 246-247.

Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1979-80), 28.

At this site, 1 km. south of Kephalaria, Ch. Kritzas found extensive traces of a settlement, including several graves.

71. Malandrini

MH? LH

Fimmen, KMK (1921), 11.

Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 606.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 45.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 17.

---- and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A10.

Mykenaian sherds were found and there are reports of a pre-Mykenaian settlement. The site is in the northwest part of the central Argolic plain about 700 m. north of the modern town of the same name and 13 km. northwest of Argos.

72. Megalokhori

EH LHIIIA-B G A C H R

Frazer, Pausanias III (1898), 287.

Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 35, 37.

Fimmen, KMK (1921), 13.

Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 606.

Welter, G., Troizen und Kalaureia (1941), 10, T. 1.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 52.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 40.

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 15, Figs. 13a to 18b.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A34.

When Pausanias visited the site, it was a little town with a sanctuary of Isis and in the market-place images of Hermes and Herakles. Archaeologically, sherds of various periods have been found indicating that there was a settlement here in the EH, LHIII, G and A periods and that in the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods the settlement was equipped with a defensive wall. It is on the west coast of Methana, directly across the peninsula from modern Methana and about 1 km. SW of Megalokhorio.

73. Methana: the Isthmus

EHII C H

Frazer, Pausanias III (1898), 286f.

Welter, G., Troizen und Kalaureia (1941), 10.

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 15, Figs. 11a, 11b, 16a to 17b.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A33A

Although called one site the Isthmus groups together a cluster of three sites, one a settlement and the other two fortifications. In the EH there was a settlement here although in the C and H periods the finds indicate the presence of a fortification only, without a settlement. Nearby there was another fortification, again in the C and H periods. Hope-Simpson qualifies the EH settlement as belonging to the second phase of that period.

#### 74. Mykenai

N EH MH LHI-IIIC SM PG G A C H

Schliemann, H., Mycenae (1878).

Tsountas, C., Prakt. (1886), 59-79.

----, AE (1887), 155-172.

----, Prakt. (1887), 65-66.

----, AE (1888), 119-179.

----, Prakt. (1888), 28-29.

----, Prakt. (1890), 35-36.

----, AE (1891), 1-43.

----, Prakt. (1891), 19-20.

----, Prakt. (1892), 56-58.

Homolle, T., BCH XVII (1893), 197-198.

Tsountas, C., Prakt. (1893), 8-9.

----, Prakt. (1896), 29-31.

----, AE (1897), 97-128.

----, Prakt. (1897), 24-27.

----, Prakt. (1899), 102-103.

Wide, S., JDAI XIV (1899), 84-85.

Tsountas, C., Prakt. (1900), 73.

----, Prakt. (1901), 42.

Fraenkel, M., Inscriptiones Graecae IV (1902), no. 493.

- Tsountas, C., AE (1902), 1-10.
- Rodenwaldt, G., AM XXXVI (1911), 221-250.
- Evangelides, D., AE (1912), 127-141.
- Frickenhaus, A.M. et al., Tiryns I (1912), 136 Fig. 8.
- Rodenwaldt, G., AM XXXVII (1912), 129-140.
- Mistriotes, G., AE (1913), 229-230.
- Smith, A.H., JHS XXXVI (1916), 213.
- Keramopoulos, A.D., AE (1918), 52-65.
- Philadelphus, A., ADelt V (1919), Chron. 34-40.
- Wace A.J.B. and W. Lamb, BSA XXIV (1919-21), 185-209.
- Heurtley, W.A., BSA XXV (1921-23), 126-146.
- Wace, A.J.B., BSA XXV (1921-23), 1-126.
- et al., BSA XXV (1921-23), 147-435.
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- Karo, G., Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai (1930).
- Wace, A.J.B., Archaeologia LXXXII (1932).
- Karo, G., AJA XXXVIII (1934), 123-127.
- , RE Suppl. VI (1935), 605.
- Mackepranf, M.B., AJA XLII (1938), 537-559.
- Wace, A.J.B., JHS LIX (1939), 210-212.
- Walter, D., AA LV (1940), 208-214.
- Lord, L.E., M.A. Frantz and C. Roebuck, Hesperia X (1941), 93-95, 111.
- Mitsos, M.T., Hesperia XV (1946), 115-119.
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- Papademetriou, I., Prakt. (1951), 197-203.
- and Ph. Petsas, Prakt. (1951), 192-196.
- Wace, A.J.B., JHS LXXI (1951), 254-257.
- Ecole française, BCH LXXVI (1952), 219.
- Papademetriou, I., Prakt. (1952), 427-472.
- and G. Mylonas, Archaeology V (1952), 194-200.
- Cook, J.M., BSA XLVIII (1953), 30-68.
- , Γερασ Άντωνιου Κεραμοπουλλου (1953), 112-118.
- Gallet de Santerre, H., BCH LXXVII (1953), 207-210.
- Holland, M. and M.S.F. Hood, BSA XLVIII (1953), 19-27.
- Hood, M.S.F., BSA XLVIII (1953), 84-93.

- Papademetriou, I., Prakt. (1953), 205-237.
- Wace, A.J.B., BSA XLVIII (1953), 3-18.
- , M.S.F. Hood and J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), 69-83.
- Woodhead, A.G., BSA XLVIII (1953), 27-29.
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- Desborough, V.R.d'A., BSA XLIX (1954), 258-266.
- Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1954), 8.
- Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1954), 34-38, 53-56.
- Papademetriou, I., Prakt. (1954), 242-269.
- Wace, A.J.B., JHS LIV (1954), 170-171.
- Desborough, V.R.d'A., BSA L (1955), 239-247.
- Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 232-236.
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- Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1955), 69-74.
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- Papademetriou, I., Prakt. (1955), 217-232.
- Taylor, H., BSA L (1955), 248-250.
- Taylor, W., BSA L (1955), 199-237.
- Wace, A.J.B., BSA L (1955), 175-189, 194-198.
- Woodhead, A.G., BSA L (1955), 238.
- Desbougough, V.R.d'A., BSA LI (1956), 128-130.
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- Wace, A.J.B., BSA LI (1956), 103-127, 131.
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- and E. Porada, BSA LII (1957), 197-204.
- and Others, BSA LII (1957), 207-219.
- Woodhead, A.G., BSA LII (1957), 205-206.
- Daux, G., BCH LXXXII (1958), 702-704.
- Mylonas, G., AE XCVII (1958), 153-207.
- , Prakt. (1958), 146-155.
- Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1958), 118-134.
- Papademetriou, I., Prakt. (1958), 156.
- Verdelis, N.M., Prakt. (1958), 157-164.
- Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 608-615.
- Mylonas, G., Prakt. (1959), 141-145.

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- Verdelis, N.M., Prakt. (1959), 146-154.
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- Cook, GPP (1960), 22f.
- Daux, G., BCH LXXXIV (1960), 678-685.
- Taylor, W., ADelt. XVI B (1960), 92-93.
- , and I. Papademetriou, ADelt. XVI B (1960), 89-92.
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- Daux, G., BCH LXXXV (1961), 664-471.
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- Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1963-64), 7-8.
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- Desborough, LMTS (1964), 73f.
- Mylonas, G.E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 131-133.
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- , Prakt. (1965), 85-96.
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- Taylor, W., ADelt. XX B (1965), 164-165.
- Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1965-66), 7-8.
- Charitonides, S. ADelt. XXI B (1966), 125.
- Courbin, CGA (1966), *passim*.
- Daux, G., BCH XC (1966), 775-782.
- French, E., BSA LXI (1966), 216-238.
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- Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1970-71), 10-11.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCV (1971), 865.
- Mylonas, G.E. Prakt. (1971), 146-156.
- Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1971), 131-143.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1971-72), 9.
- Desborough, GDA (1972), 69, 161.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVI (1972), 640-646.
- Mylonas, G.E., The Cult Center of Mycenae (1972).
- , Prakt. (1972), 114-126.
- Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1972), 59-67.
- Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 31-33, 67, 170-171, 209, 224.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1972-73), 13-14.
- Mylonas, G.E., Ὁ Ταφικὸς Κύκλος Β Τῶν Μυκηνῶν, 2 vols. (1972-3).
- Desborough, V.R.d'Á., BSA LXVIII (1973), 87-101.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVII (1973), 296.
- Mylonas, G.E., Prakt. (1973), 99-107.
- Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1973), 66-79.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1973-74), 9.
- Hägg, Gräber (1974), 64-71.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVIII (1974), 604.
- Mylonas, G.E., Prakt. (1974), 89-92.
- Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1974), 53-57.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1974-75), 9.
- Aupert, P., BCH XCIX (1975), 611-613.
- Mylonas, G., Prakt. (1975), 153-161.
- Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1975), 90-101.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1975-76), 11.
- Aupert, P., BCH C (1976), 607.
- Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 66f.
- Mountjoy, P.A., BSA LXXI (1976), 77-111.
- Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 294-305.
- Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A1.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1980-81), 13.
- Touchais, G., BCH CV (1981), 787.
- Taylor, W., The Mycenaeans<sup>2</sup> (1983).

Mykenai has been extensively excavated since the second half of the nineteenth century. Various parts of the citadel and surrounding area have yielded remains of different periods. The site was occupied in the Neolithic and Early Helladic periods although its main occupation did not begin until the Middle Helladic. Most of the evidence preceding the LH consists of pottery and graves. The first fortifications are now felt to be no earlier than LHIIIA2 at which time a settlement extended along the slopes beyond the citadel. From 1500 onwards there was much building activity with the construction of the Lion Gate and Cyclopean Walls in the LHIIIB. At the end of the LHIIIB the citadel was destroyed by fire but recovered until its final destruction in the LHIIIC. The LH remains are not confined to the citadel itself however, since a lower town existed throughout this period. West of the Lion Gate several storerooms dating to the LHIIIA2 were excavated and near the area of the tholoi the occupation was also extensive.

After the destructions of the LHIIIC the site was abandoned for a relatively short time as vases and graves of the SM period have now been found on the citadel. The akropolis continued to serve as a burial ground in the PG and Early Geometric periods, some of the SM and PG graves having been dug into the ruins of LH houses. Graves of the later part of the Geometric period have been excavated at the House of Shields and House of Sphinxes and by this period Mykenai had become a small settlement although the evidence for occupation is quite slight. The "Agamemnoneion" sanctuary dates to the end of the Geometric although its main period of importance was in the early Archaic period. Several LH tholoi received Geometric material, perhaps an indication of a hero cult here as well. Other finds from the historic ages include temples and graves. The settle-

ment was destroyed by Argos c. 468 B.C. but it soon revived, although its main function in the fifth and fourth centuries was as a fortification. The major reoccupation of the settlement itself did not occur until the third century.

Approximately 1 km. north of the citadel, at Asprokhamata, a temple and altar were excavated. The altar is dated to the end of the G or early A period and the temple appears to have been in use from the seventh to the third century. Recently seven chamber tombs of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries were excavated here as well.

#### 75. Myloi

MH LHI-II C H R

Boethius, C.A., RE XII (1925), 2086.

Protonotariou, E., AE (1955), Chron. 1-8.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 45.

Papachristodoulou, I., ADelt. XXII B (1967), 182.

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 83.

Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 316-317.

At this site, immediately north of Lerna, cist and pithos burials of the MH, LHI-II, Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods have been found.

#### 76. Mysia (not on map)

C? H? R?

Pausanias II.XVIII.3.

The only evidence for the existence of this site is from Pausanias who mentions that it is on the road from Mykenai to Argos. He saw a sanctuary of Mysian Demeter, the temple of which was of burned bricks, a feature of Roman construction. The site has not been located.

77. Nauplia

N EH LHIIIA-IIIC SM PG G A C H

- Lolling, H.G., AM V (1880), 143-163.  
Stais, B., Prakt. (1892), 52-54.  
----, AE XXXIV (1895), 261.  
Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 37.  
Arvanitopoulos, A.S., Prakt. (1916), 82-83.  
Philadelphus, A., AE (1917), 108.  
Fimmen, KMK (1921), 13.  
Karo, G., AA XLV (1930), 113f.  
----, RE Suppl. VI (1935), 605.  
Furumark, A., Mycenaean Pottery (1941), 651.  
Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1953), 191-204.  
----, Prakt. (1954), 232-241.  
Courbin, P., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 119.  
Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1954), 10.  
Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1954), 32-34.  
Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1955), 233-235.  
Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 236-239.  
Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1955), 13.  
Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1955), 75-76.  
Ålin, EMF (1962), 46f.  
Desborough, LMTS (1964), 80.  
Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 127f.  
Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 9.  
Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 130.  
Courbin, CGA (1966), passim.  
Kirsten and Kraiker, Griechenlandkunde (1967), 350.  
Styrenius, C.-G., Submycenaean Studies (1967), 129.  
Coldstream, GCP (1968), 406.  
Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXIV B1 (1969), 104.  
Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1970-71), 11.  
Deilaki, E., AAA IV (1971), 10-11.  
Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCV (1971), 867.  
Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 74, 83f.  
Snodgrass, DAG (1971), 51.  
Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 44-45, 75f.  
Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 87-93.

- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1973-74), 11.  
 Hägg, Gräber (1974), 71-75.  
 Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXIX B1 (1973-1974), 202-203.  
 Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 68f.  
 Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 308-311.  
 Dragona-Laloude, A., AE (1977), 86-98.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CII (1978), 668-670.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1978-79), 17-18.  
 Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A18.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CIII (1979), 559.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1979-80), 30.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CIV (1980), 603.

The remains in Nauplia are scattered over a fairly wide area, with finds on the Palamidi and Akronauplia as well as in the lower town. Several Mykenaian chamber tombs of the LHIIIA-C have been excavated on the slopes of the Palamidi hill. From the Sub-mykenaian there are a few pit graves and pots but for the PG the evidence is scanty. The finds from the other historic periods are more considerable and consist primarily of graves from the Early Geometric to the Hellenistic period. The settlement itself seems to have existed primarily in the Geometric period - several houses of this period have been found. The akropolis walls appear to be Hellenistic in date.

78. Oga

C H? R?

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), Figs. 15a to 17b.

This site is an akropolis settlement dated to the C, H and R periods but uncertain in the Hellenistic and Roman. It lies on the north coast of Methana but its location is not precisely known.

79. Oinoe

C

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 84.

Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 9, 38.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 65.

Remains of houses of this period have been found. The site is in the southwest part of the central plain near the Arkadian border.

80. Orneiai

C H R?

Pausanias II.XXV.5.

Frazer, Pausanias III (1898), 217.

Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 9, 39.

Very little is known of this site besides the fact that it was destroyed by the Argives in 416 B.C. and the inhabitants removed to Argos. Pausanias saw a sanctuary and temple there when he visited it, indicating its use in the Roman period. It may also have been used in the Hellenistic period however. The site is situated in the northwestern part of the central plain near the west end of the Inakhos River.

81. Palaia Epidauros

MH LHIIIA2-C G A C H R

Frazer, Pausanias III (1898), 259f.

Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 29f.

Furumark, A., Mycenaeen Pottery (1941), 647f.

Papademetriou, I., Prakt. (1951), 204-212.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 51f.

Mollard-Besques, S., Les terres-cuites grecques (1963), 48.

Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1963-64), 8.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 23.

Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 131-132.

Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1967-68), 9.

- Papachristodoulou, I., ADelt. XXIII B1 (1968), 133.
- Tomlinson, R.A., JHS LXXXIX (1969), 106f.
- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 84.
- Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), Figs., 11a, 11b, 13a to 14b.
- Kritzas, C.B., AAA V (1972), 186-199.
- , ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 219.
- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., AAA V (1972), 347-358.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1972-73), 16.
- Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 83-87.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVII (1973), 299-305.
- Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 204-205.
- Kritzas, C.B., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 249.
- Arkhontidou-Argyri, A., AE (1975), Chron. 77-80.
- Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 61-62.
- Touchais, G., BCH CII (1978), 670.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1978-79), 18.
- Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A28.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1979-80), 31.
- Touchais, G., BCH CIV (1980), 603.

The site of Palaia Epidauros is located about 500 m. southeast of the modern town of the same name on the east coast of Epidauria. The prehistoric remains consist of MH Grey Minyan ware and LH chamber tombs. There is much G to H pottery and the circuit walls of the ancient city are still visible. A Classical theatre has also been excavated.

## 82. Palaiokhori (Nea Epidauros)

### LHIIIB

- Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 150.
- Karo, G., AA LIII (1938), 558-560.
- Álin, EMF (1962), 52.
- Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 24.
- Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 131.
- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 157.
- Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 11, Figs. 12a, 12b.
- Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 62.

Touchais, G., BCH CII (1978), 670.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A29.

At Palaioikhori, in northeast Epidauria near the coast, about 500 m. ESE of Nea Epidauros, Mykenaian chamber tombs were reported. Hope-Simpson and Dickinson feel that the cemetery was probably associated with the site of Vassa.

### 83. Phourkaria

LH H R

Mobius, H. And W. Wrede, AA XLII (1927), 365.

Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 605.

Welter, G., Troizen und Kalaureia (1941), T. 1.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 52.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 34.

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 15, Figs. 13a, 13b, 17a to 18b.

Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1977-78), 29.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A38.

Situated on the coast, this was a small harbour settlement, unfortified in all these periods. The site is at the extreme southeast end of the eastern peninsula facing the small island of Soupia.

### 84. Phousia

G A C H R

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), Figs. 12a to 16b.

At a distance less than 2 km. southwest of Ano Phanari, various sherds from the G to the R period testify to the existence of an unfortified settlement.

### 85. Phyktia (Boliari)

LHIIIA2-C

Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 118-120.



Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 125.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A2.

Phyktia, in the northern part of the central Argolic plain about 3 km. north of the Mykenai akropolis, has yielded a Mykenaian chamber tomb containing seventeen vases dated to the LHIIIA-B.

86. Phyktia (Ayios Yeorgios)

EH? MH? LHIIIA-B C H? R?

Béquignon, Y., BCH LV (1931), 476.

Karo, G., AA XLVI (1931), 262.

----, RE Suppl. VI (1935), 605.

Lord, L.E., Hesperia VII (1937), 481-493.

Jeffery, L.H., BSA L (1955), 69-72.

Ålin, EMF (1962), 36-37.

Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 125.

Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 290-292.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A2A.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson mention some surface finds from this site, located 6 km. southwest of Phyktia. An inscription was found dating to the fifth century and near the site is a watch-tower of the fourth century (?). Jeffery suggests that the site may be near the Tomb of Thyestes mentioned by Pausanias II.XVIII.1-2.

87. Piada

LH?

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 11, Figs. 12a, 12b.

Surface finds suggest the presence of a settlement at this site in northeast Epidauria about 1 km. northwest of Nea Epidauros and about 2 km. from the coast.

88. Pigadaki

C H?

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 11, Figs. 15a to 16b.

Here as well evidence consists of surface finds indicating a fortified settlement as well as a sanctuary in both periods. It is in northeast Epidauria about 2.5 km. northwest of Ayios Leonidas and about 9 km. from the coast.

89. Pogon

A C H R

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), Figs. 15a to 18b.

This was an unfortified settlement from the Archaic to the Roman period but it has not been excavated. It is located on the coast of the eastern peninsula at the west end of Pogonos Lake, 3 km. northeast of Troizen.

90. Poros

A? C H R

Welter, G., Troizen und Kalaureia (1941), T. 1.

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 16, Figs. 15a to 18b.

In the Archaic period a sanctuary may possibly have been established but in the C, H and R periods both a sanctuary and settlement were in existence. The site has not been excavated and is situated on the island of Poros just to the north of the modern city of that name.

91. Poros: Temple of Poseidon

EHII LHIIIIB G A C H R

Wide, S. and L. Kjellberg, AM XX (1895), 296-326.

Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 32, 33, 37.

Harland, J.P., AJA XXIX (1925), 160-171.

Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 606.

Furumark, A., Mycenaean Pottery (1941), 652.

- Welter, G., Troizen und Kalaureia (1941), 10, T. 1.  
 Ålin, EMF (1962), 52.  
 Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 38.  
 Coldstream, GGP (1968), 405.  
 Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 16, Figs. 11a, 11b, 14a to 18b.  
 Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A36.

At this site, located on the island of Poros on the summit called Biyla, a little over 1 km. from the northeast coast, Hope-Simpson reports that EH and LHIII sherds were seen and a Late Helladic tomb excavated. The site was thus a settlement in both the EH and LH periods and continued as such in the A, C, H and R periods. Besides this, the settlement may have had a defensive wall in the Classical period but the evidence for its existence is more certain for the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The sanctuary itself dates from the Geometric to the Roman period and was the centre of the Kalaureian Amphictiony.

## 92. Porto Kheli

R

- Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 10, Figs. 16a, 16b.

Located in the area of the modern city of the same name this site was apparently occupied in the Roman period.

## 93. Porto Kheli (Halieis)

N EH LHI-II PG G A C H

- Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1962-63), 16-17.  
 Daux, G., BCH LXXXVI (1963), 756-759.  
 Jameson, M.H., ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 73-74.  
 Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 30.  
 Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1965-66), 8.  
 Daux, G., BCH XC (1966), 786-791.  
 Jameson, M.H. and C.K. Williams, ADelt. XXI B (1966), 148-151.  
 Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1966-67), 10.

Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), 659-661.  
 Ervin, M., AJA LXXI (1967), 299.  
 Williams, C.K., ADelt. XXII B (1967), 195-196.  
 Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1967-68), 10.  
 Daux, G., BCH XCII (1968), 799-803.  
 Ervin, M., AJA LXXII (1968), 270-271.  
 Jacobsen, T.W., ADelt. XXIII B1 (1968), 144-148.  
 Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1968-69), 14.  
 Ervin, M., AJA LXXIII (1969), 347.  
 Jacobsen, T.W., ADelt. XXIV B1 (1969), 124-126.  
 Jameson, M.H., Hesperia XXXVIII (1969), 311-342.  
 Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCIV (1970), 969.  
 Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1970-71), 11-12.  
 Caskey, M.E., AJA LXXV (1971), 301-302.  
 Jameson, M.H., ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 114-119.  
 Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCV (1971), 875-878.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1971-72), 9-10.  
 Jameson, M.H., ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 233-236.  
 Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVI (1972), 651.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1972-73), 15-16.  
 Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVII (1973), 305.  
 Rudolph, W.W., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 159-163.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1973-74), 11-13.  
 Jameson, M.H., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 261-264.  
 Rudolph, W.W., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 265-268.  
 Jameson, M.H., Phoros Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt (1974), 67-75.  
 Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVIII (1974), 610.  
 Rudolph, W., Hesperia XLIII (1974), 105f.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1974-75), 10-11.  
 Aupert, P., BCH XCIX (1975), 618.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1975-76), 13.  
 Aupert, P., BCH C (1976), 610-614.  
 Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 69.  
 Touchais G., BCH CI (1977), 554-555.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1977-78), 28.  
 Boyd, T.D. and W. Rudolph, Hesperia XLVII (1978), 333-355.  
 Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A44.  
 Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1979-80), 31.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CIV (1980), 603-605.

Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1981-82), 23.

The site of ancient Halieis is located at the southwest end of Hermionis across the bay from modern Portokheli and is now partly submerged in the sea. It occupies two areas, an akropolis and a lower town. The akropolis was first occupied in the N period and continued until the LHII. A gap follows until the PG when sherds are again found; the G period has also yielded sherds. From the late seventh to the fifth century buildings were constructed on the akropolis; the fortifications themselves date to the seventh century but were destroyed c. 600 B.C. They were later rebuilt with a tower as well as a court and later a circular tower and terrace wall. The akropolis suffered destructions at various times from the sixth century onwards. Historical evidence relates that the town itself was settled c. 468 by Tirynthians. In 460 the Athenians were defeated here by Corinthians and Epidaurians and some time before 430 a single Spartan is said to have captured the town. The Athenians raided it in 430 and 425; peace was effected by treaty in 424/3. In the fourth century the town was an ally of Sparta in the Theban invasion; the city was destroyed c. 330 B.C., by whom is not known. Although it was officially founded by Tirynthians in the fifth century, there was occupation of part of the town from the LG period until the fourth century at which time both the akropolis and lower town were abandoned.

Three sanctuaries have been discovered, one on the akropolis dated to the early sixth century and one of Demeter outside the city, east of the akropolis. A submerged sanctuary of Apollo dating from the LG/early seventh to the fifth century has also been located in the northeast part of the harbour, beyond the city walls.

94. Prophitis Ilias

C?

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 12, Figs. 15a, 15b.

Surface finds indicate a sanctuary of the Classical period here, in east central Epidauria about 1 km. southeast of Trakheia.

95. Psiphti

A C H R

Welter, G., Troizen und Kalaureia (1941), T. 1.

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 15, Figs. 15a to 18b.

Here as well a sanctuary is suggested by the presence of surface finds. The site is situated in north Troizenia a little over 4 km. southwest of the Isthmus of Methana.

96. Pyrgos

LHIII B

Ålin, EMF (1962), 51.

Sherds of this period have been found here, in the north part of the central Argolic plain near the Corinthian border about 3.5 km. northeast of modern Limni.

97. Pyrgos

EH MH LH C H

Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 12, Figs. 10a to 12b, 15a to 16b.

Sherds indicate the presence of a settlement in these periods. The site is in southwestern Epidauria a little over 4 km. from the Argolic Gulf and about 3.5 km. northeast of Iria.

A little to the southwest of this, at Xydeika, surface finds show the existence of a settlement in the C and H periods.

98. Riniza

N

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 9, Figs. 8a, 8b.

This was apparently a cult site in this period. It is in north central Hermionis on the northeast slopes of the Didyma mountain and about 2.5 km. southeast of modern Pathon.

99. Skaphidaki

C R

Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XVII B (1961-1962), 54.

Daux, G., BCH LXXXVI (1962), 719,

Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 323-324.

Graves of the Classical period, and also late Roman burials, were found here, about 4.5 km northwest of Lerna.

100. Skhinokhori

N EH MH LHI-IIIIB G A C H R

Homolle, T., BCH XVII (1893), 199-200.

Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 24-25.

Ecole française, BCH XLIV (1920), 385-387.

Renaudin, L., BCH XLV (1921), 512.

---, BCH XLVII (1923), 190-240.

Karo, G. RE Suppl. VI (1935), 606.

Furumark, A. The Chronology of Mycenaean Pottery (1941), 53, 57, 62.

Kahrstedt, U., Das Wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit (1954), 169.

Álin, EMF (1962), 43, 45.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 16.

Papachristodoulou, I., ADelt. XXIV (1969), 111.

---, AAA III (1970), 117-120.

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 156.

---, ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 82.

Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 50, 53, 65.

Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 38f.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 70.

Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 331-332.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A9.

Among the finds of these periods, five chamber tombs were excavated and between the tombs and the modern village there appeared to be a settlement, as Hope-Simpson and Dickinson point out. It is in the northwest part of the central Argolic plain about 11 km. northwest of Argos.

#### 101. Spetsai

R

Theokharis, G.R., ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 84-93.

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 10, Figs. 16a, 16b.

This site, located on the island of Spetsai across the little bay from modern Spetsai appears to have been a settlement in the Roman period. The evidence consists of surface finds only.

#### 102. Synoro

EHII LHI-IIA

Gebauer, K., AA LIV (1939), 287-294.

Walter, O., AA LV (1940), 220-221.

Dunbabin, T.J., JHS LXIV (1944-45), 82.

Ålin, EME (1962), 50.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 27.

Jantzen, U., AA (1968), 373.

Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 57.

Döhl, H. in Siedentopf, Iiryms VI (1973), 195-220.

Willerding, U. in Siedentopf, Iiryms VI (1973), 221-240.

Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 64.

Synoro is situated in central Epidauria about 4.5 km. northeast of Kandia. It was excavated on a very small scale, only one trench having been dug. Remains of walls were reported but there is not much evidence beyond that. The site does not appear to have



been very important.

103. Temenion

C H? R?

Pausanias II.XXXVIII.1.

Frazer, Pausanias III (1898), 303.

Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 9, 44.

Frazer mentions remains of foundations, blocks of masonry, sherds and tiles of the Classical period but the evidence for the Hellenistic is inconclusive. Pausanias relates that in the war with the Achaeans under Tisamenos, Temenion was seized and fortified by Temenos and the Dorians who used it as a base of operations. When he visited it, he saw a sanctuary of Poseidon and one of Aphrodite as well as the tomb of Temenos to which the Argives paid their respects. This may indicate occupation in the Roman period. Temenion is on the Argolic Gulf less than 200 m. northwest of Nea Kios.

104. Thalassopetra

EH? A C H R

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 9, Figs. 9a, 9b, 13a to 16b.

Thalassopetra, located on the coast in the southern part of the Hermionis region, about 6 km. northeast of modern Portokheli, is a site comprising two settlements very close to one another. Site "A" was a settlement in the EH, A, C, H and R periods though uncertain in the EH while site "B" was also a natural harbour in addition to being a settlement in the Archaic period. In the C and H periods the site was fortified.

105. Thermisi

LHIIIA-B

Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 606.

Álin, EMF (1962), 52.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 33.

Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 31.

Faraklas, AGC XIX (1973), 9, Figs 11a, 11b.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A40.

Various sherds of the LHIIIA-B period have been recovered in this area. The site is a naturally-fortified settlement, situated in the southeast Hermionis region about 2.5 km. northwest of modern Thermisi.

106. Throni

LH C H R?

Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 16, Figs. 16a to 18b.

In the LH period both a settlement and sanctuary occupied the area of Throni. The evidence for the C, H and R periods consists of graves and sherds indicating the presence of a settlement. The site is on the peninsula of Methana in the south central region about 2 km. west of modern Methana.

107. Tiryns

N EH MH LHI-IIIC SM PG G A C H

Schliemann, H., Tiryns (1886).

Dörpfeld, W., AM XVI (1891), 254-255.

Sulze, H., AM XXX (1905), 151-155.

Dörpfeld, W., AM XXXII (1907), I-IV.

Karo, G., AA XXIII (1908), 126-127.

----, AA XXIV (1909), 121-123.

----, AA XXV (1910), 171-172.

----, AA XXVI (1911), 147-149.

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Tiryns I (1912).

Rodenwaldt, G. et al., Tiryns II (1912).

- Karo, G., AA XXIX (1914), 133-136.
- Arvanitopoulos, A.S., Prakt. (1915), 201-236.
- Karo, G., AA XXXI (1916), 143-147.
- Blegen, C.W., Korakou (1921), 130f.
- Day, J., AJA XXX (1926), 442-443.
- Möbius, H. and W. Wrede, AA XLII (1927), 365.
- Blegen, C.W., AJA XXXII (1928), 141f.
- Karo, G., AA XLV (1930), 112-113.
- , AM LV (1930), 119-140.
- Müller, K. and H. Sulze, Tiryns III (1930).
- Karo, G., AA XLVI (1931), 262-263.
- Jenkins, R.J., BSA XXXII (1931-32), 23-40.
- Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 605.
- Sulze, H., AA (1936), 14-36.
- Müller, K., Tiryns IV (1938).
- Brommer, F., AA LIV (1939), 251-252.
- Furumark, A., Mycenaean Pottery (1941), 654.
- Peek, W., AM LXVI (1941), 198-200.
- Demangel, R., BCH LXVIII-LXIX (1944-45), 404-410.
- Nilsson, M.P., Minoan-Mycenaean Religion<sup>2</sup> (1950), 475f.
- Desborough, PGP (1952), 207f.
- Jacobsthal, Greek Pins (1956), 4, 14f.
- Verdelis, N.M., AE (1956), Chron. 3-8.
- Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1957), 8.
- Daux, G., BCH LXXXII (1958), 707.
- Cook, GPP (1960), 22f.
- Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XVI B (1960), 80-81.
- Daux, G., BCH LXXXV (1961), 675.
- Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XVII B (1961-1962), 54-55.
- Alin, EMF (1962), 25-36.
- Daux, G., BCH LXXXVII (1963), 751-755.
- Editors, Archaeology XVI (1963), 129-130.
- Mollard-Besques, S., Les terres-cuites grecques (1963), 48.
- Vanderpool, E., AJA LXVII (1963), 281.
- Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 66-73.
- , AM LXXVIII (1963), 1-62.
- Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1963-64), 8.
- Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 108-118.
- Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1964-65), 11.

- Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 8.
- Verdelis, N.M., et al., ADelt. XX A (1965), 137-152.
- Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1965-66), 8.
- Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 130.
- Courbin, CGA (1966), *passim*.
- Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1966-67), 8-9.
- Grossmann, P., AA (1967), 92-101.
- Higgins, R.A., Greek Terracottas (1967), 50, 84.
- Kirsten and Kraiker, Griechenlandkunde (1967), 379f.
- Papachristodoulou, I., ADelt. XXII B (1967), 180-181.
- Megaw, A.H.S., JHSArch. (1967-68), 9.
- Desborough, LMTS (1968), 79.
- Jantzen, U. et al., AA (1968), 369-374.
- Papachristodoulou, I., ADelt. XXIII A (1968), 117-131.
- Tritsch, F.J., Kadmos VII (1968), 124-137.
- Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1968-69), 13.
- Drerup, Griechische Baukunst (1969), 18.
- Ervin, M., AJA LXXIII (1969), 348-349.
- Grossmann, P. et al., AAA II (1969), 344-351.
- Jantzen, U. et al., AA (1969), 1-11.
- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXIV B1 (1969), 104.
- Fraser, P.M., JHSArch. (1969-70), 14.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCIV (1970), 964-968.
- Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 156-157.
- Gercke, P. et al., Iiryms V (1971).
- Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 19f., 46f., 92f.
- Snodgrass, DAG (1971), 57.
- Voigtländer, W., AAA IV (1971), 398-406.
- Desborough, GDA (1972), 69, 162, 164.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVI (1972), 647.
- Tomlinson, R.A., Argos and the Argolid (1972), 41, 67, 224.
- Leonard, A. Jr., AAA VI (1973), 306-308.
- Michaud, J.-P., BCH XCVII (1973), 296-299.
- Sakellarakis, J., AAA VI (1973), 158-163.
- Siedentopf, Iiryms VI (1973).
- Voigtländer, W., AAA VI (1973), 28-38.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1973-74), 11.
- Balcer, J.M., AJA LXXVIII (1974), 141-149.
- Courbin, TGA I (1974), 115, 130-131.

- Gercke, P. and U. Naumann, AAA VII (1974), 15-24.
- Godart, L. and J.-P. Olivier, AAA VII (1974), 25-26.
- Hägg, Gräber (1974), 75-87.
- Slenczka, E., Tiryms VII (1974).
- Aupert, P., BCH XCIX (1975), 613-617.
- Jantzen, U. (ed.), Führer durch Tiryms (1975).
- Müller, K. et al., Tiryms VIII (1975).
- Verdelis, N.M., M.H. Jameson and I. Papachristodoulou, AE (1975), 150-205.
- Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 70.
- Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 276-280.
- Caskey, M.E., AJA LXXXI (1977), 511-512.
- Naumann, U. et al., BCH CI (1977), 229-234.
- Podzuweit, C. and D. Salzmann, AA (1977), 123-137.
- Touchais, G., BCH CI (1977), 549-551.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1977-78), 26-27.
- Caskey, M.E., AJA LXXXII (1978), 339-340.
- Touchais, G., BCH CII (1978), 665-668.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1978-79), 16.
- Boessneck, J. and A. von den Driesch, AA (1979), 447-449.
- Godart, L. et al., AA (1979), 450-458.
- Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A7.
- Kilian, K. et al., AA (1979), 379-447.
- Touchais, G., BCH CIII (1979), 559.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1979-80), 28-30.
- Avila, R. et al., Tiryms IX (1980).
- Grossmann, P., AA (1980), 477-498.
- Touchais, G., BCH CIV (1980), 601.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1980-81), 14-16.
- Caskey, M.E., AJA LXXXV (1981), 454-456.
- Kilian, K. et al., AA (1981), 149-256.
- Touchais, G., BCH CV (1981), 789-792.
- Weisshaar, H.-J., AM XCVI (1981), 1-5.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1981-82), 21-23.
- Touchais, G., BCH CVI (1982), 547-549.
- Winter, N.A., AJA LXXXVI (1982), 543-544.
- Catling, H.W., JHSArch. (1982-83), 27-28.
- Godart, L. et al., AA (1983), 413-426.
- Kilian, K., AA (1983), 277-328.
- Podzuweit, C., AA (1983), 359-402.

Schnuchel, W., AA (1983), 403-412.

Touchais, G., BCH CVII (1983), 758-761.

Weisshaar, H.-J., AA (1983), 329-358.

Winter, N.A., AJA LXXXVIII (1984), 51.

The chief area of the settlement is the Citadel with its Upper, Middle and Lower sections. Tiryns was inhabited from the third millennium on and reached its peak in the Late Helladic period. There were several buildings on the citadel throughout the EH, MH and LH periods and as at Mykenai, the citadel was fortified in the LHIIIA2. Three phases of development occurred in the LH and in this period a settlement extended in the area of the lower enceinte. In the area surrounding the citadel, the settlement was already fairly widespread in the EH period. The area in use grew throughout the Bronze Age. In the LHIIIB the citadel suffered a destruction although it was reoccupied in the LHIIIC until its final destruction. A small settlement grew up in the ruins of the Mykenaian habitation; on the citadel itself some Geometric pottery has been found and by the eighth century a sanctuary to Hera was established, with the temple built over the old Mykenaian megaron. The date of its construction remains controversial however, and the building over the megaron may in fact have a twelfth century date. By the early Archaic period a cult of Athena was established, seemingly localized on the Middle Citadel. Several SM and PG burials and PG houses have been found in the area of the lower city. The area west of the citadel has yielded the most abundant G material and graves of this and later periods have also been located around the citadel. The settlement was destroyed by the Argives in 468 B.C. but it was not completely abandoned until after the Hellenistic period. A few hundred metres from the site on the lower slopes of a mountain a tholos tomb has been excavated and on the other side are at least fifty chamber tombs of the LHII-IIIIB. Nearby there is evidence for EH occupation.

108. Trakheia

LH C H R

- Möbius, H. and W. Wrede, AA XLII (1927), 365.  
Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 605.  
Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 43.  
Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 12, Figs. 12a, 12b, 15a to 17b.  
Kritzas, C.B., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 248.  
Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A43.

This site is situated in south central Epidauria about 500 m. northwest of modern Trakheia. Hope-Simpson and Dickinson state that a Mykenaian site was reported here. According to Faraklas the site was a settlement in the LH and a fortified settlement in the C, H and R periods.

109. Troizen

EHII G A C H R

- Imhoof-Blumer, F. and P. Gardner, JHS VI (1885), 95-98.  
Legrand, Ph.E., BCH XVI (1892), 165-174.  
----, BCH XVII (1893), 179-215.  
----, BCH XXI (1897), 543f.  
Frazer, Pausanias III (1898), 273f.  
Wide, S., JDAI XIV (1899), 86.  
Legrand, Ph.E., BCH XXIV (1900), 179-215.  
----, BCH XXIX (1905), 269-318.  
----, BCH XXX (1906), 52-57.  
Frickenhaus, A. and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 31f.  
Béquignon, Y., BCH LVII (1933), 259-260.  
Blegen, E.P., AJA XXXVII (1933), 153-154.  
Welter, G., Troizen und Kalaureia (1941).  
Meyer, E., RE VIIa (1948), 618-654.  
Daux, G., BCH LXXXIV (1960), 685-688.  
Jameson, M.H., Hesperia XXIX (1960), 198-223.  
Hood, M.S.F., JHSArch. (1960-61), 10-11.  
Daux, G., BCH LXXXVII (1963), 755.  
Kallipolitis, G. and G. Petrakos, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 52.  
Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 37.

- Coldstream, GGP (1968), 407.  
 Lehmann, G., Historia XVII (1968), 276f.  
 Faraklas, AGC X (1972), 14, Figs. 11a, 11b, 14a to 18b.  
 Leekley and Noyes, AESG (1976), 72.  
 Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A33.  
 Touchais, G., BCH CV (1981), 792.

At the site of ancient Troizen, EH sherds have been found indicating that the site was inhabited as early as that period. No evidence of occupation has been found for the rest of the pre-historic periods however, and it is only in the Geometric period that activity resumed in the area. Graves of the G, A and later dates have been excavated. The site was perhaps fortified with a defensive wall in the Classical period and was definitely so in the H and R periods. Besides a settlement the site comprised the sanctuary of Hippolytos from the Geometric to Roman periods. Troizen is situated at the modern city of the same name.

110. Troizen: Temple of Ares-Genethion

C? H R

- Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), Figs. 15a to 17b.

Faraklas notes the presence of a sanctuary in these periods, though the C occupation is uncertain. The site is north-east of Troizen.

111. Vassa

EHII MH LHI/II-III B G

- Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 606.  
 ----, AA LIII (1938), 559.  
 Ålin, EMF (1962), 52.  
 Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 25.  
 Scoufopoulos, N.C., Mycenaean Citadels (1971), 31, 57.  
 Faraklas, AGC XII (1972), 11, Figs. 11a, 11b.  
 Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A30.



This site is located in northeast Epidauria about 2 km. northwest of Palaiokhori. It was a large settlement with Cyclopean walls well-preserved on the south side. Sherds of all these periods have been found nearby and in both the MH and LH periods the site was fortified.

112. Vreserka

LHI? LHIIA-IIIB

Arvanitopoulos, A.S., Prakt. (1916), 91.

Karo, G., RE Suppl. VI (1935), 605.

Hope-Simpson, Gazetteer (1965), no. 3.

Bintliff, Natural Environment I (1977), 289-290.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer (1979), no. A3A.

Hope-Simpson and Dickinson surveyed this site and found sherds of the LHII to IIIB. They feel it may also have been occupied in the LHI. The site is in the northern part of the central Argolic plain at the modern village of Vreserka, about 3 km. south-east of the Mykenai akropolis.

## 2.2 Discussion

The Argolid, an area comprising the central Argolic plain and the peninsula to the east, and incorporating the peninsula of Methana and the islands of Spetsai and Hydra, has produced a total of 112 sites. Their distribution is illustrated in Figure 1.<sup>1</sup> The westernmost sites are effectively cut off from Arkadia by the extensive mountain chain running roughly north-south. There are three main passes into Arkadia, one located immediately north of Orneiai (no. 80), another by Oinoe (no. 79), and the third by Kaimenikhora (no. 39) and from there running south around the mountain just north of Hysiai (no. 6).<sup>2</sup> With the exception of Hysiai, the sites mentioned all functioned as watchtowers guarding the routes from one area to the other. To the south the main route into Lakonia winds its way along the coast past Kyveri (no. 60) and inland over the mountains and into Arkadia before turning south towards Sparta. From the Corinthia the passage is perhaps easier, as it is fairly straightforward to enter the Argolic plain by passing between Phyktia (no. 85) and Malandrini (no. 71). Another route extends north of Berbati below the hills. An alternative route into the Argolid is by sea; Temenos himself is supposed to have landed at the town bearing his name, Temenion (no. 103).<sup>3</sup> Several sites all around the Argolic coast provide suitable harbours for boats coming from Attica or from the south through the Argolic Gulf. Inland the plains of both the eastern peninsula and the central Argolic plain furnish abundant space for settlements, the central plain in particular, with its well-watered, fertile area.

Unfortunately interest in the Argolid has always been concentrated in the central plain, partly no doubt because of the Bronze Age palaces of Mykenai and Tiryns. Most of the sites in the

eastern peninsula are known only through surface surveys, consequently a bias towards the central plain still persists. Since more is known of these sites, results necessarily tend to favour them. Forty-four of the Argolic sites in Figure 1 have been revealed through the Ancient Greek Cities series by N. Faraklas. As the purpose of this series is not primarily archaeological, not much detail is given concerning the remains at each site. For instance Late Helladic finds are referred to solely as "LH" without any subdivisions. The same applies to the Geometric finds; nonetheless valuable insights can be gained from it with regard to the general distribution patterns within the Argolid throughout the prehistoric and historic periods. The series has also proved useful in showing that the eastern peninsula was much more heavily populated in both the Geometric and Archaic periods than had previously been thought. Some of the old bias towards the central plain may therefore be decreased in some respects.

Figure 1 lists all the sites with their periods of occupation and in Figure 2 the number of sites in each period is illustrated. In the prehistoric age from the Neolithic to the LHIIIB each period represents an increase from its predecessor with the exception of the MH. At this time the trend faces a reversal with only thirty sites still in existence from the thirty-eight of the EH, a decrease of 21%. When one compares this with other areas near the Argolid, results compare favourably. In the Corinthia for example, Hope-Simpson and Dickinson list a total of thirty-two sites for the EH but only twenty-three - plus two uncertain - for the MH. For Arkadia the situation is somewhat similar, twenty-three in the EH but of these seven are uncertain, and nineteen in the MH with one of these questionable. For Lakonia the situation parallels the Corinthia with thirty-four EH sites and twenty-two MH.<sup>4</sup> Conditions affecting the Argolic settlements were thus not unique but affected a wide area.

The causes of these changes can best be explained by the arrival of the first Greek speakers to the mainland. At Lerna their presence is seen in the burning of the House of the Tiles and similar destructions occur elsewhere beyond the Argolid. A period of decline then follows in the early part of the Middle Helladic period. These conditions are widespread throughout the mainland.

A fairly large increase in population in the Argolid is attested by the LHI with thirty-eight sites being inhabited. Of these, sixteen are sites which were unoccupied in the MH period. Some have inhabitants for the first time, Ayios Leonidas, Bedeni Kiapha, Kastraki, Kastro Khoriza, Koiladha, Kosta, Phourkaria, Piada, Throni and Vreserka. Others including Ayia Marina, the Frankthi Cave, Hydra, Loutra Methana and Synoro had been occupied in either the Neolithic or Early Helladic. In contrast, it seems that the Corinthia did not enjoy such an increase for it had no more sites than in the MH while Arkadia actually suffered a reduction with only four sites occupied plus two with uncertain occupation. It must be admitted however, that this area has not been surveyed to the extent that the Argolid has so information about it remains somewhat sketchy. In Lakonia seven sites are listed as LHI with a further five simply called "LH" for a possible total of thirteen. Of these four areas then, only the Argolid contains more sites in the LHI than the MH.

In the next phase of the Late Helladic period, not much change can be distinguished in the Argolid. A total of forty-three sites are occupied while the Corinthia contains thirty-eight sites, not a tremendous difference from the previous period, and Lakonia has fourteen plus five just marked "LH", a possible increase of one. In all these areas the trend is for slight increases of population but in the next phase, LHIIIA, quite significant increases can be observed in each area. In the Argolid nine more sites are in

evidence for a total of fifty-two while Arkadia records a possible total of twenty, Lakonia forty-five and the Corinthia thirty-eight. The Argolid then, is in the middle of developments going on all around and affecting all the areas in a similar way. One imagines a growth of population which itself may be the result of greater peace and better productivity in all the areas involved.

This trend in population growth continues unabated into the LHIII B. In the Argolid, four new sites can be observed while in the Corinthia, there are now forty sites, an increase of two, while Lakonia has a possible total of forty-six. Only Arkadia suffers a slight reversal as a decrease of two sites is seen for a total of sixteen. The drastic change, of course, occurs in the LHIII C as is obvious not only in the Argolid but in other regions as well. Lakonia for example undergoes an extreme change, from forty-one LHIII B sites to four in the following period. No less severe a reduction is felt in Arkadia with only three sites surviving into the LHIII C. The Corinthia's loss is also quite extreme in that only twenty-one sites survive, a loss of nineteen.

Only six Argolic sites survive into the Submykenaian period, Argos, Asine, Dhendra, Mykenai, Nauplia and Tiryns. By the Protogeometric period there is evidence of slightly more stable conditions but the increase is not tremendous; the six SM sites continue and three sites are reoccupied from earlier periods, Kazarma, Lerna and Porto Kheli. The big increase however is not felt until the Geometric period itself at which time there is quite a noticeable jump from nine sites to twenty-nine. What is even more startling is the fact that of these twenty-nine, twenty-one are sites which were not occupied in the Protogeometric period. For most it is their first occupation since either the LHIII B or LHIII C. This represents a gap of long duration and reflects the severity of the conditions which

resulted in the downfall of the Mykenaian civilization.

In comparison with other surrounding regions, the Argolid seems to have recuperated faster from the Late Bronze Age trouble. It had more sites in the SM period than the Corinthia with five, Lakonia with one plus two Dark Age, Arkadia with none, and Attica with three.<sup>5</sup> The causes of such a great and widespread abandonment of sites have been a source of controversy for many years. Ancient authors spoke of the return of the Herakleidai, or the Dorian Invasion, as modern scholars call it, but many other theories have been proposed, including climatic change and economic collapse as well as general warfare and internal revolt. At the present time no one theory is completely satisfactory; perhaps a combination of factors was involved.<sup>6</sup> Whatever the causes, the effects were widespread and extremely severe and long-lasting.

The areas of Lakonia, Corinthia, Arkadia and Attica all experience slight revivals in the PG period. The Corinthia now has seven sites, Lakonia five, Arkadia five and Attica eight. In all these areas the Geometric period produces further growth. Attica now possesses twenty-one or twenty-two settlements while Arkadia has eight, Corinthia twelve and Lakonia six.<sup>7</sup> As is obvious from such figures, by the Geometric period the whole of the eastern Peloponnese and Attica are in the midst of renewed population growth and productivity. Only stable conditions and a secure political and economic climate could allow such a wide phenomenon.

In the next three periods, noticeable increases are seen with the largest occurring in the Classical period, with seventy-four sites now occupied from the thirty-eight of the Archaic period. Other areas also record large growths in the Classical period and this may partly be caused by the fact that Classical remains in general seem easier to identify, thus causing a bias in their favour.

That so many LHIII B sites have been identified may also be attributed to a similar cause, thanks to the almost indestructible kylix which is one of the easiest forms of pottery to identify. Perhaps, therefore, there has also been some bias in favour of sites in that period.

All these patterns of growth and reduction can be illustrated as percentages as seen in Figures 3 and 4. In general the patterns of increase and decrease in the Argolid offer no exceptional surprises. Perhaps the severity of the LHIII B and SM desolation is slightly unexpected but this affects outlying sites to a much greater extent than those in the central plain. Part of this desolation may therefore be the result of a synoikismos whereby more isolated, outlying sites were deserted in favour of the relative safety of larger communities in the central plain. Of all the sites only Argos, Asine and perhaps Tiryns, seem to have had continuous occupation into the Submykenaian period without any conspicuous break in time.<sup>8</sup> At the other SM sites some time lapse seems to have occurred before the SM occupation but it need not have been of long duration. Perhaps the geographical location of these central plain sites was partly the reason for their early reoccupation after the fall of the Mykenaian civilization. The central plain is a fertile region and this, coupled with its easy accessibility from the Gulf or from the north, may have prompted people to re-settle these locations sooner than those in the more outlying and perhaps more exposed regions to the east. Even at this comparatively early date the central Argolic plain was already a unified area with Argos at the centre.

A series of maps illustrates the distribution of sites from the Submykenaian to the Classical period. All the sites recorded in Figure 1 have been placed on a base map, Figure 5, and the numbers correspond also to those in the site index. The distribution of sites from the LHIII B to the SM period is shown in Figure 6. The LHIII B

destructions affected primarily the sites on the outskirts of the central plain as quite a large depopulation seems to have taken place in that region. All the settlements bordering Arkadia and Lakonia were also deserted as were most of those in the north near the Corinthian border. One might be tempted to postulate a successful invasion from the west but this is not a completely satisfactory solution. The relative remoteness of these western sites from the central plain may be partly the reason for their desertion. Sites such as Argos, Mykenai, Tiryns and Asine, being already important and fairly intensely populated would not so easily succumb to pressures affecting smaller, more defenceless sites. One should also note, however, the theory proposed by Greenhalgh that only the power centres such as Mykenai and Tiryns were the targets for destruction. According to him smaller settlements without palaces were not attacked.<sup>9</sup> The desertion of these small, remote sites, therefore, may not be due to an invasion from the west but to other, unrelated causes. Nevertheless if one believes in an invasion theory at all, the fact that these border sites were deserted seems to suggest that they were in the path of the invaders.

An interesting phenomenon is noticeable in the eastern peninsula. Here the survival rate into the LHIIIIC appears to be much higher than in the central plain. Comparatively few sites were abandoned at the end of the LHIIIIB but after the LHIIIIC the entire region became a complete wasteland. Every single site in that area was deserted after the LHIIIIC. It is as if the conditions leading to the desertions of the LHIIIIB took longer to reach these sites. Perhaps by virtue of their being smaller, rather unstructured communities, they were able to avoid the internal revolts or the wrath of invading peoples which may have caused the destructions at the palace sites. Their abandonment may also simply have been the result of a breakdown



in sea communications in the chaos of the period.

In the LHIII B the distribution of sites in the whole Argolid is quite uniformly spread out and resembles in many respects the distribution in the Classical period, (Figure 10). Most of the sites are settlements with six having yielded only burials, and four are forts. In contrast with the situation seen in the LHIII B, the central plain is little affected by the abandonments of the LHIII C although the sites all seem to have suffered from some loss of population since the destructions there had already begun in the LHIII B.

By the SM period the Argolid as a whole was virtually deserted. Only six plain sites were able to survive although in a much reduced fashion and for most of the sites the evidence is quite meagre consisting in the main of only a few Submykenaian pots. Argos is the best representative of the period; here the graves and sherds show an almost continuous habitation from the LHIII C. There is no noticeable break in occupation. The remains of the SM period in Argos rest in several distinct areas as Dr. Hägg has shown in his Die Gräber der Argolis.<sup>10</sup> One of these is in the southwest part of the city, in the area of the Roman baths, theatre and modern south cemetery. The prehistoric cemetery of the Deiras located on the slopes between the Larissa and Aspis contained several SM graves,<sup>11</sup> some of which date to the very beginning of the period. This provides important evidence for continuity of occupation from the Late Bronze Age. In the central area where the modern museum is located, an important artisan complex of the SM and PG periods was discovered with its silver cupellation workshop.<sup>12</sup> This however is dated to the end of the SM period. It nevertheless demonstrates the advanced state of the metallurgy industry in Argos at that early date. A few hundred metres to the east fragments of SM pots were found below a PG grave. A wall at the foot of the Larissa halfway between the Roman baths and the Deiras was

dated to the SM but the evidence is uncertain. The most concentrated remains thus lie in the southwest corner of the modern city, an area which was also one of the main centres of the LH habitation though with slight variations in the areas involved. In fact the area appears important throughout both the prehistoric and historic periods and seems to have been in almost continuous use. One cannot of course speak of Argos as a unified town at this early stage in its history. The finds are too scattered to permit the use of the word "town" at all.

At most of the other sites the SM habitation evidence remains scanty. At Tiryns a few SM graves were found dug into the LH house ruins in the lower city. Some SM pots were also found at various places around the citadel.<sup>13</sup> In 1973 a significant discovery was that of a SM hut on the Lower Citadel. This marks the first instance of occupation of that date on the citadel itself.<sup>14</sup>

At Asine some Submykenaian pots were discovered in a plot above the beach at the foot of the akropolis.<sup>15</sup> At Dhendra as well the evidence consists only of a few SM pots. Mykenai had some SM occupation on the akropolis and a few graves which, like Tiryns, were dug into ruined LH houses. Most of the graves are located south of the akropolis with the exception of one in the area of the prehistoric cemetery. Nauplia has also produced rather scanty SM remains. These consist of a few pots of that period on the hill across from the Palamidi. Such evidence suggests that although these sites were not completely abandoned the settlements were quite drastically reduced with perhaps only a few families scattered about in Argos and the five other sites.

The second map, Figure 7, illustrates the distribution of sites from the SM to the G period. The devastation which occurred in the LHIIIB and LHIIIC is quite apparent. Note especially the eastern

peninsula where one cannot distinguish any occupation at all until the PG and even at that time, only two sites come into existence, Porto Kheli and Kazarma. In the central plain almost no difference is noticeable in the PG from the previous age as only one new site can be reported, Lerna, unoccupied since the LHIII B. As for the previous three periods, the same six central plain sites continue their existence through to the Geometric period. The PG is a time of only slight expansion with some increase in size and population. Argos itself again stands at the centre of these developments. As for the Submykenaian so in the Protogeometric period it possesses the most prominent finds of the Argolid. The settlement was continuing to grow with more scattered remains, more graves and even some house walls. The areas of these remains follow the same pattern as earlier with finds at the foot of the Larissa, at the modern museum and a plot in the northeast part of the city. The finds from each of the different areas of the town seem to be independent of each other. The area perhaps was still only composed of a few farmsteads.

The rise in the number of finds at Argos is paralleled to a certain extent at other sites in the PG period. At Asine notable house walls have been found northeast of the akropolis. These include foundation walls of carefully-placed stones, positioned close together in one layer only but in double rows. One such house apparently was apsidal.<sup>16</sup> The other finds consist of numerous graves, testifying to the fact that Asine at this time was a rapidly growing centre. At Mykenai the picture does not suggest much growth from the previous period as no clear settlement remains have been recorded on the citadel itself although a few graves have been excavated in the area of the Citadel House and near the Lion Gate and South House. Several graves have also been discovered in the lower town surrounding the citadel. The site certainly did not experience any great expansion at any time

until perhaps the Archaic period. At Tiryns the PG habitation remains are not extensive. On the Lower Citadel two PG sherds are the sole evidence of occupation on any part of the citadel.<sup>17</sup> The best testimony for continued occupation remains the graves but none of these is on the citadel although their greater numbers are evidence of a larger population. The other main site is Nauplia where the finds, consisting mainly of graves, reflect occupation in the Pronoia area of the town.<sup>18</sup> From such limited evidence, it does not seem that Nauplia expanded at all at that time. At the site of Dhendra a few sherds have been discovered in the area of the LH tombs and at Kazarma some kind of sacrifice or ritual apparently took place in the entrance of one of the LH tombs.<sup>19</sup> Besides that the site does not seem to have been inhabited. Both Lerna and Porto Kheli were reoccupied from the LH period but the activity at both sites was still quite limited.

In general therefore the PG period saw only limited expansion. The greatest evidence remains at Argos but this may be due in part to the large number of rescue excavations being carried out there. The eastern peninsula continued to be deserted, a desolation lasting between 200 and 300 years.

A major revival occurs in the Geometric period however and its scope can be seen in the fact that it is at this time that several sites in the eastern peninsula are again inhabited, after an abandonment which lasted several hundred years. Within the central Argolic plain a renaissance takes place as well and seven new sites are now established of which the most important is probably the Argive Heraion where the sanctuary is founded in the eighth century. Other new Geometric sites include Amoriani where a few pots of the period have been found, and Monastiraki where the same applies.<sup>20</sup> Neither of these sites had a large settlement however. At Berbati the sole

evidence for occupation during the whole of the Geometric period consists of a late ninth-century grave put into a Late Helladic tomb.<sup>21</sup> No habitation remains as such have been found. Kourtaki provides an interesting case for here, although the main activity of this sanctuary occurs in the Archaic period, a significant Geometric pottery deposit was found below the Archaic remains.<sup>22</sup> This seems to indicate that the cult activity associated with this site began in the Geometric period.

At the other sites in the central Argolic plain the remains on the whole are much more considerable than for both the SM and PG periods. At Mykenai several graves have been excavated in the same general areas as the PG burials and in the area of the Tomb of Klytemnestra, House of Shields and House of Sphinxes.<sup>23</sup> On the citadel itself a settlement apparently existed at this time although the details have never been fully published. According To Wace huts were built in the court of the old Bronze Age palace and these were in use in the Geometric period.<sup>24</sup> An important discovery was that of Verdalis who excavated an apsidal temple east of the House of the Oil Merchant.<sup>25</sup> This, as well as the temple built over the old Mykenaian palace and the "Agamemnoneion" at some distance from the citadel itself, all date to the Geometric age and are proof of more extensive activity at the site at that time than in the two previous periods. The evidence suggests that by this time a settlement existed at Mykenai, as seen in the huts, but that the main function of the site was as a sanctuary of some importance, especially in the LG period. Its position in subsequent periods seems to have depended on the fortunes of Argos.

At Tiryns in the Geometric period the situation parallels somewhat that at Mykenai. On the citadel the most important Geometric evidence lies in the temple built over the ruins of the

Mykenaian palace.<sup>26</sup> The area near the east gateway seems to have had some habitation although the evidence consists only of sherds. The most convincing evidence of habitation lies not on the citadel itself but in the surrounding lower town where walls, a paved area and graves have been excavated west of the citadel and this would seem to have been the main area of Geometric activity at the site. Thus as at Mykenai it appears that the citadel was used primarily for cult purposes while the settlement extended in the plain surrounding it.<sup>27</sup>

The habitation remains at Nauplia, besides confirming simply that the settlement continued to exist, are not very considerable. Some remains, notably walls and a paved area, were found in the Pronoia district,<sup>28</sup> but the major evidence consists of graves, especially near the hospital and a little to the south of it as well as on the slopes of the Palamidi. The promontory area itself was probably inhabited as well at this time but overlying modern buildings preclude any excavation work in that part of the town.

Asine provides quite an interesting picture in the Geometric period. Remains are considerable thanks largely to the renewed Swedish excavations. Several house walls have been excavated on the akropolis and by the beach as well as on the slopes of the Barbouna Hill. On the Geometric terrace of the akropolis the early excavators found a Geometric house complex. Two square houses were excavated, each of rubble and oriented NE-SW. A paved road of the same period was also found in this area.<sup>29</sup> In the lower city other Geometric-dated walls were uncovered but these in contrast were built of small irregular stones, loosely held together and some apparently were not very well built and were quite narrow.<sup>30</sup> More recent excavations have brought to light more Geometric foundation walls of houses east of the akropolis, above the beach, and one of these houses also contained a hearth. The houses were built over earlier PG ones with

the same orientation and below these in turn were found Submykenaian and Late Helladic layers,<sup>31</sup> providing an interesting example of continuity at the site.

A Late Geometric house was recently excavated in the Levendis sector at the bottom of the Barbouna Hill. Here the wall uncovered belonged to a well-built stone house, of flat limestone slabs. The house included a hearth and appears to have been apsidal in shape,<sup>32</sup> providing once again more evidence for the popularity of this house type in both the PG and G periods. On the Barbouna Hill itself a strange construction of the later G period was uncovered. As described by R. Hägg, it consists of two high retaining walls meeting at right angles, three circular stone settings and a flat paved area, an oval hearth or pit. While the function of this structure has not been established, it has been postulated that it may have been a foundation or bed for drying fruit.<sup>33</sup> Other foundation walls were also found in this same area; these were built of rough rubble but they consisted of only three sides with the fourth left open. The same applies to a U-shaped wall in the same area but this one constructed carefully of pink limestone slabs. These all seem LG in date but their exact purpose remains unclear.<sup>34</sup> In 1977 more G walls were excavated on the slopes of the Barbouna Hill, built of the same type of flat limestone slabs as walls found in earlier excavations. One apparently was apsidal in shape while three were square or rectangular. They were apparently funerary in character and built just before the destruction of the town at the end of the Geometric period.<sup>35</sup>

The evidence for domestic architecture at Asine is thus quite impressive. Different types of construction were in use but no single type seems to have prevailed. Most walls can be dated to the later part of the Geometric period so it appears that the site grew fairly rapidly at that time. Mention must also be made here of

the remains of the sanctuary situated at the very top of the Barbouna Hill. It has been tentatively identified as that of Apollo Pythaeus, mentioned by Pausanias (II.XXXVI.5). Pausanias notes that after the town was destroyed the sanctuary was the only building left standing. Archaeology confirms his testimony in that the votives at the sanctuary date to the Geometric and Archaic periods. It would thus appear that the sanctuary continued to be used after the destruction of the town itself. If so, it is likely that it was in the control of the Argives who destroyed Asine, as there is almost no other evidence for occupation at the site from c. 700 until the Hellenistic period.<sup>36</sup>

The other site having considerable Geometric habitation remains is of course Argos where the remains are concentrated in the southwest part of the city as they were in the PG period. In this period however there is expansion into the west central part of the city and the area around the modern hospital as well as the main plataea area. The SW part of the city was occupied from the Submykenaian period onwards but the finds of the Geometric period are much more numerous. Some walls of this date were excavated in the area of the Deiras cemetery and in the late 1950's, in Sondage 67 at the foot of the Larissa, the French discovered an important G artisan workshop with three clay basins. This construction seems to date to the Late Geometric.<sup>37</sup> Besides this, a Geometric building has been excavated in the Makris plot by the central plataea<sup>38</sup> and in the NE part of the city more walls belonging either to a house or peribolos have been found.<sup>39</sup> Various floor deposits and occupation layers have also been excavated, especially in the SW part of the city in the area of the baths and agora. In this area an important find was the discovery of an Early Geometric apsidal house but unfortunately no further details were given.<sup>40</sup> In the agora below the Archaic fill of the sixth century, a LG house was uncovered.<sup>41</sup> Besides such



constructions the rest of the evidence consists of floor deposits and layers as well as scatters of sherds and graves. The evidence as a whole points to a rapidly-growing town, especially in the Late Geometric period but it is the graves that provide the best indication for the growth of Argos since habitations remains were often obliterated by later constructions. It would appear that by the later part of the Geometric period, Argos had indeed become a town since the finds suggest a population which extended throughout most of the area of the modern city. The picture will no doubt become clearer as more rescue excavations are undertaken in different parts of the city.

At Lerna no constructions of the Geometric period have been uncovered and the evidence here lies solely in graves. Recently some early Geometric burials have been excavated SW of the prehistoric site but these are few in number and do not suggest a large population inhabiting this site in the ninth and eighth centuries. The situation in the eastern peninsula is somewhat different owing partly to the nature of the work carried out there. There are fourteen new sites in this region. Both Apollo Maleatas and the Temple of Poseidon are sanctuary sites but the rest are all settlements. Most have not been excavated however so the finds consist primarily of surface sherds. Porto Kheli, the finds of which come from the akropolis and lower town, seems to have been a fairly large community. Geometric pottery has been found on the akropolis and outside the east tower of the city wall<sup>42</sup> and there are G graves as well but most remains date to the seventh century and later periods. The site enjoyed a strategic location at the entrance to the Argolic Gulf, across the Gulf from Lakonia. Archaeological remains suggest that Porto Kheli (Halieis) was abandoned in the early third century B.C. although ancient sources do not give any details about the city beyond the Theban invasion of 370-369 in which Halieis was an ally of Sparta.<sup>43</sup>

Most of the Geometric sites are not in fact new settlements. Most had been occupied at some earlier date, either in the LHIII B or LHIII C. Only three sites are completely new, Amoriani, Kourtaki and Phousia. Troizen, though not new, had been unoccupied since the EH period. The picture is thus one of renewed settlements, of people returning to sites their ancestors had abandoned long before them. The conditions no doubt permitted this expansion through stability and peace. A general population expansion may also be responsible for people moving into the eastern peninsula. The expansion in this region during the Geometric period takes on major proportions when one considers the fact that no sites at all were located there in the PG or SM periods. Part of the reason for people resettling these sites may also be political pressures forcing them to find a more quiet way of life elsewhere.

The Late Geometric period is looked on as one of significant population growth in Attica, the Argolid, Corinthia and elsewhere. In this respect many of the new G sites in the Argolid might be presumed to date to the later part of the period. Several sites, however, are mentioned in the publications only as containing "Geometric" finds so further precisions cannot be obtained as to their dates of occupation. Insofar as the other sites are concerned, there are seventeen whose evidence is sufficiently detailed for them to be dated more accurately.<sup>44</sup> The chart, Figure 8, shows the evidence for occupation at these sites from the EG to the seventh century. There are six sites whose remains date from the EG to the LG, Argos, Asine, Lerna, Mykenai, Nauplia and Tiryns. Of the others, four sites are reoccupied in the eighth century, that is, the MGII period. These include the Argive Heraion, Khoriza<sup>45</sup> and the Temple of Poseidon. Troizen may be dated to the MG but the evidence is uncertain. The rest are dated to the Late Geometric: Amoriani, the sanctuary of Apollo

Maleatas at Epidauros, Kandia,<sup>46</sup> Dhendra, the Kephalaria Cave, Monastiraki and Porto Kheli.<sup>47</sup> A total of ten of seventeen sites are new in the eighth century. Unfortunately most of the information focuses on the central plain sites because of the amount of excavation work carried out there. Of the ten new eighth-century sites the number is split evenly between the central plain and eastern peninsula. In terms of this information it would seem that growth was fairly even in both areas but there are still a number of eastern peninsula sites of which we know too little to make any conclusions. For the central plain on the other hand the ninth century saw no real change from the previous period since the six PG sites continued but no new sites came into existence except that Skhinokhori, a site in the western regions, was reoccupied after a long hiatus. In the eighth century quite a large growth can be seen as five additional settlements appear, a growth of 83.3%. The map, Figure 9, illustrates this growth from the EG to the LG. In the eastern peninsula of fourteen G sites, five are dated to the eighth century but the rest cannot be precisely dated. It should be noted, however, that several new sites in the eastern peninsula have been found by the Indiana survey, especially in the area around Koiladha. Most of these sites seem to be farmsteads, but since Prof. Jameson has not completed his work there the sites have not been included in these maps. Several seem to be dated to the EG/MG period which indicates that this area was more heavily populated at that time than had been previously thought. From such statistics it can be safely said that the eighth century was a time of widespread growth throughout the Argolid, a factor due primarily to population expansion in turn due to stability, an improved food source and healthy economic conditions.

In general a few features of the Geometric period stand out. One is the appearance of several sanctuaries, a fact which

indicates a preoccupation with public religion that was not in evidence earlier. Besides sanctuaries as such, a few of the old LH tombs saw renewed activity in the form of offerings placed inside them, perhaps a sign of ancestral worship or hero cult. The emergence of sanctuaries at this time is a feature again paralleled elsewhere in Greece.

Another feature is the absence of fortifications or watchtowers. This too indicates a stable environment and fairly peaceful conditions. Judging from the absence of watchtowers, one might surmise that the Argolid had become united by this time, that the entire area saw itself as a unified whole rather than a series of small independent communities. Furthermore there was no need as yet to compete for land as such since the area was not too heavily populated with settlements. A third factor is military strength or simply the absence of rivals. Literary sources tell of continual skirmishes with the Spartans during the Geometric and later periods but the archaeological record does not indicate any great fear on the part of the Argolic people. No attempt was made to strengthen their borders or fortify their towns so whatever the nature of these wars with Lakonia were, they probably did little damage to the Argolid as a whole. On the other hand it is precisely during the Geometric period that the eastern peninsula is re-settled. Could this have been because of fear caused by continual incursions by the Spartans into the central plain, such that people desired to move to more distant territories?

With this thought in mind, an examination of coastal settlements proves informative for in the Geometric period in the eastern peninsula seven sites are located on or near the coast, some, such as Porto Kheli, Frankhthi, Iria and Kandia directly across the Gulf from Lakonia. They certainly could not have felt any fear of

attack by sea. Indeed only four of fourteen peninsula sites were not on the coast. This implies stable conditions but coastal sites were not only occupied because conditions permitted it but were actually preferred to inland sites. The reason may lie partly in the easier possibilities for trade and the easier methods of travel by sea than by inland routes. It also suggests that these sites were not so much inward- as outward-looking. Their interests lay not with the Argolid as such but with sites in other areas, Attica and Lakonia for example. They in fact had more in common with these areas than they did with the Argolid, in particular with those sites in the central Argolic plain. Their location meant that they were ready to receive influences from a variety of sources; their pottery and sanctuaries partly testify to this as does the slightly later script.

The third map, Figure 10, illustrates the changes from the Geometric to the Classical period. There are several new sites in the Archaic and Classical periods and by the latter the number of sites and their distribution resembles somewhat that seen in the LHIII B though on a larger scale.

The Archaic period sees an increase of nine sites from the previous period but interestingly enough, several of the Geometric sites are abandoned at the end of that period. These include Amoriani, Kandia, Monastiraki and Vassa. Several others are abandoned at the end of the period to be reoccupied in the Classical, including Ayios Leonidas, Berbati, Kenkhreiai (though its Geometric occupation is uncertain), and the Kephalaria Cave. Asine is a rather special case in that although the settlement is completely abandoned c. 700 B.C., the site continues to exist but only in its capacity as a sanctuary. Nine sites are thus abandoned in the Geometric period for some length of time or are re-settled almost 200 years later. Only twenty of the twenty-nine G sites continue into the Archaic period.

This decline in numbers is fairly surprising in view of the fact that this is generally regarded as a time of wealth, prosperity and population growth in other areas of Greece, especially the Corinthia and Megarid and, one expects, the Argolid as well.

In the central and western parts of the Argolid, nine sites are abandoned during the Geometric or Archaic period, two of these being sites appearing in the Archaic but abandoned in that same period: Katsingri and Douka. There are five new Archaic sites in the area, of which only three continue into the next period. This region, once usually so stable, is undergoing quite noticeable changes. Of the sites deserted at the end of the Geometric, Asine remains the most important. It had become a substantial settlement of quite large size and population. In this case the reason for its abandonment is well documented by ancient authors such as Pausanias who remarks on the Argive destruction of the town because of disobedience.<sup>48</sup> Archaeology corroborates his testimony well; the town was abandoned c. 700 B.C. to show strong signs of life only in the Hellenistic period. The intervening years reveal nothing apart from the Archaic votives at the sanctuary and three fifth-century graves.

At Berbati one cannot really speak of a settlement since the site in effect had been unoccupied since the end of the LHIIIB apart from the one late ninth-century grave. A settlement did in fact exist in the historic period, but it was located away from the old akropolis. Among the finds were objects of the Geometric, Classical and Hellenistic periods but so far no evidence of Archaic habitation has been uncovered. In the case of Monastiraki and Amoriani the slight evidence of their occupation vanishes after the Geometric period. In the Archaic period the area undergoes a few changes. Kourtaki, a sanctuary site of the G and A periods, is abandoned in the latter. To the southwest, two sites come into being, Kephalaria

and Hysiai (Akhladokambos) and in the western region sanctuary material has been found at Douka, a site which may have more in common with Arkadia than the Argolid because of its geographical location in the mountains to the west of the central plain. Although the central plain seems to be undergoing major alterations, the more important sites continue to exist into the Classical period.

Argos once again is the site with the most plentiful remains. These are scattered throughout the modern city though on a somewhat reduced scale when compared with the Geometric remains. The central part of the town, which had grown tremendously throughout the Geometric period, was almost completely abandoned. In the Geometric period approximately twenty-one ground plots had produced remains in this central area yet in the Archaic the number was reduced greatly with only about six plots yielding remains of that date. The area seems to have suffered a large decline in population. The southwest part of the city still had concentrated habitation and it would seem that this was the main area of Archaic occupation.

Argos, a city which had continually expanded for several hundred years, seems to have suffered a reversal of its fortunes in the Archaic period, at least in terms of the actual area of occupation of the city. Traces of Archaic Argos, in particular seventh-century Argos, have always been elusive, in contrast with the abundant remains of other periods. Undoubtedly some of the Archaic layers were obliterated by later constructions, but this does not explain the greatly reduced size of the city. Was the population reduced as well? As evidence for a decline in population are the rather scanty remains of the seventh century. On the Larissa for example an important votive deposit dated from the mid eighth to the mid seventh century has been found.<sup>49</sup> A few seventh-century graves as well as sherds point to some occupation in the museum area. Also two

seventh-century graves were found in the theatre area and in the Saidin plot near the main plateaea.<sup>50</sup> In the agora a wall of the Subgeometric period (or Geometric) as well as a seventh-century floor deposit point to further occupation in this area.<sup>51</sup> The area of the Roman baths is important in having early seventh-century constructions and eighth-century sherds though the thermae themselves were not built until the second century A.D.<sup>52</sup> In the SW area again, an Aphrodision seems to have been established in the late seventh century as a foundation deposit and votive deposit testify.<sup>53</sup> The French excavators also uncovered a notable architectural complex in this same area, dated to the seventh century. The complex was quite large and had an orthogonal plan with walls constructed of large blocks and the floor in terraces. The complex is dated to the first third of the seventh century.<sup>54</sup>

In the central part of the city, therefore, the evidence is limited to sherds and a few graves while the habitation remains are centered in the southwest in the area of the agora, theatre and Roman baths. This marks quite an astonishing change from the eighth century when the city had spread out and seemed to be enjoying an increase in population. Only a few years later the scene had drastically altered. Argos, as historical accounts tell us, was supposedly at the height of its military and political powers in the late eighth and first half of the seventh centuries yet the material evidence suggests that in the seventh century Argos was suffering a decline. The major evidence for the seventh century in fact lies particularly in graves and votive pottery. There seems to have been strong emphasis on cult activity but the population seems to have dropped considerably and there are fewer remains in general for the seventh than for the eighth century. There is no easy solution to the question of why the city dwindled in size and population at this time



although the theory recently proposed by J. Camp concerning the effects of a possible drought and famine in Attica might be worthy of consideration for the Argolid.<sup>55</sup> A reduction of the population caused by the effects of a drought might be a possible solution to the questions posed by the apparent decline in the size of Argos in the seventh century. The fact that several sites are abandoned after the Geometric period may also be related to the effects of such a drought and famine. Possibly one should look for Argive greatness as an eighth-century feature rather than a seventh-century one as has often been suggested in the past. For the sixth century the finds conform quite closely to the picture provided by the seventh-century remains, that of a city of rather small size with people concentrated in one main area.

The eastern peninsula in the Archaic period also encounters a number of changes. Only three sites are abandoned, Vassa, Ayios Leonidas and Kandia. The area in general is one of considerable growth, particularly in the Classical period. Eleven sites continue into the Classical from the Geometric period; seven of these are located on or near the coast. In the Archaic period twelve new sites make their appearance but of these eight are uncertain. The area on the whole is one of much greater expansion than the central plain at this time. Again a famine could conceivably have been responsible for this move as people would have wanted to leave areas of concentrated habitation and move to outlying areas where their chances for sustaining a livelihood may have been better simply because of the smaller population in those areas and consequently the smaller demand on the available resources. Alternatively, the move to outlying sites may reflect an increased population as Snodgrass postulated in his inaugural lecture.<sup>56</sup> If the expansion was sudden and drastic, it may have created a demand for food which the local agricultural production could not satisfy and this in turn may have led to social

and political problems with people being forced to move out of the main centres. This may help to explain the rather sudden and fairly large increase in the number of Archaic settlements in the eastern peninsula. Unfortunately since most of the eastern sites have not been excavated, it is impossible to be more precise about the date of the Archaic finds.

Porto Kheli, a site where excavations have yielded evidence for a town of some importance in the historic age, seems to have sustained some growth in the early Archaic period. On the akropolis the first architectural remains date to the seventh century when a mud-brick defence wall was built. Perhaps this wall was built as a defence against Argos, as has been suggested recently.<sup>57</sup> The wall was doubled in strength in the first half of the seventh century, then destroyed. With this defence wall is associated much Attic and Corinthian pottery of the period.<sup>58</sup> The lower town itself includes habitation remains from the early seventh century and later periods while the sanctuary of Apollo, partly submerged in the sea, also dates to this period though most of the architectural remains themselves are later.<sup>59</sup> It is worth noting that the columns of the temple were spaced as in the temple of Artemis Orthia at Limnai in Lakonia. Associated with the destruction of the defence wall is Lakonian I pottery. It has been argued that Argos was responsible for this destruction.<sup>60</sup> The Lakonian pottery indicates close ties between Sparta and Halieis, perhaps against Argos' wishes. Knowing more about the other sites in the area would no doubt be very helpful but unfortunately there needs much more work in the region before further conclusions can be reached about the history of the sites.

The biggest increase in the number of sites is in the Classical period with a total of thirty-six new sites. Again one notes a preference for coastal sites. The Methana peninsula with five

sites on the coast is a good example of this trend. The number of watchtowers is also revealing, especially those situated in the central part of the eastern peninsula. They are strategically placed to guard the routes from the Epidauros region to the Troizenia. This is indicative of a somewhat unsettled condition, one which sees a number of independent areas within the Argolid. One such independent area was no doubt Methana with its fortification guarding the Isthmus. The region probably had little to do with the Argolid, its main focus being directed towards the Attic coast. In the western Argolid, three watchtowers are in operation, Gymno in the extreme northwest, Kephalaria and Kenkhreiai. Kenkhreiai's position in the southwest enabled it to watch over the passes from Arkadia and Lakonia while Gymno did the same for those from the Corinthia. Oinoe, slightly north of Kephalaria, was located on the route to Mantinea and thus provided an important link in communication with that Arkadian city for it must be remembered that Argos was usually friendly with Arkadia. Argos' main source of anxiety derived from Lakonia, hence the need to fortify passes to the south. In the first half of the fifth century, the Argolid found itself caught in the middle in the dispute between Athens and Sparta. The Argives were in alliance with the Athenians against the Spartans at this time and in view of the troubled nature of the times, the existence of watchtowers is not very surprising.

The history of Argos is intertwined with that of Lakonia. According to tradition their skirmishes and border wars began early; in the eighth century the Spartans under Kharillos invaded and ravaged the Argolid but the Argives did not retaliate, suggesting a position of inferiority.<sup>61</sup> Later in the century a battle was fought over Helos. By this time the Argives were able to send help to the Helots by sea.<sup>62</sup> This event appears to date near the end of the eighth century. By this time too, Argos destroyed certain towns

such as Asine for example so its power seems to have been quite considerable. The material evidence confirms this by revealing Argos as a city of moderate size, with extensive occupation layers and various signs of wealth and prosperity. How much weight should be placed on the traditions of these early battles is, however, a matter of debate. P. Cartledge believes that Helos must have been captured by the tenth or ninth century and thus the traditions, he feels, are very unreliable.<sup>63</sup> In any case it seems fairly well established that Lakonia and the Argolid were very seldom on friendly terms and that this hostility dates back to the Geometric period. In the earlier part of the seventh century Argos as a whole continued to dominate the political situation in the area. The Argives won the battle of Hysiai in 669 and helped Epidauros against Athens. That century also saw the Spartans firmly establish themselves over the Messenians. Sparta had now become a power of considerable strength but having conquered Messenia and annexed Tegea she had no further need for land. The result of this policy meant a time of relative peace between the Argolid and Lakonia in the sixth century.

By the early fifth century the Spartans attacked and inflicted a disastrous defeat on the Argives at Sepeia, near Tiryns. The loss was of such severity that Argos lost all control it had previously exercised over the Argolid. Both Mykenai and Tiryns were able to act independently of Argos' wishes in the Persian War, an indication of the gravity of Argos' position. Argos, however, soon recovered as it was able to destroy both towns soon after. By about 470 B.C. therefore, the city had regained the position of superiority it had enjoyed in the early seventh century.

The picture that has been presented of the distribution of sites within the Argolid does not parallel political events very closely. It is certain that Argos remained the most important settlement

in the central plain throughout the historic age. No other city could rival it in sheer size alone. It is well situated on the Xerias River in a fertile area and it had access to the sea through its harbour at Nauplia. A situation whereby Argos controlled all the plain sites by the later part of the eighth century can easily be envisaged. Tiryns lies directly on the route to Nauplia; to control Nauplia would also probably entail dominating Tiryns. It must be remembered too that this control need not have meant a military takeover or conquest. These plain sites were too small even to rival Argos in the first place. It may therefore have been a case of Argos controlling the area in the absence of any strong opposition or rivals. The situation will be better understood in light of other archaeological evidence to be discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3

GRAVES

## Preface

The Argolic graves of the Geometric period have provided much information about burial customs of that time. R.Hägg in Die Gräber der Argolis and P. Courbin in Les tombes géométriques d'Argos I discuss at length the graves of the Argolid and of Argos respectively. Hägg's study deals with burials from the Submykenaian, Protogeometric and Geometric periods and is thus a more general work than Courbin's. He is concerned with the different grave types at each site in the Argolid in each period. All the graves are listed and differences in customs at each site are noted. Courbin meanwhile lists every grave found by the French in Argos between 1952 and 1958. His work is very detailed and includes discussions of all the contents, the placing of the body in the grave, the reuse of graves and so on.

Neither work, however, deals with the graves of the seventh century. Courbin mentions a few graves of that period in passing but both his and Hägg's works end with the end of the Geometric period and yet the seventh-century graves are especially interesting and important because of the great contrast they provide with those of the eighth century at all sites involved, not only in type but in numbers as well. These contrasts have important ramifications for population figures and the growth or decline of settlements. A study of the changes from the eighth to the seventh century is one that can shed more light on the Argolid and through it an attempt can be made at a better understanding of the social and political climate of both the eighth and seventh centuries in the Argolid. In the following pages both the Geometric and seventh-century graves will be discussed. Additions to the graves of Hägg and Courbin will be included. Various reasons for the changes in burial customs are proposed and explanations are also proposed for the various differences from site to site

in both the eighth and seventh centuries.

The chapter is divided into two parts, the first part covering the eighth century and the second the seventh century, and within each part, the graves are discussed by site. At the end is a catalogue of all the graves.



### 3.1 Graves of the eighth century

#### Introduction

A typical eighth-century Argive burial usually entailed the digging of a rectangular pit, scattering pebbles on the bottom as a kind of flooring, then building up the sides with slabs. Once this cist had been constructed the body was introduced, on its back and with the legs bent. In many cases the body seems to have been clothed. Then a few of the dead person's belongings were placed around him, usually by the head. A skyphos, oinokhoe, amphora and cup were common articles deposited as gifts with the dead, besides finger rings and jewellery actually worn by the dead at the time of burial. In the case of men, iron weapons might also be included. After the goods had been placed in the grave, earth might be scattered around and finally, cover slabs were laid. Perhaps some ritual or ceremony took place at the time of burial but because of lack of evidence one can only surmise its existence.

Later, perhaps very soon after the first burial or as late as 100 years after the first burial, the grave might be reopened and used for a second or subsequent burial. One assumes that this applied only to the members of the same family although certain factors indicate that this need not necessarily have been so. The reuse of cists involved much less work for those concerned since it was simply a matter of reopening the grave and placing the body within it. In some instances, however, perhaps because of lack of room in which to place the dead, all the old bones might simply be swept aside into a corner to make room for the new occupant. The old offerings might even be expelled from the grave and this, coupled with the disrespect shown for the old body seems a rather strange way to treat

one's ancestors. On the other hand careful deference might be displayed with great care being taken not to displace anything belonging to the earlier burial and the new occupant placed over the old one, perhaps in the same way or with his head at the other end of the grave. Then a few pots and other gifts were set by him and the cover slabs returned to their place.

Cists were the preferred grave type in the eighth century and indeed throughout the whole of the Geometric period, although some people perhaps because of tradition or costs favoured the use of pithoi. Here too the first step was the digging of a pit large enough to fit the pithos. As in earlier phases of the Geometric, pithoi of the eighth century were ovoid in shape. Usually the pithos rested at an angle of about forty-five degrees. The body was introduced into it feet first so that its head lay at the mouth of the pot. As with burials in cists, a few grave gifts were also placed within the pot. The final step was closing the mouth of the pithos; this was usually done by putting a stone slab against it. In some cases a pot, usually a krater, was used instead of a slab.

As in the case of cists, pithoi could be reused for later burials but the instances of reuse are few in comparison with the number of cists reused. When the new body was introduced into the pithos the earlier bones were usually moved aside. The earlier bones are thus commonly found in disarray, having been pushed to the bottom of the pithos together with the offerings in order to make room for the new occupant. It was simply a question of space; two bodies usually could not fit inside the pithos without some discomfort caused to one of them.

In a few cases bodies were simply laid in a pit, that is, a trench usually rectangular in shape. The main difference with cists is that their sides were not lined with slabs although a cover

slab was sometimes employed to protect the body. None of the eighth-century pits in Argos was found in good condition; because of the very nature of the grave what bones were recovered were in disorder or badly preserved. As with other types of graves gifts were sometimes included comprising the basic types of vases as in the case of those buried in cists or pithoi.

All three types of graves were used for both men and women although cists were by far the most popular type, at least in Argos itself. In the earlier part of the Geometric period children were sometimes buried in cists, but in the eighth century cists were reserved exclusively for adults. Children were interred in pots. In only one case was a child buried in a pithos (T15)<sup>64</sup> and even here the evidence is uncertain. A few bones were found as well as a cup and bronze ring, but the only indication that the grave belongs to a child is the small size of the pithos itself.

### Argos

In general in Argos of the eighth century the trends of the earlier phases of the Geometric period continued in types of graves, gifts and areas of burials. Figure 11 gives an indication of the numbers involved from the Submykenaian to the Late Geometric period. Of course many more graves have been excavated than is apparent in the table but as they have been dated only as Geometric without any further subdivision they could not be included. Approximately 265 graves of the Geometric period have been found in Argos, yet only about 185 of them can be used for comparative purposes. The numbers in Figure 11 itself cannot be completely exact because some graves are uncertainly dated or their type is unsure. In some cases the numbers involved are not certain; the reports might mention "several"

Geometric graves without specifying type or date. Four of the graves called Late Geometric in the preliminary reports were in fact used before that time. These include T263, T265, T266 and T278 which contained a total of twenty-five bodies with material ranging in date from the Early or Middle Geometric to Late Geometric.

As Figure 11 indicates the predominance of cists in Argos is evident throughout the period. The Protogeometric is a significant period in the history of the city. The evidence in the previous chapter demonstrated that the town was quite a large and important one at that time and the number of graves seems to confirm the notion of Argos as a fairly populous area. At first glance there appears to be a significant drop in the number of graves in the Early Geometric period and it is not until the LG that the figures are again comparable to the situation in the Protogeometric period. From such figures it would appear that Argos enjoyed quite a sharp rise in population in the PG to be followed by just as sharp a fall in the following period.<sup>65</sup> Such figures can be slightly misleading, however, since the PG was a much longer period than the EG. If one adds the totals for both the EG and MG together the figures do not show such a drastic decrease as they do at first glance. In fact if one calculates the totals of graves per 30 years one finds that the figures are very similar in both the PG and EG. The PG has 9.2 graves per 30 years while the EG has 11.2. It would thus appear to have been a fairly stable situation in terms of population throughout both the PG and EG periods. Evidence from other sites does nevertheless suggest a drop in population at those places and a possible move out of the settlements. It may be that Argos was the site of their move. In the MG a total of thirty-seven graves are found, or 14.4 per 30 years for that period. The general impression from all of this is one of steady growth from the PG until the middle of the eighth century.

By the later half of the eighth century quite a drastic change is evident, with fifty-seven graves in all. Calculating the LG graves per 30 years yields a figure of 34.2 graves, quite a large jump from the 14.4 of the MG period. Cists, pithoi and pot burials all increase abruptly. The most obvious reason is a dramatic rise in population, as Snodgrass suggested in his inaugural lecture,<sup>66</sup> although as Camp theorizes,<sup>67</sup> it could also mean an increase in the death rate.

To understand the differences from period to period, a chart (Figure 12) shows the fluctuations in number of graves by period. The increase in number of graves is fairly slight from the EG to the MG but quite substantial in the LG period. Argos definitely grew quite rapidly in the second half of the eighth century. This seems to agree with the evidence from habitation remains suggesting an expansion of population and the growing size of the city.

Cists, the preferred grave type throughout the period from the SM to the LG, enjoyed some variety in size, orientation, construction, offerings and the position of the body itself, so that although cists were the norm in Argos, within the basic constraints of the type there was much freedom. They could measure anywhere from about 1 metre long (T179 = 1.17 m.) to over 3 metres (T45) and approximately 0.45 metres wide (T179) to over 1 metre wide (T263). Cists also varied enormously in the way they were constructed as Hägg has shown.<sup>68</sup> Figure 13 illustrates basic cist types. Usually the ends consisted of one or two slabs and the sides of three or four slabs. In some cases where smaller slabs were used stones were put in places to fill the gaps. The cover was usually composed of three flat slabs. Some however had walls built entirely of small stones, the ends included, with a cover comprising four slabs.

When digging a trench for the cist almost any orientation was acceptable. The choice depended more on space available than

anything else. More care was taken with the body itself however. The head was usually north-northwest or southwest but never east<sup>69</sup> but the way the body was positioned varied considerably. The only constant feature is that the legs were contracted. The body itself was usually laid on its back but sometimes it was placed on its side. The arms could be in any number of positions, from fully extended to completely folded and tucked in at the chin. Both arms need not be parallel; often only one was folded.

The location of the gifts also varied considerably. While pots were usually placed by the head this was not a definite rule. Quite often some were placed by the elbows or at the waist and sometimes of course so many pots were offered that they could not all possibly fit around the head in which case their position at the waist or elbows was a matter of convenience. Men were usually buried with the same kind of pots as women; both handmade and wheelmade pots could be included and almost all types of pots are represented although some were more favoured than others, especially skyphoi, cups, oinokhoai and amphorae. Some types such as hydriai and round-mouthed oinokhoai are quite rare. In many cases pots show the wear and tear of everyday use so it appears that they were regular household articles although there are instances where it seems the pots were bought specially for the burial, as in the case of small cups of very similar type, decoration and size.

Besides pottery bronze objects were quite common, including long dress pins, rings and spirals for women and for men also pins and rings, plus iron weapons such as spears and swords. Iron obeloi were also sometimes included in LG graves; when in groups of six, such as in T45, they were probably a sign of wealth. Bronze helmets were found in three graves, all of the LG period. The first grave to yield a bronze helmet was T45,<sup>70</sup> the Panoply Grave located

in the Odeion area, in which the helmet, with tall crest, was accompanied by a bronze cuirass. In 1970 the Greeks discovered a grave in the Stavropoulou plot transitional in date from the MG to the LG in which a man had been buried with his helmet. Mrs. Deilaki notes that it is of the same type as that of T45 and is of the same workshop.<sup>71</sup> In 1972 another LG grave was discovered, this time in a different part of the town, in the Theodoropoulou plot, with a bronze helmet having incised decoration, including two incised eyes.<sup>72</sup> This grave also contained six iron obeloi as did T45. Bronze was also used for some pottery such as two bowls in T176/2 of the museum area,<sup>73</sup> a bronze cup in T6 of the South Cemetery and two more bronze bowls in the same grave, and bronze phialae in grave T1 of the South Cemetery.<sup>74</sup> Bronze pins, usually found in pairs at the shoulders, are important evidence for the wearing of some kind of clothing by the dead and their sometimes extreme length has been used as evidence for the wearing of the Doric peplos.

In general grave offerings increase in the later part of the eighth century. In grave T176/1<sup>75</sup> for example, located in the museum area and dated to the MGI, there were four pots while in T176/2, of the LGIIc, fourteen pots were included together with several bronze and iron objects. Grave T6/1<sup>76</sup> of the South Cemetery area dated to the Middle Geometric period contained eight pots and twenty-one bronze and two iron objects while T6/2 of the LGIIb had twelve pots but only two bronze objects and only one of iron. Graves 263, 265, 266 and 278 of the Papaparaskevas plot<sup>77</sup> had seventy pots among them and it is quite common to find over ten pots in MGII and LG cists. Not all cists were so rich, however, and several graves only contained a few pots, perhaps only three or four by the head of the dead. Grave T171 of the museum area had an amphora, oinokhoe and cup;<sup>78</sup> this grave dates to the LGI but this is the exception as in both the MGII and

LG graves the dead were commonly buried with about a dozen pots. In the EG period in contrast, the average number of pots placed in cists was about four or five although here too exceptions are seen as for example T106/1 of the Bakaloiannis plot with nine pots, two bronzes and six iron objects. The general increase in number of offered goods suggests a rise in prosperity and wealth and one that was not limited to only a few families but was fairly widespread. No grave, however, stands out as being exceptionally richly furnished so there does not appear to be any royal or princely graves. It may be that the nobility were not very different from ordinary people in wealth or that their burials were not used as a means of displaying that wealth as it was in Athens at this time. If, however, wealth was not measured by the number of pots offered, or by the amount of gold objects in the grave, the only possibly royal graves might be those with the obeloi and firedogs, such as T45 which does stand out considerably from the rest. Noteworthy in this context is also the relative size of the cists. There is a tendency in the later part of the Geometric period for cists to become quite large, as in the case of graves 263, 265, 266 and 278 in the Papapaskevas plot. It seems that graves were becoming monumental and, as R. Hägg suggests, these might have been intended as family plots for the rich, upper class families.<sup>79</sup> In contrast some graves of this period have no offerings at all. These include grave B' of the Alexopoulos plot<sup>80</sup> with only two bronze-iron pins, T172 of the Bonoris plot<sup>81</sup> with no offerings and T179 of the same plot<sup>82</sup> also with nothing. Of these grave B' is dated to the MGII while the other two are LG. Grave T89 of the Bakaloiannis plot, which contains four pots and the body of a woman, apparently consisted of two burials; the pots belong to the first, dated MGII, and the woman belongs to the second use of the grave, without any grave goods.

In contrast with cists, pithoi and other pot burials



were on the whole poorly furnished. There is no noticeable increase in the number of offerings in the eighth century. Some such as T190/3 of Sondage 70 for example, of the LGIIb, or T13 of the South Cemetery of the LGIIa contain only one gift.<sup>83</sup> Others have no gifts at all, for instance South Cemetery T12 of the LGIIb (?) and T23 of the Bakaloiannis plot of the same date.<sup>84</sup> Some pithoi do contain several offerings but these are unusual. One such grave is Sondage 70 T190/1 of the LGI containing eight pots and T190/2 with five while T190/3 in contrast only had one pot. The second and third burials of T190 both date to the LGIIb and were both fairly close in time. Kypouropoulos grave III dating to the LG period received four pots, three bronze pins and a bronze ring while T307 of the MG had seven pots.<sup>85</sup>

Children in Argos were interred in pots, a typical example of which is illustrated in Figure 14. Their graves are even more poorly furnished than those of adults. Of seven child pot burials in Argos in the eighth century four have gifts. Grave 25<sup>86</sup> contained a cup and bronze ring besides bones but it is uncertain whether the grave belonged to a child. The only indication is the small size of the pithos. A similar situation arises for Odeion area grave 84bis.<sup>87</sup> Here fragments of a Protocorinthian skyphos were found in the burial amphora but once again its identification as a child grave is tentative. Only two certain child pot burials had offerings; one had a handmade cup (Bakaloiannis T53) and the other (Museum area T152)<sup>88</sup> had five cups, an oinokhoe and skyphos. Both are dated to the LGI. The other three child burials contained no gifts at all. There are two more pot burials both containing only bones (Bakaloiannis T66 and South Cemetery T12) but it is not known whether the bones belong to children or adults. Besides these, an amphora contains three pots and a few bones but again the bones have not been identified. Bakaloiannis plot T23, a large pyxis, contained the bones of a woman but no offerings. Finally

pithos burial T317 of the Kypseli Square includes a krater perhaps used to close the opening, but apparently nothing else.<sup>89</sup>

Pithoi, of which examples of the common egg-shaped type can be seen in Plates 1.a and 1.b, were not very popular in Argos at any time in the Geometric period and it may be conjectured that the differences between them and cists in terms of richness of offerings reflects different classes of society. It may be assumed that cists, especially those with multiple reuses, were used as family plots by the rich, upper class families of Argos. In contrast, most of the pithos burials are poor, with only a few gifts, if any, and this seems to be indicative of a lower class, though not necessarily a very poor class, but a class of people with different traditions from the upper class. Some pithoi in fact are quite large and must have been as costly an undertaking as some cists. The use of pithoi therefore cannot be equated strictly with poverty but rather with a particular social class in Argos. Another noteworthy point concerns orientation of the dead in the pithoi. The dead were usually placed feet first, so the mouth of the pithos would be the head of the grave. In both cists and pithoi there is a growing tendency in the LG for a W-SW orientation but this is even more noticeable in pithoi than cists.<sup>90</sup> This is yet another difference between the two grave types.

Only a small minority of the population of Argos used pithoi as a glance at Figure 11 will show. There is only one in the EG, two in the MG but fourteen in the LG. Their heyday was really only to come in the seventh century and in the entire period from the Submykenaian to the Late Geometric period only eighteen pithos graves have been found and of these fourteen date to the LG itself. Their popularity rises just at the time when the level of prosperity increases in Argos so it would seem to indicate that as some people grew richer others may have grown poorer. Perhaps the main reason

for their increased favour in the later part of the eighth century was because of need; they were convenient and less costly than cists and no doubt were a quicker method of burial. As pithoi became more popular so did pot burials and perhaps this too is an indication of the growing rift between rich and poor in the eighth century. It must be remembered though, that pots were the usual method of inhumation for children and their increased occurrence in the eighth century may simply mirror the growing number of children dying at a very young age.

If one of the reasons for the revival of pithos burials in the latter half of the eighth century was due to their easier accessibility to the growing lower class of society then the use of pit graves should also have gained favour at that time. Their numbers however do not show any consistent pattern, falling from a high of seven in the PG period to one in the MGII and four in the LG. It can be argued though, that as this was the grave requiring the least amount of effort to build it was also the one most likely to suffer greatest damage simply because of the relative lack of protection for the body or goods. The scarcity of pit graves might thus be explained simply in this way.

In a few cases pit graves were found with offerings. One for example is Museum area T163<sup>91</sup> but it had probably been disturbed as the bones were in disorder. It was unusual in being oval in shape and in having pebbles lining the bottom in the fashion of cists. It also had a cover slab, the only pit in Argos to have one. Its offerings included a cup, oinokhoe and fragments of a bronze fibula. This grave probably belonged to a child as did Bakaloiannis' grave 32 which contained three amphoriskoi, an oinokhoe and kernos as well as a terracotta bird and faience beads. Grave 189 of Sondage 70 in contrast was the burial of a man of about forty years. As it

contained no offerings its dating remains speculative but by its position and the fact that it may have been damaged when T190 was built Courbin suggests a date of the LGI-IIa.<sup>92</sup> South Cemetery pit grave 80 is the only one in which the bones were orderly enough to reveal the position of the body when buried; its legs were slightly contracted and the body lay on its right side. Three pots were given as gifts, an oinokhoe, pitcher and cup, all of them placed by the head.

The graves of the eighth and seventh centuries in Argos were fairly widely spread out. Figure 15 represents all eighth- and seventh-century grave plots in Argos and Figure 16 those of the eighth century itself. The numbers in Figure 15 correspond to the list, Figure 17. In the eighth century the graves were scattered in different parts of the town from the southwest corner to the Xerias River in the north.<sup>93</sup> Graves have been found in two main areas of concentration, one in the southwest including the area of the Roman baths, odeion, South Cemetery and Kypseli Square, and the other in the central part of Argos. The southwest was quite a popular area, with eleven burials in the South Cemetery area, seven in the Kypseli Square and nine in the Bakaloianis plot. Two burials were located just to the west and one in the agora to the east, as well as four a little farther off to the southeast in the Papaparaskevas plot. In the central area of the city seven people were buried in the Alexopoulos and Lynkitsou plots and eight burials took place nearby, to the west and northwest in the museum area and in the Makris and Phlessas plots just north of it. Nearby a few other isolated burials occurred while in the Bonoris plot five graves have been excavated. To the north there was one burial and a couple to the northwest in the Kympouropoulos plot and at the foot of the Larissa in Sondage 70 four burials were discovered. Finally a few LG burials were found in

the Xerias River north and northeast of the city.

It would seem from this that the main area of habitation was located between the southwest and central areas of the city. As mentioned in the previous chapter many of the habitation remains are situated in the southwest, in the same general areas as the graves. The same applies to the centre of Argos. A large part of the city has yielded no graves at all but this might be due to the relative lack of excavations in that area. One cannot refer to cemeteries as such in Argos, at least not in the sense of special areas reserved exclusively for burials as at Athens. In Argos one seems to be dealing with a series of family plots in use over a considerable period of time. Graves were dug near the centres of habitation and were not kept in outlying areas. That many were plots used by small groups of families is evident in the small clusters of graves located in various parts of the city. Several grave plots were in use throughout the Geometric, from the Early Geometric right through to the end of the eighth century.

An important factor when considering family plots is the widespread reuse of graves in Argos. Of a possible total of forty-three cist graves, sixteen were reused, close to half the total. Most graves were reused in the later part of the eighth century after a primary use in the MGI or MGII period but a few were first used in the EG to be reopened only in the LGII period. Sometimes the time between uses was relatively short, as Alexopoulos grave Δ' for example, first used in the MGI and again in the MGII, or Kypouropoulos grave VI the uses of which both occurred in the LG.<sup>94</sup> In two cases were cists used for three burials (South Cemetery T14 and Bakaloiannis T90). In the case of T14 the burials were evenly spread out in time, with the first occurring in the EGI, then the MGI and LGI but in the case of T90, first used in the EGI, its second and third uses both

occurred in the MG.<sup>95</sup> Besides these, there are four graves with several bodies, Papapaskevas plot T263, T265, T266 and T278, all having between five and seven bodies.<sup>96</sup> It has not been possible to ascertain the exact dates for each of the burials, but they seem to have been successive, not multiple burials,<sup>97</sup> and from the dating evidence afforded by the pottery found within the graves, it would seem that the burials occurred at different times throughout the Geometric, the earliest taking place in the Early Geometric and the latest in the Late Geometric period. All four cists were in the same area so it was probably a fairly concentrated family plot. Whether only members of the same family reused a certain cist is a matter for conjecture but the irreverence shown towards many of the earlier burials by later Argives argues against this always being the case. Of course it must be realized that their attitudes towards death and the dead may have varied quite a bit from twentieth-century western views. How they treated earlier occupants of the grave therefore depended partly on tradition and beliefs and partly on personal feelings. A grave last occupied 100 years earlier or more perhaps did not have much meaning for those about to reuse it. The reuse of cists depended on several factors: the convenience that it offered and the simplicity and lower cost involved. It may also indicate the strengthening of family ties among the higher class.

Although cists, pithoi and pit graves were scattered all over the town, some areas seem to have been reserved almost exclusively for cists and others for pithoi. For example it is interesting to note that the area around the South Cemetery, containing ten burials, was used primarily for pithoi and other pot burials as opposed to cists. Only three cists were found there (T14, T1 and T6) of which one (T6) had two burials. Besides these there were two pit graves (T80 and T8) both of women (?), one infant krater burial (T43),

two pithos burials (T25 and T13) and one other pot burial of unspecified type (T12). The area thus has an unusual concentration of graves other than cists, especially in light of the fact that cists overall form the large majority of graves. Furthermore, a similar situation appears in the Kypseli Square (no. 12 on the map), to the north of the South Cemetery. Here seven burials took place in the eighth century and of these only one is a cist (310), four are pithoi (T309, T316, T307, T317), and two appear to be pit graves (T312 and T313). In both plots therefore cists are in the minority. In the agora only one eighth-century burial has been found and it is a burial of a child. At the foot of the odeion one of the two graves is a cist (T45) and the other is an amphora burial of a child (?), T84bis, however of nine burials in the Bakaloiannis plot, only three are pot burials (T53, T66, T23) and one is a pit (T32). Here the ratio conforms more closely with the general preference for cists in Argos. To the southeast of these burials in the Papaparaskevas plot (no. 20), the four graves are all cists. Moving to the centre of the town, in the Lynkitsou and Alexopoulos plots (no. 2), only one grave of the seven is not a cist. Immediately to the east of this in the Papanikolaou plot (no. 18), one cist grave was found but to the northeast in the OTE area, the only grave excavated there is an amphora burial. Two of the four graves in the museum area are cists, one is a pit and the fourth is a funerary amphora. In Sondage 70 (no. 27) located to the west at the foot of the Larissa, there were four burials, one in a pit (T189), and three others in one pithos (T190/1, 190/2, 190/3). Pithos burials thus seem concentrated in the southwest area of Argos. This might reflect the tendency of people of the same social class to congregate together. This area would therefore have been a relatively poor one and the more wealthy people would have lived more in the centre of town. Further evidence of this is

that the outlying areas seem to have many more pithos burials than cists. Sondage 70 for example has four pithos graves and there are a number of pithos burials in the Xerias River to the north of the city. The Iliopoulos plot (10) located to the south of the museum area has yielded only one grave, an infant krater burial.

It therefore does appear that there was some segregation of people though of course not necessarily a forced one, but the people who buried their dead in pithoi and pits tended to live on the outskirts of the city. It is tempting to equate the popularity of the main grave types in Argos with different social groups living there at the time. The Dorians, who were the high class in Argos, would most probably have favoured cist graves, the cists being in general wealthier burials, while the poorer people would most likely have used the pithos and pit burials, which on the whole are not so rich as cists. In Argos those using cists, perhaps mainly the Dorians, were in the majority while those using pits and pithoi were a relatively small group in comparison. Of course the 'class' divisions cannot have been very strict, since some pithoi were very large and elaborate affairs, while some cists were very poor. Family traditions might also have had some role to play in the preference for one grave type over the other. Chamber tombs, the preferred type of burial for the masses in the Late Bronze Age, fell out of use after that period and people turned to single inhumations in cist graves which became the burial type of the masses, both Dorian and non-Dorian. In time, however, cists became wealthier and they may thus have become associated with the richer, upper class in Argos. The cost of building a cist grave may also have increased substantially in 300 or 400 years so that they became more prohibitive to the poorer people who thus found themselves forced to turn to simpler modes of burial. The result of this may be that pits and pithos graves became the preserve of the



lower classes. It must be stressed that this is speculation since there is no archaeological evidence to link a particular type of grave to the Dorians or non-Dorians, but, if it is feasible to assume that cists were used primarily by the Dorian ruling class, then this majority of cists in Argos might indicate a numerical, and hence political (?) dominance of the Dorians over the others not only in Argos but also in the rest of the Argolid. Argos seems to have been at the top of the site hierarchy, if such a thing existed, in that this is where most of the wealthy cists are concentrated. This might be important when considering Argos' relations with its neighbours in the central plain. It has been seen that Argos was fighting for control of the plain in the later part of the eighth century and Tiryns and Asine, to name only two sites, seem to have attempted to preserve some degree of independence. The reason for their struggles might have to do with the fact that the population at these settlements was perhaps not made up predominantly of Dorians. It might be possible to see this reflected in their preference for a certain grave type over another. A further evaluation of this will be attempted when the other sites are investigated.

### Tiryns

The first impression one receives from Tiryns is that there are far fewer graves than Argos, but of course Tiryns was a much smaller settlement. For all the Geometric period approximately forty-nine graves have been excavated. Of these approximately twenty are dated to the ninth century and twenty-nine to the eighth century. Figure 18 gives an idea of the number of graves in each phase from the Submykenaian to the Late Geometric.

The interesting fact about these graves is that in the

ninth century, the EG and MGI periods, there are nine cists (eight EG, one MGI)<sup>98</sup> but there are seven EG pithos graves and no MGI pithoi at all. In other words the graves are almost evenly divided in the EG period between cists and pithoi. Besides these there is also an Early Geometric pit grave (gr. 40). If one examines the total numbers for the different subdivisions an interesting picture emerges. Sixteen burials dating to the EG period have been found in Tiryns, but in the MGI there was only one (grave X) and maybe one other.<sup>99</sup> For the MGII seven graves have been discovered and there have been nineteen LG graves excavated. Three other graves are simply called eighth century (gr. IX, 34 and 36) since it is not possible to date them more closely. The big drop thus occurs in the late ninth century, the MGI period. This appears to indicate quite a significant decline in population. There may have been some movement of people away from Tiryns at this time. The situation in the MGI contrasts sharply with that in the EG, a period in which the offerings show some degree of wealth. One is tempted to see some disaster befalling the inhabitants of Tiryns in the ninth century, perhaps an attack forcing people to flee the settlement or some natural disaster. On the other hand the settlement may have been located at some distance from the citadel, in an area as yet unexplored. Though the situation is perhaps more severe than at other sites, the drop in number of graves in the ninth century does parallel events elsewhere. Even Argos may have suffered a reduction in population and it is possible to see the same thing occurring at other sites as well. Whatever caused this rather sudden decline, the recovery was not until the second half of the eighth century.

The graves of the eighth century are notable for the great preference shown by the Tirynthians for pithoi. Of twenty-nine graves of that period, sixteen are pithos graves, of which thirteen

belong to adults and three to children. The shapes of the pithoi are not often described although most of them appear to be egg-shaped, without a neck. This contrasts with the usual shape found in Argos which does have a neck. A few pithoi with necks have in fact been found in Tiryns (Figure 19), but they are in the minority. Although three of the pithoi contained no offerings, most had a few gifts usually ranging in number from one to six pots but normally approximately three were left in the grave. Handmade oinokhoai were quite popular and other shapes include wheelmade cups, amphoriskoi, kraters, skyphoi and kantharoi. No pithos grave stands out as being exceptionally rich and as in Argos, pithoi in general have fewer gifts than cists. Of the three pithos graves without offerings two were partly destroyed, graves 34 and IX, accounting perhaps for the lack of offerings. Grave 23<sup>100</sup> contained no offerings within the grave, although underneath the pithos and stone packing were found a handmade trefoil oinokhoe and a Mykenaian pot. The three child pithos burials all had gifts, grave 30 containing eight miniature pots as well as bronze and iron rings and a bronze bird. Grave 35 contained four pots including a miniature amphora while grave 26 had fourteen pots.<sup>101</sup> Both graves 30 and 26 seem quite rich when compared with the average number of gifts usually found in pithoi.

As is the case with Argos the pithos graves vary quite a bit in orientation with some having the mouth at the east, some at the west, and some again at the northeast but for most unfortunately no information is provided. The usual method of closing the mouth was with a stone slab but in a few cases a krater was used (as grave 26 for example). In one case, grave IV,<sup>102</sup> both a krater and stone slab were used. It is rare that the skeleton is found intact; in most cases the pithos had been partly damaged or the bones were in a state of disorder. In only one case can the position of the body be

ascertained, in grave II.<sup>103</sup> Here the skeleton is described as being crouched but this is not surprising since the space in pithoi was necessarily limited so most bodies would normally have been in a cramped position. A few cases of reuse can be mentioned but the instances are quite rare. Grave III<sup>104</sup> had two uses, one in the EG and the second in the LGI. To the second burial belong a lekythos, kantharos, amphoriskos and a handmade pot while the first burial contained an oinokhoe and skyphos. Grave VIII<sup>105</sup> was also used twice, once with no offerings deposited and once with gifts placed outside the grave and dated to the LGII period. These are the only two examples of successive burials in pithoi - not a high percentage.

Besides pithoi six eighth-century pot burials have been excavated in Tiryns ranging in date from the MG to the LGII. One of these was an Attic MGII pyxis<sup>106</sup> with the bones of a child inside and the rest were amphorae, four of which contained the bones of children. Grave 36 yielded no bones at all but since the pot is an amphora it is reasonable to suppose a child was interred in it as well. It thus appears that in Tiryns too children were treated in a rather special way with pots set aside for them. Of the pot burials, three, all child burials, contained gifts (graves 39, 38 and 37). Grave 37 had the fewest with three gifts while grave 38 had seven and grave 39 had four pots.<sup>107</sup>

Only five eighth-century cists have been found to date. Three of them date to the LG and two are of the MGII. Four of the cists are oriented NE-SW while the fifth is not described. As usual the bodies were in the contracted position and the graves contained the usual gifts, including pots and bronze rings, pins and iron weapons. The number of pots in each grave is limited to between two and four although grave XXIII/3<sup>108</sup> was particularly rich with sixteen pots found on the cover slab, all of them belonging to the second reuse of

the grave, in the LGII period. A couple of pit graves have also been found although one of them, grave I, had a cover slab and a few stones around it so it seems to have been a rather halfhearted attempt at a cist. In both cases the bodies were contracted. The offerings in both were few; grave 41 contained two pots only and grave I only had a bronze ring and two pins which Verdelis dated to the "ripe" Geometric, the LGI.<sup>109</sup> Finally a grave group has been found but no grave as such. The pots are LG and are three in number and were found on the road from Argos to Nauplia.

None of the above-mentioned graves was actually found on the citadel itself. All are in the surrounding lower town. Eleven were excavated in the area of the agricultural prison to the south of the citadel, fifteen were found almost 200 m. northeast of the citadel, two were located to the southeast by the Argos-Nauplia road, and one was excavated to the west of the citadel, also along the road. Finally one was found to the northwest, approximately 80 metres away from the citadel. There are thus a few concentrations of graves in contrast with Argos where the graves are more scattered. In Tiryns settlement remains have been found on the citadel and to the west (see chapter 2), however only two graves have been found corresponding to the habitation remains, both to the west of the citadel (the Tsekrekos grave and one to the NW). All the others have been excavated in areas where no settlement remains have been found so that the situation in Tiryns seems to be of small cemeteries set apart and located outside the actual habitation areas. All the child burials were found to the northeast of the citadel and four of them (graves 35, 37, 38 and 39) were quite close together; three of them were parallel to each other and the fourth lay nearby. Hägg thought this might reflect a family plot or child cemetery.<sup>110</sup> The four other child graves were in the same general area but there were adults buried

here as well so they were not exclusively child cemeteries.

The major cause for surprise at Tiryns is the great preference for pithos graves in the eighth century, a fact which contrasts sharply with earlier phases of the Geometric period when cists and pithoi were almost evenly matched. In the eighth century over three times as many pithoi as cists were used. Perhaps this preference for pithoi reflects the fact that people may have been poorer at Tiryns than Argos but it may also reflect a different population from the majority at Argos where cists were much more popular. Whereas in Argos the dominant group was that using cists, in Tiryns it was that favouring pithoi. Ramifications of this might be seen in the Tirynthians' attempts at a show of independence from Argos. The cult of Athena might be a manifestation of this as is the fact that in the late seventh century Tiryns had its own assembly.

#### Mykenai

The Geometric period at Mykenai has produced approximately fourteen graves. Of these three date to the EG, one to the MGII and seven to the LG. There are also a couple more of uncertain date. Interestingly enough the PG has yielded between twelve and twenty graves<sup>111</sup> a number not seen again throughout the Geometric. The population seems to have fallen rapidly after the PG and only to have recovered somewhat by the LG, about 150 years later, but even then it did not reach the numbers of earlier periods. The numbers of graves, however, are so low for all periods that it is difficult to make any valid comments about the population based on them and one can only contrast the numbers with those at other sites to obtain some idea of the size of Mykenai in the Geometric period.

The graves can be divided into three types, two cists,

two pot burials, one pit grave, one suspect cremation burial and one grave of uncertain type. One of the cists was located east of the Tomb of Klytemnestra and the other in the prehistoric cemetery northwest of the Lion Gate. The dimensions of both are given and both are of medium length, one is 1.46 m. and the other is 1.80 m. Both of these cists appear to have had two uses. Grave II for example had several pots on top of the cist while inside were found a skeleton and several more pots. Those on the cover slabs seem earlier in date than those inside but not by a wide margin since Courbin dates both those inside and outside to the LGI.<sup>112</sup> The two burials that took place at this grave were therefore not separated by any great length of time. The other instance of two uses is more definite; here two skeletons were found inside the cist, one facing east and the other lying in the opposite direction and both in the contracted position. Although no offerings were found within the grave several LG pots lay nearby.<sup>113</sup> Finally Evangelides excavated what appears to be a very suspect cremation burial in a bronze bowl. In fact the bowl and its contents may belong to the cist mentioned above (see catalogue).

Only one pithos was found, of the Late Geometric period, with its mouth closed by a stone slab. Inside an oinokhoe was found but no bones.<sup>114</sup> Another LG burial consisted of an amphora with a few small vases inside; because of this fact it seems to be a child grave.<sup>115</sup> Finally at Mykenai another child grave was found, this one at the House of Sphinxes. The bones were simply placed upon a rock seemingly without much protection. On the child's chest lay a bronze pin and nearby a cup.<sup>116</sup> One other grave has been found, of unknown type, containing four pots dated to the MGII period.<sup>117</sup>

None of the above graves is located on the citadel itself. Only SM and PG graves have been found on the citadel. In the Geometric period graves were dug in the surrounding lower town,

a situation closely paralleling Tiryns. As the numbers are so few it is difficult to draw conclusions but on the basis of those found one might assume that cists were preferred since four of the eight burials are of that type. Beyond that, however, further deductions based on the graves would be hazardous. Two graves were found east of the Tomb of Klytemnestra, two were found in the area of the prehistoric nekropolis and the two others were isolated. One of these was in the House of Sphinxes where a PG and EG grave were also found. Graves I and II in the prehistoric nekropolis were in the same area as a SM grave. There was thus some continuity from the Submykenian period though its occurrence is rather sporadic.

The rise and fall in number of graves from the SM to the LG is quite astonishing, as a glance at Figure 20 will show. The chart illustrates the rapid rise in number of graves in the PG and the just as rapid decline in the EG and MG periods. The reason for the decline may simply be chance; the fact that so few graves of the EG and MG periods have been found does not necessarily mean that no others are present in the vicinity but the decline is quite noticeable nonetheless.

The fact that SM and PG graves but no Geometric graves were located on the citadel points to a changed attitude with respect to the citadel since people now preferred to live on the akropolis and to place their graves in the surrounding lower town away from the main area of habitation.<sup>118</sup> This is also a contrast with Argos where the graves were placed in the habitation areas. This change in burial patterns at Mykenai occurred just after the PG period and the changing function of the citadel can perhaps be likened to one which occurred in the Athenian agora in Geometric and Archaic times. That the settlement dwindled considerably after the PG period cannot be denied; it did not die out completely however since sherds from the settlement



show a steady occupation from the PG until the seventh century. The decline may mean that in the ninth century conditions were such that people preferred to live in larger community groups, perhaps for reasons of safety. This may help to explain the very small size of the settlement at Mykenai, with people preferring the safety provided by Argos or even areas outside the Argolid. At Tiryns there is also a decline in number of graves in the ninth century, as remarked earlier. By the LG period there was some recovery in the population at Mykenai but the settlement must have been extremely small, consisting perhaps of only a few families. They were people who were probably fairly close to the Argives in background and temperament.

#### Nauplia

In Nauplia approximately twenty-five Geometric graves have been excavated, most of them in the mid 1950's in the Pronoia district of the town. Unfortunately only a few can be accurately dated and in fact only seven burials can positively be dated to the eighth century; of these six are of the LG and one has two burials, one MGI and one LG. Grave XXI<sup>119</sup> is a cist with one skeleton and a few pots on the cover slabs and inside the grave one body with its offerings of pots, iron weapons and bronze objects. The earlier burial is the one on the cover, dated to the MGI, while that inside dates to the LG period. Another LG grave is a tripod amphora decorated in the typical LG style. With the amphora was found the skull of a child.<sup>120</sup> Also dated to the LG but only tentatively so is a funeral pyre consisting of a circular pit with various LG sherds at the bottom besides bones and iron fragments. Its date is uncertain however and it could in fact be later.<sup>121</sup> Finally some LG and Protocorinthian sherds have been found in association with a presumed grave but its

type is not known.<sup>122</sup> This "grave" was found to the northwest of the Palamidi.

The rest of the Nauplia graves are simply called Geometric without any further precisions. In the Pronoia area again, twelve pit graves, all adult burials, have been excavated and although none had any offerings, their stratigraphy allows them to be dated to the Geometric period. Hägg felt most of them were to be dated to the Late Geometric but exact figures are impossible.<sup>123</sup> Other graves dated to the Geometric period include four pit graves, oriented east-west and parallel to each other. Three of the pits contained a skeleton while the fourth contained some Geometric sherds.<sup>124</sup> Another Geometric grave is a pear-shaped pithos with the bones of a child, a cup and bronze ring inside.<sup>125</sup>

Besides all these graves was found a total of twelve pithos and pot burials. None of them contained any offerings so their dates are purely conjectural. The pithoi are of two shapes, cylindrical and pear-shaped. Hägg felt they all could be dated to the end of the Late Geometric period<sup>126</sup> but it is safest to assume that only the pear-shaped ones are datable to the eighth century (graves XI, XIV, XVIII (?) and XV). Cylindrical pithoi as will be seen below are better considered in a seventh-century context. Pithos XVIII is of undetermined shape; inside were two bodies but no offerings so ascertaining its date is not possible. A feature of these pithoi is that some of them were closed by terracotta discs as opposed to the usual stone slab, seen for example in graves I, III and IV. All these pithoi were oriented east-west with the mouth at the west.

The scarcity of material and the lack of clearly-datable graves means that not many conclusions can be drawn. There may be a total of about twenty-five Geometric graves of which approximately only seven can definitely be dated to the LG. There

may be as many as twenty for the whole of the eighth century however. Besides these one EG cist is known, and the first use of grave XXI must be dated to the MG. To be taken into consideration is also the fact that some of the pit graves must be MG and LG in date. One can at least say that Nauplia had much variety in its Geometric graves, with cists, pithoi, pits, even a pyre and child amphora burial. The pyre may be a cremation but the evidence is uncertain.<sup>127</sup>

In contrast with the situation in Argos the inhabitants of Nauplia seem to have favoured pits and pithoi for their inhumations. This closely resembles the fashion at Tiryns where, as seen above, pithoi were most common. Does this mean that the population here too was rather poor or is this yet another example of different customs implying a different kind of population and a sign of some independence from Argos? It may have been because of such independence that the town was finally destroyed by the Argives as is related by the ancient authors.<sup>128</sup> If so this could also partly explain the reason for the eventual destruction of Tiryns by Argos. In any case no matter what the differences imply the important point is that there were such differences from site to site. They can also be noticed at other places as well, including Lerna.

### Lerna

At Lerna of approximately twenty-two Geometric graves only one can definitely be dated to the eighth century, pithos PA6-1<sup>129</sup> a burial of a young child. The pithos itself was closed by a stone slab and inside besides the bones were five pots and several bronze objects including a fibula dated LGI/II by Coldstream.<sup>130</sup> Four other pithoi were found in the same area on the south side of the Pontinos Hill. Two of them were described as EG although Courbin feels the

pottery is MG.<sup>131</sup> Beyond the fact that the rest of these pithos graves are assignable to the Geometric period nothing else can be said about them.

Several other graves have been excavated but none can be dated to the eighth century. One MGI grave has been found, a large pithos with a few pots and bones as well as a bronze fragment.<sup>132</sup> Another pithos grave this time dating to the EG period was excavated in the early 1970's in an area southwest of the archaeological area.<sup>133</sup> Inside were two children and five pots of EG date. Another EG grave is a cist and although it contained no offerings within the grave, a few EG sherds were found nearby. This grave was found on the south side of the Pontinos Hill where pithos PA6-1 and four other pithoi were found. This area has also yielded nine other cists none of which contained offerings. This is quite a rare feature in cist graves of the Geometric period since almost all cists at other sites have some grave goods in them. Also very unusual is the fact that the bodies were fully extended or almost so. Courbin is of the opinion that these are late features and that the graves may in fact date to the seventh century, late survivals of the cist tradition<sup>134</sup> in a period when cists were no longer the method of inhumation but since EG sherds were discovered near one of these cists there is some reason to suppose that the rest may be Geometric as well. The absence of offerings and the fully-extended position of the bodies may perhaps reflect a local fashion peculiar to cists. Two of the cists held more than one body. Grave PA5-1 contained two women and one child while in grave PA3-2 were one man and two women.<sup>135</sup> Unfortunately the dates of these two graves cannot be ascertained beyond the fact that they are probably Geometric and there is no way of telling whether they were successive or multiple burials.

In all then of the twenty-two burials at Lerna, one

is Early Geometric, three appear to be Middle Geometric, one is Late Geometric, and there are possibly seventeen more Geometric pithoi and cists. No pit graves have been found in Lerna but this is not terribly surprising when viewed in light of the small number of graves found in all. The settlement apparently was very small throughout the Geometric period. It is noteworthy that contrary to other sites already examined no SM or PG graves have been excavated. Possibly the settlement only grew up in the Geometric period after the long abandonment occasioned by the twelfth-century troubles.

#### Asine

At Asine the number of Geometric graves is quite small; out of a total of about nineteen graves only a few can be dated to the eighth century. One is a possible MG grave, grave 4, found to the northeast of the Barbouna Hill. The grave, a cist, contained an Attic MG oinokhoe so the grave itself may date to the same period.<sup>136</sup> Another eighth-century grave is PG44, a cist grave considered PG when first excavated but which is now felt to be MG or LG because of a bronze ring whose decoration suggests that date.<sup>137</sup> Besides these, Asine has produced four LG graves, all of which seem to be child burials. Three of them are cists and of these, B3 and B4 were put under the floor of a Late Geometric house.<sup>138</sup> Both graves seem to be of the same date and both contained the bones of one small child each. The third grave, B1, was put within a wall which may be part of a house although this is not definite. No bones were found within the grave but there were two LG pots the nature of which as well as the small size of the cist indicate a child burial. Finally grave 1, a Late Geometric amphora burial, seems also to have belonged to a child. All these graves are located on the side of the Barbouna Hill. A

further six graves have been found dating to the EG and MG periods but further details are not given.<sup>139</sup> The ninth and eighth centuries were thus relatively quiet periods at Asine. In contrast the PG has produced a total of sixty graves.

Figure 21 gives an idea of the drastic changes throughout the periods. No SM graves have been found as yet but the rise in number of PG graves is quite phenomenal, as is the fall in numbers in the following period. One is tempted to postulate all kinds of disasters befalling the inhabitants of Asine at the end of the PG period but of course the absolute number of graves involved is so low that no deductions can be made from them. It is impossible to believe that only nineteen or so people lived at the site for over 200 years. The numbers are interesting only insofar as they can be compared and contrasted with numbers at other sites. In this way the relative size of the settlements can be established and it is possible to place sites in some sort of order or hierarchy of importance. Patterns can be seen, however, and at the sites so far mentioned there is a noticeable decrease in the number of graves in the ninth century. Perhaps similar circumstances were in operation at the different sites, which caused similar patterns of population at various times.

The general impression about Asine in any case is that in the eighth century it was a fairly small community, one which seems to have shrunk after the Protogeometric period but to have remained fairly constant throughout the Geometric period. Furthermore it is unusual that the four LG graves are all of children and that three of them are cists. Cists were not normally used for children elsewhere in the Argolid. Intra-muros graves themselves are unusual in the Argolid in the eighth century and this too seems to be further evidence of the rather different nature of Asine. That children were buried in cists and not the more usual amphorae and other pots is

another custom pointing to a different type of population. It is known that the Asinaeans were Dryopians and were thus of a different stock than the Argives and this may help explain some of the differences associated with Asine.

#### Prosymna

Some graves have been excavated at a few other sites in the Argolid. At Prosymna an eighth-century burial was found in a Mykenaian chamber tomb. The grave was put over the collapsed roof of the chamber. In it were two skulls and a number of Late Geometric vases.<sup>140</sup> Another Geometric cist grave was found in chamber tomb VIII but its date cannot be further ascertained.

#### Dhendra

At Dhendra no grave as such was found but some LG pots were discovered in a closed deposit and these may belong to one or more graves.<sup>141</sup> The pots include cups and skyphoi which are common in graves of this period.

#### Troizen

In the eastern Argolid Troizen has produced several graves including two cists, three sarcophagi and one pithos. One of the cists was constructed of broken stones with three large slabs as a cover. Inside was a skeleton with its head to the west. A gold diadem was at the head and by the feet lay two large amphorae, dated to the LG period.<sup>142</sup> Insofar as the other graves are concerned one is Late Geometric but the reports do not specify which one. Its date is

derived from pottery fragments found within it.<sup>143</sup>

### Synthesis of eighth-century graves

Considering the Argolid as a whole the general impression is that the area was quite homogeneous in its burial customs, inhumation being the rule and graves being confined to three types. Within that general framework much variety existed in almost every aspect of the burial. As Figure 22 indicates simply on numbers alone it is obvious that Argos was the dominant centre, a town of considerable size, yet this was only achieved by the Late Geometric period. An interesting phenomenon is that which occurred in the EG whereby nearly all sites suffered a fairly large reduction in number of graves and, one assumes, of population. In the case of Argos the evidence suggests that the inhabitants sought to band together in a fairly small area rather than live scattered apart as before. This is suggestive of a time of trouble and uncertainty. At the other sites the almost total lack of EG graves indicates a general decrease in population throughout the Argive plain except perhaps at Tiryns. Whatever the reasons for this decline, the late PG period obviously was a time of movement, perhaps even of migration.

Snodgrass has noted that burial practices at Kos in the tenth century strongly resemble Argive customs particularly in the adoption of exclusive inhumation.<sup>144</sup> This is reinforced by links in the pottery of Kos with that from the Argolid in the late PG. Both the decorated and handmade plain wares have Argolic characteristics,<sup>145</sup> the handmade pottery especially resembling that at Asine. One bowl from Seraglio grave 10 has a small hole below the rim, just as one from Asine grave PG9. The habit of placing grave goods both inside and outside graves, as well as the use of iron pins with bronze bulbs,



are also points of similarity with the Argolid. Furthermore Herodotos (7.99) reports that people from Epidauros emigrated to Kos. Hence a move from the Argolid into Kos and the Dodecanese in the late tenth century may perhaps be postulated.<sup>146</sup> On the other hand people may not have moved out of the Argolid in great numbers, but they may instead have decided to band together; it may have been a time of synoikismos. If people left the Argolid it must have been in the tenth century, the time of the contacts with Kos, but in the ninth century there may have been a move to larger communities such as Argos, so that Argos grew at the expense of the smaller settlements. Only gradually did the population grow in the Argolid after that period and not until the LG did the numbers resemble those seen in the PG. By this time the central plain again was a vibrant, lively area with many towns increasing in population. Argos continued to dominate, especially in the Late Geometric period. An increase in wealth is evident as grave goods become much more plentiful. The Panoply Grave in Argos is perhaps the most famous example of these LG graves with its bronze armour and iron obeloi and firedogs. Iron weapons as such were fairly widespread in the Argolid as well as jewellery such as bronze and iron pins, rings and spirals. Of course the number of vases also increases with time.

The sites follow the same general pattern in graves insofar as increase in numbers throughout the period from Submykenaian to Late Geometric. The central plain seems to have been a rather unified area, perhaps not so much in individual customs regarding burials, but in the more general aspects of the graves. Certainly traditions varied from site to site but there was as much variation within each particular site as there was among the different sites. Certain developments occur in the Geometric, one of which is the change of attitude apparent at both Tiryns and Mykenai with respect to the

citadel. Before the inhabitants had been content to bury their dead among the old Bronze Age ruins but no more; the citadels became settlement and sanctuary areas and the graves were put outside that area. This may have some bearing on the changed attitude the late eighth-century Argolic people had with respect to their Bronze Age counterparts buried in chamber tombs. Great respect was now shown to the chamber tomb occupants and several of them received various offerings in testimony of the almost sacred character they held for the eighth-century people. At Prosymna, fifteen of the fifty Mykenaian chamber tombs received offerings including pottery, bronze pins, rings, terracottas and silver objects.<sup>147</sup> All these tombs began receiving deposits at about the same time and they reflect the great interest in ancestors brought about mainly by the spread of epic poetry. In Athens this interest saw the adoption of inhumation for a short time while cremation, the customary method of burial, was put aside. In the Argolid, however, where inhumation had always been practised the interest in the Mykenaian past reflected itself in the offerings at chamber tombs. As Snodgrass has recently pointed out, these hero cults generally might be connected with land ownership and the hunger for land brought on by the population explosion of the eighth century.<sup>148</sup> In this case, however, the establishment of hero cults might be a sign of local pride and independence as will be discussed in chapter 9. It is more likely that it was the old subject population which adopted these cults to maintain their own identity separate from their Dorian overlords.

The rise of the polis is another important factor to consider concerning the increase in the number of graves in the eighth century. The great rise in population necessitated firmer political structures and various political pressures resulted from so many people inhabiting relatively small areas. While the population

remained fairly constant in the ninth century no problems were caused but the sudden increase in population led to strained conditions within the urban areas. All these developments associated ultimately with the numbers of graves depends finally on one's interpretation of the LG increase to mean an equally large increase in population. Taken from another point of view, however, such an increase in graves need not imply an increased population but rather an increased mortality rate, as J. Camp proposes.<sup>149</sup> While Camp's theory concerning a drought in the late eighth century and its possible effects including famine and disease was confined mainly to Athens, some of its aspects may be seen to pertain as well to Argos and the Argolid. It is very tempting to apply the drought theory to this area but first it is essential to consider the graves of the seventh century.

### 3.2 Graves of the seventh century

#### Argos

If the Geometric graves in Argos and particularly those of the eighth century are well known and documented the same cannot be said for those of the seventh century. First of all there are a few graves that are transitional from the LG to the Subgeometric period. These are all krater or amphora burials. Five kraters and one amphora are of this transitional type. Five of the six graves are child burials and the sixth though undescribed is undoubtedly a child burial as well. The amphora burial Graniias plot T134<sup>150</sup> lay immediately below a Roman layer. The vase which has two handles is known simply as a funerary jar by the French excavators though its type is an amphora. It is handmade and was resting in a slightly inclined position when found. The pot itself has no decoration and inside only the bones of an infant were discovered, without offerings. A couple of other graves first thought to be LG are now believed to be Subgeometric in date. These include Bakaloiannis T131 and South Cemetery T38 both krater burials and both containing the bones of young children. The krater of T38 though fragmentary is dated stylistically by Coldstream to the early seventh century<sup>151</sup> as is T131 comprising krater C915. It was oriented east-west with the mouth at the west, closed by a stone slab. Another krater burial, T195 of Sondage 74, is also now dated to the early seventh century.<sup>152</sup> It too was closed by a stone slab and had its mouth at the west. Finally one other grave has been found dated LG/Subgeometric. It too is a krater child burial but this one was placed inside the dromos of a Mykenaian chamber tomb in the Deiras cemetery.<sup>153</sup>

A grave which is transitional not in date but in type

is T209 found in the Phloros plot.<sup>154</sup> The grave is a cylindrical pithos - a type not seen before in the Geometric period - with numerous Geometric sherds inside. Presumably the pithos dates to the very end of the eighth century when pithoi of this shape first came into use. The main feature of seventh-century graves is thus the type: almost all graves are pithoi and all pithoi are cylindrical. Figure 23 gives an example of a cylindrical pithos. As Courbin notes, "Les pithoi ont connu une faveur presque exclusive au VIIe siècle."<sup>155</sup> Though the shape may make its appearance at the very end of the Geometric period, as T209 suggests, it is definitely an Archaic type. All the pithoi of the Geometric period described above were ovoid in shape, with or without a neck (Plate 1). Now all at once a few form emerges, which by its very nature precludes a Geometric date. Cylindrical pithoi are definitely a seventh-century feature though some may even be sixth century.<sup>156</sup> It is tempting therefore to date all pithoi of this shape to the seventh century, however the date of most is difficult to determine because graves of this type contain no offerings. In some cases the graves can be securely dated stratigraphically but in many cases some caution must be exercised when giving a cylindrical pithos a seventh-century date simply because of its shape. In many cases, however, since the graves are in obvious Subgeometric or seventh-century layers, their date is well assured.

In several cases seventh-century pithoi were dug into earlier Geometric graves, causing some degree of damage to the earlier burial. For example museum area T177, a cylindrical pithos, was dug into LG grave T176, resting in its southern end. Another one was Odeion area grave T158 which also ruined part of an earlier Geometric grave when it was put over it. Another Geometric grave, South Cemetery T3, was also partly destroyed when a seventh-century pithos grave encroached upon it. In this case T3 had been emptied of its contents by the later

users. Bonoris plot T174, an infant krater burial, also damaged an eighth-century grave, T173, when it was placed over it. The date of T174 is ascertained because it is an Archaic Lakonian krater. Another case is Bakaloiannis T108 put into an earlier Geometric cist, T128, which was also damaged in the process. In this instance however, great care was taken not to damage the earlier occupant and his head was carefully laid aside.<sup>157</sup> Again in the same area a Geometric cist T106 was partly destroyed when the seventh-century pithos T101 was put into it.<sup>158</sup> In Su80 (Papaparaskevas plot) two Geometric cists, T265 and T278, were lying directly below two Subgeometric pithoi, T274 and T275. The report does not mention if the Geometric graves were damaged but in all likelihood they were.<sup>159</sup> As expected neither of the pithoi contained offerings although T274 did have some bones.

Are these incursions by seventh-century pithoi into earlier graves intentional? This seems highly unlikely for it is difficult to imagine that the seventh-century Argives would deliberately place the pithos into an earlier grave. It is obvious that these were not attempts at reusing Geometric cists; to do so would have been simple enough. It is more probable that after the trench was dug the earlier grave was discovered with the result that the G cist was partly destroyed. These then would be accidental reopenings.

As the cylindrical pithos burials of the seventh century have no offerings their date is derived from their context; most lie in Subgeometric layers. This is the case with T60 in Sondage 34 for example. For Kypseli T319 its date is assured because of the early seventh-century krater used to close its mouth. A few graves were placed immediately over G graves but without actually encroaching upon them. Kypseli T314 for example was put exactly over G grave T317 and South Cemetery T43bis, a child pithos burial (as T314) was placed right over T43, a Geometric krater burial. A similar case is a krater

burial of the early seventh century put over G grave South Cemetery T1. The krater held the bones of an infant.

Besides pithoi, a few burials are in funerary jars, that is amphorae, as Figure 24 shows. These are noted for their similarity of decoration and clay. They are always covered in a creamy or greenish slip. An example is museum area T153 containing the bones of an infant with its head at the mouth. The grave was located directly over a Geometric layer.

An interesting feature of the seventh-century graves in Argos is that some were placed in a direct line with earlier Geometric graves. South Cemetery pithos T11 is in a file which includes several G cists, T1, T6, T7, T8, T12, T13, T14 and T25 and even a PG grave T26.<sup>160</sup> Grave T11, however, might better be considered as part of a "battery" of seventh-century graves, T3, T4 and T5, all parallel to each other.<sup>161</sup> T3, T4 and T5 were all oriented west-east with the mouth at the west, closed by a stone slab. They were quite large, the largest measuring 2 metres by 1 metre wide. These pithoi were also decorated with stamped geometric designs. Other graves are simply designated seventh century without any further details being given. This is the case with T315 and two funerary jars.<sup>162</sup> These three graves are located in the South Quarter of the town.

Besides all these graves there are a few which can be dated to the late seventh century. One of them, Skliris plot T225, a grave which was reused twice, is a pithos with Early Corinthian pots inside it, thus dating the grave to the late seventh century.<sup>163</sup> An infant grave dated to the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century has been found on Tripolis St. but no further details are given.<sup>164</sup> Another grave containing Corinthian pots is child burial T209b of the Phloros plot, put into the earth outside the mouth of Geometric pithos T209. This grave however could date to the sixth

century.<sup>165</sup> Also dating to the late seventh century are two poros graves Kypseli T83 and T84 with fully-extended bodies. Inside one of the graves were two pins wrapped in gold leaf and fragments of a terracotta plaque. The other grave contained four Protocorinthian or Early Corinthian pots and on the basis of the pottery Courbin dates both graves c. 630.<sup>166</sup> These two graves are interesting because they are not the normal cylindrical pithos graves of the seventh century and for the time they seem quite rich. Furthermore only in the late seventh century do offerings reappear in graves. From c. 700 to c. 630 almost all graves are devoid of any offerings. Offerings are known in only a few seventh-century graves besides the two just mentioned. In the Hospital area pithos grave IIIa2 contained a small pot; the grave seems to date to the seventh century as the others found in the same area. In Skliris plot pithos T225 Corinthian pots had been included in the grave; it probably dates to the late seventh century. The only other certain seventh-century grave to contain offerings is Kypseli pit grave T318 with a pitcher as its offering. Unfortunately T318 and IIIa2 have not been dated more closely than simply the seventh century. It is noteworthy nevertheless that of the graves with offerings only two are cylindrical pithoi.

Other graves which should be mentioned are some which might be of the seventh century but the dating of which must remain conjectural through lack of positive evidence. A few may be seventh century merely because they are cylindrical pithoi without offerings, including Kypseli T254 and T230 and grave B of the Presvelos-Bobos-Pagonis plot.<sup>167</sup> There are also a couple of krater burials and a pithos burial in the Laloukiotis plot; Courbin feels all are seventh century although he is not certain of it. Both kraters seem to have been by the same painter.<sup>168</sup>

Another class of burials deserving notice are some



known as Archaic though not necessarily seventh century. One is an Iliopoulos pithos grave with a Corinthian pyxis and two kylikes. Beyond the fact of its being called Archaic its date is unspecified and it may in fact be sixth century. Besides this there are two Archaic pithoi in the Kypouropoulos plot, graves II and IV<sup>169</sup> and a large cluster of Archaic pithoi was excavated in the area of the new hospital. Fourteen graves of this type were found varying in size from c. 1.30 metres to over 2 metres long by 0.80 to 0.95 metres wide. At the time of excavation they were thought to be Geometric by Mrs. Deilaki but as most are cylindrical and without offerings Courbin feels they are Archaic and most if not all of the seventh century.<sup>170</sup> These graves include graves III8-9, Phi.a8, IIIa1, IIIa3-8, 15 and 18. Both graves IIIa13 and IIIa8 were designated as Archaic when found and both contained a few vases as gifts. Presumably in both cases Archaic means sixth century, otherwise they are the exception to the rule whereby seventh-century pithoi have no grave goods. The only other exception is grave IIIa2, mentioned above; it was described as Geometric when excavated but as it is a cylindrical pithos it is better placed in the Archaic period. Almost all the hospital graves were oriented east-west with the mouth closed by a stone slab. Several were set in a row parallel to each other.

In the area of the stadium were found two cylindrical pithoi which were believed to be LG in date but which would more naturally be placed in the seventh century because of their shape. Also falling into the category of possible seventh-century pithos graves are a couple among those found in the Xerias River. They are not described although Courbin feels that two of them are Archaic.<sup>171</sup> In the Stranka plot of Argos two further Archaic cylindrical pithoi have been excavated and as usual they contained no grave goods. Figure 25 illustrates these two Archaic graves. The shape, which seems

to have evolved somewhat from that seen in Figure 23, a typical seventh-century pithos, may be indicative of a sixth-century date. One final grave should be mentioned, museum area T146. It consists of a damaged cist with only the bottom and part of the sides remaining. The report states that since the grave is in a layer of the Late Geometric it cannot be earlier than the seventh century at the earliest,<sup>172</sup> however it is difficult to understand why the grave cannot be dated to the Late Geometric period, especially since it is a cist.

In total therefore approximately thirty-four seventh-century graves have been excavated in Argos. Another twenty-seven may be seventh century but their date is very uncertain and they date probably to the sixth century. The map, Figure 26, shows the distribution of seventh-century graves in Argos. One of the plots has been excluded as its coordinates are not certain. In the eighth century graves have been located in twenty-one areas while graves of the seventh century have been found in only sixteen areas, not counting the one area the location of which is uncertain. In ten areas eighth- and seventh-century graves have been found together, either one directly above the other or nearby. The decrease in number of graves from the Late Geometric to the seventh century is quite significant, from fifty-seven to thirty-four.

Certain clusters and concentrations can still be seen however, especially in the southwest sector of the modern town, in the area of the South Cemetery and Kypseli Square. These were also areas of heavy concentrations in the eighth century although the Bakaloiannis plot which contained nine eighth-century burials only had three graves in the next century. Another area almost totally abandoned as a burial ground is the Papapaskevas plot (no. 19) which had been the site of at least four and perhaps several more burials

in the eighth century. In all from the Granias plot south to the South Cemetery and east to the Papaparaskevas plot the area suffered a decrease from thirty-three to twenty burials, excluding four questionable seventh-century graves. Moving towards the north, in the area at the foot of the Larissa, a further reduction in the number of graves can be seen. Sondage 70 which contained four burials in the eighth century was no longer used in the following period while in the Iliopoulos plot (no. 10, Figure 15), only one possible seventh-century burial took place, however there is also one grave just across the street, in the Skliris plot.

In the central part of the modern city in the area of the museum there is once again a significant drop in the number of graves. In the area bordered in the west by the Phloros plot and in the east by the Paraskevopoulos plot, an area which had had twenty-four burials in the eighth century, only nine burials occurred in the succeeding century. This is the locality therefore which undergoes the greatest decrease. It thus seems that far fewer inhabitants lived in that part of the city. There are a few scattered graves towards the north and an area of rather heavy concentration is that of the modern hospital where a total of perhaps eleven seventh-century graves have been found. The Xerias River has also yielded some graves of that period. These however seem too far from the centre of the city to be considered a part of the urban area of Argos. In general one can say that the city shrank considerably in population in the seventh century and this is corroborated by the habitation remains as seen in the last chapter. It was more or less a thinning out of the population rather than a complete abandonment of parts of the city. Argos was obviously still an urban centre of considerable size but with a somewhat diminished population.

Of the likely reasons for this decreased population in

Argos, two stand out. One, which will be discussed below, involves a possible drought and disease, and the other focuses on political problems. Historically Argos in the late eighth and early seventh centuries appears as a strong military power. It is a time of increased attempts by the king (Pheidon?) to reassert his dominance and an era of wealth and prosperity for the aristocracy whose rich cists are ample testimony of the affluence prevalent in the later part of the eighth century. By the early seventh century, however, some people seem to have emigrated from Argos. From Syracuse for example comes a pithos burial with two youths buried in a fashion very reminiscent of the Argolid.<sup>173</sup> The pottery of Syracuse, in particular the Fusco kraters, suggests the presence of one or more Argive craftsmen, a presence which is reinforced by the fact that Fusco kraters are also used here as burial containers, as they are in the Argolid in the early seventh century. Furthermore the Argive-related script of Kalymna, to be discussed in chapter 8, also suggests the possible presence of Argives in the eastern part of the Aegean although this may pertain to a slightly later date in the seventh century. Ancient sources also speak of Argives co-founding Byzantium in the first half of the seventh century. The testimony of the pottery and script suggests that those who left Argos were craftsmen and people from the commercial class.<sup>174</sup> The main reason for their departure may have been related to their dissatisfaction with the political situation at home. It was a time when the commercial classes were becoming wealthier yet in Argos the king was so powerful that the merchants and craftsmen were undoubtedly excluded from political decisions. In such a climate, some people would naturally want to leave the area. These would not have been the aristocrats, they of the Dorian ruling class, who were no doubt content with their lot, nor would it have been the peasants, who were probably not satisfied with their lot but lacked the resources to cope

with their dissatisfaction. The city was certainly not devoid of all craftsmen, however, for it would be rash to assume a general exodus of that class especially since there is no record of Argos being among the major colonizing cities of the eighth and seventh centuries. It nevertheless remains possible that the widespread decline in prosperity of seventh-century Argos may have been caused by the emigration of some of those most responsible for increasing it in the first place. It should also be noted that the emigration need not all have been to areas beyond the Argolid, but beyond Argos itself.

What is amazing about the graves in Argos is the complete break at the very end of the eighth century. All at once the grave which had been the preferred type for hundreds of years was abandoned in favour of pithoi and even these were of a different shape than the earlier pithos graves. The reasons for this sudden change of fashion are not easily explained. The burial method itself remained basically the same since inhumation continued unabated as before and the graves continued to be placed in the same general areas as those of the Geometric period. Furthermore children were still treated in a special way as kraters and amphorae were used for their interment in contrast with pithoi for adults.

Now, however, the increase in wealth in LG graves witnessed in the increased grave goods suddenly disappears and graves are devoid of offerings until the late seventh century. In matters of burial customs people are usually quite conservative so that whatever caused them to give up old ways must have been very significant. If one of the basic reasons for using pithoi in the Geometric period was their relatively low cost compared with cists, then their complete takeover in the seventh century may simply reflect a general decrease in wealth. This could also help to explain the lack of gifts in the graves. That pithoi now were all cylindrical can be explained as

the logical conclusion to the changes already begun in the Geometric period in which the trend towards the end of the period was for small pithoi with lighter contours, a development which progressed into the seventh century.<sup>175</sup>

The change nevertheless was too sudden and too complete for it only to have been dictated by a fall in living standards and wealth. Other conditions may also have prevailed; perhaps the custom of leaving gifts in the graves lost favour; once this happened the need for the extra space provided by cists would no longer have been necessary and so pithoi may have gained popularity as a result. Stronger evidence might be gained by examining the drought theory as proposed by J. Camp. The fall in numbers of graves in the seventh century could be the result of a possible famine and disease, both derived from a severe drought. Camp has proposed a late eighth-century date for the drought and its effects.<sup>176</sup> The seventh-century features in burial custom may thus be the repercussions of this catastrophe.

One feature of Geometric Argive cists was the practice of reusing graves for later burials but this practice too came to an abrupt end at the close of the eighth century. That this practice ended may be connected with the increased use of pithoi as burial receptacles. Simply on account of the relatively small size of pithoi, it was not usually feasible to reuse them for secondary burials. The practice thus may have ended because pithoi became the norm in Argos. The change to pithos burials might also be related to a possible drought and disease in that a desire for quick burial would have promoted the greater use of pithoi in the late eighth century. One must also take note, however, of the very richly-furnished LG cists in Argos. Such cists, though relatively few in number, are not indicative of a disaster befalling the Argives at that time; however since pithos burials completely dominate in the seventh century, there may be some

connection between their use and the end of a possible drought and disease. Since the end of the epidemic may have coincided with the introduction of cylindrical pithoi this would have been a strong incentive for the continued use of the grave type as a rather superstitious way of preventing the recurrence of the disease. The important point does not concern the use of cylindrical pithoi but rather the use of pithoi as such as opposed to cists. The use of cists may have been connected with the increased mortality rate, at least in the minds of seventh-century Argives, hence their reluctance perhaps in continuing to use graves of this type.

To favour one solution over the other for the reduction in graves in the seventh century would no doubt be rash; possibly both a drought and political and social problems contributed to the changes in the seventh century. That these changes were a temporary aberration is obvious; by the sixth century cists were again in favour.

#### Nauplia

At the other Argolic sites the picture of the seventh century is much changed from that of the eighth. The biggest difference lies simply in numbers. A total of only approximately twelve graves has been found and they come from only four sites, Nauplia, Mykenai, Tiryns and Porto Kheli. Of the four Nauplia has the most burials with perhaps eight cylindrical pithos graves of the seventh century. All of them are in the Pronoia district of the town. They are all oriented east-west with both the mouth of the pithos and the head of the dead at the west. Most are closed by stone slabs but clay discs and vases are also used. Charitonides who excavated these graves, dated the pithoi to the Late Geometric period but because of their cylindrical shape Courbin feels they are better placed in the seventh century.<sup>177</sup>

Two of the pithoi, III and XVIII, had been used twice and in one of them (grave III) a few sherds were also found together with beads and fragments of an iron pin. Pithos XX contained the body of a child and a small aryballos with incised linear decoration. An offering was also found in pithos XVII, a small handmade pot of undisclosed shape. The remaining four pithoi were without grave goods.

It is very difficult to date these pithos graves. The fact that a few have offerings may point to the early seventh century or the very end of that century as the likeliest possible dates. Of course it may simply reflect a local feature in contrast with the custom in Argos where offerings are not put in seventh-century graves. Those with offerings which Charitonides dated to the Late Geometric period should most probably be viewed as transitional between the Late Geometric and Subgeometric period. There are reports of a couple of other Archaic graves in Nauplia, one a pithos and one a pit grave,<sup>178</sup> but exact dates are not given in the reports. From such evidence it thus appears that Nauplia also suffered a decline in population in the seventh century with a possible total of only ten graves as opposed to the twenty of the previous century. It is not the absolute numbers that are important since they are too small to be meaningful in themselves, but rather the size of Nauplia relative to its earlier size and relative to other settlements. The interesting feature about the graves is that here too cylindrical pithoi take the preeminent position.

### Mykenai

At Mykenai only two burials can be assigned to the seventh century, both in the dromos of chamber tomb 533. One of the graves was a krater with the skeleton of a child inside. As grave



gifts there were three small pots, three pins and a string of beads. The grave dates to the beginning of the century. Nearby was found a skeleton simply laid out in the earth without any offerings. Wace believed this burial also might be dated to the seventh century but as he pointed out there is no real proof for this belief.<sup>179</sup> This means that only one certain grave has been found in contrast with the seven of the eighth century. One can hardly call Mykenai a settlement at this time and as has been noted in the previous chapter habitation remains are also very meagre, so the site seems to have functioned more as a sanctuary than a settlement. An important shrine there was the Agamemnoneion, about which more will be said in chapter 9.

### Tiryns

At Tiryns two seventh-century graves have been excavated, one of which is grave 22 found to the southwest of the citadel and consisting of two kraters one inside the other as well as bones but no offerings. The kraters themselves can be dated to the early seventh century.<sup>180</sup> Also located away from the citadel in a plot along the road from Argos to Nauplia was a pithos burial dated to the transitional period from the Late Geometric to the Subgeometric.<sup>181</sup> The decline here is much sharper than at either Nauplia or Mykenai, from twenty-nine graves to two. No other graves of the seventh century have so far been found here. As for Mykenai, the site can with difficulty be called a settlement and it too seems to have existed primarily as a sanctuary. Evidence from inscriptions, however, referring to an assembly at Tiryns in the late seventh century suggests that the settlement was of some importance at that time, and thus the fact that only two graves of the seventh century have been found cannot be regarded as reliable evidence for the size of the settlement. In

this case one can reasonably assume the presence of other graves somewhere in the vicinity, yet it does seem that the settlement shrank considerably after the Geometric period, or that it moved away from the citadel area at that time and has yet to be located.

### Porto Kheli

At Porto Kheli only one seventh-century grave has so far been published, a cremation in an Attic "SOS" amphora. The grave also contained a bronze ring (see catalogue). The site was quite significant at this time and one assumes the presence of other graves somewhere in the vicinity of the settlement.

### Synthesis of seventh-century graves

One of the assumed consequences of a drought, famine and epidemic is the movement of people away from urban centres into outlying areas. One would thus expect an increase in population in the Argolic countryside in the late eighth and seventh centuries. If graves can be used to measure population figures, the evidence does not point to any such movement of people. Other sites do not appear to grow in population but as has already been noted, some new sites do seem to be established in the Archaic period and six new seventh-century settlements come into being, most of them located in the eastern peninsula. Whether their appearance can be associated with the drought and its effects is a matter for conjecture however. There is also no grave evidence to support the idea of settlement growth and expansion into the seventh century. In fact a decline is general throughout the central plain. It is noteworthy that several sites were abandoned at the end of the Geometric period, a fact which

the graves seem to support in demonstrating a much reduced population within the Argolid as a whole. The main feature is thus one of depopulation occurring primarily in the central plain. The reason for this may rest with a famine and disease caused by drought or with social or political dissatisfaction causing people to leave the area. That new sites came into being in the eastern Argolid might mirror the movement of people away from more heavily-populated areas.

If one accepts the drought theory then it is the late eighth century that is unusual with its increase in deaths, with life returning to normal in the seventh century, but the general richness of the Late Geometric cists casts some doubt on this theory. When people are dying in much greater numbers than usual, especially if their deaths are caused by contagious disease, the emphasis lies in quick burial. The rich LG cists do not reflect this tendency at all. These are not graves of people who had to be buried in a hurry. Perhaps the drought was not so severe as in Attica so that the results were not so strongly felt. The decrease in number of seventh-century graves can be due to several factors. At Asine the complete absence of graves in that century and the lack of habitation remains reveal an abandonment of the site, yet one not caused by drought and disease but rather by banishment due to conquest.

As the previous paragraphs show, there is a need for caution when attempting to find reasons for the appearance of a general depopulation in the seventh century. If political reasons were such as to cause the changes at Asine, there is no reason why political pressures of one kind or another were not also responsible for the changes at other sites, in particular those of the central Argolic plain. As for Argos, certain classes of people may have felt too restricted in the late eighth-century political climate, thus a move away from the plain, but not necessarily away from the Argolid,

for this reason must be contemplated, in addition to those reasons stated above. The seventh century was a time of important changes in the Argolid and the following chapters will show to what extent other evidence corroborates this.

### 3.3 Catalogue of eighth- and seventh-century graves<sup>182</sup>

#### Argos

#### Agora

Aupert, P et al., BCH CII (1978), 783.

Pot burial. Found beneath floor of LG house.

Child.

LG

#### Alexopoulos plot - Grave Δ'

Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XVII B (1961/1962), 55f.

Hägg, Gräber, (1974), 22, 38 and n. 104.

Cist. Oriented N-S. Dimensions 1.58 by 0.84 m. Two uses. First body with head to S and second with head to N. Both bodies contracted.

Eleven vases, all of the second burial. Also one bronze ring.

MGI-MGII

#### Alexopoulos plot - Grave A'

Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XVII B (1961/1962), 55f.

Hägg, Gräber, (1974), 22, 38.

Cist. Oriented NE-SW. Body contracted with hands folded at waist.

Four vases by head and waist.

MGII

#### Alexopoulos plot - Grave B'

Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XVII B (1961/1962), 55f.

Hägg, Gräber, (1974), 22, 38 and n. 104.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Cist. Oriented NE-SW. Dimensions 1.12 by 0.60 m. Body contracted.

Also found two bronze-iron pins.

MGII

#### Alexopoulos plot - Grave Γ'

Verdelis, N.M., ADelt. XVII B (1961/1962), 55f.

Hägg, Gräber, (1974), 22, 38 and n. 104.

Cist. Oriented NE-SW. Dimensions 1.51-1.57 by 0.55-0.61 m. Three uses. Latest body contracted with two pots near shoulder. Also two other bodies, one over the other. Both bodies contracted and with them a few vase fragments and six bronze rings, a small bronze sheet, and a bronze knife blade.

MG-LG

Atreos/Danaos St. Junction

Kritzas, C., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 228.

Pithos. Cylindrical? Inside found Protocorinthian kotyle, trefoil oinokhoe and remains of iron pin, also two cups. Body, contracted.

LGII (?)

Bakaloiannis plot - T90/3

Deshayes, J. et al., BCH LXXX (1956), 376.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 45f.

Hägg, Gräber, (1974), 24, 39.

Cist. Oriented NNE-SSW. Dimensions 1.80 by 0.85 m. Three uses with various bone fragments and twenty-two pots dating from the EGI, MGI and MGII. To the third use, in MGII, belong eight pots.

Woman.

MGII

Bakaloiannis plot - T32

Roux, G. et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 177.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 36f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 39.

Pit. A few bones with a few vases around them, all small. Also four faience pearls and terracotta bird.

Probably child.

MGII

Bakaloiannis plot - T66

Roux, G. et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 177.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 42.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 39.

Krater. A few bones found inside a fragmentary krater. Krater itself probably was offering and when grave disturbed, bones put inside krater fragment.

MGII

Bakaloianis plot - T89/1

Deshayes, J. et al., BCH LXXX (1956), 376.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 43f.

Hägg, Gräber, (1974), 24, 39.

Cist. Oriented SSW-NNE. Dimensions 0.80 by 0.45 m. Two uses. To T89/1 belong four vases but no bones, so were probably those of young child. Second use was a woman but no offerings placed with her.

MGII

Bakaloianis plot - T53

Roux, G. et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 178.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 41.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 39.

Amphora. Handmade. Inside were fragmentary bones of child and small cup.

LGI

Bakaloianis plot - T23

Roux, G. et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 178, 180.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 34f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 39.

Pyxis. Mouth to W. Closed by fragmentary krater. Bones of woman of c. 35 years inside.

LGIIb

Bakaloianis plot - T128/2

Deshayes, J. et al., BCH LXXX (1956), 376.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 59f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 39.

Cist. Oriented ESE-WNW. Dimensions 1.47 by 0.89 m. Two uses. One vase belonging to T128/1 but is fragmentary. Earlier burial dates to EGI.

LGI Ib

Bakaloiannis plot - T106/2

Deshayes, J. et al., BCH LXXX (1956), 376.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 52f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 39.

Cist. Oriented ESE-WNW. Dimensions over 2 m. by 1.04 m. Two uses.

Second one contracted with feet at SE. With it found two bronze pins at shoulders, two bronze rings and two pots. Under it, earlier body (T106/1) with nine pots, rings and gold spirals. T106/1 dated EGI.

LGI Ic

Bakaloiannis plot - T108

Deshayes, J. et al., BCH LXXX (1956), 376.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 52.

----, RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Put partly into earlier G cist T128 partly damaging it. Head of body of T128 carefully laid aside when pithos put over cist.

Seventh century.

Bakaloiannis plot - T101

Deshayes, J. et al., BCH LXXX (1956), 376.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 52.

----, RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Put over E wall of G cist T106. Both T101 and T108 same in orientation and disposition.

Seventh century

Bakaloiannis plot - T131

Deshayes, J. et al., BCH LXXX (1956), 376.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 132, Pl. 47.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 62.

----, RA (1977), 327.



Krater. Oriented W-E. Mouth at W, closed by stone slab. Put over PG cist.

Child of nine months to three years.

Subgeometric

Bonoris plot - T179

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 84f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 36.

Cist. Oriented ESE-WNW. Dimensions 1.17 by 0.45 m. Outside found hydria, two dagger fragments and iron spear blade. Inside body, contracted, with head at W.

Man c. 40-45 years.

LG

Bonoris plot - T172

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 70-71.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 36.

Cist. Oriented ESE-WNW. Dimensions 1.15 by 0.50 m. Body contracted.

No offerings.

Man c. 40-45 years.

LGIIa

Bonoris plot - T175

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 72f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 36.

Cist. Oriented SSW-NNE. Dimensions 1.47 by 0.53 m. Some traces of fire inside at one end. Body contracted. A few vases by head and two long bronze pins.

Man c. 40 years.

LGIIa

Bonoris plot - T173

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762.

Courbin, TGA (1974), 71f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 36.

Cist. Oriented SW-NE. Dimensions 1.46 by 0.57 m. Later grave T174 put partly into it. Two uses. One vase with second burial.

Woman c. 40 years.

T173/1 = LGIIb?

T173/2 = LGIIc

#### Bonoris plot - T174

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762.

Courbin, TGA (1974), 71, 146.

Krater. Is fragmentary Archaic Lakonian krater. Put partly into T173.

Infant.

Seventh century

#### Deiras - Karantanis grave

Alexandri, O., ADelt. XVI B (1960), 93.

Daux, G., BCH LXXXV (1961), 675-676.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22, 35, 42.

Krater. Put inside dromos of Mykenaian chamber tomb.

Infant.

Subgeometric

#### Giagos plot - Grave 2

Verdelis, N.M. and O. Alexandri, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 63

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 120.

Cist. One of two found in this plot. In both graves a total of ten pots found, but mostly fragmentary. Both had more than one burial.

Grave 1 is EG and this one is LG.

LG

#### Grantias plot - T134

Daux, G., BCH LXXXI (1957), 677.

Charles, R.P., BCH LXXXII (1958), 284.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 236, 285 n. 5, Pl. 92.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 62f.

Amphora. Is handmade, two handled. Undecorated. Immediately below Roman layer.

Infant of six months to one year.

LGIIC or Subgeometric

Hospital - IIIa1

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 125.

Courbin, RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 1.90 by 0.90 m. Mouth closed by stone. Only a few bone fragments inside. Pithos decorated in three zones of angular lines.

Seventh century

Hospital - IIIa2

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 125.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 1.52 by 0.80 m. Mouth closed by stone. Inside body at full length. Also small pot of Bucchero type by left foot.

Seventh century

Hospital - Φa3

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 123.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical (?). Only some bones inside.

Seventh century

Hospital - III9

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 123.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented N-S. Dimensions 1.60 by 0.60 m. Only bones inside. Decorated at mouth with angular lines.

Seventh century.

Hospital - IIII8

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 123.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Badly preserved. Only a few bones inside.

Seventh century

Hospital - IIIIa18

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 125-126.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 1.85 by 0.90 m. Only a few bones inside.

Seventh century

Hospital - IIIIa13

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 123-126.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Ovoid. Oriented N-S. Length 1.75 m. Lying over G cist IIIIa14.

Body badly preserved. Inside, two pots.

Archaic (Sixth century?)

Hospital - IIIIa3

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 125.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 1.70 by 0.80 m. Mouth closed by stone slab. Decorated in three zones of lines. Body contracted.

Seventh century

Hospital - IIIIa8

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 125.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 2 by 0.85 m. Partly destroyed. Closed by stone slab. Body badly preserved. Also inside

found an oinokhoe, two aryballoi and one phiale.

Archaic (Sixth century?)

Hospital - IIIa7

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 125.

Hägg, Gräber (1977), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 2.10 by 0.95 m.

Decorated with zone of angular lines and bands. Body outstretched.

Seventh century

Hospital - IIIa6

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 125.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 1.40 by 0.80 m. A

few bones inside.

Seventh century

Hospital - IIIa5

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 125.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 1.90 by 0.85 m. A

few bones inside.

Seventh century

Hospital - IIIa4

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XIX B (1964), 125.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 1.30 by 0.80 m. Inside

a few bones. Decorated with zones of lines.

Seventh century

Iliopoulos plot

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 155.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22, 39.

Krater. Bones of infant inside.

LG

Iliopoulos plot

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 155.

Pithos. Dimensions 1.70 by 0.65 m. Inside found Corinthian pyxis and two kylikes.

Archaic

Kypouropoulos plot - Grave III

Papachristodoulou, I., ADelt. XXIII B1 (1968), 127f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22, 36.

Pithos. Oriented W-E. Dimensions 1.30 by 0.65 m. Body contracted.

Also found four vases and a bronze ring and three bronze pins.

LG

Kypouropoulos plot - Grave VI

Papachristodoulou, I., AAA II (1969), 159-162.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22, 36.

Cist. Oriented W-E. Dimensions 1.10 by 0.80 m. Two uses. First body had skyphos and iron dagger. To the second belong six small pots.

Also found two iron obeloi, an iron dagger and another iron object.

LG

Kypouropoulos plot - Grave II

Papachristodoulou, I., ADelt. XXIII B1 (1968), 127f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Inside only found bronze ring.

Archaic.

Kypouropoulos plot - Grave IV

Papachristodoulou, I., AAA II (1969), 159.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical (?). Dimensions 1.12 by 0.67 m. Body contracted, with bronze ring.

Archaic

Kypseli Square - T310

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. et al., BCH XCIV (1970), 766.

Hägg, Gräber, (1974), 24, 41.

Pithos. Skeleton inside as well as seven vases.

MG

Kypseli Square - T312

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. and Y. Grandjean, BCH XCVI (1972), 162.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Pit (?).

MG

Kypseli Square - T313

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. and Y. Grandjean, BCH XCVI (1972), 162.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Pit (?).

MG

Kypseli Square - T309

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. et al., BCH XCIV (1970), 766.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Pithos. Put into cist T310. Surrounded by LG vases.

LG (?)

Kypseli Square - T317

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. et al. BCH XCV (1971), 740.

---- and Y. Grandjean, BCH XCVI (1972), 165.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Pithos. Inside found krater.

LG

Kypseli Square - T316

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. et al., BCH XCV (1971), 740.

---- and Y. Grandjean, BCH XCVI (1972), 165.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Pithos. Closed by krater. Two bodies inside.

LGIIC

Kypseli Square - T314

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. et al., BCH XCVI (1972), 168.

Type of grave not mentioned. Partly destroyed by wall. Is exactly over T317.

Child.

Subgeometric

Kypseli Square - T315

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. et al., BCH XCV (1971), 740.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical.

Seventh century but may go back to very end of eighth century.

Kypseli Square - T318

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. and Y. Grandjean, BCH XCV (1971), 740.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pit. Inside found pitcher decorated with painted bands on light ground.

Seventh century

Kypseli Square - T319

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. and Y. Grandjean, BCJ XCV (1971), 740.

---- et al., BCH XCVI (1972), 168.

Pithos. Mouth closed by krater of early seventh century.

Subgeometric

Kypseli Square

Daux, G. et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 677.

Funerary jar. No other information provided.

Seventh century

Kypseli Square

Daux, G. et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 677.



Funerary jar. No other information provided.

Seventh century

Kypseli Square - T308

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. et al., BCH XCIV (1970), 766.

Ecole française d'Athènes, ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 169.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 144.

Pithos. Cylindrical.

Seventh century

Kypseli Square - T83

Deshayes, J. et al., BCH LXXIX (1956), 312.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 123.

Poros grave. Fire inside grave but took place before body put in.

Also inside found two pins wrapped in gold leaf and fragments of seventh century terracotta plaque.

Late seventh century

Kypseli Square - T84

Deshayes, J. et al., BCH LXXIX (1955), 312.

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. and Y. Grandjean, BCH XCV (1971), 736.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 123.

Poros grave. Fire as well took place inside grave but before body put in. Also contained four Protocorinthian or Early Corinthian pots.

Late seventh century

Kypseli Square - T230

Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), Fig. 1 facing p. 812.

Pithos. Cylindrical.

Seventh century (?)

Kypseli Square - T254

Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), Fig. 1 facing p. 812, 826.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Partly destroyed by Hellenistic pit grave.

Seventh century (?)

Laloukiotis plot

Ecole française, BCH LXXXI (1957), 537 and Fig. 22a and 22b.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 211, 276.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 36.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Krater. Burnt bones inside.

Seventh century (?)

#### Laloukiotis plot

Ecole française, BCH LXXXI (1957), 537 and Fig. 21, p. 536.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 211, 276.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 36.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Krater. Both this krater and that of previous grave by same painter.

Seventh century (?)

#### Laloukiotis plot

Ecole française, BCH LXXXI (1957), 537 and Fig. 21, p. 536.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Rounded base. Decorated with radiating incisions around shoulder and relief under lip. Is 1.85 m. long by 0.64 m. wide. Mouth closed by stone slab. Inside only bones.

Seventh century

#### Lynkitsou plot - Grave 1

Kritzas, C., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 127.

Cist. Oriented E-W. Partly damaged by later wall. Body contracted with head to E. By head, two bronze phialai, four-five iron spear-heads, five vases, a bronze ring and iron-bronze dagger and blade.

LGI

#### Lynkitsou plot - Grave 3

Kritzas, C., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 127.

Cist. Dimensions 1.16 by 0.50 m. Damaged by Byzantine pit. Inside were a few rings, oinokhoe and skyphos.

LGI

#### Lynkitsou plot

Kritzas, C., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 127.

Pithos. Inside found skeleton with head at NE, at mouth of pithos.

A few sherds as well.

LG

Makris plot - Grave 1

Daux, G., BCH LXXXVII (1963), 751.

Verdelis, N.M. and O. Alexandri, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 57.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 226.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 120.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22, 37 and n. 100.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Cist. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 2 by 0.80 m. Body inside with head to W. Also found three pins, bronze fibula, two bronze rings, iron obelos. Also fifteen pots.

MGII

Makris plot - Grave 2

Daux, G., BCH LXXXVII (1963), 751.

Verdelis, N.M. and O. Alexandri, ADelt. XVIII B1 (1963), 58-59.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22, 37 and n. 100.

Cist. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 1.75 by 0.80 m. On cover slabs found several vases. Inside found three bodies. One at W end, contracted, with a bronze ring and pin and two iron nails. At E end, two bodies with a bronze cup, two hydriai, two skyphoi, two amphoriskoi, one amphora, one pyxis, five bronze fibulae, one oinokhoe, one jug and two arrowheads.

MG-LG

Makris plot - Grave 3

Daux, G., BCH LXXXVII (1963), 751

Verdelis, N.M. and O. Alexandri, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 59.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22, 37 and n. 100.

Cist. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 1.35 by 0.75 m. Body disturbed. Head at W. Also bronze pin, iron dagger and iron spearhead. Fourteen pots.

LGI

Museum area - T178

Daux, G., BCH LXXXI (1959), 762.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 247.

Pithos. Ovoid. Lying partly over PG cist T186.

LG

Museum area - T152

Daux, G. et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 656 (R8).

Courbin, TGA (1974), 63f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 37 and n.101.

Funerary jar (amphora?). Closed by flat stone. Infant inside with head at mouth of amphora. Seven pots.

LGI

Museum area - T171

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 766.

Courbin, TGA (1974), 68f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 38.

Cist. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 1.61 by 0.70 m. Inside found contracted body of man with head at W. Three vases at head.

LGI

Museum area - T180

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762-763.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 247.

Pithos. Ovoid. Small size. Lying E-W. No offerings.

LGII

Museum area - T163

Charles, R.P., BCH LXXXII (1958), 283.

Courbin, TGA (1974), 64f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 37.

Pit. Oval. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 0.85 by 0.60 m. Bottom pebbled.

Body distorted. Two vases and fragments of bronze fibula.

Child of 5-6 years.

LGIIb

Museum area - T176/2

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762f.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 75f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 38.

Cist. Oriented NNE-SSW. Dimensions 1.60 by 0.85-0.92 m. Two uses.

Earlier body at N end with four pots of MGI. More bones at other end with fourteen pots and several bronze and iron objects.

LGIIc

Museum area - T153

Daux, G. et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 656-657.

Courbin, CGA (1966), P; 27.

Krater. Inside were bones of infant with its head at mouth of jar.

Early seventh century

Museum area - T177

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 763-764.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 146.

----, RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Put into T176 (LGIIc) and resting in S end of grave. South wall and cover slabs used to make wall on which pithos sunk.

Subgeometric

Museum area - T146

Daux, G. et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 647.

Cist. Badly damaged. Is in LG layer so is not earlier than LG. Was thought at the time of its discovery to be seventh century but perhaps it might be late eighth century.

LG (?)

Odeion area - T45

Roux, G. et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 178.

Courbin, P., BCH LXXXI (1957), 322-386.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 362.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 40f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 40.

Cist. Over 3 m. long. Man buried with bronze helmet and cuirass plus various bronze and iron objects and several pots. "Panoply Grave".

LGIIa-LGIIc

Odeion area -T84bis

Deahayes, J. et al., BCH LXXIX (1955), 312.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 43.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 40.

Consists of fragmentary amphora with fragmentary Protocorinthian skyphos.

Might be child grave.

LGIIa

Odeion area - T158

Daux, G. et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 683.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 146.

Pithos. Oriented NE-SW. Mouth at west. Ruined part of earlier G cist.

Several other pithoi found here, all oriented same way. Are closed by several slabs one over the other. At least six pithoi but are all empty since pillaged in later times. Only one had bones, of infant.

Seventh century

OTE area - Grave 4

Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 126.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22, 38.

Tripod amphora. Mouth at W. Inside were bones and three vases.

LG

Papanikolaou plot - T4

Kritzas, C., ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 192.

Cist. Over 3 m. long. Badly preserved body, contracted. Also bronze phiale, bronze pin and ring and five amphorae.

MGI-II

Papanikolaou plot

Kritzas, C., ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 192.

Krater. Located slightly W of G grave T1 and at a slightly higher level.

Infant.

Seventh century

Papanikolaou plot

Kritzas, C., ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 192.

Pithos. Put partly over G cist T3, damaging it.

Seventh century.

Papaparaskevas plot - T263

Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), 844f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 40f.

----, AAA XIII (1980), 120f.

Cist. Dimensions between 1.70-2.15 by 0.80-1.10 m. Reused often. Six bodies inside. At some time before final reuse, inside width of grave reduced by wall. Several pots inside and outside as well as bronze objects.

EG-LG

Papaparaskevas plot - T265

Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), 844f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 40f.

----, AAA XIII (1980), 120f.

Cist. Dimensions as for T263. Reused often. Five bodies inside.

Several pots as well.

EG-LG

Papaparaskevas plot - T266

Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), 844f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 40-41.

----, AAA XIII (1980), 120f.

Cist. Dimensions as for T265. Reused often. Seven bodies inside. This

one also had its inside width reduced at some point. Many pots as well.

EG-LG

Papaparaskevas plot - T278

Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), 844f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 40f.

----, AAA XIII (1980), 120f.

Cist. Dimensions as for T266. Several reuses since seven bodies inside. Many pots also included. Graves 263, 265, 266 and 278 all very rich and in all seventy pots were found. Burials were probably successive.

EG-LG

Papaparaskevas plot - T274

Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), 848.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Put over G cist. No offerings but a few bones inside.

Subgeometric

Papaparaskevas plot - T275

Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), 846.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Put over earlier G cist. No offerings.

Subgeometric

Paraskevopoulos plot - Grave 1

Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 126.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22, 38.

Cist. Dimensions 1.22 by 0.65 m. Some evidence of burning. Bones much damaged. Seven pots also included.

LG

Phlessas plot - Grave 3

Alexandri, O., ADelt. XVI B (1960), 93.

Daux, G., BCH LXXXV (1961), 675.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22, 37.



Cist. Report mentions five cists dating from PG to MG. Grave 3 is MG.  
In all seventeen pots were found as well as bronze and iron pins  
and rings.

MG

Phloros plot - T209

Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), 833.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Shoulder decorated with incised lines. Inside  
many G sherds.

LG (?)

Phloros plot - T209b

Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), 833.

Pit. Against mouth of pithos 209, found a deposit of small Ripe  
Corinthian pots and the bones of a child.

Late seventh-early sixth century

Presvelos-Bobos-Pagonis plot - Grave II

Krystalle, K. and I. Papachristodoulou, ADelt. XXII B (1967), 170

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22.

Cist. Contained a few bones and three pots of "ripe" Geometric.

LGI

Presvelos-Bobos-Pagonis plot - Grave B

Krystalle, K. and I. Papachristodoulou, ADelt. XXII B (1967), 170.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Its E side was propped up by stones. In report  
is called PG or G but shape is Archaic.

Seventh century (?)

Raptis plot

Alexandri, O., ADelt. XVI B (1960), 93.

Daux, G., BCH LXXXV (1961), 675.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22. 39.

In area where nine graves found ranging in date from LG to Hellenistic,  
at least one is LG. It contained twelve pots but the type of grave  
is not mentioned.

LG

Sirouni plot

Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 113.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Mouth closed by stone slab.

Archaic

Sirouni plot

Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 113.

Krater. No details given beyond the fact that it is called Archaic.

Archaic

Skiris plot - T225

Daux, G., BCH XCI (1967), 825, 828 Fig. 26 and 27.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented NW-SE. Inside found Early Corinthian pots. Reused twice. Three bodies inside. When first reused, Early Corinthian alabastron thrown out of grave. When third body put in, hole made in side of pithos, then it was covered with tile fragments.

Pithos surrounded by Hellenistic graves.

Late seventh century (?)

Sondage 34 - T60

Bruneau, P., BCH XCIV (1970), 466 , Fig. 48 p. 457, Fig. 71 p. 464.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Is in area of Hellenistic graves and is immediately west of grave 59.

Subgeometric

Sondage 70 - T189

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 757

Courbin, IGA (1974), 86f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 37.

Pit. A few bones belonging to man c. 40 years. Pit put in at some time between the placing of T190/1 and T190/3. No offerings.

LGI-IIA (?)

### Sondage 70 - T190

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 757.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 87f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 37.

Pithos. Oriented W-E. Dimensions 1.20 by 0.90 m. Placed immediately below T189 and parallel with pithos T191. Several stone slabs closed it. Inside were various bones and pots belonging to three adult burials. T190/1 had eight pots, T190/2 contained five and T190/3 had one.

T190/1 = LGI

T190/2 = LGIIb

T190/3 = LGIIb

### Sondage 74 - T195

Daux, G., BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 132 and Pl. 47.

Bommelaer, J.-Fr. et al., BCH XCV (1971), 740.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Krater. Lying on its side. Closed by two stone slabs. Mouth at west.

Child.

Subgeometric

### South Cemetery area - T6

Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 260

Courbin, IGA (1974), 14f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Cist. Oriented ENE-WSW. Dimensions 2.45 by 0.83 m. Two uses. Earlier body in fragments. With it were eight pots and two bronze bowls, fifteen bronze pins, three bronze rings, five iron pins. Second body contracted; twelve pots. Also bronze skyphos, bronze ring, iron dagger. When second body put in, earlier one swept into corner. Second body is man of 37 years. His offerings found on top of grave, not inside. Earlier body is man c. 33 years.

T6/1 = MGII

T6/2 = LGIIb

South Cemetery area - T8

Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 260.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 23f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Pit. Situated not far from T6. Found skull of woman c. 30 years. Also found five vases but date to different periods. Three of them date to EGII-MGI and two date to MGI-LGI. Perhaps therefore two burials took place but this uncertain.

T8/?2 = MGI-LGI

South Cemetery area - T14/3

Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 260.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 27-32.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Cist. Oriented WNW-ESE. Dimensions 1.30 by 0.70 m. Three uses. Oldest body, woman c. 40 years, on bottom, dated to EGI and had four pots and bronze ring. Second, man c. 35, is MGI with three pots and a fragment of an iron spear and iron spearhead. The last, a woman of c. 30-35 years, is dated LGI with nine pots and a fragmentary iron stem (of obelos?). At the time of the third burial the bones of the second body were thrown aside but the offerings were left.

LGI

South Cemetery area - T80

Deshayes, J. et al., BCH LXXIX (1955), 312f.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 42f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Pit. Dimensions 1.50 by 0.50 m. Body contracted, badly preserved.

Woman c. 28 years. By head, three pots.

LGI

South Cemetery area - T13

Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 260.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 26f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Pithos. Oriented W-E. Mouth at west, closed by stone slab. Inside were a few bones and a small cup. The pithos was placed over T14.

LGIIa

South Cemetery area - T25

Roux, G. et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 177f.

Courbin, TGA (1974), 35f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Pithos. Oriented SE-NW. Mouth at NW. Closed by terracotta plaque. Was placed over T14. Inside found a few bones, cup and bronze ring.

Child (?)

LGIIa

South Cemetery area - T1

Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 243, 258f.

Coldstream, GGP (1968); 362.

Courbin, TGA (1974), 11f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Cist. Oriented ESE-WNW. Dimensions 2.05 by 0.95 m. Body of adult.

Also found a bronze bowl, thirteen skyphoi, all near head, at west.

Also six iron obeloi by the side.

LGIIa-b

South Cemetery area - T12

Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 260.

Courbin, TGA (1974), 25.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Vase. Shape not mentioned. Just in front of mouth of T13. Inside only one bone and earth. Is probably child grave because of small size

of pot.

LGIIa (?)

South Cemetery area - T43

Roux, G. et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 180.

Courbin, TGA (1974), 40.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Krater. Set vertically with mouth at NW. Inside was infant of 2-3 months. Situated immediately below T43bis.

Child.

LGIIC

South Cemetery area - T43bis

Roux, G. et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 180.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 40.

Pithos. Put right over G krater burial 43. Pithos fragmentary, undecorated.

Child of one month.

Seventh century

South Cemetery area - T3

Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 258, 260.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 102.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented W-E. Closed by large slab. Stamped geometric decoration. Mouth at west. Lying almost horizontally.

Seventh century

South Cemetery area - T4

Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 258, 260.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 102.

Pithos. Specifics as for T3.

Seventh century

South Cemetery area - T5

Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 258, 260.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 102.

Pithos. Specifics as for T3.

Seventh century

South Cemetery area - T11

Courbin, IGA (1974), 102.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Put in line with G cists.

Seventh century

South Cemetery - T38

Roux, G. et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 177f.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 132.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 39f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 24, 41.

Krater. In fragmentary condition. Inside were bones of infant.

Subgeometric

Stadium area

Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 128f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical.

Seventh century

Stadium area

Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 128f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical.

Seventh century

Stavropoulou plot

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 81-82.

Cist. Partly destroyed by later bothros. Inside found bronze helmet and large amphora. Helmet like one found in T45, both by same workshop.

MG/LG

Stranka plot - Grave III/1

Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 121.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Three uses, first in Archaic, then two in the Hellenistic. Offerings all belong to Hellenistic reuse.

Archaic

Stranka plot - Grave IV

Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 121.

Pithos. Cylindrical. No offerings. Only a few badly-preserved bones found. Two uses.

Archaic

Theodoropoulou plot

Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 99.

Cist. Oriented E-W. Dimensions 2 by 1 m. Body contracted. Head to west. By head found bronze helmet with incised decoration including two eyes. By right side found a spear, two spearheads, six iron obeloi. By feet, krater.

LGI

Totsikas plot - Grave III

Palaiologou, H., Etudes argiennes (BCH Suppl. VI) (1980), 75f.

Cist. Found in plot near Aspis off Herakleou St. Important for offering of oinokhoe of late MGII with depiction of human figure.

MGII

Tripolis 26 St.

Kritzas, C., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 132.

Grave of unspecified type.

Infant.

End of seventh-early sixth century

Tsouloukha plot

Kritzas, C., ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 220.

Grave of unspecified type. Two uses. Inside found sherds, bronze ring and pin, and bronze-iron pin.

Eighth century

Xerias River

Charitonides, S., ADelt. XXI B (1966), 126.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 22, 42, 46.



Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

A number of pithos burials, most with very few sherds. From similar ones, were dated LG but a few are probably of the seventh century because of their cylindrical shape.

LG-seventh century

### Tiryns

#### Mermingi plot

Protonotariou-Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 156f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 85.

Pithos. Dimensions 0.94 by 0.67 m. wide. Found W of road Nauplia-Argos. No further details.

LG/Subgeometric

#### NE of citadel - Grave 16

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Tiryns I (1912), 129.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 177.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 120.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 85.

Cist. By right of head found oinokhoe and on left two cups, by right side a bowl.

MGII

#### NE of citadel - Grave 30

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Tiryns I (1912), 132.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 177.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 120.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 141.

Pithos. Mouth closed by stone. Inside eight miniature pots including four amphoriskoi, kantharos, cup and skyphos. Also three bronze rings, two iron rings, bronze bird.

Child.

MGII

NE of citadel - Grave 31

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Iiryns I (1912), 132.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 553.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 140.

Pyxis. Is Attic pot. Mouth closed by stone slab.

Child.

MGII

NE of citadel - Grave 35

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Iiryns I (1912), 133.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 85.

Pithos. Mouth closed by stone slab. Body with two skyphoi, amphoriskos and handmade miniature amphora.

Child.

MGII

NE of citadel - Grave 34

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Iiryns I (1912), 133.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 85.

Large pithos. Partly destroyed. No offerings. Is like Grave 33 in size and shape.

MG to LG

NE of citadel - Grave 36

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Iiryns I (1912), 133.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 85.

Amphora, bellied with horizontal handles. Very damaged. No offerings.

MG-LG

NE of citadel - Grave 23

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Iiryns I (1912), 131.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 141.

Pithos. Egg-shaped. Mouth closed by krater. Skeleton but no offerings.

Under pithos and stone packing found handmade trefoil oinokhoe and

Mykenaian pot.

LG

NE of citadel - Grave 27

Friekenhaus, A. et al., Iiryms I (1912), 132.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 141.

Pithos. Egg-shaped. Skeleton and two-handled kantharos.

LG

NE of citadel - Grave 28

Friekenhaus, A. et al., Iiryms I (1912), 132.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 141.

Pithos. Partly destroyed. Six pots inside: amphora, two kantharoi, two kraters, fragmentary handmade pot.

LG

NE of citadel - Grave 33

Friekenhaus, A. et al., Iiryms I (1912), 133.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 85, 141.

Pithos. Extra hole in side. Skeleton and three pots.

LG

NE of citadel - Grave 37

Friekenhaus, A. et al., Iiryms I (1912), 133.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 85.

Amphora. Handmade, coarse with horizontal handles. Inside were three pots: two-handled kantharos, two cups. By mouth of amphora found a skyphos and cooking pot.

Child.

LG (?)

NE of citadel - Grave 41

Friekenhaus, A. et al., Iiryms I (1912), 134.

Coldstream, GCP (1968), 125.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 85.

Pit. Body on back with hands on chest and legs contracted (?). Also oinokhoe and kantharos.

LGI

NE of citadel - Grave 26

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Tiryns I (1912), 131-132.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 177.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 131, 139.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 141.

Pithos. Egg-shaped. No bones but fourteen pots: trefoil oinokhoe, amphoriskos, skyphos, nine cups, handmade lekythos.

Child.

LGII

NE of citadel - Grave 38

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Tiryns I (1912), 133.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 177.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 131.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 85.

Amphora. Inside found bones and seven pots.

Child.

LGII

NE of citadel - Grave 39

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Tiryns I (1912), 134.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 131.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 85.

Amphora. Mouth closed by pithos fragment. Inside found bones of child and one handmade and one wheelmade oinokhoe and two cups.

LGII

NW of citadel

Kunze, E., ÜJh XXXIX (1952), 55 n. 11.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 140.

Amphora. Wheelmade (?). Neck cut off to put in body.

Child.

MG

Phylaki - Grave XVI

Verdelis, N.M., AM LXXVIII (1963), 32-34.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 120.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76.

Cist. Oriented NE-SW. Dimensions 1.32 by 0.57 m. Skeleton with head to SW, on left side, legs contracted. Also four bronze pins, amphoriskos, handmade amphora, two skyphoi.

MGII

#### Phylaki - Grave IX

Verdelis, N.M., AM LXXVIII (1963), 53.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 143.

Pithos. Oriented E-W. Mouth at W. Lying over gr. X dated to second half of ninth century or beginning of eighth century. Much destroyed.

Bones but no offerings.

Eighth century

#### Phylaki - Grave IV

Verdelis, N.M., AM LXXVIII (1963), 50-51.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 141.

Pithos. Oriented SW-NE. Dimensions 1.37 by 0.85 m. Mouth at SW, closed by krater and stone slab. Inside two bodies in disorder. Offerings at bottom include bronze object and five pots.

LG

#### Phylaki - Grave XI

Verdelis, N.M., AM LXXVIII (1963), 53.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 141.

Pithos. Oriented NE-SW. Mouth at NE, closed by stone slab. Partly destroyed. Inside found skull and some bones. Also two bronze rings and handmade trefoil oinokhoe.

LG

#### Phylaki - Grave I

Verdelis, N.M. AM LXXVIII (1963), 25.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76f., 105.

Pit, some stones around it. Oriented W-E. Body of woman, head to E,

lying on right side, legs contracted. Also a bronze ring and two bronze pins.

LGI

Phylaki - Grave III/2

Verdelis, N.M. AM LXXVIII (1963), 48-50.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 125.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 141.

Pithos. Oriented E-W with mouth at W. Inside found two pots of EG, and four of LGI. Grave apparently used twice.

LGI

Phylaki - Grave XXV/2

Verdelis, N.M., AM LXXVIII (1963), 42-46.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 135.

Cist. Oriented NE-SW. Dimensions 1.10 by 0.45-0.60 m. Inside were two skeletons, one with head at NE end and other with head at SW. Legs contracted. Earlier body displaced. First used in PG or EG. To second use belong five pots and two bronze pins, all found outside grave.

LGI

Phylaki - Grave II

Verdelis, N.M., AM LXXVIII (1963), 47-48.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 177.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 131.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 141.

Pithos. Oriented WSW-ENE. Dimensions 0.75 by 0.55 m. Mouth at WSW, closed by stone slab. Body contracted. Also two bronze rings, iron pin, two handmade trefoil oinokhoai, two cups.

LGII

Phylaki - Grave VIII

Verdelis, N.M., AM LXXVIII (1963), 50-52.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 141.

Pithos. Oriented NW-SE. Mouth at NW, closed by stone slab. In upper part of pot found two skulls and a pelvis of male and in lower part

bones belonging to one of skulls. No offerings but outside found pots belonging to second burial including krater, oinokhoe and flask.

LGII

Phylaki - Grave XXII

Verdelis, N.M., AM LXXVIII (1963), 40-41.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 177.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 85.

Cist. Oriented NE-SW. Some bones inside plus two bronze pins and two other pieces, handmade pot and skyphos.

LGIIb

Phylaki - Grave XXIII/3

Verdelis, N.M., AM LXXVIII (1963), 35-40, 42.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 131, 135f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 135.

Cist. Oriented NE-SW. Found one skeleton on right side, legs contracted and head to SW. Inside also found nine bronze rings, piece of iron weapon, three iron spearheads, iron pin, bronze pin and bead. On cover slab were sixteen pots. First use was woman in SM period, second was EG warrior, and third was person whose skeleton found and whose pots lay on cover slabs.

LGII

SW of citadel - Grave 21

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Tiryns I (1912), 130.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76, 139.

Pithos. Dimensions 1.15 by 1 m. wide. Inside found amphoriskos, fragmentary cup, oinokhoe.

MGII

SW of citadel - Grave 24

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Tiryns I (1912), 131.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 177.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 120.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76f.

Pithos. Mouth closed by slab. Inside were bones, cup and skyphos.  
Outside found sherds of handmade pot.

MGII

SW of citadel - Grave 22

Frickenhaus, A. et al., Iiryms I (1912), 131.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 177.

Coldstream, GCP (1968), 132.

Hägg, Gräber (1968), 76.

Two large kraters one inside the other. Bones and two boar teeth but no offerings.

Subgeometric

Tsekrekos plot - Grave M31,50

Jantzen, U. et al., AA (1969), 11.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 76.

Müller, K. et al., Iiryms VIII (1975), 137, 153.

Three pots found but no grave as such though pots assumed to be grave group. Pots are krater, amphoriskos and handmade hydria.

LG

Mykenai

E of Tomb of Klytemnestra

Evangelides, D., AE (1912), 127f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 66, 69.

Very suspect cremation burial in bronze bowl. According to Hägg, bowl in fact is part of goods of cist grave listed below.

LG

E of Tomb of Klytemnestra

Evangelides, D., AE (1912), 128f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 66, 69.

Amphora. Bones and a few small pots inside.



Child.

LG

E of Tomb of Klytemnestra

Evangelides, D., AE (1912), 127-141.

Papademetriou, I., Prakt. (1954), 268.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 66, 69.

Cist. Dimensions 1.46 by 0.54-0.58 m. Inside, two bodies, one to E and other to W, both contracted. Outside found kyathos and bronze bowl and approximately ten bronze pins and two of iron.

LGI

House of Sphinxes - G605

Desborough, V.R.d'A., BSA LI (1956), 128.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 66, 70.

Small child placed on rock. Also two bronze pins on chest and cup beside body.

LG

Kalkani Cemetery

Wace, A.J.B., Archaeologica LXXXII (1932), 115, 117f.

Krater. Put in dromos of Chamber Tomb 533. Closed by stone slab.

Inside bones of child and three small pots including a spouted cup and two kalathoi. Also string of glass beads, one bronze pin and two iron pins.

Subgeometric

Kalkani Cemetery

Wace, A.J.B., Archaeologica LXXXII (1932), 115.

Pit. Located near krater burial above, in dromos of Chamber Tomb 533.

No offerings.

Seventh century (?)

North part of akropolis

Tsountas, C., Prakt. (1893), 8.

Frickenhau, A. et al., Iirvns I (1912), 134, 136, 159.

Desborough, V.R.d'A., BSA XLIX (1954), 265.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 120.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 66.

Grave of unknown type. Includes three amphorae, trefoil oinokhoe.

MGII

Prehistoric nekropolis - GI

Desborough, V.R.d'A., BSA XLIX (1954), 265.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 66, 69.

Pithos, handmade, coarse. Mouth closed by large stone. Inside handmade trefoil oinokhoe but no bones.

LG

Prehistoric nekropolis - GII

Desborough, V.R.d'A., BSA XLIX (1954), 260f.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 177.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 125.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 66, 69.

Cist. Oriented NW-SE. Dimensions 1.80 by 0.82 m. On cover fourteen pots. Inside were the bones of an adult and five pots. Also found were an iron dagger, two iron pins, a bronze pin and a ring of iron-bronze. Pots on cover seem earlier than those inside and so belong to first use of grave while the finds within the grave belong to the second use.

GII/1 and GII/2 = LGI

Nauplia

Pronoia Triantaphyllos - Grave XXI

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1954), 234f.

Orlandos, A.K., Ergon (1954), 34.

Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 236-239.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 166, 173, 177.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 118, 125.

Cist. Dimensions 1.10 by 0.70 m. On cover slabs were a few pots including a cup, two oinokhoai and pins. Inside was a body, contracted, with head at the SE. Four pots were also found as well as a bronze ring, iron dagger and blade. Various other fragmentary pots also found in grave. Grave therefore used twice. The pots on the cover are from the first use, dated to the MG and those inside are from the second use, LGI.

XXI/1 = MGI

XXI/2 = LGI

#### Pronoia Triantaphyllos

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1953), 193f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 72, 74f., 105.

Pit graves, twelve in number. All without offerings. Stratigraphy allows some to be given a Geometric date and some no doubt are LG but impossible to say how many. All adult burials. Oldest is PG and youngest is Hellenistic.

G

#### Pronoia - Grave XI

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1954), 233.

Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 236f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 72, 141.

Pithos. Mouth to W, closed by bowl and three stones. Inside were bones of child and a small cup as well as a bronze ring.

Eighth century

#### Pronoia

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1953), 194.

Tripod amphora, decorated in typical late eighth century manner. Inside was skull of child. Amphora had traces of burning.

LG

#### Pronoia

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1953), 194.

Funerary pyre. Covered with stones and pebbles. Pyre was in circular pit with LG sherds at the bottom. Also shells, bones and iron fragments found as well as cup, skyphos and amphora.

LG

#### Pronoia - Grave I

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1953), 191f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 72, 74, 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Mouth and head of dead at W.

Mouth of pithos closed by stone slab.

Seventh century

#### Pronoia - Grave III

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1953), 193.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 72, 74, 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Mouth of pithos and head of dead at W. Two bodies inside, older one in disorder with head at bottom of pithos. Also a few sherds and remains of iron pin found. Mouth closed by stone slab.

Seventh century

#### Pronoia - Grave IV

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1953), 191f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 72, 74, 143.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Oriented E-W. Mouth of pithos and head of dead at W. Mouth of pithos closed by stone slab.

Seventh century

#### Pronoia - Grave XII

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1954), 233.

Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 236f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 72, 141.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Mouth at W. Inside bones of man but no offerings.

Pithos closed by vase.

Seventh century

Pronoia - Grave XIII

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1954), 234.

Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 236f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 72, 141.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Mouth to W, closed by stone slab. Parallel plastic ropes on rim. Bones partly destroyed. No offerings.

Seventh century

Pronoia - Grave XVII

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1954), 233.

Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 236f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 72, 141.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Mouth at W, closed by circular clay disc. Bones partly destroyed. Small handmade vase with incised lines also found.

Traces of burning.

Seventh century

Pronoia - Grave XVIII

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1954), 234.

Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 236f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 72, 141.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Much destroyed. Mouth closed by clay disc. Two bodies but greatly damaged.

LG (?)

Pronoia - Grave XX

Charitonides, S., Prakt. (1954), 232-233.

Ecole française, BCH LXXIX (1955), 236f.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 72, 141.

Courbin, P., RA (1977), 327.

Pithos. Cylindrical. Mouth to W, closed by clay disc. Bones of child

inside and small aryballos.

Beginning of seventh century (?)

Palamidi

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 74 n. 283.

Grave group but no grave as such. Amphora and Protocorinthian sherds included.

LG

Palamidi

Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 91.

Pithos. No details.

Archaic

Palamidi

Deilaki, E., ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 91.

Pit. Double burial.

Archaic (?)

Lerna

South flank of Pontinos Hill - Grave PA6-1

Caskey, J.L., Hesperia XXV (1956), 171.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 177, 221f.

De Vries, K., Hesperia XLIII (1974), 81.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 63.

Pithos. Ovoid. Has thick rim and stubby foot. Mouth closed by stone slab. Inside bones of child, almost all dissolved. Offerings include five pots, two bronze wire loops, two small rings, fibula.

LGI/LGII

South flank of Pontinos Hill

Caskey, J.L., Hesperia XXV (1956), 171f.

Courbin, IGA (1974), 123.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 63, 123.

Cists. Ten of them found, of irregular slabs. Average size of cists 1.25 by 0.55 m. In most body had legs only slightly drawn up and in some were fully extended. No offerings in any of them. Near one found a few EG sherds.

Geometric or seventh century(?)

### Asine

#### Barbouna - Grave 4

Hägg, R., OpAth. X (1971), 45f.

----, Gräber (1974), 49, 55, 119.

Cist. Inside found Attic MG oinokhoe but no local ware.

MG (?) or possibly later.

#### Gogonas - B1

Hägg, I. and R. Hägg, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 157.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 49, 56, 120.

Cist. Built into set of rough rubble walls. Grave small and includes two pots. No bones.

Child (?).

LG

#### Gogonas - Grave 1

Frödin and Persson, Asine (1938), 192-194.

Hägg, R., OpAth. VI (1965), 118-137.

----, OpAth. X (1971), 46f.

----, Gräber (1974), 49, 54, 141.

Amphora.

Child.

LG

#### Levendis - Grave B3

Hägg, Asine Fasc. 1 (1973), 34-37.

----, Gräber (1974), 49, 54-55.

Backe-Forsberg, Y. et al., Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine. Fascicle 2. Finds

from the Levendis Sector, 1970-72. Boreas 4:2 (1978), 120.

Cist. Oriented E-W. Put under floor of LG house. One child inside, head at E. Also found a cup and fragmentary metal object.

LG

Levendis - Grave B4

Hägg, Asine Fasc. 1 (1973), 81f.

----, Gräber (1974), 49, 54-55.

Backe-Forsberg, Y. et al., Excavations in the Barbouna Area at Asine. Fascicle 2. Finds from the Levendis Sector, 1970-72. Boreas 4:2 (1978), 120.

Cist. Oriented SE-NW. Put under floor of LG house. Inside was one newborn infant with head at NW. Animal bone found as well.

LG

Lower town - Grave PG44

Frödin and Persson, Asine (1938), 139.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 122.

Cist. Oriented NE-SW. Originally thought to be PG in date but finds suggest later date. Among them is bronze ring with decoration indicating MG or LG date. Bronze pin also found and is of same type as one found in LG grave at Tiryns. Body on its back with head at SW.

MG-LG

Prosymna

West Yerogalaro

Blegen, C.W., AE (1937), 378, 380, 384-388.

----, Prosymna (1937), 111f., 116.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 61.

Grave of unknown type. Put into collapsed roof of chamber tomb XXXIV. Two skulls found as well as two unpainted hydriai, cup, small hydria, skyphos, oinokhoe, bronze disc and animal bones.

LG



## Dhendra

### NW of Mykenaian nekropolis

Hägg, R., OpAth. IV (1962), 80-82, 87-102.

Coldstream, GGP (1968), 125.

Hägg, Gräber (1974), 61-62.

Grave group consisting of nine pots. Pots form a closed deposit but cannot tell if all come from only one grave or more.

LGI

## Troizen

### Grave

Kallipolitis, G. and G. Petrakos, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 52.

Grave among group of one cist, three sarcophagi and one pithos.

Graves destroyed by bulldozer. In one found LG fragment. No details about grave from which it comes.

LG

### Grave

Lolling, A., ADelt. (1889), 107f.

Wide, S., JDAI XIV (1899), 86.

Welter, G., Troizen und Kalaureia (1941), 39.

Courbin, CGA (1966), 275.

Cist, of broken stones. Dimensions 2.70 by 0.85 m. Inside found body with its head at W. At feet were two large amphorae and at head a gold diadem.

LG (?)

## Porto Kheli

### Grave 154

Dengate, C., ADelt, XXXI A (1976), 314.

"SOS" amphora of late seventh century Attic ware. Cremation burial  
inside. Bronze ring also found.

Seventh century

CHAPTER 4

POTTERY

#### 4.1 Pottery of the eighth century

##### Introduction

The pottery of the eighth and seventh centuries in the Argolid provides in many ways a study in contrasts, contrasts between the abundance of material of the eighth century and the relative paucity of seventh-century material, and contrasts between each of the sites themselves in the material they possess in each period.

In discussing the eighth-century material I shall draw heavily on two very important and useful works, Coldstream's Greek Geometric Pottery and Courbin's La céramique géométrique de l'Argolide. Both works provide a general account of the Geometric pottery of the Argolid as a whole. In his thorough and exhaustive account Courbin devotes a couple of pages to noting the variations in clay colour found at various sites<sup>183</sup> and Coldstream discusses the Atticizing workshop of Asine<sup>184</sup> as an example of regional variation. Neither work of course deals with the seventh-century material to any extent although Coldstream does discuss the Subgeometric kraters of Fusco type.<sup>185</sup>

This chapter is thus an attempt to extend their work with regard to regional diversity, or conversely, regional similarity, in both the eighth and seventh centuries. The seventh century is especially important, in part because it provides such a sharp distinction simply in terms of amount of material in contrast with the Geometric material, and also because its examination can lead to a better understanding of the general situation facing the Argolid at that period.

## Argos

Argos by its very size was the dominant centre throughout the Geometric period and it is the most abundant source of Geometric pottery in the Argolid. The pottery was found in various contexts, graves, habitation layers, votive deposits and wells, thus quite a good cross-section of types can be seen. The eighth century represents the culmination of the Geometric style and in Argos perhaps its best examples can be noted. The sheer volume alone of material in comparison with other sites makes the importance and size of Argos obvious. Its population must have far exceeded that of any other Argolic site and the examination of the pottery helps in many ways to confirm notions put forth in preceding chapters concerning settlement size and the position of Argos with relation to its neighbours.

In Argos, and indeed the other Argolic sites as well, there is no real distinction between the types of pots found in graves and those found as part of habitation remains for the Argives did not have special funerary pots. It is interesting to note that the vase generally considered as representing the apex of Argive Geometric is itself a burial receptacle, the giant pyxis C209 (Plate 2.a), forming Bakaloiannis plot grave T23 and dated LGI. The pot used to close it, krater C210 is also a work of considerable merit. It dates to the LGIIb and this is the date given to the grave. T43 was composed of a large stirrup-handled krater dated LGIIc, and it too is impressive for its decoration. These are rather exceptional cases however, for usually burial pots were undecorated pithoi, nevertheless their use demonstrates the need for caution when categorizing pot burials as "poor" graves in comparison with the "rich" cists. The very fact that such fine pots were used to inhumate the dead, even if devoid of gifts, denotes a degree of wealth usually assumed to have been the preserve

of cist users.

The shapes of the vases of Geometric Argos have been discussed at length by Courbin<sup>186</sup> and so here it need only be reiterated that the shapes progress in form throughout the period. Numerous examples of the various types can be seen in the plates of Courbin's CGA.

The clay seems to vary quite a bit from vase to vase when examined in detail, yet in general it appears fairly consistent, being of a light buff colour, the so-called oatmeal or cornflour colour. The core is often darker, varying from a darker buff to orange or red. On the surface greenish or pinkish tinges can sometimes be observed, and upon closer examination the surface betrays varying shades of buff, yet this can be carried to extremes for it is also possible to see varying clay colours on a single vase. A general and broad approach is thus safer and perhaps more true, and so at Argos the fairly light buff clay predominates.

In the eighth century most of the linear motifs favoured are those continuing from earlier phases of the period although new motifs appear in both the MGII and LGI phases. In the MGII some of these new motifs include vertical chevrons, dotted lozenge chains, dotted tangential circles, loose single zigzags and quatrefoil metopes. Figured decoration also appears at this time, the earliest being a series of birds on a skyphos of the beginning of the MGII.<sup>187</sup> Although closed vases were by now decorated with panels on the neck and shoulder with bands covering the rest of the body, open shapes such as skyphoi and kantharoi retained the fashion of having decoration only at the handle level while the lower part of the body usually remained black glazed, as for example the cup, Plate 2.b.

Two of the most important innovations of the eighth century were the use of the compass and the multiple brush. In some

ways the use of the multiple brush contributed to the general decline in standards of decoration in the LGII phase, as will be seen. The use of the multiple brush is evident in the cup, Plate 2.b.

It is in the LGI phase that Argos reaches a peak. Some of the new motifs to appear at this time are the step meander, that peculiarly Argolic design, dotted leaf lozenges set in a row and groups of bars with oblique crosses set between them. Another innovation is the snake-like wavy line with stars in the field, as for example the oinokhoe, Plate 3.a. At this period the craftsmanship is careful and the pots are generally well fired and the painting well executed. Figured drawing now takes a prominent role and horses and birds are the most common representations. Birds are quite individualistic and several species can be observed. Among them are marshbirds and several short-legged types, as for example those illustrated in Plate 3.b. The bodies are often hatched or cross-hatched and the birds are usually in groups of three. In Plate 4.a are a few other birds of the LG repertoire, represented singly or in pairs facing each other. Great variety exists in the type of birds shown, some with long legs, others with long, graceful necks, almost like swans. Already in this period, however, increased production demands begin to have an effect on the figured scenes, especially birds. The naturalism evident in the early LG examples is already beginning to give way to more stylized versions of birds and this is due mainly to the desire for speed of execution on the part of the painter.

Horses shown either in pairs or with a horse-tamer become very common in the LG, especially the LGII, as Plate 4.b for example. They follow a conventionalized type with very stiff forelegs which protrude forward, and usually a long thin body. The tail is interesting; in most cases it appears to be bushy.<sup>188</sup> The fragments of Plate 4.b show typical Argive horses with their elongated bodies

and very thin legs. Some of the common filling ornament can also be seen, such as a fish under the belly of the horse on fragment Nauplia 7416, or birds over the horse's back, as in the lower right fragment. In the LGII period, dated c. 730-690, a few new motifs make their appearance, most of them associated with horses. Some of these include mangers under the horses' bellies, wheels under their necks, and pendent triangles above the head of the horse-tamers. Figured scenes are perhaps even more important in this period for now individual workshops can be noted.<sup>189</sup>

It is also in this period that a certain decline sets in. Birds, before only seen in groups of two or three, are now usually depicted in files, degenerating from a fairly natural version, Plate 5.a top right, to stiff one-legged soldier birds or very stylized and careless creatures, as on C3806 (Plate 5.a) of the LGIIc. In many cases the painter uses the multiple brush to make his work easier and quicker, and this also increases the degeneration of birds into stylized figures. In contrast with these degenerate birds, however, are some of the horses which begin to look more naturalistic towards the end of the century.

Humans are depicted, though their presence is not so common as animals. Men usually stand by a horse holding its reins but in a few cases men are in different settings. On Plate 5.b for example there is a man with a spear or sword, on the fragment Nauplia 6988, and another one on the sherd Nauplia 7276 with what seems to be a bow and arrow. The man in the top left is unusual because of his reserved head and dotted eye, a fact which foreshadows the seventh century. At the very end of the century in the LGII files of women appear usually holding branches but occasionally in positions reminding one of the Attic prothesis scenes. Typically the women wear skirts with long tassles, a characteristic of the Argolic dress.



In general the iconography of Argive Late Geometric is fairly simple. The figured decoration in general consists of men and horses or horses alone, fish and birds, and sometimes files of dancing women. It is thus a fairly limited repertoire and one that appears quite suddenly in the LGI but with precedents in the MGII. What those various figured representations signify is a question which deserves some comment. Various people have studied the Geometric figured scenes on pottery of different areas of Greece and they have attempted to explain them. Schweitzer,<sup>190</sup> Hampe,<sup>191</sup> and Kahane<sup>192</sup> as well as others, have all studied this question and attempted different interpretations. For the Argolid it is perhaps the man and horse, or the man between two horses, that is most significant. The man between two horses is especially characteristic of the Argolid. In an article published in 1975, P. Kahane says that the man and horse motif is closely connected with a similar motif seen on votive bronze tripod cauldrons at Olympia, the Argive Heraion and other sanctuaries.<sup>193</sup> According to him these pottery representations have their origins at Olympia, on those big tripod cauldrons with bronze figures of men and horses on the handles. In other words, the foundation of the games at Olympia in 776 provided the basis for figured drawing on pottery. Originally the representations of man and horse might have been symbolic of the contest won or they might have honoured the victor. On the other hand the influence of the Iliad cannot be disregarded. As K. Shefold points out, these scenes might be elevating regular funerary customs to heroic heights.<sup>194</sup> Can one therefore interpret the Argolic figured scenes in these ways? The arguments presented by Kahane are interesting and the connection with Olympia seems well founded. The evidence of the Iliad is also quite significant. The Argolic plain was noted for its horses; one need not look much further than this for an explanation of the popularity of such scenes on Argive LG pottery.

P. Courbin in fact sees nothing more in these pictures than representations of Argives themselves, Argives who were known as horse-tamers in the whole of Greece.<sup>195</sup> It was a feature of Argive life and so was a normal subject for representation. There is no need to see anything more in such figured scenes than aspects of Argive life. Most of the upper class people in Argos must have been closely involved with horse-breeding; the iconography of LG Argive pottery suggests that this was the major occupation of the Argives.

The files of women which appear at the end of the Geometric period have also led to speculation about their meaning. Some have tried to find their prototypes in Cyprus, Phoenicia or Iran.<sup>196</sup> Perhaps this is going too far, however, and there is no need to look further than the Argolid itself. The dances are undoubtedly representations of actual dances, such as one might even see today in villages in Greece, on feast-days or other occasions for celebration. The palm branches may have cult associations in rites connected with the fertility of the earth. They may also be connected with the cult of Hera Antheia, or "Flowery Hera", whose temple Pausanias (II.XXII.I) saw in Argos.<sup>197</sup>

The increased demand of the LGII seems partly to blame for the general decline in standards. Perhaps it is simply a matter of inevitability that decorative motifs repeated over and over again almost to the point of saturation must in the end lead to carelessness on the part of the painter. The work became more mechanical and time-saving devices such as the multiple brush were now used more extensively than ever. Obviously the painter's main concern was quick completion of his work in order to meet the demand, such that at the end of the period a degeneration of motifs and a sloppiness and carelessness of execution become common. Whereas for instance fish had been well defined and were complex in detail, now they took on a more and more

stylized aspect until they became nothing but a leaf-like design. Birds also suffered considerably, losing a leg on their way to becoming nothing but wavy lines.

A style foreshadowing the seventh century came into being in the late part of the period as vases, usually amphorae, were left reserved with only a few widely-spaced bands as decoration. This emphasis on reserved ground is something seen most often in the Archaic period.

Since both Coldstream and Courbin have listed various painters and workshops, it need only be emphasized here that the painters or workshops were not necessarily confined to Argos. In several cases, vases of one workshop are found at several sites in the central plain, a fact which raises the question of where the painters were based, whether in Argos or elsewhere. The similarity of the pots in both clay and decoration is such that they cannot be readily assigned to one site. There is no reason to suppose that pots found at different sites, but by the same hand, should all have been made in Argos, although Argos is the logical choice when seeking a home for most of these workshops simply because of its population and size in comparison with other sites.

Since vases by the same painter are found at different sites, it is obvious that pots of great similarity can occur from site to site. The painter must have worked in only one place; it is highly unlikely that he travelled around. This point must be borne in mind when trying to determine the possibility of each site producing its own pottery. If pots looking almost exactly alike are found at different sites yet are made by one person working at one site, then it is logically possible for most of the pots from different sites to have been made in only one place. Argos is the natural choice as this centre, yet it seems quite certain from the evidence discussed below

that independent workshops existed outside Argos, as for example at Asine. In most cases it is therefore unsafe to try and place the workshops in any one site. Perhaps an exception should be the Verdellis painter, whose works seem confined to Tiryns.

In summary, the attempt to find local workshops at the major central plain sites is not an easy one, except in a couple of fairly obvious cases. Common sense dictates the possibility of individual workshops at any settlement of fair size, yet upon first seeing the Geometric pottery of the central plain sites the impression is of such similar wares that one is tempted to postulate only one centre of production for all the sites. The name "Argive" used when speaking about pottery of the Argolid has reinforced this notion and by virtue of the word itself, Argos has always been assumed to have been the main source of pottery for the Argolid. This is a reasonable assumption but upon a closer examination of the pottery, certain local peculiarities in clay, decoration or both, are in evidence. It is to these sites that the attention must now be turned.

### Asine

Asine presents an interesting picture because it is the one central plain site the pottery of which exhibits a very different character from the others, although much of the pottery from the site does fall within the mainstream of Argolic Geometric ware. There are thus two branches at Asine, one following the normal trends and one quite individualistic and divergent. The clay itself contains a few surprises. Whereas Argos' pottery presents a clay usually of a light buff colour, that at Asine is often quite dark, often a pinkish or reddish colour. On the other hand it can sometimes be quite dull and pale in colour or even greyish or greenish. A very pale buff or

yellowish clay is also in evidence. The core is often much more coloured than the surface and is often orange or reddish. In general the material is very chalky and not well fired, though of course this does not apply to every sherd. The type of clay found most often at Argos is very rarely seen at Asine. Judging simply from the basis of such clay types it would seem that much of the pottery was locally made and as shall be seen, the motifs and decoration generally reinforce this impression.

Most of the common shapes are found at Asine but there are a few peculiarities. One is the amphora with a very long, almost rectilinear body, and the hydria, an extremely rare shape in the Argolid. More interesting is the fact that so far the site does not seem to have yielded a single example of the vertical-handled kantharos, a shape found extremely frequently elsewhere in the Argolid in the Geometric period.<sup>198</sup> The most common shapes at the site are cups and skyphoi, oinokhoai and amphorae. Asine is the only Argolic site to have produced the ladle, though there exists only one example of it. A type of amphora which appears relatively common at Asine is one with handles attached at the neck and with an entirely black-glazed body and with decoration only at the neck, as seen for example in Plate 6.a. They are also found at other sites at this period however. These seem quite late in the Geometric series, coming near the end of the eighth century, and they show parallels with examples from Attica.<sup>199</sup>

One of the distinctive traits at Asine is the appearance of a wash on many of the vases. It is always the same: a very light, pale colour, sometimes varying towards pinkish in tone but in general almost white. The wash is usually dull and where the clay is coloured, its presence can be easily distinguished. At other Argolic sites a wash or slip is rarely discernible.

Turning to the decoration several aspects of it are

peculiar to the site. Most of the Geometric pottery of Asine is of LG date; one is very hard pressed to find examples of the EG or MG phases. Sherds of those two periods seem to be extremely rare. In decoration therefore most of the motifs are those popular in the second half of the eighth century. Very common and popular especially at Asine are double-outlined motifs such as triangles, leaf lozenges and tongues (Plate 6.b). Usually the triangles or tongues within the outline are hatched or cross-hatched. The ladder with oblique bars is also a common motif, (Plate 6.b, top). Also popular are leaf lozenges with bars going from their ends to the framing band above and below. On necks of closed pots one often sees a window panel consisting of three or four vertical wavy lines and on oinokhoai there is sometimes a very distinctive feature: two or three groups of lateral concentric circles (Plate 7.a).<sup>200</sup>

What is distinctive about the Asine material is not only the motifs themselves but the scheme of decoration and the composition. In many cases the composition is unusual and rather foreign to the typical Argive schemes. Cups and skyphoi for instance, are often decorated with cross-hatched double-outline tongues alternating with vertical bars at the handle level, as seen for example in Plate 6.b. Such a decorative scheme is found over and over again on such vases but it is also placed on necks of closed shapes. This scheme is relatively rare at other sites.

Many of the cups are entirely glazed on the outside, with perhaps reserved bands at the rim; also quite common are cups with the handle zone having groups of verticals alternating with solid tongues or rectangles. These are also found at Tiryns. The clay on most of the Asine examples is fairly pale, tan or slightly brownish in tone. Most of the cups and skyphoi are noted for their high rim.

As elsewhere files of dotted leaf lozenges done with

the multiple brush have a regular place on vases; they can also be placed in a net. Hatched meanders, step meanders and zigzags, some of the typical Argolic features of other sites, are also common at Asine.

Circular motifs, either consisting of various types of wheel designs or the more common concentric circles done with a compass, seem more popular here than elsewhere. A very rare combination, yet one seen here a number of times, is that of concentric circles with grid squares in the field. This decoration is confined almost exclusively to the workshop of the "Painter of the Sparring Horses,"<sup>201</sup> where the circles are drawn in groups of six. Various types of wheel motifs seem popular on necks of large amphorae. Such schemes are also found on pots from Argos though perhaps with less frequency than at Asine. One such vase is an amphora neck with a large wheel containing a cross within it. In each corner outside the wheel are stars.

Figured scenes on the whole are rather infrequent. Birds seem to have precedence and are found in files or groups of two or three, with cross-hatched bodies, or completely in silhouette. As elsewhere at the end of the period they tend to degenerate into rough stylized versions. As at Argos, birds often have double-outlined backs but peculiar to this site are birds with two or three long parallel trailers extending from their back (Plate 7.b). The only other examples of such a decoration I have seen come from Tiryns, for example on a small skyphos. Furthermore birds are often featured on necks of amphorae or oinokhoai, again a trait not regularly seen elsewhere. There are a few cases of rather unusual combinations, as for example on a large amphora on the neck of which a large bird with a zigzag across its body is placed beside a wheel (Nauplia 74:10). In the corner above the bird is an asterisk enclosed in a square panel and in the field are concentric circles.

The hydria, Plate 8.a, is a very interesting vase, not

only because of the rarity of the shape in the Argolid but also because of its decoration. Its clay is a light buff colour while its decoration contains some typical Asine motifs, such as double-outline hatched leaf lozenges and cross-hatched triangles. The birds in the main panel are unusual however. The closest parallels, especially for the reserved head and dotted eye, seem to be the Cyclades. The long, hatched body is also reminiscent of that area of Greece.<sup>202</sup>

Another unusual vase is a krater fragment in which the birds have a very high back and this makes them appear to be bent over. The main panel containing a quatrefoil is unusual in that it is the field around it that is cross-hatched, as opposed to the more typical method of cross-hatching the quatrefoil itself. This is a feature found often in Lakonian Geometric pottery,<sup>203</sup> but it is also seen at Argos.<sup>204</sup> On the whole figured decoration is relatively rare in comparison with Argos or other sites. Horses are seen but their presence remains uncommon. Those found are typical of Argolic horses with their protruding chest and forward-thrusting legs. Representations of humans are even more difficult to find and so far I have not seen any depictions of either men or women. This is somewhat strange when considering the popularity of horse-taming scenes on Argive ware. This may be yet another indication of local variation in tastes.

Much of the pottery seems to present clear Attic influence. Vases with lateral concentric circles, such as Plate 7.a for example, are works influenced by the Concentric Circle Group of Attica.<sup>205</sup> The connections with the group are clear yet the pottery is locally produced, as the clay demonstrates. Other motifs already mentioned, including the cross-hatched tongues in double outline and the ladder column, also received their influence from Athens. It is in the LG period, in particular the LGII, that strong Attic connections can be seen in both shape, such as stemmed kraters,



spouted kraters and oinokhoai, and decoration. Besides simply imitating Attic wares some actual Attic vases were imported. One such import is a high-handled kantharos, decorated with cross-hatched tongues in double outline. There is also a possible Boeotian import, an oinokhoe with concentric circles, but its decoration recalls Attic of the Concentric Circle Group,<sup>206</sup> although it may in fact have been locally made at Asine. Asine seems to have been fairly widely open to outside influences since it may also have received imports from the Cyclades, including one or two skyphoi, including one from Rhodes. The Rhodian import is of the Bird-Kotyle Workshop.<sup>207</sup> Coldstream however feels that the skyphoi thought to be Cycladic are in fact local products.<sup>208</sup> The only school to have an important place among those exporting to the Argolid was Corinth. Protocorinthian vases are found at Asine as at other Argolic sites in the late eighth century, but this is to be expected since Corinth exported far and wide.

Although other Argolic sites in the LG period were quite independent of foreign influences and developed a style that was very characteristic of the Argolid, Asine's marked Attic tendencies are striking. Even in the cases where the pottery falls within the mainstream of Argolic Geometric, its dark clay often pinkish or reddish sets it apart. There can be no doubt that the site had its own workshop. Perhaps some of the vases exhibiting strong Attic tendencies were made by Attic craftsmen residing at Asine.

It must be remembered too that historically, the Asinaeans were different from the people in the central plain, being Dryopians and not Dorians.<sup>209</sup> This may be one reason for their independent nature as they resisted conforming to the traditions of the Dorians at Argos. No doubt its ties with Athens and elsewhere were more than purely commercial.

With the very end of the Geometric period comes the

end of the pottery at the settlement of Asine and nothing is found until the Hellenistic period with the exception of the sanctuary material. This corroborates well historical sources referring to the destruction of the settlement at that time at the hands of the Argives.<sup>210</sup> Reasons for this can be seen in different lights, either as retaliation for the help Asine had given the Spartans when they invaded the Argolid, as the sources tell us, or as a means of curbing any independence movement in the plain, or again as a way of eradicating Attic influence in that area and ensuring complete subordination of sites in the plain. Argos and Athens may in fact have been at war with each other c. 750 or a little later.<sup>211</sup> Perhaps the destruction of Asine was part of this cycle.

### Tiryns

At Tiryns the fairly large number of Geometric graves presupposes a settlement of some size. The pottery from the site, though not so plentiful as at Argos, shows some very interesting features as well as the traditional aspects. It is in a sense a blending or mixing of styles, perhaps due in part to Tiryns' very geographical location, placed as it is near the coast halfway between Argos and Nauplia and facing the Gulf.

As at other sites the clay varies quite a bit from pot to pot if examined closely but on the whole it is very often quite similar to that seen at Argos. On the other hand it can be quite coloured and dark or conversely very pale and dull. It is usually quite well fired and the chalk-like nature of Asine's clay is not so common here. Some of the Tiryns material is, however, very greenish due to overfiring. Such green sherds do nevertheless seem more prevalent here than elsewhere in the Argolid.

The pottery comes from graves, habitation deposits as well as a votive deposit so quite a good cross-section of shapes is obtained. As usual the graves contain skyphoi, cups and amphorae as well as kantharoi. Some of the material comes from the bothros, dating from the mid eighth to the mid seventh century. The shapes from that deposit include cups, kraters, amphorae, pyxides, skyphoi and kantharoi.

Unusual shapes are also represented, of which one is the tankard (Nauplia 10122 for example), a form which is very rare in the Argolid. Only Argos has yielded vases of similar type. The same is true for a low bowl shape. Tiryns is the only representative of the handmade kantharos and cup, although the site does lack certain shapes found elsewhere; these are of the handmade variety and include the amphora with shoulder handles or with horizontal handles, both shapes found at Argos.

The decoration is quite varied while exhibiting many of the typical features of Argive ware of the same period. There is much figured drawing and on the whole the decoration is much finer than at Asine and in many respects resembles very much that at Argos. As at other sites of the period, hatched meanders and step meanders, zigzags and lozenges, are all very popular. A few motifs find special favour at Tiryns, including lozenges with bars going from their ends to the framing band above and below, hatched leaf lozenges which are also very common, lozenges in double outline and lozenges with a stroke through them. Others include cross-hatched triangles in double outline, the double-outline cross and various circular motifs. One should also take note of a feature recalling Corinth, zigzags with bars going from their apices to the frame. Hatched quatrefoils and octofoils in various shapes and sizes seem quite popular as well.

Certain motifs are more popular here than elsewhere, such as cups and skyphoi decorated with groups of vertical bars

alternating with solid rectangles (Plate 8.b). This cup represents quite a distinctive class of cups, mainly seen here and Asine. A motif recalling Athens is the ladder column, though admittedly it is quite rare at Tiryns. Very common in the bothros are skyphoi with decoration consisting of a zigzag and bars at the rim and at the handle level metopes with groups of vertical zigzags or hatched meander or meander hooks. As at Argos one fairly frequently sees cups with reserved ground and decoration consisting of small square glazed areas or circular motifs widely spaced, (Plate 9.a).

Figured scenes play a very prominent role at the site in the LG period. Horses, men and birds appear on kantharoi, kraters, skyphoi, and other types of pottery. Birds are often quite distinctive in appearance and often have cross-hatched bodies. A feature recalling Asine are birds with long trailers above their backs, as for example Plate 9.b in which is a cup, the composition of which resembles Argive LG examples with birds and wheels. Bird files are of course always in evidence in the LGII and several varieties exist. As usual the birds tend to degenerate towards the end of the period.

Horses are also very characteristic of Tiryns' LG pottery, either alone, in pairs, or with men. Those of Plate 10.a are representative of their species but the horse of fragment Nauplia 1971 does not have the usual protruding shoulder and its legs are straight instead of projecting forward as is more common.<sup>212</sup> The horse of the sherd at the top right of Plate 10.a has very angular, stiff features, long ears and strange elbows. The filling ornament is indicative of a late date. The horse at the bottom right, (Nauplia 9168) may be related to the Fence Workshop in which the horses have muzzles resting on the triple framing bars; the swastikas with acute angle arms used as filling ornament are also reminiscent of that workshop. Finally the horse at the bottom left, (Nauplia 17174), has an unusual tail as

it sweeps in a long curve behind it. There is such variety in the horses on the pottery of Tiryns that many different painters must be envisaged. As at Argos they suggest the importance of the horse in everyday life.

An actual example of the Fence Workshop has recently been found at Tiryns (Plate 10.b). The horse looks over the framing bars and double outline crosses fill the background. With this krater Tiryns now has at least two examples of this LGII workshop.<sup>213</sup> At the very end of the period horses begin to be depicted with reserved eyes and as usual horses are often accompanied by men as on Plate 11.a; on the two lower sherds the men appear to be wearing tall helmets and the one on the left resembles fragments from the Heraion.<sup>214</sup> The fish, meander and swastika are all common filling ornaments, found on many examples at Argos for instance. Women are also depicted, though only on a few late examples. They are usually portrayed in a file with branches, wearing the typical Argolic skirt.

Tiryns has also yielded some quite fascinating and highly-unusual figured scenes. Two of the sherds, Plate 11.b, depict men on horseback. Unfortunately the paint of these sherds has almost entirely vanished, so that it is almost as if one is looking at a shadow. There are no other examples of riders on Argolic Geometric pottery besides another fragment almost identical to the sherd at the lower left on the Plate but with a slightly more orientalizing appearance, now on display in the Nauplia museum. The riders seem to be wearing tall, pointed helmets. Another highly unusual scene is that of a man on a chariot (Plate 11.b, top). There are only two other examples of this kind that I know of, one is a sherd also from Tiryns, (Plate 12.a), and one is a fragment from the Heraion.<sup>215</sup>

Although Argolic painters painted many scenes featuring men and horses it is very rare to find actual battle scenes. There is,

however, one fragment from Tiryns depicting men fighting with bows and arrows. It is a very unusual scene both for the period and for the Argolid. One other example of men in battle comes from the Argive Heraion, a sherd with archers.<sup>216</sup> The Heraion sherd may be an Attic import, however. The fragment in Plate 12.b, depicting what appears to be men rowing a boat, is another fascinating example of the state of craftsmanship at Tiryns in the LG period. It is a scene that is unique in the Argolid. The boat in this case may be two-tiered. Finally a rather amazing scene is depicted in Plate 13, a hunting scene with what appears to be a very large beast (a boar?) with a dog attacking its back and a man in a tall helmet on the right attempting to kill the beast. Unfortunately as this is only a fragment it is difficult to know the exact nature of the scene represented.

Imports at the site are exceptional, totaling perhaps only three from Attica, a pyxis, an amphora lid and fragment of questionable origin which may be Attic.<sup>217</sup>

The picture that emerges from all of this is of a settlement that was lively, open to new ideas and willing to experiment. Its pottery shows quite remarkable originality and in this respect it is worth noting that the earliest figured scene in the Argolid comes from Tiryns, a lekythos-oinokhoe of the early MGII phase featuring grazing birds.<sup>218</sup> On the whole the eighth-century pottery is of a very high standard. That the clay very often is indistinguishable from Argive no doubt reflects a common clay bed but that does not necessarily mean that the pottery was all made at one site. It is not an easy problem, however, to decide if all the pottery from Tiryns was in fact made there. It resembles Argive so much in general motifs and decorative schemes that a common source can be postulated. For much of the pottery it is virtually impossible to distinguish one site from the other and not many motifs stand out as being peculiarly Tirynthian

besides those especially-favoured motifs pointed out earlier. Furthermore its close proximity to Argos makes it all the more likely that some of the Tirynthian pottery was obtained from there. In many cases, however, its clay is somewhat different, darker and duller than Argos and this, combined with the originality evident in many figured pieces of the LG period, leads one to suspect that Tiryns, at least by this time, was producing most of its own pottery. If one considers for example the Miniature Style of the Verdelis Painter<sup>219</sup> it is natural to assume the painter's workshop was in Tiryns itself. The settlement was of a fair size, certainly large enough to have its own craftsmen. In conclusion, it seems that while much of the pottery followed Argos so closely as to be indistinguishable from it, the fact that it produced some pieces of excellent quality, without parallel anywhere else in type of decoration, is indicative of a flourishing local industry by the LG period.

### Mykenai

Mykenai has not produced an extensive amount of Geometric pottery. Most of it comes from a few graves and the area of the Mykenaian tombs. A large source of material is the Agamemnoneion but it dates mainly to the seventh century onwards; only a few examples can be cited as Geometric and these date to the very end of the eighth century. The clay in general is very pale buff, a fairly dull colour. Fairly often the clay tends towards pinkish or even greenish. In comparison with Tiryns it is duller and paler and a bit clearer yet often it can seem very similar. Some of the buff ware has brownish tones while some pots have a rather orange appearance and in many cases the clay itself is orange. Then again it is possible to see some pieces of a pale yellowish clay but the customary colour is neutral

and dull, a pale buff.

Insofar as shapes are concerned Mykenai has produced the more common types of vases such as amphorae and trefoil-lipped oinokhoai in addition to kraters, skyphoi and other typical shapes. More unusual types are for example the monumental oinokhoai with cylindrical neck, a vase found only at Argos and Tiryns besides Mykenai.<sup>220</sup> Furthermore a shape found only at Mykenai and Tiryns is the small pyxis with flat base,<sup>221</sup> while the small pointed type occurs only here, Tiryns and Berbati.<sup>222</sup> Both of these shapes, however, are of the ninth century. Handmade vases are much rarer of course but Mykenai has yielded several types of which one is the amphora with neck handles, seen only at Argos and Tiryns in addition to Mykenai.<sup>223</sup> Only Mykenai and Argos have produced the amphora with horizontal handles<sup>224</sup> and it is the only site so far to have produced the handmade handleless amphoriskos.<sup>225</sup> Only three sites, Argos, Mykenai and Tiryns, have afforded examples of both kinds of handmade oinokhoai. The site thus shows evidence of having been a fairly prolific source of vase shapes, however the quantity remains rather small.

In decoration most of the motifs are those commonly found elsewhere in the Argolid at this period. Prevalent types comprise meanders and step meanders whether full or hatched, zigzags, concentric circles and tangential concentric circles, rows of dots, chevrons and lozenge files, usually dotted or with a stroke through them. An interesting fragment is a skyphos of the type found commonly at Asine, with cross-hatched tongues in double outline, Nauplia 13948.

Several vases come from graves of the Geometric period. These were published by Desborough in BSA XLIX and LI. The pottery presents typical Geometric features without affording any major surprises. The clay is rather dull and light brownish buff in colour, not the sort of colour seen at Argos or Tiryns. Plate 14 gives an



indication of the fine vases accompanying cist grave GII of the LGI period. Note that the bird of oinokhoe 53-339 resembles closely some from Tiryns seen earlier. The birds of 53-338 seem unusual with their long, three-ribbed tails but the rest of the decoration of these pots is all typical of the LGI period. A few of the graves also yielded a few vases of the "Argive Monochrome" ware, the fine, very light buff, handmade pottery at first thought to have been made solely in the Argolid but now believed to be as much at home in the Corinthia. It is not unusual to find both wheelmade and handmade vases in the same grave; Argos for example has yielded several graves where this is the case.<sup>226</sup>

A hero cult was in evidence at the Tomb of Klytemnestra, where quite a few Geometric sherds were found, first by Schliemann, then later by Wace who described them as dating to the "well-developed style similar to that from Tiryns and Asine."<sup>227</sup> A few of the sherds contained figured scenes with birds and horses. The sherds all seem to date from the Late Geometric period and to continue into the seventh century.

The only other major source of pottery is the Agamemnoneion with material beginning in the late eighth century and continuing throughout the Archaic period. The LG examples are fairly typical in decoration, having the usual rectilinear motifs in addition to figured scenes. Birds are seen on some fragments, and as usual they are commonly grouped in files done with the multiple brush. A couple of other fragments, though not from the Agamemnoneion, also have depictions of birds (Plate 15.a). Both birds have cross-hatched bodies and the one on the right has a high, arched back somewhat like fragments from Asine. The rim of this piece contains a diagonal cross alternating with groups of wavy lines, a feature which tends to date the sherd to the end of the century. The sherd on the left recalls

Corinth with its zigzags having their apices joined to the frames.

Besides birds the Agamemnoneion has also produced examples of a popular Argolic theme: horses, either with birds or fish (Plate 15.b). The late date of the sherds is emphasized by the practice of reserving the head as sherd A10, or the eye, as A3, as well as the stylized fish of A10. The horse of A10 is unusual as well because one of its forelegs is thrust forward; perhaps the horse is meant to be walking. At the end of the century files of women holding branches appear (Plate 16.a), but such scenes belong mostly to the beginning of the seventh century, as they do at other sites. The women here too are typical of the Argolid with the long tassles hanging from their skirts.

The pottery from this shrine on the whole is very homogeneous. Kraters and kantharoi form the major types and their clay is of a fairly warm buff colour, though somewhat dull, and all low fired, hence its extremely chalky nature. This is a feature particularly common at the Agamemnoneion; the material from the graves or surface finds does not exhibit this distinction, but rather it is better fired and resembles to a much greater extent pottery from other sites than does the Agamemnoneion material.

The Agamemnoneion represents the latest Geometric material at Mykenai. There is not much EG or MG material from the site; it comes mainly from the area of the Citadel House and from the graves. The pottery in general throughout the Geometric period indicates quite a small settlement although an increase in population can be postulated in the Late Geometric. The Agamemnoneion is evidence for a vibrant community in the LG period. The pottery from the shrine is fairly distinctive in both clay and shape leading one to conclude that it was manufactured at or near the sanctuary itself especially for use as votive material. This is not surprising when viewed in light of the

fact that it was common for sanctuaries to have their own workshop nearby.

As for the rest of the pottery from Mykenai no definitive conclusions can be stated concerning its place of origin, partly because of the limited amount of material and also because what has been found does not exhibit any characteristics setting it apart from other plain sites. For the time being therefore, the evidence for a local workshop is practically nonexistent besides the Agamemnoneion material. The rest of the pottery on the whole resembles that at Argos and elsewhere so much that even if the site did make its own pottery the fact is inconsequential since its style does not reflect any independence from Argos or the other central plain sites.

#### Nauplia

Nauplia's Geometric material comes mainly from excavations carried out in the 1950's by Charitonides, but most of it is either unpublished or inaccessible. Most of the pottery is derived from graves so the types are confined to those regularly included in graves as offerings. Skyphoi, kraters, oinokhoai and cups are all represented at the site though skyphoi remain somewhat rare, in comparison with their preeminent position at other sites. A rare shape found at Nauplia, Asine and Tiryns is the amphora with double horizontal handles, although the Nauplia example is in fact an Attic import. In common with Argos and Tiryns is the amphoriskos with vertical handles at the neck.<sup>228</sup> No handmade forms have as yet been found but this is probably only due to the chance of excavation.

Here too the material is mostly late in the Geometric period. Perhaps the most interesting vase is a large tripod amphora of the Fence Workshop (Plate 16, b).<sup>229</sup> The horses look over the framing

bars and the background is filled with the typical double outline crosses and swastikas. A hatched step meander fills the central panel while hatched zigzags make up a wide band below handle level. Below the rim is a panel consisting of birds with cross-hatched bodies, resembling those of Tiryns.

Other eighth-century vases include a small lekythos-oinokhoe with cross-hatched triangles in double outline as its shoulder panel (Nauplia 10000). Such decoration seems fairly typical of the MGII phase.<sup>230</sup> One kantharos is noteworthy because its decoration at handle level resembles almost exactly a fragment from Argos, Argos C4654, where a central hatched meander is flanked by two bordering vertical bars and a hatched quatrefoil.<sup>231</sup> The Argos example has stars in the field of the quatrefoil while the Nauplia one has an empty field but both have dots at the rim. This vase can also be dated to the MGII phase. An amphoriskos of LG date with a fish on the neck and bands on the body recalls similar vases from Tiryns and Argos, as for example Plate 17.a which shows three amphoriskoi of this type from Tiryns. The site of Nauplia has also produced several black-glazed cups.

In summary it appears that the site was completely within the mainstream of Argolic Geometric pottery, however the amount of material recovered is so little that conclusions about the existence of a local workshop are impossible to make. On the basis of the few vases mentioned it appears unlikely that the site produced its own pottery or at least it did not produce pottery which could be recognized as coming from that particular site.

#### Lerna

The eighth-century pottery from Lerna is fairly restricted

since only a very small number of graves have offerings of this period. The material presents a clay quite similar to that at Argos; in general it is light buff, often with greenish tinges. The most important grave group is pithos PA6-1 dated LGI/II.<sup>232</sup> The pots include a skyphos, kantharos, trefoil-lipped oinokhoe, cup and a small handmade pot, (Plate 17.b). The shapes of these vases are themselves interesting, the oinokhoe because of its very short neck and the handmade pot because of its resemblance to one from Tiryns; Courbin feels it is by the same painter<sup>233</sup> but De Vries questions this.<sup>234</sup> In general, however, the vases at the site do not present any major peculiarities; parallels can be found at Argos and other sites.

There is therefore no strong indication of a local workshop operating out of Lerna. In view of its great similarity with the material from Argos in both clay and decoration it is perhaps more likely that the pottery found here was made at Argos. The settlement in the Geometric period consisted perhaps of only a few farmsteads rather than a community as such and it seems improbable that the inhabitants supplied their own pottery.

#### Amoriani

A couple of LG vases have also been found at Amoriani. One is a Protocorinthian import while the other is an amphoriskos, the shoulder panel of which consists of two birds with a cross-hatched leaf between them (Plate 18.a). The rest of the body is banded. The birds are interesting because of their double outlined back, hatched bodies and reserved heads with dotted eyes. The composition itself has no parallel in the Argolid but the vase shape is a survival from the Mykenaian period<sup>235</sup> and is common in the Submykenaian and Proto-geometric periods. These vases are probably indications of a settlement

but until the site yields more material nothing else can be said about it.

### The Argive Heraion

Much eighth-century material has been found at this sanctuary site in the central plain. The earliest pieces are dated to the MGII phase of the Geometric period. The pottery displays great variety in types of clay and decoration but this is to be expected at such a sanctuary. Cups, kraters, amphorae, oinokhoai, aryballoi and skyphoi are the most commonly represented shapes. In contrast there are no examples of the round-mouth oinokhoe but one does find a couple of rare shapes, the votive cake, seen only at Argos and Tiryns besides the Heraion, and the pomegranate, again found only at these same sites.<sup>236</sup>

The clay varies quite a bit on different sherds, from various shades of buff to orangy and greenish. In the Argive Heraion publication most sherds are referred to as yellowish or reddish.<sup>237</sup> The differences in clay can better be understood if one takes into account the fact that worshippers may have brought these vases from all over the Argolid, hence the pottery might be reflections of local variations from different areas within the Argolid.

As for decoration the common rectilinear motifs consist of zigzags and meanders, lozenges, circles, rows of dots and so on. In general figured scenes resemble the types already mentioned for other sites. Various types of birds, single or in files, and horses are especially favoured. Men are often portrayed with horses, as usual grasping the reins. One fragment shows a horse-tamer wearing a tall, oval helmet with short spikes radiating from it, presumably representing some kind of plumage.<sup>238</sup> The fish occupies an unusual position, under

the horse's neck as opposed to the more typical position under the belly. A few scenes are rather unusual, as for example a man on a chariot (?), or the man with a tripod cauldron. Men are also depicted in files with braches between them. There is even a battle scene, but it may be an Attic import.<sup>239</sup> Women also make an appearance at the end of the period, as usual in files holding branches.

Of all these scenes the only one which is quite unusual is the fragment showing a man and a cauldron. All the rest are fairly typical of the Argolid and it seems that the vast majority of pottery from the site is Argolic. There is a report of a Lakonian import<sup>240</sup> but the only significant imports were from Corinth beginning near the end of the eighth century and continuing throughout the seventh century, yet even these are relatively rare.

The actual place of fabrication of the pottery is nevertheless not easy to determine. The variations in clay are notable enough to support the notion of people bringing the vases from all over the Argolid, yet it is also more than likely that a workshop was established at the site itself. No doubt the answer takes in both these possibilities and thus the Heraion is best viewed as a sample of fabrics from the whole of the Argolid, with perhaps a greater representation from the central plain sites, if only because their geographical proximity to the sanctuary would have entailed a visit by a greater number of visitors from these settlements than elsewhere.

### Prosymna

At nearby Prosymna a few of the Mykenaian chamber tombs have yielded some LG pottery.<sup>241</sup> The vases are not very numerous and include cups, skyphoi, oinokhoai, kantharoi, kraters and pyxides. In the publication the clay is described by Blegen as light buff or

pinkish; one is greyish buff and the decoration seems to be consistent with that elsewhere in the plain. Dotted lozenges, bird files, bands, zigzags and wavy lines are represented as are completely glazed vases; there are also a few examples of monochrome ware.

According to Blegen most of the vases deposited in the tombs are small and carelessly made without decoration. In this sense they resemble closely the votives one finds at sanctuaries and in a way they served the same purpose. These cults at Mykenaian tombs were not confined to the Late Geometric period, however, since here and elsewhere later pottery is found. At Prosymna some Protocorinthian ware of the first half of the seventh century was deposited in the tomb so these dedications to ancient heroes continued for about a century. The cult was part of a revival of interest in the Mykenaian past and similar offerings were put in chamber tombs at Mykenai itself at the Klytemnestra tomb and others, and at Argos.

#### Dhendra

At Dhendra a group of nine vases was found, perhaps belonging to one or more graves. A few sherds have also been found near a chamber tomb but most seem to be Archaic in date. The vases in the closed group are all dated to the LGI and include three cups, one skyphos, three oinokhoai and two kraters (Plate 18.b). The clay varies from buff to reddish buff while the decoration seems fairly typical of the central Argolic plain. Note for example cups 3 and 4, decorated in a manner seen very often especially at Asine and Tiryns. The use of the ladder column on krater 8 is a motif recalling Asine and Attic ware. As Hägg has pointed out<sup>242</sup> two motifs find no parallels in Argolic pottery, the circular motifs of nos. 1 and 9.

Not found at this site are certain motifs common in



Argolic LG pottery as for example the step meander, nor are there any figured scenes, but since only nine vases have been found this is undoubtedly the main reason for the lack of such motifs. It is interesting to note moreover that in both the clay and in certain features of decoration the site finds its closest parallels at Asine. Dhendra does not figure very prominently in the historical accounts of this period and so it is not known if a special relationship existed between the two sites and these features may in fact be just coincidence. In any case the presence of such peculiarities is indicative of a local workshop at the site; Hägg believes this to be the case and notes the probability of the existence of others within the central plain.<sup>243</sup>

#### Kandia

Another site which has yielded Geometric material is Kandia. Various surface sherds have been recovered; they are now in the sherd collection of the British School at Athens. Though the sample is fairly small, the clay is quite interesting because of its diversity, varying from green to grey to pale buff. It appears to be quite different from material of other sites.

As usual the fragments all appear late in the Geometric period with decoration of the MGII and LG styles. Among these are a file of double outline leaf lozenges, a bird file done with the multiple brush, a single bird with cross-hatched body, the ladder column and concentric circles. For such a small number of sherds the diversity both of decoration and clay is surprising. That the ladder column appears at this site reflects perhaps some affinities with Asine but the rest of the pottery falls within the general scheme of Argolic ware. As for the possibility of a local workshop at the site the sample is too small to allow conclusions to be drawn.

## Troizen

At Troizen in the eastern Argolid a couple of eighth-century vases and a few fragments have been found. The two vases are amphorae, both with black glazed bodies and decoration restricted to the neck.<sup>244</sup> These types of pots date to the Late Geometric period and examples have already been noted at Asine (Plate 6.a). The type is known at Tiryns and also at Argos, as for example Argos C15.<sup>245</sup> The shape of the two Troizen examples is so similar that Courbin postulates the same potter for both but as he notes it is difficult to be sure since only drawings of the pots exist.<sup>246</sup> The clay is described as red by Wide;<sup>247</sup> as will be seen this type of clay seems fairly typical of the eastern Argolid. Unless the vases were made at Asine, the only central plain site with comparable clay, then a local origin can be assumed, though not necessarily Troizen itself but at a centre somewhere in the eastern Argolid.

Notable also is a fragment of an amphora with decoration consisting of a row of birds, three bands below and a row of dotted lozenges below that (Plate 19.a). Its main interest lies in the fact that it was painted by the same painter as a skyphos from Prosymna, a plaque from the Heraion<sup>248</sup> and a plaque from Aigina.<sup>249</sup> Unfortunately it is impossible to determine where the painter was based.

## Porto Kheli

Porto Kheli seems to have flourished especially in the Archaic period but there is some material in the Nauplia storerooms which can be dated to the Geometric period, though it is of the late part of that period only. On the whole the pottery differs significantly from that at the central plain sites. The shapes, however, compare

favourably with material from other sites; cups, skyphoi, kraters and closed shapes such as aryballoi and oinokhoai are attested. The main impression from the clay is of a very dark colour, usually orangy-red; this seems to be the most common type. Several are greenish while others have a very pale buff clay. The buff colour typical of the central plain is very rarely seen. In some cases the clay is so pale as to be almost white while some sherds present a rather yellowish buff colour, however these colours are not so prevalent as the reddish clay. Dark clay, either reddish or orange is found over and over again in the eastern Argolid and this seems to be characteristic of the area. The clay of these fragments is also noteworthy for being very well fired, hard and smooth in contrast with the chalky surface of most Geometric sherds from the Argolid; moreover in several instances the presence of a slip is discernible. Many sherds have a very shiny appearance due to the use of a lustrous paint and technically they often exhibit a better quality than pottery from the central plain.

Among this pottery one notes a fair amount of imported Protocorinthian ware together with the local Argolic pottery. Bands, rows of dots, dotted lozenges and files of leaf lozenges done with the multiple brush are all seen, as are cross-hatched triangles, chevrons, zigzags, and the double-axe alternating with groups of verticals. Figured scenes are almost nonexistent; only one fragment in the Nauplia storerooms featured figures, a bird file, fragment 1415. The birds have long necks and their heads are pointing upwards and somewhat leaning backwards.

Such is the extent of the variety. The rest of the sherds are Protocorinthian imports of c. 700 B.C. Several fragments seem to be imports of pyxides of the type with a row of cross-hatched lozenges at handle level.<sup>250</sup> It would thus appear that the pottery from this site is not associated very closely with that from the central plain.

Porto Kheli itself probably did not have very many contacts with the settlements in the plain area. Its pottery has little in common with those sites and most of it is most likely of a local eastern Argolid nature though Protocorinthian imports seem to have played a somewhat stronger role than elsewhere in the Argolid at that time.

### Eastern Argolid

In the eastern Argolid several new sites found by the Indiana survey have yielded Geometric pottery. This pottery, which was being studied by the Americans in Koiladha, is almost all Late Geometric with a few pieces which appear to be early seventh century. The sherds are quite distinctive due to their generally orange colour. The clay does vary in colour but for the most part it is dark, much darker than anything from the central plain with the exception of Asine. At that site the clay is in many cases comparable to that of the eastern Argolid. Only in a few cases is clay of a light buff seen.

In decoration the fragments possess some characteristics foreign to the central plain. A fairly common decorative scheme are concentric circles with the ladder column to the side. The ladder column is quite rare in the Argolid besides Asine. The fragments with this decoration should date to the LGII since this is when the motif appears on Attic pottery.<sup>251</sup> Another unusual feature is a diagonal cross in triple outline. More typical are hatched quatrefoils and meanders, the gear pattern, rows of dots, zigzags, bands and the double-axe alternating with groups of verticals, as well as leaf lozenges.

Figured decoration is extremely rare but it must be remembered that these sherds were obtained purely by survey. Birds in groups and in files are found, as well as a horse, but these

comprise only four or five sherds. The earliest fragments seem to date to the MGII-LGI period, a possible grave group. One site has also yielded a few PG fragments.

That the pottery shows some similarity to Asine should not be surprising. Both areas were related historically since their inhabitants were Dryopians. Affinities were thus natural between the two areas. Lakonian influence and imports however may also be represented, for example a rim sherd with a series of lambdas and sherds with a white slip.<sup>252</sup> Protocorinthian imports of the late eighth century, as usual for this time, are also found.

In general it seems probable that the pottery of this region was for the most part locally produced. Not every site could have had its own workshop since some seem to be nothing more than farmsteads, but a local pottery workshop probably existed at one of the bigger sites in the area for the benefit of the region as a whole. That the area had connections with Asine and perhaps Attica as well as Lakonia is to be expected from its location at the southern tip of the Argolid and from its historical relationship with Asine.

### Exports

Imports into the Argolid during the Geometric period were fairly slight. In the EG phase some imports came from Attica but these dwindled rapidly so that by the eighth century the area was completely independent, with the exceptions noted above. Imports seem to increase again in the Late Geometric period but these are comparatively few and consist almost entirely of Protocorinthian vases.

This situation is mirrored somewhat by Argolic exportation which does not really begin until the LG and even then it is not in abundance. Isolated pieces have been found far and wide but there is

no evidence of regular exports and Courbin has considerably reduced the number of pieces previously assumed to be Argolic exports. Even at Perakhora where Argolic influence has always been presumed to have been extensive the number of actual Argolic imports is quite small<sup>253</sup> such that the Argolid's influence does not seem to have been any greater than any of the other areas which exported to the sanctuary. Also at Kythera, an island supposedly in Argive control in the late eighth century, one finds no Argolic pottery except one or two sherds.<sup>254</sup> A few pieces in Athens are thought to be Argolic<sup>255</sup> and Aigina also contains a few imports. At Delphi only one fragment can claim an Argolic origin.<sup>256</sup> In Lakonia a couple of sherds look Argolic though they may just be strongly influenced by the Argolid.<sup>257</sup> At Tegea on the other hand several sherds seem to be Argolic.<sup>258</sup> At Aetos on Ithaka a couple of vases may be from the Argolid but this is uncertain.<sup>259</sup> Another island which seems to have Argolic material is Crete where one sherd at Knossos looks Argolic of the LG period. It has the characteristic type of bird file, bands and row of dotted leaf lozenges, probably done with the multiple brush.<sup>260</sup> Besides these sites two pots on Thera may be Argolic<sup>261</sup> and there is an Argolic krater in Melos.<sup>262</sup> A Middle Geometric II sherd from Corcyra also seems to come from the Argolid.<sup>263</sup> Farther afield a few Argolic exports have been recovered in Megara Hyblaea<sup>264</sup> and Coldstream also notes a fragment from Leontini as probably Argolic of the Late Geometric period.<sup>265</sup>

Such is the extent of Argolic exports in the Geometric period. The exports are so scarce that they were probably the result of individuals travelling abroad rather than the result of a regular trade or commerce. It is only in the case of Lakonia and Arkadia that the Argolid's role was stronger yet even here the influence was mostly indirect. The Argolid's style was copied fairly closely, especially in Arkadia, but even here it did not find a direct market for its ware.

## General Remarks

Regardless of the fact that the Argolid preferred not to export, it is an area whose pottery exhibits qualities rendering it second only to Athens in importance. Although Argos was decidedly the dominating centre and the main force behind the Geometric pottery it was not the only site manufacturing it. Besides Asine, the pottery of which shows strong individualism, other settlements in the central plain are also likely to have made their own local ware. Dhendra, Tiryns and even Mykenai are sites which may have had their own local workshops. The evidence is inconclusive, however, for although the clay does vary to a certain extent from site to site considerable variety is also noticed among the vases within each individual site.

The important question is how distinct each workshop was from each other. Coldstream believes that the LG style of Argos is found at Nauplia, Tiryns and Mykenai without variation and that the large figured vases from all these sites were made in the same workshops.<sup>266</sup> It is true that as a whole the pottery especially from the central plain is incredibly homogeneous. Some originality is noted at a few sites but obviously there was some room for individual expression within the general framework. In general however each site followed the other extremely closely and for most sites the pottery is so similar that whether or not they had their own workshops is almost inconsequential.

## 4.2 Pottery of the seventh century

### Introduction

Turning to the seventh century the picture one obtains is vastly different. First of all the amount of material is quite small in comparison with the eighth century and most of it seems to date to the first half of the century. After that it is negligible with the exception of the sanctuaries. The Argolid seems to rely more and more heavily on imported Protocorinthian, Corinthian and later, Attic ware.

The sites which have yielded seventh-century pottery include Argos, the Argive Heraion, Tiryns, Mykenai, Porto Kheli, Dhendra, Kourtaki, Prosymna, Epidauros, Troizen, Kalaureia and the sites of the eastern Argolid survey. Of these sites seven are votive deposits from sanctuaries, the material from Dhendra consists of surface sherds and at Prosymna it consists of a few pots in Mykenaian chamber tombs. Only at Argos and Porto Kheli is the material associated with habitation remains. Much of what has been found is very difficult to date and in some cases, such as black glazed ware, the style may have remained basically unchanged for over 100 years, hence much of the pottery could in fact belong to the sixth century. Another difficulty is that there is no consistent development of shapes in the seventh century. Only with the kraters is it possible to see some kind of progression. This is therefore another hindrance in one's ability to date this material. In the seventh century two basic trends come to the forefront, one being a continuation of the Geometric linear tradition and the other an orientalizing movement. Perhaps a third should be added, the miniature pottery of the sanctuaries which in a sense forms a class of its own.

Immediately following the Geometric period comes a time of stagnant, repetitious motifs, in essence a degraded and debased



version of the Geometric linear motifs, best seen in the so-called kraters of Fusco type. They are found at Tiryns, Mykenai, Argos and the Argive Heraion. They are easily recognizable both by shape and decoration, in shape because of their stirrup handles and a deep body with a low foot,<sup>267</sup> and in decoration especially because of the masses of close zigzags and wavy lines, both horizontal and vertical. A few orientalizing motifs also make an appearance, for example dot rosettes, half moons and flowery buds, but on the whole it is the close zigzags and squiggles that dominate, as can be seen in Plate 19.b. Various forms of checker-board patterns are also seen and the zigzag becomes rather debased, turning into nothing more than a squiggly line. Another common motif of this period is oblique squiggles or oblique chevrons. Figured drawing has all but disappeared. Only rows of dancing women remain but they do not survive long. Bands are usually kept for the lower part of the body of these kraters, with the area of the foot glazed. One of the features of the seventh century is the abandonment of the system of dividing up the field into metopes and panels by using framing bars. Now the various vertical and horizontal squiggles run into each other with no clear separation between them but a bit later reserved spaces are left between the various motifs and the effect is lightened. Finally in the late seventh century the kraters are mostly glazed except that there are sometimes purple and white bands around the middle and rays at the base. Similar decoration is seen on Corinthian kotylai of that period<sup>268</sup> and these can therefore be of some use in helping to date the Argolic pottery but in general it proves extremely difficult to date any of these changes and developments within the seventh century, primarily because very little has been found in datable habitation layers.

Beyond the Argolid such kraters have been noted at Corinth and Perakhora.<sup>269</sup> Those at the Fusco cemetery in Syracuse,

however are now recognized as local imitations of Argolic work; they were probably executed by Argolic craftsmen settled there.<sup>270</sup>

### Argos

The Geometric period was a time of several important settlements in the central plain, but in the seventh century only one site seems to continue to be of major significance as a settlement, Argos, yet even here the nature of the finds differs markedly from the previous century. Almost no pottery is associated with graves except a few krater or amphora burials of LG/Subgeometric date. One such grave comprised a krater of Fusco type, dated to the earlier half of the seventh century, Plate 20.a. It has the characteristic half moons and checkerboard pattern although it retains horizontal and vertical lines and has groups of squiggly lines at the rim. Graves South Cemetery T38, Bakaloiannis T131, Bonoris T173 and Sondage 74 T195 all comprised such kraters.

In Argos a fairly clear development in decoration can be traced in the seventh century, beginning with the Fusco kraters as well as kraters of smaller dimensions the decoration of which parallels those of Fusco type. One of the first steps is that the early Subgeometric custom of filling the spaces with numerous tight zigzags gives way to a more airy composition. Dotted rosettes also appear at this time and rays become quite common, especially on the lower part of vases, (Plate 20.b, bottom row), or at the rim (Argos 256 Plate 20.b). Kraters now have tall straight rims with decoration that can simply consist of glaze or large dots or strokes, oblique waves or the running dog pattern. Typical of the period are rims with a single thick loose zigzag, as the skyphos Plate 21.a.

Early in the seventh century an orientaling style

develops featuring animals and humans done in outline. Unfortunately the examples of this style are very rare and it is a style which appears to have been fairly shortlived. This orientalizing style is usually called Protoargive although this term is perhaps not really justified, implying a later Argive Archaic style which never materialized. It is because of the paucity of examples that this Argolic orientalizing phase proves extremely difficult to date, except in broad terms. There has not been a definitive study made of this pottery so far, although several articles have been published by scholars such as P.Courbin<sup>271</sup> and J.-Fr. Bommelaer<sup>272</sup> but these deal with specific examples. These orientalizing pots are dated by them through association and comparison with Protocorinthian, Protoattic and Cycladic wares. In some cases Protocorinthian and Argolic orientalizing examples are found together and this provides a firmer ground for dating but in most cases it is stylistic evidence which is used to mark the date.

Several examples of this Subgeometric pottery have been published by Bommelaer.<sup>273</sup> These are Subgeometric kraters of Fusco type, all dated to the early seventh century. Almost all the examples he quotes are dated c. 690-680. On these early seventh-century kraters, several features both in shape and decoration provide a basis for dating them to the early part of the century. The rims of these pots are now taller in relation to the diameter of the mouth, and the rims are now straighter as opposed to the flaring and short rims of the Geometric kraters. The stirrup handles are now more vertical than before and the kraters taper more than in earlier versions. The foot is also different, now being more conical as opposed to cylindrical. The use of outline drawing is now seen instead of the silhouette in Geometric figured scenes. The use of a slip is also sometimes used. In a sense these early seventh-century pots are slightly less careful in their compositions in that the dividing lines used to separate the

panels are now often neglected. There is as yet no use of added colour and this helps to date these pots to the early seventh century.

An example of such an orientalizing krater is that in Plate 21.b. The features described above can all be seen on this krater. The tightly packed zigzags and the large ray pattern are also noticeable as are other features of this period. The scene of the woman standing beside a large amphora is entirely new. Note also the use of outline for the face, a feature which begins at the very end of the Geometric period. On the other side of this krater a large complex lotus design fills the main panel (Plate 22.a). Bommelaer dates this example c.690-680 based on the shape and decorative style.<sup>274</sup>

Perhaps the most famous example of the Argolic orientalizing style is the Polyphemos krater, (Plate 22.b), in which Odysseus and his companions are shown blinding the giant Polyphemos. Unusual features include the presence of a creamy slip and the absence of filling ornament. The closest parallels for this krater both in shape and the use of a slip are the Cyclades though this does not necessarily signify influence one way or the other. This krater is slightly later in date than the one in the previous example, since here the use of polychromy is in evidence. In fabrics of other regions the use of added colour is not seen until approximately the middle of the seventh century.<sup>275</sup> It can thus be assumed that the same holds true in general for the Argolid. Bommelaer dates the Polyphemos krater c. 670-660, on the basis of the shape and the progression in the drawing style, as well as the use of polychromy.<sup>276</sup>

On these and other seventh-century Argive vases the clay does not exhibit much change from the eighth century. It remains in general the same cornflour colour though sometimes it can be a bit clearer and the core can be of a softer pink than before.<sup>277</sup> The glaze, however, tends to be streaky and poorly applied, such that it

flakes off easily.

The orientalizing style, while it is an ambitious one, disappears rapidly and nothing comparable follows until the sixth century when some black-figure is attempted. Perhaps the most common pottery of the seventh century, at Argos and elsewhere, are small skyphoi, cups and kraters entirely glazed in streaky black paint. Numerous examples can be found throughout the century but exact dates are difficult to establish since they are sanctuary material. In Argos they come mainly from the cult deposit on the Larissa. Cups evolve out of the LG type and are usually straight sided, tapering below the handle, as Plate 23.a. The cup on the right, from the Deiras cemetery, is dated by Deshayes "probablement" to the seventh century.<sup>278</sup> It is noted for its softly tapering body from base to rim and its flaring rim as well as its ribbon handle. Many similar examples can be found in Argos and elsewhere. Small, shallow skyphoi often have an entirely glazed body with only a reserved band at handle level. Such skyphoi are paralleled in Athens throughout the seventh century though their rims tend not to be so sharply defined as the Argive types.<sup>279</sup> According to Attic parallels, such skyphoi should date around the middle of the seventh century or later. These skyphoi are noted for their broad body and short rim, as well as their reserved handle zone. Earlier in the seventh century the Attic skyphoi are deeper with a widely-flaring rim. The custom of reserving the handle zone appears in Attica in the late eighth or early seventh century and this continues into the sixth century. For the time being one must assume that a similar evolution probably took place in Argos.<sup>280</sup>

While some vases are entirely glazed others are enhanced by the use of bands in white or purple. Two such vases are seen in Plate 23.b; both are covered in streaky black glaze with white and purple bands just below the handle level. The shape varies as exemplified

by the kantharoi in the same Plate. The more angular profile, as the one on the left, seems the more common type. Skyphoi with the same type of decoration, purple and white bands, are also popular. The use of added purple and white tends to place the earliest of these vases no earlier than the middle of the seventh century, the date when polychromy may have come into fashion, but these skyphoi continue into the sixth century.

Archaic though not necessarily seventh century are kantharoi with reserved body and decoration consisting of a wide band at mid body.<sup>281</sup> The shape, with its ovoid body and rim barely defined from the shoulder, has numerous parallels in Argos in Archaic (sixth century) contexts.<sup>282</sup> Similar examples are also found in Early Corinthian pottery.<sup>283</sup> In accordance with such parallels therefore, such kantharoi must be no earlier than the seventh century, and they may in fact belong to the sixth century.

The development of the pottery in the seventh century at Argos is therefore clear only in broad outlines. It can be summarized as follows: from the end of the Geometric period until approximately the middle of the century kraters of Fusco type dominate. Two phases are apparent, the first with purely linear decoration consisting of very packed zigzags and bands and the second corresponding to a deepening of the shape and a slight change in the handles<sup>284</sup> with a lighter composition and a few orientalizing motifs which has sometimes been called the Protoargive style. This style seems to be confined to the first half of the century. Black glazed vessels, almost all miniature kantharoi and skyphoi have a lifespan extending from the Geometric throughout the seventh century and into the sixth century. By the last quarter of the century kantharoi with only a wide band at mid body appear but their place belongs rather to the next century. The date of their appearance is somewhat conjectural however. Those

with glazed exteriors enhanced by white and purple stripes probably date to the same period, the late seventh century and the sixth century. Cook remarks that those at Mykenai begin in the late seventh or early sixth century.<sup>285</sup> Finally in Argos and elsewhere floral motifs consisting of leaves and branches in white, (Plate 24.a), are perhaps not to be dated earlier than the first half of the sixth century.

It is interesting that almost all the vases of this century are open shapes; closed vessels seem practically nonexistent. Argos, the most prolific source of Geometric pottery, seems to have abandoned almost completely its own ceramic industry in the seventh century for even the Fusco kraters and the orientalizing experiments fill the gap only scantily. The Argives relied more and more on Corinthian products but even these have not been found in any great quantity in the town. Much of our knowledge of Geometric ware derives from grave offerings yet in the seventh century the practice of placing gifts in graves is abandoned. This may reflect nothing more than a custom continuing from the Geometric when pithoi had few or no offerings, yet one cannot help but wonder if the two factors, a lack of pottery and the custom of inhuming the dead without gifts, is somehow related. A drastic reduction in the level of pottery manufacture could conceivably have changed what had been until then a custom favoured by some into a necessity forced upon all. Whatever the reasons for the scarcity of material, it is such that a profound change must have occurred in the earlier half of the seventh century.

### Tiryns

Most of the seventh-century material at Tiryns comes from the bothros but it does not seem to date beyond the middle of the century.<sup>286</sup> Included are numerous kantharoi dating to the very

beginning of the century, bearing various wavy lines and squiggles as well as the typical oblique wavy lines and degenerate sigmas, as Plate 24.b exemplifies. Kalathoi, cups and miniature bowls are found in fairly large numbers as well. These are summarily decorated or glazed. Black glazed kantharoi are found as elsewhere; their tall, straight rim and white band at mid body are indicative of the period.

Of the two seventh-century graves one is a pithos but the other was composed of two kraters, apparently one inside the other. One of them, as noted in the grave catalogue in the previous chapter, is a krater of Fusco type with decoration consisting of lines, wavy lines and zigzags. The krater inside it seems slightly earlier in date and probably dates to the very end of the eighth century while the Fusco krater is dated a few years later, to the very beginning of the Subgeometric period.

Besides the famous Tiryns shields and the material just mentioned, the seventh century represents a period of almost total absence of local pottery. Protocorinthian and Corinthian ware of that period is imported as at other sites, and by the sixth century kraters with floral motifs and added colours of white and purple appear.

The relative lack of seventh-century material is in sharp contrast with the situation in the Geometric period. It is almost as if a settlement ceased to exist in the early Archaic period and yet this must be a false impression because of an inscription dated c. 600 which speaks of an assembly of people at the site.<sup>287</sup> A settlement must therefore have existed; perhaps it lay away from the citadel where excavations have yet to find it but this does not explain the absence of pottery, for Argos certainly continued as a fairly large settlement yet there too the pottery undergoes a serious reduction. In the case of Tiryns more evidence of the seventh-century settlement must be found before it is possible to make any definite conclusions.



## Mykenai

At Mykenai almost all the pottery of this period comes from the Agamemnoneion. The only other source is a couple of Mykenaiian tombs. One is a tholos containing a few seventh-century fragments of kraters or kantharoi, which are described as having a buff clay and a poor, dark glaze.<sup>288</sup> In the dromos of chamber tomb 533 was found a krater of Fusco type (Plate 25.a), containing a burial.<sup>289</sup> The upper half of the krater is glazed and rays decorate the lower half. At mid body are bands in purple and white. By its shape and type of handles it can be dated to the later part of the seventh century.<sup>290</sup> By this time the Fusco-type kraters had evolved somewhat, into a plumper but shallower version, as typified by the krater of Plate 25.a.

Besides this most of the pottery belongs to the Agamemnoneion.<sup>291</sup> The material increases in abundance after the Geometric period as kraters of Fusco type, pedestaled krateriskoi and kantharoi are offered in greater numbers. As is common in sanctuaries most of the vases are miniatures and because of the nature of the deity the types are confined to those suitable. These include many kalathoi either all glazed or reserved with only the rim and foot glazed. The earliest Subgeometric examples contain the usual decorative schemes of tight zigzags, bands and wavy lines but slightly later the decoration becomes lighter and filling ornament almost disappears. Fragment A8a, Plate 25.b, which is one such example, has large dots on the rim, another typical motif of this century.

Many of the Agamemnoneion votives present an entirely glazed surface. Those with floral decoration, however, should be dated to the sixth century. One very interesting fragment deserves notice, a krater of the Argolic orientализing style (Plate 26.a), featuring a large lotus design, almost identical to one from Argos

(Plate 22.a). Both have dotted rosettes on either side of this rather strange design, tempting one to think that perhaps the same painter was responsible for both.

The clay of all these fragments is fairly consistent in its slightly warm buff colour, sometimes with greenish tinges. There is no difference from the material of the Late Geometric period and it continues to be soft and extremely chalky and generally of poor quality. The glaze tends to be thin and streaky.

Here too then, the evidence points to the existence of a sanctuary only, without a settlement. As for Tiryns this is probably a false impression but for the time being the only activity at the site throughout the seventh century, apart from the Subgeometric grave in the chamber tomb, seems confined to the Agamemnoneion. The sanctuary seems to have been provided with votives from its workshop.

#### The Argive Heraion

In contrast with most other sites the seventh-century material from the Argive Heraion is plentiful; this was undoubtedly the most important century at the sanctuary. Most of the pottery and other votives dwindle after the middle of the sixth century. As in the Geometric so in the Archaic period the clay tends to differ from vase to vase varying from a light buff to darker buff until it reaches a dark orange or brownish buff. Sometimes the clay contains pinkish or greenish tinges.

Besides the Protocorinthian and Corinthian imports which form only a small percentage of the dedicated ware,<sup>292</sup> most of the pottery is apparently of local Argolic manufacture. Almost all vases are miniature; they include much black glazed ware especially skyphoi and kantharoi, the latter resembling some of the Agamemnoneion

examples.<sup>293</sup>

The shape occurring in greatest frequency, however, is the hydria; over half the vases at the Heraion belong to this distinctive class.<sup>294</sup> Their usual decoration consists of two or three bands at mid body and a rosette, dots or wavy lines on the shoulder (Plate 26.b). The vases were obviously mass produced as their sloppy and careless execution demonstrates. It seems most probable that a workshop existed at the sanctuary itself since these little vases seem to have been specially made for use at the sanctuary.

That so many hydriai were dedicated at the Heraion in the seventh century seems rather unusual and no parallels for this exist at any other sites in the Argolid at that time. It may simply reflect a peculiarity of Hera worship since water was a factor in the rites associated with the cult, as will be discussed in chapter 9. Another more tempting interpretation would be that hydriai were dedicated in such large numbers as a means of warding off any recurrence of a drought, assuming a drought did occur in the late eighth century. They may have been a thank offering to Hera for the now abundant supply of water and in this way became incorporated into the rites associated with the cult, a cult which required water as part of its ritual. In Athens the LG period sees the introduction of hydriai as burial gifts; in the Argolid this is not the case but perhaps the dedications of hydriai at the Heraion served the same purpose. It would be natural for the Heraion to be the centre of these dedications since it was the focus of religious activity for the Argolid.

While the seventh century remains a rather enigmatic period, at least one Argolic orientализing painter is known, having painted two vases from the Heraion. One is an oinokhoe with lions, snake, dotted rosette, zigzags and dots, and the other is a fragment with a snake and lion.<sup>295</sup> Both snakes terminate in the same way and

both have similar rows of white dots.<sup>296</sup>

#### Prosymna

Among the vases found in the Mykenaian tombs is an interesting fragmentary krater with a panel at handle level depicting two horses in a row facing right.<sup>297</sup> The horses look Geometric with their long, thin legs but there is no filling ornament besides a group of vertical zigzags to the right of the leading horse. Possibly the paint has faded but in any case the decoration at the rim also appears unusual, consisting of a glazed field with reserved V's in two rows, the lower ones upside down. This vase thus seems to belong to the seventh rather than the eighth century.

#### Dhendra

At Dhendra a total of only seven sherds may be Archaic, of which six belong to only two vases.<sup>298</sup> Their clay is described as reddish and reddish buff and the decoration consists of rays, bands, a meander and an unusual combination of sets of two concentric circles with vertical darts between them.<sup>299</sup> The dating of these sherds is still uncertain, however, and they could conceivably be later than the seventh century.

#### Kourtaki

In the late 1960's an interesting votive deposit was discovered at Kourtaki. The vases belong mostly to the sixth century though some can probably be dated to the end of the seventh century. The vases seem limited to kraters and kantharoi (Plate 27.a).<sup>300</sup> In

shape and style they closely resemble those found at the Agamemnoneion of the late seventh and sixth centuries.<sup>301</sup> Those which may date to the late seventh century include the type with reserved body and only a wide band at mid body, as seen in Plate 27.a, second row on the right. These are especially close to Agamemnoneion examples B11 and B12.<sup>302</sup>

Black glazed kraters are also common at both sites and both Kourtaki and Mykenai have pedestal kraters of the kind illustrated in Plate 27.b from Kourtaki, although the Kourtaki example seems to have a wider and more flaring foot.<sup>303</sup> Such vases are also known from Tiryns in the sixth century. In general such small vases seem typical of most sanctuaries in the Archaic period and no doubt those at Kourtaki were made at a workshop not far from the sanctuary.

#### Epidaurus

Most of the pottery at the mountaintop sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas can be dated to the seventh and sixth centuries but it seems that most of the seventh-century material is Protocorinthian and Early Corinthian of the late part of the century while the miniature vases, in particular the hundreds of kotylai, are dated to the sixth century. Their clay is described as yellowish or pinkish and their decoration consists of red bands alternating with black ones and with zigzags at the handle level.<sup>304</sup> They appear to have been locally made in the eastern Argolid especially for use as votives. The sanctuary thus appears to have acquired its importance only by the end of the seventh century and to have been of major significance only in the sixth century onwards. It seems to have taken over from the Heraion as the primary sanctuary in the Argolid.

#### Troizen

As is often the case in the seventh century the pottery from Troizen is limited to a sanctuary site, that of Demeter Thesmophoros. The ware is mostly of the miniature variety and most of the vases are unpainted skyphoi.<sup>305</sup> The larger ones however are decorated with bands and resemble those from the other Argolic sanctuary sites such as the Agamemnoneion and the Heraion; they are probably to be dated to the sixth century. A few Protocorinthian and Corinthian vases have also been discovered; some of these can be dated to the late seventh century.

#### Porto Kheli

The site of ancient Halieis has yielded Archaic pottery in fair quantity but most of it dates to the sixth century. One sherd of the seventh century is a rim with a running dog pattern, closely resembling a fragment from the Agamemnoneion.<sup>306</sup> The Porto Kheli example is presumably from a locally-made vase, with yellowish buff clay and greenish tinges. Local ware in fact is quite rare as most of the Archaic pottery seems imported. Protoattic and Lakonian II as well as Corinthian ware is found on the akropolis.<sup>307</sup> In the lower town at the sanctuary of Apollo, many miniature kotylai were discovered, as expected of a votive deposit. A few fragments seem to be part of large kraters; a few tall straight rims perhaps belonging to kraters of Fusco type have been found. One such rim has decoration strongly reminiscent of Mykenai.<sup>308</sup>

The most interesting aspect of this pottery is simply the fact that so much of it is imported. At the other Argolic sites, although Protocorinthian and Corinthian were imported in ever increasing numbers, a large percentage of the pottery remained of local manufacture. Furthermore at the other sites the influence of Attic

and Lakonian is quite insignificant, yet here Lakonian ware plays a very important role. As will be seen in later chapters this connection should not be too surprising since the eastern Argolid sites were involved in the Kalaureian Amphictiony and were quite friendly with Lakonia in the seventh century.

### Eastern Argolid

Some seventh-century material has been recovered from the area around Kranidhi in the southern Argolid by the American survey expedition. The material, which is however very scanty and seems to date primarily to the Subgeometric period, comprises for the most part rim and wall fragments of kraters. This accords well with evidence from central plain sites in terms of pottery types in the early seventh century. As usual with such kraters, wavy lines as well as squiggles are apparent as are simple bands or rows of large dots on the rim, although rays are also sometimes used on these rims. In other cases the rims are entirely glazed or contain wide horizontal bands. The fragments vary in clay colour from a dark buff to greenish to orange.

As at Porto Kheli, these sites imported both Proto-corinthian and Lakonian ware in the seventh century. On the whole one notices a comparative lack of Archaic material; Geometric is much more abundant even though slightly more Archaic sites have been discovered than Geometric. Here too the importation of Protocorinthian and Lakonian is not surprising and this only serves to emphasize the rather sharp distinction between this area and the central plain. The connections between the two areas seem slim in view of the noticeable differences in pottery and the nature of the imported wares. The eastern Argolid seems to have been an area isolated from the central plain sites. Its contacts were stronger across the Gulf with

Lakonia and even Attica than with its own neighbours in the Argolid. This, however, suits the historical accounts very well since Asine, Hermione, Troizen and presumably all the sites along the coast south from Asine were Dryopian. Their kinship remained quite strong in both the Geometric and Archaic periods; the Kalaureian Amphictiony is a sign of this closeness. Furthermore after Asine was destroyed c. 700 its inhabitants were welcomed by the Spartans who no doubt saw this as a means of gathering support among the friends of Asine in the eastern part of the Argolid.

#### Kalaureia (Poros)

The Kalaureia sanctuary itself has yielded pottery of seventh-century date, mostly of Protocorinthian and Corinthian fabric. The earliest seems to date c. 680 and most are dated to the middle of the century onwards.<sup>309</sup> Apparently only one Geometric sherd was found,<sup>310</sup> giving an important basis for dating the Amphictiony to the seventh century.

#### Exports

Insofar as exports of seventh-century Argolic ware are concerned, a fairly wide distribution is attested but as for the Geometric exports, the quantity is very small. Only a few fragments from Perakhora have been positively identified as Argolic. One is a fragmentary krater of Fusco type, dated to the Subgeometric period,<sup>311</sup> a fragmentary kantharos<sup>312</sup> and a fragmentary oinokhoe.<sup>313</sup> Six other fragments are also imports from the Argolid but most of these are early seventh century and only three seem truly Argolic;<sup>314</sup> Courbin however emphasizes the lack of positive Argolic traits.<sup>315</sup> Several



kantharoi of the type found in large numbers at the Agamemnoneion and indistinguishable from them may be Argolic<sup>316</sup> although a Corinthian origin remains just as possible, especially since the kantharos is a shape common to seventh-century Corinth and Western Greece. Such vases appear at several different sanctuaries and were most probably manufactured near the sanctuaries in question; they were a standard cult vase of the period.

A place which seems to have received much Argolic influence is Phlius. The votive deposit contains much material of a distinctly Argolic appearance; if it is not imported it is at least heavily influenced by the Argolid and contacts between the two areas were apparently very close. Most of the supposedly Argolic exports date to the seventh century and include a variety of miniature ware. This pottery is especially close to the Agamemnoneion and, to a lesser extent, the Argive Heraion. Kraters, pedestal kraters and kantharoi are very reminiscent of the Argolid<sup>317</sup> but hydriai, the characteristic shape of the Heraion, are practically nonexistent at Phlius. On the other hand the distinctive shape of Phlius, the two-handled cup, is not found at the Agamemnoneion. Although it is true that in general most of the ware at Phlius is indistinguishable from Argolic examples and may be imported or copied from the Argolid,<sup>318</sup> such vases were fairly common throughout the northeast Peloponnese, so its designation as Argolic or Argolic influenced may be premature. It would be strange, moreover, that the Argolid, whose own material dwindles considerably in the seventh century, was able to export to such an extent.

Another site with Argolic imports is Kythera where an early seventh-century fragment of a krater of Fusco type has been found.<sup>319</sup> Corinth imported a similar krater from the Argolid at this period<sup>320</sup>.

In Attica a few fragments are considered Argolic in origin. These come from only three vases, yet only one appears definitely Argolic, an orientalizing fragment similar in clay, glaze and technique to the Polyphemos krater.<sup>321</sup> There is also an Argolic import from a well in the agora, a trefoil mouth oinokhoe of the Argive Monochrome fabric with the characteristic paring marks. Its identification as Argolic rests principally on the fact that such vases are especially at home in the Argolid, but there is no certainty that this fabric is in fact Argolic. It is dated to the third quarter of the seventh century.<sup>322</sup>

Beyond mainland Greece a few examples of Argive Monochrome ware have been found at Megara Hyblaea, dating to the seventh century, however they may be Corinthian imports.<sup>323</sup> Since only a few LG Argolic imports have been noted at the site it would be surprising if the imports suddenly increased in the seventh century but only in this particular fabric.

Ktima in Cyprus may contain an Argolic import in the form of a kantharos closely resembling those found in the Argolid especially at Mykenai where many black glazed pots of this type have been found.<sup>324</sup> At the time when the Cyprus pot was published, however, pots of this type were known only in the Argolid but they now occur at several places including Lakonia and Phlius. Indeed Courbin does not feel that the Ktima example is Argolic.<sup>325</sup> Once again it may simply be an imitation of a type of vase that was common in the seventh and sixth centuries especially in the Argolid, but not peculiar to it.

#### General Remarks

In 300 years the pottery of the Argolid seems to have

come full circle. It began as a style strongly influenced by Athens and grew in the eighth century to become a school of wide renown. Then it collapsed in the next 100 years until it became almost nothing more than a workshop for miniature votives. Besides the short outburst of creativity and originality of the Argolic orientalizing phase the Argolid produced almost nothing of note throughout the whole seventh century. Some effort continued after the Geometric period for about 50 years but it was mostly a very conservative style; the Argives were attempting to hold on to a period that was long gone and they refused to adapt to the times, with the exception of the workshop or workshops producing the orientalizing style, yet even that did not last. The orientalizing workshops, which do not seem to have operated on a massive scale, dwindled and came to an end towards the middle of the seventh century. Nothing followed that style; there was no progression from it. It was almost as if the orientalizing phase was a sort of experiment which was not successful. It was innovative and exciting but there was no future for it in the Argolid. Afterwards it seems that there was almost nothing being produced besides miniature pottery, pottery meant as votives in the sanctuaries. It was a very monotonous and uninspired ware for the most part and like in other parts of Greece, Corinthian pottery was now imported in much larger quantities than earlier.

The feeling of a general collapse in the industry is so strong that one is tempted to attribute its cause to a dearth of good craftsmen. As seen in the last chapter there is evidence of a movement, though perhaps quite small, out of Argos in the early seventh century; among those who may have left are certain craftsmen either because of political dissatisfaction or other reasons. A similar kind of situation occurred in Mykenaian Greece at the very end of the Bronze Age. The LHIIIIC-Submykenaian Granary Class pottery

can be described as a decadent, debased style and one of the theories used to account for this downfall in the pottery is a dearth of craftsmen. Is it possible then, that there were also fewer good craftsmen in seventh-century Argolid? This is rather speculative of course, and a more mundane reason for the apparent downfall of Argolic pottery manufacture in the seventh century might simply be the recession which seems to have befallen the Argolid and in particular Argos, in that century. There was simply no market for this pottery and so its production stopped. The proximity of Corinth may also have played a role in the collapse of local Argolic initiative in pottery manufacture. It is only at the end of the seventh century that signs of life are again apparent, coinciding with the end of the recession.

All the evidence seems to point to the late eighth century as the time when one should look for a peak in Argive greatness. This is certainly the case in the ceramic industry and the fact that the population dwindled in the seventh century and that some people moved out of the plain altogether as well as the apparent reduction in standard of living at Argos and elsewhere, combine to show an obvious change in the fortunes of Argos in the seventh century. This change affects all the central plain to a considerable degree.

One cannot determine the presence of workshops in the seventh century besides Argos and the various sanctuaries. There is enough evidence in the eighth century to warrant the existence of a few workshops in the central plain and others in the eastern Argolid. The central plain workshops produced pottery which varied to some extent but which was quite similar overall and the picture is of a fairly unified area in outlook and mentality. In the seventh century, although the volume of material falls, in a sense it serves to emphasize the position of Argos since only that settlement seems to have survived into the Archaic period as a community of fair size.

## CHAPTER 5

### METALWORK

## Introduction

Upon excavating an eighth-century Argive grave one might discover two pins placed at the shoulders of the body and rings on various fingers. Besides the vases placed normally by the head one might also come upon various iron objects such as daggers or swords, spearheads and arrowheads. It might not even be too presumptuous to hope for a bronze helmet or other equipment. If the grave belonged to the ninth century a gold object or two might also be included.

In the major sanctuaries of the period one would find that by the eighth century metallic dedications had become very prominent thus one would most probably find very many bronze pins of various types, a certain number of fibulae also of various types, and little figurines usually of horses but occasionally oxen and birds. Large tripod cauldrons would also have their place as would small finger rings.

On the other hand if one were excavating a grave of the seventh century one would have to be extremely fortunate to discover anything other than the bones of the deceased himself. One would be almost completely certain that the dead would not be wearing pins or rings, nor would the archaeologist be likely to find any iron or gold objects.

In the sanctuaries, however, one would not immediately notice much difference from the previous century. Pins and rings would still prove abundant. Tripod cauldrons themselves might still be seen but they would probably not be dedicated much beyond the first quarter of the century. The archaeologist would notice fewer bronze offerings of the late seventh century but he might also take note of little terracotta figurines becoming more prevalent and by the sixth

century these little statuettes would completely dominate dedications.

From a study of such metalwork the archaeologist would be able to learn about a different aspect of life in the eighth and seventh centuries; he would have a better idea of the wealth of the period, especially when he considered the number of metallic objects meant exclusively for sanctuaries. The objects left in graves would also prove informative, especially when compared with the number and type of objects of earlier graves. The changes from the eighth to the seventh century would be even more noticeable here, affording further evidence of an economic downturn.

### Pins

There are two major sources of bronze objects in the Argolid, one is the graves and their offerings and the other is the sanctuary dedications. The first part of this section will deal with the graves and the sanctuaries will follow afterwards. In each section the first part will deal with the material of the eighth century and the second with that of the seventh century.

If one turns to the catalogue of graves of chapter 3 one will find a list of graves and their offerings. In Argos a total of at least thirty-two eighth-century graves contained metallic offerings. At Tiryns bronze gifts were found in seven graves of that century while at Nauplia four graves contained bronzes and three at Mykenai; Lerna, Prosymna, Asine and Troizen each had one grave with bronze objects. In contrast the seventh-century graves yielded bronzes in only five cases, a total of perhaps three at Argos and one each at Mykenai and Porto Kheli.

In Figure 27 is indicated the total graves at each site and those among them with bronze offerings. As a glance at the

Figure shows the number of graves with metallic finds is in fact fairly low. Almost half or more of the MGII graves contained such offerings but approximately only a third of LG graves included bronzes. For the most part the bronzes consist of pins and rings though a few graves also contained bronze phialae or other vessels and rarely, weapons and armour.

Pins are the most common bronze objects placed in graves.<sup>326</sup> Of the Argos graves of the eighth century fifteen or more contained pins: the Alexopoulos B, the Atreos-Danaos grave, Bakaloiannis T106/2, Bonoris T175, Kypouropoulos III, Makris 1, 2, and 3, Museum T176/2, Phlessas 3, South Cemetery T6/1, the Tsouloukha grave, Odeion T45, Papanikolaou T4 and a Papapaskevas grave. Only one seventh-century grave yielded a bronze pin: Kypseli T83. While pins seem most usual in eighth-century contexts they are by no means confined to Geometric graves of such date since in both the EG and MGI the dead were sometimes buried with their rings and pins, such as grave T13, an Early Geometric grave at Argos, or T37 also an Early Geometric grave from Argos, or T191 of the Middle Geometric I from the same site. At Mykenai pins have been found in an Early Geometric grave, G603, and at Tiryns in Early Geometric grave XXIII/2.<sup>327</sup>

Throughout the Geometric period pins were most often placed in pairs in the grave, one on each shoulder of the deceased. Their obvious function in such cases was not simply as gifts but rather as fastenings for the clothing or perhaps the burial shroud worn by the dead person at the time of inhumation. It used to be thought that pins were worn exclusively by women and hence the notion that pins always signalled female burials,<sup>328</sup> but evidence from Argos nullifies this view. In Bonoris grave T175 for instance, a male burial dated to the LGIIa, two bronze pins were placed over the shoulders and arms.



A large degree of consistency among pins from site to site is found throughout the Geometric period. Even among men's, women's or children's graves pins remain consistent. Almost all pins whose type is known fall under Jacobsthal's Geometric Group 1.<sup>329</sup> An example is illustrated in Figure 28. Such pins are characteristic of the whole of the Geometric period though a certain evolution in both style and technique occurs throughout the Geometric period from the Early Geometric to the Late Geometric. At Mykenai for example the pins of EG grave G603 measured 15 and 16 cm. Both have fairly elaborate heads, a flat disc and a shank that is square from disc to globe but round in section below the globe. By the Middle Geometric certain changes are apparent, as for example a pin from Tiryns grave XVI dating to the MGI.<sup>330</sup> Here already the globe is almost biconical and the shank is square for a short distance before becoming round. In the LG the pins are quite similar to those of the MG, although by now the technique is improved and the discs are better modelled while the bulbs are more obviously biconical than in earlier pins. Examples of such LG pins can be found at Mykenai, G605.<sup>331</sup> Some pins are slightly more elaborate, with reels added above the finial.<sup>332</sup>

In general some progression in length takes place throughout the period but it is one which is rather difficult to follow because pins tend to be in fragmentary condition when found in graves. In Argos the shortest pins seem to measure no less than c. 15 cm. and even these are missing either the tip or head or both. More common are pins of c. 25 cm. long; again however these are usually incomplete. Jacobsthal's examples of these pins, Geometric Group 1, feature very diverse measurements, from c. 13 cm. on a pin from Athens to one of 39.5 cm. long. One pin of the first half of the eighth century measures c. 15 cm.; it comes from Corinth.<sup>333</sup> As seen above, however, evidence from Mykenai clearly indicates a trend towards much

longer pins in the LG than in the EG period, yet while long pins seem to have been favoured in the later part of the Geometric, shorter ones still played a role, though a much less important one than previously. Furthermore one would expect extremely long pins to be the preserve of adults yet this is obviously not the case since in grave G605 of Mykenai,<sup>334</sup> a grave of a small child, two pins of over 35 cm. in length were positioned on the chest. In cases where two pins are placed on the shoulders, the interpretation for them assumes their use as fastenings for the Doric peplos, however in the case of a small child, such very long pins could not conceivably have formed part of its everyday clothing and one might thus prefer to associate them with the use of a burial shroud. Even in the case of adults therefore, such pins may also have had a similar function though their probable use as fastenings for the woolen peplos also implies that in most cases the dead were buried in their own clothing.

Herodotos (V.87) claims that after the war with the Athenians, the Argive and Aiginetan women began wearing pins 50% longer than before. Coldstream dates this war c. 750 at the transition of MGII to LGI.<sup>335</sup> If this is correct it might be possible to correlate the longer pins of the LG with such a change of fashion, though most pins are either too fragmentary or in unstratified contexts and so cannot be dated accurately. Suffice it to say that a gradual lengthening of pins takes place in the Geometric period but whether this is to be attributed to a rule put into effect after the war with Athens cannot be ascertained.

Although most Geometric pins have plain shanks, in a few instances the shank bears decoration in tremolo. Grave XVI of the MGII and grave I of the LGI, both in Tiryns, contain a total of six pins with zigzags done in this technique. Grave XXV/2, dated to the LGI phase, also contained two pins with such decoration.<sup>336</sup> In contrast

none of the pins at Mykenai exhibits this feature while at Argos only three pins appear to have tremolo decoration and all three are from grave T6/1 dated MGII.<sup>337</sup> It is a style which continues into the seventh century.

In a few cases pins have been found in pairs crossed together in a small tube. These pins seem to be the longest of all, and can measure over 40 cm. long, as for example the two mentioned above from female grave XXV/2 of the LGI from Tiryns. In Argos Bonoris grave T175, a male grave dated LGIIa, and Museum area grave T176/2 of the LGIIc, were found a pair of such pins in a tube. Those of T175 both measure 37 cm. while those of T176/2 are 33 and 27 cm. long.<sup>338</sup> Both of the pins of T176/2 bear two pearls above the pommel while pin B146 of T175 comprises three pearls; they are an indication of a date in the LG period. All the Argos pins can be classified within Jacobsthal's Group 1 but the Tirynthian ones belong to a different class, Jacobsthal's Geometric Group 2<sup>339</sup> in which the disc is lower down the shank and the shank itself is moulded and comprises various globes and cones. As far as is known these two pins from Tiryns remain the only examples of that type of pin found in graves in the Argolid. Its type is illustrated in Figure 29.

These extremely long pins probably had a different function from the pins placed on the shoulders. Two interpretations are possible, either that such pins are knitting needles or that they were used to fasten the burial shroud. Courbin suggests that the tube was used to "pinch" the fabric around the stems of the pins or to join the two pins together, each pin attaching one side of the shroud. The two pins in other words were crossed and joined at the tube and this is where the folds of the shroud met and were fastened. This it seems was usually by the head.<sup>340</sup> All the examples of these long pins come from LG graves. Perhaps this is indicative of a change of

fashion in the eighth century, one in which some of the dead were now buried in a shroud instead of their own clothing.

So far these remarks have been confined to pins found in graves yet a much greater source of Geometric pins in the Argolid is the Argive Heraion where several different types were dedicated, including seventh-century forms. Thousands of pins were offered to the goddess; in type they include both Jacobsthal's Geometric Groups 1 and 2. The pins of Group 1 are similar to those of the graves noted above, however tremolo decoration appears much more frequently at the Heraion, but of course there are many more pins there than in the graves. As is the case with those placed in graves the pins from the Heraion are often in very fragmentary condition; seldom can true lengths be ascertained. Examples range from small fragments to relatively complete pins of over 30 cm. While Group 1 pins enjoy widespread favour in graves as well as the sanctuary, Group 2 pins seem almost exclusive to shrines. The only known examples of Group 2 pins in graves are those from Tiryns grave XXV/2 noted above. De Cou lists thirty-three such pins from the Heraion plus six discarded.<sup>341</sup> In comparison with Group 1 pins, those of Group 2 do not constitute a very large group yet they play a much more prominent role in the sanctuary than in the graves. None of them appears to be complete except perhaps de Cou's no. 332, 20 cm. long.<sup>342</sup>

Quite a sharp distinction therefore exists between the types of pins left in graves and those dedicated in sanctuaries. Only the pins of Group 1 are found in large numbers in both graves and sanctuaries while for Group 2, only two pins of that type were placed in only one grave, at Tiryns, and in that case they may not have been pins at all. It is interesting that none of the Heraion examples appears to have been crossed in a tube as in the graves although a few of the rings mentioned by de Cou could conceivably have functioned

as such tubes since they seem fairly large and comparable to one in grave T176/2 of Argos.<sup>343</sup> On the other hand if such tubes had a particular function in the graves, as they appear to have had according to Courbin, one would not necessarily expect to find them in the sanctuaries as dedications since they may have been used strictly with the burial shroud. The purpose of such pins thus remains problematical and it may just be that they served different functions at different times.

When discussing Group 2 pins it is perhaps the word "pin" itself which is a misnomer. The factor is one of length; some of these Heraion pins are over 80 cm. long and it is difficult to think of them as pins in the usual sense of the word. It is in fact within Group 2 pins that must be classed the spits found in large numbers at the Heraion. One cannot easily distinguish spits from pins except in terms of length. A true spit, however, has a shaft that is usually square all the way down and the spit is usually built more robustly. Jacobsthal notes that such spits must still be regarded as pins,<sup>344</sup> although undoubtedly they remain a rather special kind of pin, the often extreme length of which precludes them from having been worn by ordinary people. They were probably therefore meant especially for Hera and this is no doubt the reason for their absence from graves.

Another type of pin represented in the Geometric period in both graves and sanctuaries is the type called "T-pins" by Jacobsthal.<sup>345</sup> In Argos museum area grave T176/2 of the LGIIc one such bronze pin was found (B137) together with one of iron (F53). The bronze pin has as decoration incised parallel lines on the head. Other examples of this type were found in South Cemetery T6/1 of the MGII but those are of iron. At the Heraion approximately thirty such pins are mentioned.<sup>346</sup> Here too several cases of iron T-pins are included

in the catalogue. In most cases only the head remains and their ends usually have a conical projection. Jacobsthal dates the type from the second half of the eighth century to 550 B.C. mainly on the basis of the shank's elaboration with globes and cones. Courbin feels that this type of pin was primarily an iron type and was imitated in bronze.<sup>347</sup> They are a type of pin which seem especially prominent in the Argolid and Jacobsthal only mentions three outside that area, one from Tegea and two from Aigina, both areas strongly under Argolic influence at that time.

Turning to the seventh century a sharp contrast appears, firstly because of the fact that only three bronze pins of this date have been found in graves, and secondly because of the nature of the pins themselves. Two main types of pins appear in this period, the first of which is Jacobsthal's Geometric Group 3.<sup>348</sup> These pins are characterized by their thin, wide disc and proliferation of beads; the earliest datable examples of the type come from a grave in Argos, Bakaloiannis T106/2, dated to the very end of the eighth century. All the others come from the Argive Heraion, where de Cou lists over two hundred of this type, an example of which is shown in Figure 30.<sup>349</sup> Although most frequently found in the Argolid others of the same type have been observed in Aigina and Perakhora as well as Sparta, Lousoi and Tegea, all areas influenced by the Argolid; their contexts place the majority of such pins within the Subgeometric period, the early part of the seventh century, so it is likely that the Heraion pins date to this period as well. In contrast with earlier pins these seem to have a reduced length, being, as Jacobsthal calls them, medium or short.

This shortness is also a feature of the Orientalizing pin, also a seventh-century type, noted for its ornate head and round shank, as in Figure 31. The degree of ornateness varies considerably,

with some having a thin, flat, wide disc, as some of the Argive Heraion.<sup>350</sup> Below the disc stands a globe or cones of rather small size. In the second phase the globes or cones take on a wider role and both they and the disc are often incised. Only three examples of such pins come from graves, two from Argos in Kypseli grave T83, dated to the end of the seventh century and the third comes from a Subgeometric burial at Mykenai.<sup>351</sup> The two pins of the Argos grave were obviously gifts since they were wrapped in gold leaf. Unfortunately they are not described. That so few pins have been found in seventh-century graves should not be surprising since graves of that period were almost all devoid of any gifts whatsoever, as has already been seen in chapter 3. The greatest source remains the Heraion, and it seems probable that they are a Peloponnesian invention; since their greatest numbers are from the Argolid itself it is reasonable to assume that this was in fact their home.

A couple of other sanctuaries in the Argolid have also yielded pins, though in far smaller quantities than the Heraion. At Tiryns the so-called temple of Hera produced only nine bronze pins; in type they seem restricted to Jacobsthal's Orientalizing pins and resemble those of AH II P1. LXXXVIII. They would thus date to the seventh century. Pins were also dedicated at Epidauros but unfortunately the excavators did not give any details concerning type.<sup>352</sup>

The Argolid thus seems to have been at the forefront in the development of bronze pins. This is where they are found in the greatest numbers and it is not surprising that most pins outside the Argolid are all in areas near it, Perakhora, Aigina and Tegea being among the most important sources, all areas closely related to the Argolid historically.

That Group 2 and 3 pins as well as Orientalizing pins are almost exclusively reserved for sanctuaries and are very rare in

graves might simply reflect a matter of fashion. The absence of Group 3 and Orientalizing pins in graves simply indicates the prevailing attitude of the seventh century that nothing should be placed in the grave with the dead. Although pins at the shoulders are usually equated with clothing their absence may not mean the opposite, but rather that the dead were simply wrapped in a shroud without fastenings. By the second half of the eighth century interest was shifting away from graves as sources of dedications and focusing instead on sanctuaries.

### Fibulae

Bronze fibulae are quite rarely found in graves although they are plentiful in sanctuaries. In Argos only seven fibulae dating to the eighth century have been found and these come from only three graves: five in Makris grave 2, one in the museum area grave T163 and one in Makris grave 1.<sup>353</sup> Makris grave 1 is dated to the MGII period while grave 2 dates to the MG-LG and T163 is LGIIb. In Makris 2 the fibulae were in a bronze vessel which also contained pins and rings and in T163 the fibula was lying at the bottom of the cist. In at least one case, Makris 2, were the fibulae given specifically as gifts while the position of that in Makris 1 suggests it formed part of the apparel of the deceased. All those of Makris 2 and T163 are the type with arc, shank and square catchplate, falling under Blinkenberg's Class VIII,<sup>354</sup> the so-called Boeotian type. This type is illustrated in Figure 32. The only other site to have yielded an eighth-century fibula in a grave is Lerna, pithos PA6-1. It too belongs to Blinkenberg's Class VIII with typical square catchplate but much wider bow. Its type and decoration place it in the later part of the eighth century.<sup>355</sup> It is interesting that of the four graves of the



period containing fibulae, two belonged to small children.

Fibulae are not confined to the eighth century, however, and there are examples of fibulae in earlier graves. Mykenai G603 of the EG period has yielded one of Blinkenberg's Class II<sup>356</sup> as has a Berbati grave of the MGI in Mykenaian Tomb III. The Berbati fibula belongs to Blinkenberg's Class VIII and it seems to have formed part of the headdress of the dead.<sup>357</sup> A ninth-century child pithos burial from Tiryns has yielded a bronze fibula in addition to pins<sup>358</sup> and going back even further there is a PG child grave from Asine containing an iron fibula.<sup>359</sup> Dating to the Submykenaian period is an example from Tiryns grave XIIIb<sup>360</sup> and there is also a bronze fibula from Argos in the Deiras cemetery, in grave XXIX dating to the very end of the LHIIIIC/Submykenaian period.<sup>361</sup>

It is noteworthy that several of these fibulae belong to Blinkenberg's Class VIII. De Vries, in studying the Lerna example, has claimed a Boeotian monopoly in such fibulae but recently opinions have tended to favour an Argolic workshop. The common view was that fibulae were an intrusion in the Argolid; since most were found in sanctuaries they must have been brought by foreign visitors. The evidence from the graves, however, indicates that fibulae were actually worn in the Argolid, as were pins, and it is essentially because of this evidence that K. Kilian believes some Boeotian-type fibulae were made in the Argolid.<sup>362</sup> Recently H. Philipp, in studying the pins and fibulae of Olympia, has reiterated Kilian's opinion.<sup>363</sup> Many examples similar to the Lerna fibula were found at the Argive Heraion and these in all probability were also manufactured in the Argolid. There is no longer any need to assume that "Boeotian" fibulae were all made in Boeotia. Further evidence for an Argolic workshop is afforded by a bronze horse figurine in Bonn.<sup>364</sup> The horse is typical of the Argolic type to be discussed later in this chapter and its

incised decoration consisting of a bird closely resembles that on the Lerna fibula. Based on such considerations the Lerna fibula should therefore be of Argolic manufacture. One further piece of evidence concerning a local workshop should be mentioned, a fibula from the Argive Heraion. It corresponds to Blinkenberg's Class IV 2, island Greek, but sitting on top of the fibula are two birds which Bouzek feels are typical of the Argolic type.<sup>365</sup> The fibula itself therefore must also have been made in the Argolid. In general fibulae are not so common as pins but they are a steady feature throughout the Dark Ages in the Argolid, and when one considers the Argolid's preeminent position in bronze manufacture in general, it becomes easy to accept an Argolic workshop also for fibulae in the Geometric period.

A considerable number of fibulae were dedicated at the sanctuaries, in particular the Argive Heraion. The types cover quite a large selection including Blinkenberg's Class II, III, VI-VIII, X-XV. These fibulae belong to types of several different areas including Thessaly, Attica-Boeotia, Asia Minor, Cyprus and so on. Of these types Class II and III are too early to be of concern here but most of those of Class IV onwards date to the eighth century. Illustrations of these types have been published in the Argive Heraeum.<sup>366</sup> In the later excavations at the sanctuary Blegen found several fibulae corresponding to types already known from Waldstein's excavations but he also noted a safety-pin shape with a broad, flat back with incised decoration. This was the only unusual type.<sup>367</sup> Since most of the pottery from the shrine dates to the Protocorinthian period of the end of the eighth and early seventh century the fibula can also be regarded as belonging to that date. In Caskey and Amandry's later excavation only one fibula was recovered, one resembling de Cou's no. 813 in Pl. LXXXIV of the Argive Heraeum.<sup>368</sup> At Tiryns

on the other hand only one fibula is mentioned as coming from the Hera sanctuary; it is of Boeotian type, Blinkenberg's Class VIII.<sup>369</sup>

The very high incidence of pins and fibulae at the Argive Heraion is intriguing, especially considering the rarity of fibulae in graves when compared with pins. The fact that fibulae are not found in more graves in the Argolid may only reflect a custom of the day - fibulae were perhaps passed on within the family and not left in graves. Perhaps they were a greater "status symbol" than pins, and thus of greater value, hence the desire to keep them within the family rather than leave them in the grave. In any case they were obviously very highly regarded as votives for Hera, as were pins. Many of the pins at the Heraion are of an extreme length and it is difficult to imagine ordinary mortals wearing pins of 50 or 60 cm., yet a goddess, especially if that goddess' image were several times lifesize, would easily wear pins of such length. In the same way fibulae may have been regarded as especially suitable for the goddess.

In connection with all of this is some interesting evidence from Pausanias who remarks that every fourth year the women of Elis wove a garment for Hera in her temple at Olympia.<sup>370</sup> Presumably such a garment could have necessitated the offering of pins or fibulae as symbolic fasteners. At Olympia, in fact, large numbers of pins and fibulae were dedicated and these correspond to types found at the Argive Heraion.<sup>371</sup> Very little is known about the rituals at the Argive Heraion but it remains a possibility that something similar to Olympia took place there also and that the pins and fibulae were dedicated by the women in order to fasten Hera's garment symbolically. Further particulars about this will be said in chapter 9 when dealing with the Argive Heraion sanctuary itself.

### Rings

Besides pins bronze rings have an important place among the goods placed in graves. The best information about them is provided by Courbin.<sup>372</sup> In most cases the rings were actually worn by the dead, so like the pins placed at the shoulder, they probably do not constitute offerings as such. Only in a few instances do they appear to have been given as gifts, as for example ring B20 found among the vases of South Cemetery grave T6/2.<sup>373</sup> As Courbin states however, the ring may actually belong to the first use of the grave and have been thrown out during the reopening. In this case it may not have been an offering as such and could conceivably have been on a finger of the earlier body.

Rings are of two main types, one flat and one with a central ridge; they in fact present the appearance rather of bands than rings. Such rings have been noted in graves not only of Argos but of course, Tiryns, for example grave II and grave XXIII/3 of the LGII with nine rings, Lerna pithos PA6-1, Mykenai grave GII, Nauplia Pronoia grave XI and Porto Kheli grave 154.<sup>374</sup> They are all fairly similar and do not exhibit many differences in type. At Argos, Mykenai and Tiryns for instance, the typical rings include a plain band,<sup>375</sup> a type as current in the LG as it was in the EG, or a band with a slight ridge round the middle, as for instance Mykenai G603, an EG grave, or Tiryns grave XIIIb, or Argos T191 of the EGII and T6/1 of the MGII. These types correspond to Verdelis' types B, D, and E.<sup>376</sup> A variant of these is type H, a flat band narrower than the other three.

At Argos a few rings are of spiral form, for example B31 and B32 of T37, dated EGII. One of them was found on one of the dead person's fingers. This type of ring seems less common and in fact of the graves published by Courbin, only two examples are mentioned. At Lerna the child buried in grave PA6-1 was wearing two rings, both of

which are characterized by their straight sides and zigzag decoration in tremolo. This type parallels the six of grave XXIII of Tiryns, which were also worn on the fingers of the dead. One ring with tremolo decoration also comes from Asine, grave PG44, which Hägg dates to the MG or LG period.<sup>377</sup>

At the Argive Heraion rings of all the types noted above are found and many of them have tremolo decoration.<sup>378</sup> As is the case with the rest of the offerings from the Heraion the rings are unstratified but those from graves with tremolo decoration all come from LGII contexts and this may therefore provide the date for the sanctuary dedication of rings. Although this type of ring had its appeal in the LG in the Argolid the older types of rings with more angular profiles and without incision continued to be used, as is evident by the three of that type from grave XXIII in Tiryns. The main development thus occurs in the LG period in the later part of the eighth century with the appearance of the vertical-sided ring, some with tremolo decoration. These were very popular in the LG period in the Argolid; those of the Lerna pithos for example were of this type. At the Argive Heraion both types are seen as well as the ridged variety. A further type of ring is more massive, triangular in section, and these Courbin thinks are a later variety.<sup>379</sup> Examples are found in Bakaloiannis grave T90/3 as well as South Cemetery T6, both of the MGII, and museum area T176 of the LGIIc. Analogous rings were offered at the Heraion. These rings often bear some incised linear decoration and they do not seem earlier than the eighth century. Angular rings of this type have earlier counterparts, however they are not so massive.<sup>380</sup>

Turning to the seventh century only one bronze ring has been found in a securely-dated context, in grave 154 of Porto Kheli, dated to the late seventh century. The ring is described as a plain band. The only two other rings come from two Archaic graves at

Argos and so may be sixth century.<sup>381</sup> No doubt many of the rings at the Argive Heraion are to be dated to the seventh century but their stratigraphy is unknown. Most rings at Perakhora, where their contexts are better known, date to the later part of the Archaic period. They are paralleled by dedications at the Argive Heraion<sup>382</sup> and judging from the example from Porto Kheli it seems that the plain type of band continued throughout the seventh century.

An indication of the number of graves containing rings and the total number of graves at each site from the MGII to the Archaic period is given in Figure 33. As with pins an increase in the number of people buried with rings occurs in the LG but the increase is not so noticeable as for pins and in fact in comparison with the total number of graves of the MGII and LG periods a higher proportion of people in the MGII were buried with rings than in the LG. The only sanctuary where a significant number of rings was offered is the Heraion but in de Cou's classification, finger rings suddenly become decorative rings of equal or larger diameter so exact numbers are impossible. In any case there are far more than in the graves. This seems to reflect the tendency at the end of the Geometric period of turning the attention away from individual graves to the sanctuaries.

Finally before leaving rings a few bronze-iron rings should be noted. One comes from grave GII of Mykenai, thus LG in date. It consists of a thin sheet of iron coated with bronze, with a central ridge round the middle. Two others were found in grave Alexopoulos B' of the MGII period in Argos.<sup>383</sup> These rings are exceptional however, and rings made solely of bronze remained the favourite throughout the period.

#### Armour

Another class of bronzework which played a most important role in the Argolid of this period is armour. In the so-called Panoply Grave (T45) of the Odeion area a bronze helmet and cuirass had been deposited with several other bronze and iron objects. Since the publication of that very important grave two others have also yielded bronze helmets, one in the Stavropoulou plot, dated to the LG, and one in the Theodoropoulou plot dated LGI.<sup>384</sup> The Stavropoulou grave also contained what may be a bronze breastplate. Both the helmets from this grave and the Panoply Grave are of the same type, the Kegelhelm type, and in fact Mrs. Deilaki feels they may both come from the same workshop. The helmet in the Theodoropoulou grave is of a different type since it has no cheekpieces and bears engraved decoration including two eyes, as seen in Plate 28.a. The date of the helmet is provided by pottery of the LGI period found in the grave.

These three helmets thus illustrate two types, the Kegelhelm represented by the Panoply Grave and the Stavropoulou grave, and the open-faced type represented by the Theodoropoulou grave. Essential to the Kegelhelm helmet is its conical shape and the cheekpieces. Both helmets possess these features and that of T45 has an additional feature, a tall crest tilting at both front and back so that it almost touches the helmet. As for the Stavropoulou helmet the report does not state whether the absence of a crest was caused by accident or by design. In any case besides this it remains virtually the same as the T45 helmet. Snodgrass lists the known examples of this helmet type in Greece and these include at least eighteen from Olympia and one possible one from Delos<sup>385</sup> but the Argos examples are the only ones found in clearly-datable contexts and they do in fact seem to be among the earliest remains, both dating to graves of the second half of the eighth century. The Panoply Grave is the most closely dated, although opinions vary about its date. It has been placed c. 730

by Courbin but c. 710 by Coldstream.<sup>386</sup> The Stavropoulou grave cannot be dated any more closely than the second half of the century. The pottery from this grave is still unpublished. Two other fairly complete finds from Olympia are also dated by Snodgrass to the period near the end of the century, the same date perhaps as the Panoply Grave.<sup>387</sup> The other known examples seem slightly later, either dating to the very end of the eighth century or early seventh century.

The other helmet, of the open-faced type without cheekpieces, was found in the Theodoropoulou grave in Argos, dated to the LGI phase. It is a type of helmet whose distribution, confined to miniatures and representations, seemed to give it a Cretan origin. These miniatures come from three sites in Crete, Praisos, Palaikastro and Gortyn. They are usually dated to the first half of the seventh century.<sup>388</sup> In representations there are examples from Knossos on a pot of 675-650, at Fortetsa and Kavousi and Dreros. These all date to the seventh century.<sup>389</sup> Now, with the evidence from the Theodoropoulou grave in Argos there is perhaps room for speculation and rethinking about the possible origins. Certainly it cannot be merely coincidence that the earliest known complete and full-sized model comes from Argos where two other bronze helmets have also been found. Since the Theodoropoulou grave dates to the LGI period perhaps the miniatures dated to the first half of the seventh century should be slightly earlier in date. Interesting too is the fact that the Argos example bears decoration which does not seem to be the case for the others although this may only be because they are miniatures.

Mrs. Deilaki, who published both the Stavropoulou and Theodoropoulou graves, feels that in the three helmets are represented the three steps in the development of armour.<sup>390</sup> The Theodoropoulou open-faced helmet would thus be the first stage, dated to the period just after the middle of the eighth century, while the Stavropoulou



grave, with its uncrested (?) Kegelhelm helmet, stands at an intermediate stage, and finally T45 at the end of the series, slightly later in date, c. 730-710. Such helmets may also be depicted on Argolic pottery of the period. In the last chapter were mentioned several sherds on which the warriors seem to be wearing helmets. Fairly common is the tall, conical type which could easily represent the open-faced type or even the Kegelhelm. The bronze helmet may thus have been fairly common in the LG period and not only in Argos itself since such representations can be observed on sherds from other sites including Tiryns. It is possible however that the depictions on sherds are not bronze helmets at all but rather some sort of cap of leather or other material yet one cannot help feeling that these are accurate representations of helmets in use in the second half of the eighth century in the Argolid.

The implications these helmets cause are of major significance for understanding the position of Argos at that period for here is a site that has produced not only one but three helmets at a period when they are otherwise known only in art, as miniatures and perhaps in sanctuaries. It should be noted, however, that since there are representations of helmets in art elsewhere, they may have been based on actual helmets. The fact that Argos is the only place where actual helmets have been found, apart from the Olympia votives, does not necessarily mean, of course, that there were no helmets at this period in other parts of Greece but so far, the Argos examples seem among the earliest. Undoubtedly Argos was of primary importance in the development of bronze helmets. This implies quite far-reaching contacts since the Kegelhelm helmet derives from Urartu and Anatolia<sup>391</sup> of the ninth century. The open-faced type, also ultimately derived from Oriental models, implies contacts with Crete since the type seems most common there though if they are in fact to be dated to the seventh

century then perhaps Crete and Argos were both involved in a similar process, in contact with each other and the east. It is to be remembered, however, that these helmets found in Argos are basically old-fashioned types that did not have much of a future and were replaced by the Corinthian helmet in the seventh century.

No less important than the helmet is the bronze breast-plate of which one and perhaps two examples have been unearthed in Argos, one complete from T45 and another consisting only of fragments from the Theodoropoulou grave. Here then are two graves whose occupants were wearing body armour and helmets at a time when they seem unknown anywhere else. The Argos T45 grave corslet is of the bell-shape variety, whose origins go back to central Europe, thus far-reaching contacts are again implied for Argos though they need not have been direct and it may be more probable to believe that various middlemen were involved. As Snodgrass suggests the Argives may have received the idea for such a corslet in their trade with the western colonies. Nevertheless the corslet itself could have been manufactured in Argos based on those seen elsewhere and ultimately derived from central Europe.<sup>392</sup>

This evidence points to a very strong and competent metal industry within the Argolid in the later half of the eighth century. In the manufacture of bronze pins the Argolid was unsurpassed throughout the Geometric period and a copious production continued in the seventh century. Now the bronze armour reveals this leadership to an even greater extent. The importance of the corslet in particular cannot be overestimated and in fact it remains the only clearly-datable find of its kind in Greece. The warriors wearing such corslets and helmets must indeed have been ahead of their time and no doubt possessed considerable wealth. Although the warrior of the Panoply Grave was well equipped he does not appear to have been a hoplite since

both greaves and shield were missing from the graves and both are essential components of the hoplite armour. It is also possible that the warrior did have greaves and a shield but that the shield, for instance, was not placed in the grave, perhaps being passed on from father to son. Their absence therefore, does not invalidate the possibility of hoplites at the end of the eighth century, but it may be that the warrior of T45 was simply exceptionally well equipped for his time. It was a time of experimentation with various forms of armour for here are three helmets, none exactly like the other, dating to within twenty-five years of each other. All of the eighth-century armour so far found in the Argolid comes from Argos itself, an important fact when considering Argos' position at this period.

### Tripod Cauldrons

The manufacture of tripod cauldrons represents one aspect of the bronze industry in the Argolid which is perhaps more difficult to assess. Tripod cauldrons of monumental size and the various animal, bird, and human figurines used as part of the handle attachments or on their own have always posed a problem because their distribution is spread out over a number of sanctuaries, from Delphi to Olympia and Ithaka, as well as Perakhora, the Argive Heraion, Sparta and others. Several classifications of tripod cauldrons have been proposed over the years by various scholars including S. Benton, M. Weber, B. Schweitzer, C. Rolley, F. Willemsen and A. Furtwängler. Tripod cauldrons come in two distinct classes, one cast and the other hammered. Recently Coldstream has reiterated Schweitzer's classification in which the cast type is divided into four categories. In the first the tripod cauldrons are simply kitchen utensils with the legs solidly cast and riveted to the cauldron; this group is dated

tentatively to the late ninth century. In the second group the legs of which are now cast hollow, the main difference is their more monumental appearance and greater decoration. These are dated to the early eighth century. In the third group the legs can be compared to a double-T and are not cast solid; there is also relief decoration on the legs and handles. The fourth group, the legs of which still resemble a double-T, is characterized by the grooved steps on the legs. It is a type especially popular at Olympia, Delphi and Ithaca. Finally in the fifth group the legs and handles are hammered as opposed to being cast as in the four other groups. The legs still resemble a double-T and much engraved decoration adorns both legs and handles.<sup>393</sup>

Recently Rolley has examined the tripod cauldrons from Delphi and concludes that the great majority of hammered tripods there originate in Athens.<sup>394</sup> Their most important period dates from the LG to the first quarter of the seventh century. Rolley also feels that most of the hammered tripods from Olympia are Attic.

The group of greatest concern here is Schweitzer's third in which relief decoration adorns the legs and handles and horses often crown the handles. The fragments from Olympia provide a few examples of this group, as for example Plate 28.b in which the decoration of the leg consists of horizontal and vertical zigzags in relief, or Plate 29.a in which the decoration, besides zigzags, includes a panel containing a cross encircled by a zigzag. Sometimes spirals are added as well as simple linear motifs. On the handles one can often see openwork zigzag patterns.<sup>395</sup> A few similar handles come from Delphi.<sup>396</sup> Rolley, however, classifies this third group into two classes: (1) legs with decoration in panels, and (2) legs decorated solely with chevrons and zigzags. A third class, with legs decorated in grooved steps, equals Schweitzer's fourth group. The three classes are felt by Rolley to be contemporary but of different proveniences.<sup>397</sup>

Some of the tripod cauldron legs from the Argive Heraion can be said to fall into Rolley's first class and an extremely similar leg comes from Delphi.<sup>398</sup> Several legs similar to those in Rolley's first class have also been found at Olympia.<sup>399</sup>

To try to attribute workshops to these various tripods is tentative at best since their distribution does not allow simple conclusions to be drawn. Willemsen had claimed an Argolic origin for some of the cast tripods from Olympia and a Corinthian one for the hammered tripod cauldrons.<sup>400</sup> Rolley, however, feels that hammered tripods have an Attic origin, partly because of the fact that several of this type have been found on the akropolis in Athens and at Delphi. If Rolley is correct in his assessment it means that if any tripods are Argolic or Corinthian, they must fall under the cast group. Corinth has been identified by Willemsen as the home of cast tripods with grooved steps as decoration on the legs, an identification generally accepted, because such tripods have also been found at Delphi in addition to Olympia and Ithaka. Insofar as the cast tripods with decoration consisting of panels are concerned, these are the ones usually thought to have been produced in Argolic workshops. This in fact is the type one finds commonly at the Argive Heraion and very similar ones were dedicated at both Delphi and Olympia. In this case too, however, the attribution to Argos may be somewhat hasty. Rolley's contention that the Delphi cast tripods should be called Peloponnesian<sup>401</sup> and nothing more demonstrates a more cautious approach to the problem of identifying workshops.

Argos, Corinth and Athens may all have been important workshops but one cannot be certain of this since sanctuary material by its very nature often presents difficulties. The dedications may have various proveniences from areas other than that of the sanctuary itself. There is no conclusive evidence proving that the tripods at

the Argive Heraion were manufactured by Argolic craftsmen yet there is no reason to suppose that foreign craftsmen were employed. It seems fairly certain that based simply on the distribution of such tripods in the eighth century, tripod cauldrons with legs having panelled decoration were indeed Argolic. Furthermore the style of the panel decoration in some instances closely recalls Argolic vase painting of the LG period and Coldstream notes, for example, the manger and the panel above the horse's back on one such panel as typically Argolic features;<sup>402</sup> therefore such tripod cauldrons at Olympia and also Delphi are most probably of Argolic manufacture.

Most recently M. Maas has reexamined the tripod cauldrons from Olympia and he has established a new classification system for them: Class I are those with solid legs and handles, Class II are the tripods with relief decoration, Class III have stepped ridges and Class IV are hammered. The first three classes are cast.<sup>403</sup> Maas' approach to the problem of classifying bronze tripod cauldrons is interesting in being more technically oriented than past works on the subject. In essence the tripods of greatest concern here are those of Class II; these are the tripods classified as Argolic and they best correspond to those at the Argive Heraion. Their decoration can be either applied or moulded and on one of these relief tripod cauldrons, (Plate 29.b) the decoration of horse and zigzag on the leg has parallels on Argolic pottery of the Late Geometric.<sup>404</sup> The claim for an Argolic workshop in such tripod cauldrons is thus quite well established, an attribution which is corroborated by the similarity of the decorative schemes on Argolic pottery.

As mentioned above, Schweitzer's third class was Argolic and according to Maas, this attribution is still correct, however Schweitzer's second class must also now be regarded as Argolic, primarily because Maas feels that Schweitzer's class III developed

naturally out of his class II tripod cauldrons, hence both classes should be attributed to the same workshop. These tripods were such huge works that it must be assumed that Argolic craftsmen were employed at Olympia itself. Evidence that the tripods were made at Olympia comes in the form of a piece of a mould used for casting a leg of a tripod. As is often true with sanctuary material in general, the dates for the production of bronze tripods is difficult to establish but Maas suggests a ninth-century date for his first class, although Coldstream favours only a late ninth-century date for these "massive" tripods of Class I.<sup>405</sup> Maas' Class II, the Argolic cauldrons, Coldstream dates to the first three quarters of the eighth century while his third class, the Corinthian tripods, begins somewhat later in the eighth century and overlaps somewhat with the Attic hammered tripods of the late eighth and early seventh centuries. An eighth-century date for his Class II is well suited to the evidence of LG pottery for the decorative schemes of such tripods and it also agrees well with the evidence for the manufacture of bronze figurines at Olympia, as will be seen in the next section. It should be stressed again, however, that the dates are tentative, based as they are on the style of the figurines attached to the handles, as well as on the decoration of the legs.

### Figurines

Related to the question of the tripod cauldron workshops is that of the figurines, both animal and human, attached to the cauldrons themselves, free-standing or on bases. Several figurines come from the Heraion; horses are perhaps the most common and it is noteworthy that they are all set on bases. The other major sanctuaries of the Argolid were practically devoid of metal offerings and it seems that the only other sanctuary to have produced a bronze horse is

Kalaureia where a free-standing horse of fairly typical Geometric appearance was dedicated together with various other bronzes and terracottas of different periods. It resembles quite closely a horse from Olympia dated to the early eighth century<sup>406</sup> but its main difference lies in its extremely short ears. At Olympia all the horses are either attached to handles of cauldrons or are free-standing; none is set on a base and at Delphi some are on bases and others on handles.

The Heraion horses immediately strike one by their resemblance to depictions on LG vases of the Argolid. In the preceding chapter were pointed out those characteristics which Coldstream found peculiar to Argolic horses, in particular the protruding shoulder, high carriage of the head, and backward bend of the forelegs.<sup>407</sup> Certain of these aspects are also to be noticed on some of the Heraion horses, as for example Plate 30.a in which all these features are present. In the earlier examples the body is narrow and the neck flat and neither mouth nor eyes is distinguished. As the type develops the body fills out and the neck thickens while the features of the various parts of the body are better differentiated. Two examples are given in Plate 30.b. The earlier horse is that on the left, as seen in particular in its proportions. The horse on the right, with its better-modelled head, longer legs and thicker neck, is dated later in the eighth century. Usually the legs are long and straight.

At Perakhora some horses of a type similar to the Argolic series were dedicated. They too have bases and are dated by Payne to the second half of the eighth century.<sup>408</sup> Based on the decoration of the bases of two of the horses from the Argive Heraion (Plates 30.a and 30.b, right), Payne dates them also to the second half of the eighth century. All these horses may have been used as seals or stamps, as is suggested by their decorated bases. The base of the horse in Plate 30.a is quite interesting. It depicts in relief two animals



facing a central column (?). The animal on the left appears to be a horse, but that on the right is rather more leonine in appearance. On the back of the animal on the left stands another animal, but the design is so worn as to make it impossible to distinguish its species. The practice of having one animal in a panel above the horse's back is something seen quite frequently on Argolic LG pottery, and this is further evidence in support of an Argolic workshop in bronze animal figurines. Furthermore as opposed to horses of other areas, those from the Argolid usually stand on solid bases. There are some examples, however, of horses on solid bases from places other than the Argolid, for instance a horse from Phigalia with the Molione twins as decoration on the base. Hampe has dated that horse to the end of the Geometric period on the basis of style.<sup>409</sup>

These bronze horses have caused much controversy, primarily because of the variety of the horses from the Heraion, making it difficult to pinpoint characteristics of the local school. In general it is their similarity to representations on pottery that marks them out but since the Heraion figurines are rather few in number, attempts have been made to learn more about the Argolic school from figurines at other sanctuaries, in particular Olympia. Various scholars have tried pinpointing dedications of different areas but problems always remain and no classification seems entirely successful. In trying to establish Argolic origins for horses at Olympia one must always bear in mind a fundamental difference: most of those at Olympia were meant to crown the handles of tripod cauldrons and all are without bases. Their very nature renders any attribution to any particular workshop perilous, primarily because a reliance on stylistic criteria often proves insufficient.

In the most recent work dealing with the handle attachments and free-standing figurines from Olympia, Heilmeyer concludes

that a large number were produced by Argolic craftsmen.<sup>410</sup> He feels that the bronze figurines at Olympia must be examined in relation to the clay figurines and the tripod cauldron production. In this way based on his dates for the clay figurines he dates the earliest statuettes to the late tenth century and lists a couple of Argolic pieces as among the oldest. The Argive Heraion horses thus take on a very important role since they provide the basis for the identification of the Olympia figurines as Argolic. According to Heilmeyer the Argolic series extends until the early seventh century. Oxen play a role almost as important as horses in his series. Dedications are most numerous in the eighth century and although they continue into the seventh century they end very soon, possibly because already by the end of the eighth century the Argolid's interest in tripod cauldrons had been replaced by clay votives.

Heilmeyer seems to have established a datable sequence for the bronze figurines at Olympia, although it must be admitted that his dates are still very conjectural and little more than guesswork. In terms of relative chronology his series is quite useful and a certain development can be seen in the horses and oxen but the difficulty lies with his absolute dates, for which in fact there is no evidence. The figurines are all sanctuary votives; they are not in stratified contexts nor is there any pottery as early as his early Iron Age bronzes of the tenth and ninth centuries. Much of Heilmeyer's evidence for these early dates comes from a comparison with the clay figurines also from Olympia, some of which he has dated to the Proto-geometric and EG periods.<sup>411</sup> The problem here too is that the dates of these clay figurines are themselves extremely tentative and based on no firm stratigraphic or ceramic evidence.

Very little is known about the early history of Olympia but the traditional date of 776 for the establishment of the

Games means that the sanctuary existed at least by that time. Throughout the ninth century the Games seem to have been a purely Peloponnesian affair, judging from the victor lists of the late fifth century as compiled by Hippias of Elis.<sup>412</sup> The Argolic bronze horses of the eighth century are fairly easy to identify at Olympia and very similar horses are found at the Argive Heraion. It is thus easy to accept the theory that eighth-century Argolic craftsmen produced these little votives, perhaps at Olympia itself, for their fellow worshippers. The problem concerns the ninth-century bronzes. Do they date to the ninth century and are they Argolic? If, in the ninth century, Argolic craftsmen were already producing bronze horses for Olympia, why were they not also manufacturing similar horses for the Argive Heraion? Furthermore why were horses not represented on ninth-century pottery? It is only in the eighth century that horses are commonly seen on pottery and it is only in the eighth century that horses were dedicated at the Heraion, at least insofar as can be discerned from the Argive Heraeum publication in which there do not appear to be any horses earlier than the eighth century and this is also the date of the earliest pottery at the site. Certainly the horses at Olympia do show some development of style but there is really nothing to establish how long that development took. The horses which Heilmeyer characterizes as early ninth century could just as easily be dated to the late ninth century. The horses on LG pottery do have their counterparts in the eighth-century horses at the Heraion and Olympia, characterized by Coldstream as having long legs, tall neck, flattened mane, and a high rump, with horizontal muzzle and rounded modelling throughout.<sup>413</sup> At this stage of our knowledge it would seem very hazardous to accept ninth-century dates for the more primitive-looking horses simply on the basis of style without firmer corroborating evidence. Perhaps a late ninth-century or early eighth-century date for the earliest

Argolic horses would be more suitable, insofar as this would be closer in time to the earliest representations on pottery and to the establishment of the Games in the early eighth century and it would agree well with Maas' dates for the Argive series in tripod cauldrons. The development from primitive to more natural-looking horses need not have taken so long as Heilmeyer supposes. There is thus need for some caution when dealing with sanctuary material such as that at Olympia and from the evidence as it stands today, an eighth-century Argolic workshop for bronze horses and oxen at Olympia is acceptable but dates earlier than the late ninth century seem highly conjectural.

The horses and oxen which Heilmeyer characterizes as Argolic show great variety. Only two of them stand on a base, contrary to those of the Argive Heraion. The earliest figurines, dated by Heilmeyer to the late tenth century, a date which is perhaps too early, have a massive body and long proportions and he feels they were actually made at Olympia but dependent on the Argolic production of tripods. Their date is based on a comparison with clay votives from the sanctuary and is therefore not very reliable. Argolic animals from Olympia seem to have cylindrical muzzles, a feature evident throughout the Geometric period. In the eighth century the figurines adopt better proportions and are better articulated. The neck is tall and straight with a flattened mane. Eyes are shown by dots and some animals bear decoration in the form of zigzags. By the second half of the eighth century the Olympia figurines again undergo changes in proportions. Legs become longer while the body remains relatively long and heavy. While the legs are straighter and more rigid in being placed more firmly on the ground the contours in general are more flexible. Some of the horses which he dates to the LG period are illustrated in Plates 31.a, 31.b, and 32.a. They have the characteristics of their time as noted above.

At the Argive Heraion far fewer horses were dedicated than at Olympia and so the development of style is not so easy to follow. According to Heilmeyer's classification of the Olympia bronzes, the Heraion horses must all date to the later part of the Geometric and none of those illustrated in the Heraion publication seems earlier than the beginning of the eighth century. There are a few later horses also, one in particular which is much more naturalistic and is therefore early Archaic in date.<sup>414</sup> An example is shown in Plate 32.b where the features are now much more naturalistic and the proportions are much better rendered. The series soon comes to an end in the early Archaic period, however, and the Argolid no longer seems to have produced bronze votives for the sanctuary. As will be seen in the next chapter this cessation of bronze figurines roughly coincides with the rise in popularity of clay votives and they can be said to take over the role of bronze figurines in the sanctuaries.

One of the features of the Argive Heraion tripod cauldrons is that many of the handles have openwork zigzags; such handles can also be seen at Olympia.<sup>415</sup> They are typical of Schweitzer's third group which as has been seen, probably comes from Argolic workshops. While openwork handles seem to be connected especially with Argolic tripods, they are not exclusive to this workshop and there are examples from Olympia of such handles which belong to tripods of Maas' Class III, those with stepped ridges, which may have a Corinthian origin.<sup>416</sup> The handles by themselves, therefore, are not a safe criterion for establishing the class of tripods from which they derive. Some of Maas' Class II Olympia handles of this type contain horse figurines placed on top, soldered to the handles. These horse figurines resemble stylistically other free-standing horses from Olympia, particularly those of Heilmeyer's eighth-century Argolic group.<sup>417</sup> For example Plate 33 shows two such openwork handles with

horses attached to them. Both horses look typically Argolic with their cylindrical muzzles, flattened manes, forward thrusting front legs and the high rumps. Such horses provide further support for an Argolic workshop at Olympia. A glance at Plate 30.a for example, will show how close the similarities are between such handle decorations and the Argive Heraion dedications. It is surprising that such horse attachments have not been found at the Argive Heraion for it means that the figurines and the cauldrons of Olympia, no matter how closely they might resemble the Argolid ones stylistically, still retain a fundamental difference in nature.

Although some difficulty is encountered in trying to establish the characteristics of an Argolic workshop, both Corinth and Lakonia had their own, somewhat better known, workshops for bronze production. Many of the figurines dedicated at Olympia seem to come from these two areas, yet problems still arise in trying to differentiate Corinthian and Argolic figurines. It is generally assumed that hammered animals are a Corinthian product yet some hammered animals have been called Argolic. In essence the difficulty is simply that the definition of what constitutes a typical Argolic type is not clear.

Even at the Argive Heraion itself not all animals can be classified as Argolic. Some in fact may be Corinthian products; one such example is a stag which Hermann believes comes from a Corinthian workshop.<sup>418</sup> It is precisely because of the variety of the animal types at the Heraion that uncertainty arises when attempting to deal with figurines from sanctuaries such as Olympia and Delphi. The "Argolic" animal series at Olympia may have begun earlier than that at the Heraion, implying that Argolic craftsmen were producing figurines especially for Olympia at a time when they were not yet manufacturing them for their own sanctuary, a somewhat implausible situation. It may have been a case of artisans being commissioned by

the sanctuaries and in effect providing votives for worshippers from their own area.

For the present, however, it does not seem possible to be very definite about the workshops of bronze figurines and even tripod cauldrons. All that can be said is that the evidence seems to indicate that an important centre of production for tripod cauldrons existed at Argos and that Argolic craftsmen may have been responsible for many of the bronze figurines and tripod cauldrons at Olympia. The Argolic workers no doubt made these tripod cauldrons at Olympia itself. It is inconceivable that tripods intended for Olympia could have been made at Argos and transported across Arkadia. Since the Argolid seems to have been at the forefront with respect to other bronze objects, notably pins and armour, the Argolic craftsmen most certainly possessed the necessary skills to produce figurines and tripods of high standards.

Argolic craftsmen also seem to have been involved in the manufacture of small bronze birds and cocks, some of which were dedicated at the Argive Heraion itself. Birds and cocks are quite similar in many respects but cocks are distinguishable by their combs as well as by their long tails which curve downwards. The birds have a fairly distinctive appearance and all of the Argolic birds seem to have stood on bases though not all bases appear to have had designs underneath. The cocks, however, had fittings above their backs for suspension. They could conceivably have been attached to tripods, used as pendants or even as adornments for fibulae.

In his study of bronze bird figurines Bouzek identified various workshops, among them Argolic, Corinthian, Rhodian, Thessalian and Lakonian.<sup>419</sup> While bronze birds are known from the Late Helladic period they are next found no earlier than the second half of the ninth century and most in fact date to the eighth century. Rolley in fact believes that all the bronze birds found in Greece are of the eighth

century<sup>420</sup> and thus the dates may roughly be the same as for bronze horse figurines and most of the tripod cauldrons. In Tiryns grave 30 for example a bird standing on a base was included among the gifts.<sup>421</sup> Unfortunately the publication shows only the underside of the base, not the bird itself. The vases in the grave date it to the MGII. Since the grave seems to be of the first half of the eighth century and not LG as Bouzek suspected, it is possible that other birds which he thinks are LG are in fact somewhat earlier. Of course a major difficulty in dating such bronze objects is that they could have been in circulation quite a long time before being deposited in the grave and those at the Heraion are as usual unstratified.

While the various bird types do appear to originate in the Peloponnese finding individual workshops for them is as difficult as it is for the bronze horses. Bouzek has attempted to define an Argolic workshop and he illustrates examples of this so-called Argolic school. The characteristics of these birds include their long legs and long neck. They stand on a circular or rectangular base, usually pierced as the horse bases. Their distribution includes Olympia, Tegea, Lousoi and Pherai though not all these birds may be Argolic.<sup>422</sup> A certain development in style can be observed from the ninth century to the early seventh century, at which time the series seems to come to an end. The main progression occurs with the head which becomes more differentiated in the later part of the Geometric period, and the beak which is better defined. The body tends to be rather stiff with a long, straight, horizontal tail. Some examples of such Argolic birds can be seen in Figure 34. One feature of the Argolic birds is their base but there are also birds on bases from other sites such as Olympia, Sparta, Pherai and Lousoi.<sup>423</sup> Some of those from Olympia may therefore be considered Argolic but not all birds with bases need be Argolic.<sup>424</sup> These include some birds standing on flat bases in



which holes have been pierced.<sup>425</sup> Both Rolley and Heilmeyer believe some of them to be in fact Lakonian, not Argolic, since exact parallels are found at Sparta while those at the Argive Heraion are somewhat different.<sup>426</sup> This may therefore be indicative of local manufacture.

Regional distinctions can certainly be made although there are perhaps more varieties than those noted by Bouzek.<sup>427</sup> The Corinthian type for example is very commonly found and has an elegant appearance with a curved head and long, curved beak and a small, sharply oblique tail. These birds do not have long legs, contrary to the Argolic type.<sup>428</sup> Some help in the classification of bronze birds can perhaps be afforded by vase painting, where birds are often portrayed, as seen in the previous chapter. Bouzek himself has drawn certain parallels between the birds on pottery of different areas and the bronze birds. The birds classified as Argolic have a peculiar drooping tail and this does resemble closely many of the birds on LG Argolic pottery. On Protocorinthian pottery in contrast, very different birds are depicted whose appearance is like that of the bronze birds classed as Corinthian.<sup>429</sup>

Related to birds are cocks, distinguished from the birds by their peculiar tails and combs. Here too different varieties have been noted, a particularly detailed study having been done by I. Kilian-Dirlmeier.<sup>430</sup> At the Argive Heraion there are a couple of different types of cocks, one belonging to Kilian-Dirlmeier's Tegean type characterized by its slender, long and straight head and a double applied ring at the neck and tail. It also has an applied eye and a crescent-shaped comb. All cocks also have a suspension ring on their back. The Argive Heraion type is probably a local version of the Tegean type.<sup>431</sup> The other type of cock at the Heraion has longer legs and no ring at the tail. It is attributed by Kilian-Dirlmeier to a local Peloponnesian workshop.<sup>432</sup> Examples can be seen in Figure 35.

For birds in general Bouzek may have attempted too definite a classification. Rolley refuses to claim any more specific origin for all these little birds other than a Peloponnesian one. Only in the case of the cocks can greater assurance be exercised in attributing workshops for them. Even insofar as dating is concerned no indication is provided by the finds beyond what was stated above. Not everyone who has studied bronze birds is willing to attribute workshops to them beyond broad regional classes, but from the works of both Bouzek and Kilian-Dirlmeier, the claims for an Argolic school in certain birds and cocks seems plausible, if not proveable, since stylistic considerations alone are never very satisfactory.

Human figurines were also represented in bronze though these too present problems, partly because so few examples come from the Argolid itself that one is hard pressed to define a local type. In fact as far as I know only two human figurines of the Geometric period have been found so far in the Argolid, one at the Heraion and one at Asine.<sup>433</sup> On the basis of only two bronze figurines, of which the one from the Heraion is male and the other female, one cannot easily define a local type. The male figurine is very primitive with a bird-like head and only a gash indicating the mouth (Plate 34.a). It stands on a vertical base with two holes pierced through it. It was therefore originally attached to a ring handle of a tripod cauldron. Hermann has tried to attribute several Olympia male figurines to Argolic workshops<sup>434</sup> but the similarities between his figurines and the Heraion examples are not immediately apparent. In any case how valid can such a claim be when it is based solely on two figurines, only one of which is male? Kunze has dated the Heraion statuette to the end of the ninth-early eighth century.<sup>435</sup>

There are, nevertheless, comparisons to be made between the Olympia horse-tamers and those found on Argolic LG pottery and

part of the reason for attributing some Olympia examples to the Argolid rests in the similarities in the figures. It is in the Argolid in fact that such horse-taming scenes are most popular. In general, however, the attribution of such human handle attachments to different workshops is very difficult to make because very few have been found in those areas. The case for an Argolic workshop is based on very thin evidence from the Argolid; stylistic considerations are used but they are not always very convincing. One assumes that Argolic craftsmen were making human bronze figurines at Olympia and there is in fact an example of a horse-tamer with an Argolic-looking horse from Olympia<sup>436</sup> (Plate 34.b). In general however the identification of regional workshops for such figurines seems tentative at best. When one can match a figurine with a certain type of cauldron the attribution might be more secure but it is not usually possible to do this, the figurines having for the most part become detached from the cauldron handles they once decorated. In some cases the humans are attached to handles but this in itself is not a safe criterion since handles of similar types can belong to different classes of tripods and therefore, different workshops.

The female figurine from Asine is also quite primitive in appearance. Its legs are slightly bent and the hands are placed across the waist and abdomen in a stance resembling dancing (Plate 35. a). Mrs. Deilaki suggests a date of the mid to late eighth century for the statuette. Rolley, however, feels this date is too low;<sup>437</sup> its primitive style would rather suggest a date in the first half of the eighth century. It may come from the same workshop, perhaps Peloponnesian, as similar ones from Olympia.

An interesting figurine is one of a charioteer in Delphi which Rolley feels might be Argolic since it closely resembles some terracotta figurines found in Argos itself;<sup>438</sup> these will be

examined in the next chapter. The figure wears a tall, conical helmet of the type already seen on certain LG sherds. As Rolley remarks this may in fact be the sole example of Argolic bronze human statuettes of the second half of the eighth century but the few points of difference between it and the terracotta figurines of Argos make this assertion uncertain.

The evidence for human figurines in the seventh century appears even more deficient than for the Geometric. A great gap remains in our knowledge of Argolic bronzework of the seventh century because only one free-standing bronze figurine has been found in the Argolid itself. For the late Archaic period the evidence suggests a very important and excellent Argolic school, however, while the evidence is fairly secure for the sixth century, seventh-century figurines seem almost totally absent. The lone seventh-century statuette is also a standing female figure, this one from Palaia Epidauros. It is also of bronze and has a Daedalic appearance with the feet slightly apart and the arms held tightly at the sides. The figure is very flat in front and the head is tilted upwards slightly. Though the face is damaged the figure is notable for its very large, round eyes which dominate the face. The hair falls behind the shoulders in one solid mass, with engraving used to show details. The figure wears a long short-sleeved gown. The type in general is similar to examples from Lakonia dated to the seventh century and its very flat and square trunk dates this one to the very end of the seventh century, if not the early sixth century.<sup>439</sup> Since this is the only figurine of the seventh century found so far it is thus impossible to follow the evolution from the Geometric figurines in bronze to those of the later Archaic period. The clay figurines of the seventh century may help fill the gap in the development.

The lacuna in Argolic bronzework after the early

seventh century is alleviated somewhat by the shield bands found at Olympia. That the bands are Argolic has been proved by the inscriptions on them, identifying the bands as Argolic.<sup>440</sup> The bands themselves contain panels bearing various scenes, including mythical animals, gods and heroes.<sup>441</sup> The earliest of those at Olympia date to the last third of the seventh century. An earlier example, dedicated at the Argive Heraion, is dated to the middle of the seventh century.<sup>442</sup> One of the panels shows Cassandra being killed by Klytemnestra. Argos of course was famous for its shields and even the low akropolis hill was named Aspis because of its shape which resembled a shield. Although only one bronze shield relief has been found in the Argolid in the seventh century others from Olympia of the late seventh and sixth century, inscribed in the Argolic script, show the importance of the Argolid in the manufacture of shields and shield bands throughout the Archaic period. For a long time such bands were known simply as Argive-Corinthian but now that the script has been more securely identified as Argolic there does not appear to be much doubt about the prominent role the Argolid played.

#### Other Metallic Finds

In contrast with the fairly large amount of bronze objects in graves, other metals are relatively rare. Gold objects are found but almost all in graves of the Early Geometric period between 900 and 840 B.C. Spirals, earrings, beads and rings have the most important place among gold offerings and they come from a total of only seven graves in the Argolid: Argos South Cemetery T37 and Bakaloianis T106/2, South Cemetery T16, Papanikolaou T1 and one of the graves in Su80, Tiryns grave VII and XV. In the period between 800 to 600 B.C. only four graves contained gold objects, in Argos the

Panoply Grave of c. 730-710 with three gold rings, Alexopoulos Γ' with six gold rings and a small gold sheet (MG-LG), in Troizen a diadem in a Late Geometric grave and finally Argos Kypseli grave T83 of the late seventh century with pins wrapped in gold leaf. Usually the gold rings consist simply of a wire, as one of those of the Panoply Grave although two others of that grave were made of two wires twisted together and one of those rings had fourteen granulations.<sup>443</sup>

Included in the grave was also a fragment of a gold sheet with repoussé decoration.

The evidence is thus quite meagre, much more so than for Athens in the eighth century<sup>444</sup> although the Corinthia seems just as poor in gold objects as the Argolid. In other areas gold may have played an important role as a measure of wealth or perhaps as a status symbol but in the Argolid iron seems to have been more important in this respect. Iron objects appear quite frequently in the graves of the Geometric period in Argos and elsewhere, however the situation is almost the reverse of that of the gold objects - almost all iron goods belong to eighth-century graves. Of the fifteen burials in Argos containing iron gifts only three date to the ninth century and all the rest are of the eighth century. In Tiryns three graves contain iron objects, of which two are of the eighth century and one is of the ninth century. At Mykenai two LG graves and one of the Subgeometric period have iron offerings while at Nauplia iron is found in two LG graves and one of the seventh century.

Iron daggers and spearheads are the most common articles deposited in male graves but one also finds pins, as for example two in the grave east of the Tomb of Klytemnestra, two also in grave GII and a pair in the Kalkani grave, all at Mykenai. In Nauplia one seventh-century grave contained an iron pin and one was also found in Tiryns grave II. In Argos one of the Phlessas graves is described as containing

iron pins as well. These iron pins resemble Jacobsthal's Group 1 in having a flat disc and round globe. Pins completely of iron never find much favour and it is pins of bronze which are much more prominent throughout the whole of the Geometric period.

The most important iron artefacts are the obeloi since these often reflect a certain degree of wealth. In Argos the Theodoropoulou grave contained six iron obeloi as well as two iron spearheads and the Panoply Grave had twelve obeloi. Those two graves also each contained a bronze helmet, as noted earlier. Obeloi were also found in a few other Argive graves, including T1 with six, Kypouropoulos VI with two, and T14/2, T176/2 and Makris 1 with one each. It has been well established by Courbin that such obeloi, when found in groups of three, six, or its multiples, must have had some monetary value,<sup>445</sup> with six obeloi being the equivalent of one drachma. It is perhaps no coincidence that two of the three graves in which they probably are a measure of wealth are those with armour. As was stated earlier only a man of considerable wealth could have afforded to obtain armour such as that in the Panoply Grave. The fact that this is also the grave with the largest number of obeloi, twelve, tends to support this notion. Furthermore this grave also possessed two iron firedogs in the shape of a ship's prow among its offerings and this indicates that the warrior buried in the grave may have had a connection with the sea; Courbin has used this to suggest that Argos may have been important in naval warfare in the late eighth century.<sup>446</sup> Not only Argos had such warrior graves but Crete and Cyprus as well; here also graves with obeloi and firedogs have been found. These suggest common ideas between the three places,<sup>447</sup> perhaps a common interest in the sea, but there may also be Homeric connections since Achilles and his guests used such firedogs at feasts to roast the meat. Perhaps these Geometric firedogs were part of the funerary feast and were

then put into the grave. Since they are found in so few graves one may suppose that they were used only at the burials of rich or "royal" persons.

The possible connection with the sea evident in the Panoply Grave is interesting when taken in conjunction with Pausanias' account of the Argives sending aid by sea to Helos in its struggle against Sparta.<sup>448</sup> Furthermore Argos and Athens were involved in a naval battle probably c. 750 in which the Argolic side was victorious, so in all likelihood such historical references fairly accurately reflect the state of affairs in Argos in the second half of the eighth century.

In contrast with the graves the sanctuaries have not yielded much iron and in fact the Argive Heraion seems devoid of any such objects besides a group of obeloi. These appear to have been dedicated with a large iron bar or standard and attempts have been made to associate this offering with King Pheidon's monetary reforms. Courbin feels the obeloi placed in the Heraion represent a devaluation of the currency by Pheidon<sup>449</sup> but this of course depends on Pheidon's date, a still highly controversial subject.

These various iron and bronze grave goods, including armour and weapons, show a strong concern with warfare in the eighth century, especially in the second half of the century. More importantly, however, they may indicate a rapid rise in wealth; metals were not so rare or so precious that they could not be given up in graves. In the case of the bronze armour their made-to-measure size meant it was unlikely that anyone else could wear either the corslet or helmet. That the warrior of the Panoply Grave was wealthy cannot be doubted; his twelve obeloi and the armour itself amply attest this. Although there are no royal graves as such in the Argolid in the eighth or seventh century, perhaps this grave most closely approximates the idea of



royalty.

### Conclusions

As Snodgrass has recently pointed out the sharp increase in metallic dedications in the sanctuaries in the LG period mirrors the increase in metal resources<sup>450</sup> and an accompanying general increase in wealth. It cannot be said, however, that the rise in the number of metallic offerings in sanctuaries corresponds to a reduction in their numbers in graves for in the Argolid at least, metallic finds in both sanctuaries and graves increase in the same period. Bronze and especially iron objects become more common by the later part of the Geometric period.

In general the picture presented by the metallic finds is somewhat contradictory. The grave offerings point to a very noteworthy and influential bronze and iron workshop in the Argolid, centred presumably in Argos, in the eighth century, and it seems indeed to have been the most powerful city in the Argolid, yet although the Argive Heraion contains thousands of bronzes, there is still uncertainty about the provenience of many of them. It seems reasonable to suppose that because the sanctuary was within the Argolid and controlled by Argos the dedications were Argolic in nature as well, made in Argolic workshops. Most of the pottery at the site is Argolic and the bronzes for the most part have characteristics linking them with the pottery in terms of iconography, or they are also found in Argolic graves of the period, indicating their use by the people of the area. Although it cannot be stated with absolute certainty that the Argolid manufactured all its own bronzes, the evidence argues in favour of a local school in the Argolid, one that was responsible for the bronze objects left in graves and those offered in the

sanctuaries. Some of those objects were dedicated at Olympia, and it can be assumed that Argolic craftsmen were at work at that sanctuary in the eighth century, if not earlier, and even in the early seventh century. Considering the Argolid's preeminence in other aspects of metallurgy, such a role in sanctuary dedications does not seem preposterous.

Although the changes in the seventh century seem almost as drastic as in the ceramic industry, sanctuary dedications do continue for some time though in much reduced numbers. This may have been because of cost; perhaps it became too expensive to dedicate bronzes in such large quantities. It must be remembered, nevertheless, that the changes affecting the sanctuary dedications in the seventh century are changes in evidence in all the major sanctuaries of Greece and are not confined strictly to the Argolid.

In the graves of the seventh century there is an almost complete lack of metallic finds, a fact which coincides with the lack of pottery in those graves. It is interesting moreover that in general the manufacture of bronze objects declines sharply in the early seventh century and that it only seems to revive late in that century, when the Argolid begins to make shield bands. Some of the pins and fibulae at the Heraion might fill in the gap in the seventh century, but it remains impossible to date those objects with any accuracy, beyond simply remarking that some belong to types common in the seventh century. In all likelihood their dedications continued throughout most of the century. The picture is thus somewhat contradictory, for while the evidence in general supports the notion of a recession in the Argolid, in particular Argos, for most of the seventh century, the pins suggest a continuing school of bronze manufacture. This nevertheless represents quite a large decline in bronzeworking in the Argolid at that period, and it is not before the very end of the

century that there is again strong evidence of an Argolic workshop.  
The ceramic industry and bronze industry thus seem to have followed  
similar courses.

CHAPTER 6

TERRACOTTAS

## 6.1 Introduction

Although bronzes formed an important part of the sanctuary dedications in the Geometric period and early seventh century, the Archaic period was the heyday of the terracotta figurines. In the Argolid they have been found at the Argive Heraion, Argos, Tiryns, Asine, Mykenai, Troizen, Kalaureia, Epidauros and Elaious and in almost all cases the finds are part of sanctuary deposits. Since these deposits are for the most part unstratified the dating of the terracotta figurines remains somewhat uncertain.

R. Higgins, who was writing in 1967, was of the opinion that after the Bronze Age the production of terracotta figurines came to an end and that it was not until the Geometric period that the industry revived. In Crete there appeared to have been a continuous development but elsewhere the evidence for the industry only began again in the ninth century. It was very limited, however, until the middle of the eighth century. By that time several areas were producing terracottas in the typical Geometric manner, including places such as Crete, Attica, Boeotia, Kos, Rhodes, Samos, Miletos, Lakonia and Aigina. It is only in the seventh century, nevertheless, that the industry developed major significance.<sup>451</sup>

In 1972 W.-D. Heilmeyer published the terracotta figurines from Olympia.<sup>452</sup> In this publication he believed that terracottas, at least those found at Olympia, dated as early as the Protogeometric period, much earlier than the usually accepted dates proposed by Higgins. Heilmeyer's dates for his terracottas were of special importance in that it is because of these early dates that he also dated the bronze figurines at Olympia so early. It should be remarked that, like other sanctuary evidence, the Olympia terracottas were unstratified and without the corroborating evidence of pottery.

The early dates proposed by Heilmeyer were thus based purely on stylistic considerations and the same difficulties therefore present themselves as for bronzes.

In the later part of the Geometric period, the Argolid seems to have had a very significant and influential bronze industry and its interest in Olympia was apparent from the offerings of huge tripod cauldrons, birds, horses and other animals as well as pins and fibulae. This chapter will discuss the evidence for the Argolid's terracotta industry to determine its place in the Greek world and to see whether or not it can lead to any further conclusions concerning the Argolid's interest in Olympia. The first part of the chapter deals with the Geometric terracottas and the second part with the Archaic.

## 6.2 Geometric Terracottas

The evidence for a terracotta industry in the Argolid in the Geometric period is extremely slight. Courbin lists a few terracottas in his CGA, including a horse, bird and shield.<sup>453</sup> Although fragmentary they betray their Geometric date by their decoration which consists of the typical zigzags, bands and oblique lines. The bird is dated to the MGII, having been part of a grave offering of that period, but the horse and shield cannot be dated more accurately than the Geometric period in general. The bird, which is missing its head and lower feet, is an unusual looking creature: The top of the back is slit, perhaps where wings were attached. It is decorated with typical Geometric motifs. The horse consists of one leg fragment only, with a hole through it, probably for a wheel. The provenience of the horse is uncertain but is thought to be Argos. Finally there is a shield, of unknown provenience but attributed to Argos, of figure-of-eight shape and with painted cross-hatching on the outside.<sup>454</sup>

Other terracottas that have been found in the Argolid are several from Argos in a deposit east of the agora. Included in the deposit were four idols "géométriques féminines d'un type connu" having polychrome decoration, and two groups of three female figurines, mounted on a terracotta base, playing "blind-man's buff" around a fourth figure, whose eyes are covered, in the centre.<sup>455</sup> The only other terracottas that can definitely be labelled Geometric are a few very interesting figurines found in a Late Geometric layer in Argos itself. The figurines were found in Su80 (Papaparaskevas plot) in a layer which included twelve graves of the Geometric to the Classical period. Among these graves were T263, T266, T278 and T265 of the Geometric period. The figurines were found with some sherds of Geometric date<sup>456</sup> but this is all that is known of their context; one wonders whether they perhaps had formed part of the burial gifts of one of those Geometric graves. Five or perhaps six figurines were found in all, of which three were in a more or less complete state. The figurines represent warriors wearing helmets and cloaked in a kind of tunic as illustrated by the one in Plate 35.b. The proportions of the body, the oval head, large protruding eyes, prominent nose and thick body are all features which point to the figure's liveliness and intensity. These warriors are indeed unique in the Argolid at this period. They seem much more naturalistic than the slightly later votives with their bird-like heads and plank bodies. In contrast with the Archaic figurines, the style of which was based on conservatism and conventionalism, these little Geometric figures have a lively, individualistic look.

The most complete of the figures (Plate 35.b) wears an open-faced helmet of the type recently found in Argos in LG contexts. The helmet in the case of the terracotta warrior is attached by what must have been a leather strap here simply represented by a brush

stroke. This pointed type of helmet must ultimately derive from Cyprus<sup>457</sup> though the Argive warrior is probably most closely connected with Attic figurines of the later part of the eighth century. Higgins illustrates an Attic find of very similar appearance.<sup>458</sup> It too wears a pointed helmet held by a chin strap, thus indicating that this was the typical helmet worn in LG Greece, though of course it may have been easier to represent such a helmet than the Kegelhelm type with its cheekpieces, worn by the warrior of the Panoply Grave and so may have remained in style for terracottas simply for convenience. The Attic example is a toy chariot group. The Argive figurines may also have formed part of such a group; included in the find were wheel fragments no doubt forming part of a chariot. The similarity of the figurines of the Argos group with those of Athens shows that an affinity existed between the two areas in the LG period and this contrasts somewhat with the situation in the ceramic industry at that time when, as has been seen, Argos turned away completely from foreign influence. There is no doubt, however, that the Argos group was made in Argos itself as is obvious from its style and clay. Another close parallel for this terracotta group comes from Olympia, where many Geometric figurines have been found. Among these figurines is a warrior wearing a helmet like the one worn by the Argos figurine.<sup>459</sup> The Olympia figure's helmet has an applied strap while the Argive warrior's strap is painted. There is also resemblance in the warriors' stance - both have bent knees - but in other respects the Olympia figurines have little in common with the Argolic examples.

The most interesting aspect of this group is its relationship with LG bronzes. Although the Argolid itself is a very poor source of human bronze figurines, Delphi has yielded large numbers. The similarity of the most complete Argive warrior figurine to a bronze warrior at Delphi is striking and it is for this reason that



Rolley attributes the Delphi bronze to Argos.<sup>460</sup> It may be that these clay warriors were in fact based on bronze models; the Argolid's prominence in the latter field is well attested and it seems reasonable to suppose that its coroplast industry was not far behind. Any further conclusions, however, must await the results of future excavations. So far the finds of Geometric terracottas have been so limited that any deductions based on them would be very conjectural.

So few Geometric terracottas have been found and published that there is no recognized Argolic school, no characteristic Argolic type for the Geometric period. The charioteers from Argos are unique pieces and therefore cannot be compared with anything else for that period. The Olympia terracottas are quite different stylistically from the Argos charioteers and it is not feasible to try and link them with the Argolid. Such factors mean that the evidence so far for a terracotta industry in the Argolid in the Geometric period is negligible.

It is noteworthy that the Argolid seems to have had some interest in Olympia as can be seen from its many bronze dedications at the sanctuary, yet the evidence for that interest is not corroborated by the Olympia terracottas which appear to have been the works of local Elian craftsmen. Perhaps the terracotta industry was a more localized one; it is certain that one does not find many examples of foreign terracotta workshops at Olympia in the Geometric period, in contrast with the many dedications of bronzes of various schools there at that time. Perhaps there was not great interest in terracottas in the Argolid itself at that time; finds of that date are almost nonexistent, even at the sanctuaries where one might be expected to find them. The Argolic craftsmen do not seem to have begun making the typical terracotta votives until the seventh century, and these were not intended for distant sanctuaries but for those

within the Argolid itself and sanctuaries in neighbouring areas such as Phlius and Perakhora.

### 6.3 Archaic Terracottas

#### Handmade standing figurines

For the next terracotta figurines of the Argolid one must turn to the Archaic period. This was quite a prolific period though in one sense a very static one. Archaic Argolic terracottas come in two forms, handmade and mouldmade. Both techniques can also be combined in the same figurine. Accurate dating of most of these figurines is impossible partly due to their being found in unstratified deposits but also because of their style which in the handmade versions, remained virtually unchanged for over 150 years.

There are two main types of handmade figurines, one standing and the other seated. Their clay in general is orange, varying to ochre or even yellow. Both types have an extremely primitive appearance, so much so that Waldstein classified them as pre-Myken-<sup>461</sup> aian. The standing type, which in the Argolid is the less common of the two, is fairly consistent throughout the seventh and sixth centuries. As there is no noticeable break between these centuries one must look at the figurines from the Archaic period as a whole. The earliest standing figurines do not seem to antedate the seventh century since none has been found in clear Geometric contexts. They are found in fair numbers at most sites mentioned at the beginning of the chapter yet they never reach the same degree of popularity as the seated figures. Most of the standing figurines have either a cylindrical or more commonly a rather flat plank-like body. In the earliest ones this is straight all the way down but a little later, perhaps

by the second half of the seventh century, a slight pinch indicates the waist. Plate 36.a shows typical examples of this type of crude statuette. The head is simply pinched so that a projection of clay is formed between the fingers; this becomes the nose. In the most primitive models this "bird-face" consists of nothing else; the majority nevertheless have eyes added plastically and made of little pellets of clay.

These figurines remain basically the same throughout almost the whole of the Archaic period, hence there can be no chronological distinctions based on style. They are often assumed to be female but in essence nothing really distinguishes them and there are usually no indications of sex. From the beginning, however, some figurines are adorned with a low cap or polos suggestive of Hera. Some still bear traces of paint on the body as is the case with the centre figure of Plate 36.a. In contrast with the rest of the mainland the paint used is always matt. These three figurines have their arms outstretched in front of them, a position which Stillwell thinks is an indication of later date.<sup>462</sup>

The main problem with these little figurines is their chronology. Those found in the Argolid itself do not afford many opportunities to establish a dating sequence. Very few have been published, and since their contexts are usually unstratified votive deposits, the excavators rarely attempt a more detailed chronology for them other than giving them a general Archaic date. Other areas may be of some use in this, however. The terracottas from Corinth for example do provide some basis for a chronology in that they were found in datable contexts, associated with Protocorinthian pottery. By comparing the Argolic figurines with these Corinthian terracottas it might be possible to establish a few rough guidelines for chronology, but they are conjectural dates and the Argolic terracottas may not

be absolutely contemporary with developments in Corinth.

As Stillwell herself points out in relation to the Corinthian series, these handmade figurines are such that it is unlikely that many changes occurred over the years. They all have very similar poses and it is really only in the position of the arms that some variety can be noticed although the kind of applied decoration used may also be of some help.<sup>463</sup> Stillwell divides the Corinthian terracottas into three groups, early, middle and late. One of the characteristics of her early group is that the bodies are usually cylindrical. In the Argolid in contrast, the bodies are more commonly flattened, which may put them later than the Corinthian early group.<sup>464</sup> On the other hand, Stillwell also notes that the figurines with arms in the upward position should date to the first half of the seventh century, while those with arms thrusting outwards should date to the second half of the century. Perhaps this criterion may also be applied to the Argolic figurines and one may consider such handmade standing figurines to be of the seventh century, with the only indication of development within that being the position of the arms. In most cases, however, it is not possible to tell whether the figure had upraised arms or not since the arms are usually broken off at the shoulder. Sometimes one notes a slight curving at the shoulders indicative of forward-thrusting arms.

From Corinth Well I of the Potters' Quarter come a few very primitive-looking figurines which have their arms forward and the head slightly rounded on top but without a face. The earliest pottery in this deposit is dated to the third quarter of the seventh century, which means that these figurines should not be earlier than that. Similar figurines have also been found at the Argive Heraion and they should also date to the second half of the century.<sup>465</sup> As is evident from such terracottas, an extremely primitive appearance

is not necessarily indicative of an early date.

Besides these figurines, there is another handmade standing type which has much applied decoration in the form of necklaces, pins and fibulae. The elaborateness of this decoration may also suggest relative dates for the figurines, the more elaborate ones being later but it would be surprising if many of these were dated much before the sixth century. There is one example from Corinth with only one or two applied necklaces and shoulder discs yet it comes from a deposit which dates it to the middle of the sixth century.<sup>466</sup> It is possible therefore that the Argolic figurines, even though they seem very primitive, are as late as this.<sup>467</sup>

The position of the arms may also give some hint about whom the figurine is meant to represent. It has been assumed in the past that the upraised arms represent the worshipper. Figurines with such a gesture have been found in Mykenaian contexts, as the Psi-figurines for example, and also in Crete. The usual interpretation is that this is a gesture of adoration which survived from Mykenaian times through Cyprus and the East.<sup>468</sup> Perhaps in this case it is possible to see some continuity of meaning. In contrast, the seated figurines, which will be considered in the following section, are thought to represent the goddess.

Phlius has also yielded many terracotta figurines in a votive deposit. Many of the figurines have exact parallels in the Argolid and much of the Archaic pottery is also closely related to Argolic ware; much of it in fact is imported and there may also be imitations of Argolic pottery. The deposit at Phlius covers the seventh and sixth centuries but according to W.R. Biers, the imports of Argolic pottery date to the seventh century while in the following century Corinthian influence dominates and supersedes the Argolic.<sup>469</sup> The pottery may therefore be of some use in providing chronological

reference points for the terracottas. As Biers remarks, no pottery is earlier than the beginning of the seventh century, thus the same may be said for the terracottas. Since the imported pottery of the sixth century is mostly of Corinthian origin, it is unlikely that any Argolic terracottas or imitations of them are of the sixth century. Most of the Argolic terracottas at the site should therefore date to the seventh century. These consist of both handmade and moulded figurines, thus there is some indication here that both types were more or less contemporary. There are standing and seated females but the majority are rider figurines. The standing figurines are extremely crude, but parallels can be seen from the Argolid, as the examples in Plate 36.a. They have the typical "bird-face" with the pinched nose and pellet eyes; some also have a polos and necklaces. Some, however, are more elaborate, with double necklaces, earrings and thick curls of hair at the forehead.<sup>470</sup> The hair, eyes, polos and other ornaments are all applied, as usual in the Argolic series, and most have traces of a white slip. Here, both standing and seated figurines can be dated to the seventh century but it is difficult to go beyond that.

In Argos such crude standing types have been found at various places including the votive deposits on the Aspis and Larissa. None is closely datable. At other sites similar statuettes have of course been found. For example among Schliemann's finds at Tiryns were several crude standing figures, most of them closely resembling those above but a few having indications of breasts.<sup>471</sup> In the later excavations at Tiryns Frickenhaus found many of these standing kore figurines. These seemed to be associated with the Hera cult located on the citadel. Many such statuettes were also dedicated at the Argive Heraion as well but here as elsewhere these standing figurines were in the minority.<sup>472</sup>

### Handmade seated figurines

The more common type of figurine is the handmade seated type. It is of the same basic appearance as the standing figures but the body is flattened and bent at both the waist and knees into a seated position. The figures sit on "thrones" of which only the two back legs are visible. They too have the pinched head and pellet eyes of the standing figures but they tend to be more obviously female in that their dress consists of a long skirt with only the feet protruding. From the beginning they wear some form of applied jewellery besides the polos, be it necklace, pectoral chain or earrings and pins.

An example of this type of figurine is DM 26 from Argos, illustrated in Plate 36.b. This figurine, among others, was found by Deshayes among the later finds in the Mykenaian chamber tombs of the Deiras and in the vicinity.<sup>473</sup> Since sherds of the seventh century were found in the same contexts he dates the figurines to that period. All the seated figures wear a wide applied necklace hanging across the shoulders down to the waist. Two among them also have applied hair. Many others of this type were also recovered in the area of the agora.<sup>474</sup> Another votive deposit was located on the Aspis. Here figurines of both the handmade standing and seated types were dedicated.<sup>475</sup> Other sites that have yielded such seated female figurines include Asine in a deposit on top of the Barbouna hill. The figurines were found close to the foundation walls of the temple of Apollo Pythaeus and among the other finds were many Geometric and Proto-corinthian sherds, Archaic and Hellenistic roof tiles, bronze pins and a small Archaic lead statuette of Apollo. That female figurines were dedicated to a male deity reinforces the notion that the offering of such figurines often bore no relation to the deity involved. A few

of these figurines are published, including a typical handmade type with one wide pectoral chain or necklace.<sup>476</sup> It is a type of figurine that is very popular at the Argive Heraion as well and at the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas at Epidauros such handmade seated figurines are in the majority. Some of them are said to bear incised decoration in red.<sup>477</sup> Tiryns too has been a copious supplier of such seated figurines; many are quite elaborate in decoration.<sup>478</sup>

From the beginning seated figurines bear some sort of necklace but this type of applied decoration tends to become excessive. Higgins believes that this overabundance in the decoration begins to be common by the mid sixth century yet this dating seems somewhat arbitrary in view of the lack of stratified deposits in the Argolid.<sup>479</sup> It is nevertheless reasonable to date the figures with rather excessive ornamentation to the later Archaic period, thus figurines such as those from the Agamemnoneion probably all date to the sixth century.<sup>480</sup> One of those illustrated by Cook, for example, wears four necklaces and an elaborate hairdo and polos.<sup>481</sup> Although it seems that excessive ornamentation is a sign of a late date, it is not necessarily true that the opposite, only a little ornamentation, is a mark of an early date, the seventh century, for it is a curious feature of Archaic terracottas that very primitive types continued alongside the more technically-advanced moulded types throughout the later Archaic period. Furthermore there does not appear to be much chronological distinction between these crude standing and seated figurines. They are found together in the same deposits and it seems best to postulate the same general date for the appearance of both types of figurines, that is, the early seventh century. The seated type may possibly represent a later date, perhaps the sixth century, but there is as yet no definite evidence for it. In the Potters' Quarter at Corinth seated figurines appear only in the sixth century but they are not



direct parallels.<sup>482</sup>

Moulded figurines both standing and seated

Another type of figurine, both standing and seated, has a moulded head. For that very reason they seem far more advanced than the bird-faced korai yet they can often be found in the same deposits as the cruder handmade types. They do not begin so early as the handmade variety, however, appearing only at the end of the seventh century.<sup>483</sup> As these figurines were in vogue mainly in the sixth century and hence beyond the scope of this paper, they will be treated only briefly here. They differ from the other seated type only in the head; the body itself is still handmade, flat and bears applied decoration. They are found at the same sites as the completely handmade figurines. These moulded heads follow the Daedalic tradition and so can be grouped and dated according to style. Of moulded heads only Jenkins' Class A falls within the seventh century,<sup>484</sup> all the rest are no earlier than the sixth century. Throughout this century the faces become more and more naturalistic as the strict dictates of the Daedalic style are left behind.

One possible criterion for dating these figurines may be whether they are standing or seated. Generally speaking standing figurines seem to be earlier. In Corinth moulded figurines were in use throughout the seventh century and later, but in the seventh century they were almost always standing. It is only in the sixth century that mouldmade seated figurines became common although the standing type continued as well throughout this period.<sup>485</sup> By analogy it would seem that the Argolic mouldmade seated figurines should also date to the sixth century or later. It was not until the late sixth century that mass production began with figurines all made from a

single mould. The earliest Argolic figurines with moulded heads, therefore, are a group of standing females which Jenkins dates to the late seventh century, coming from the Heraion and Perakhora.<sup>486</sup> The bodies of these female figurines are still handmade and cylindrical, with arms that seem to curve forwards. In the generally later seated figures the bodies are also of the same type as on the completely handmade figurines. They are flat with various necklaces and other ornaments. In contrast with the usually accepted dates for mould-made terracottas is the chronology proposed by G. Kaulen. He places the earliest mouldmade figurines, Jenkins' Class A, to the late eighth century and Jenkins' Classes B to E are all put within the seventh century. The basis for this chronology, however, does not appear to be very secure and it is difficult to accept his dates wholeheartedly<sup>487</sup> More evidence for his dates is needed, since the figurines come from unstratified deposits and cannot be given absolute dates on the basis of style alone.

Figurines with moulded heads have been found on all the major sites of the Argolid and as usual they are from sanctuary deposits. They are usually found in conjunction with handmade figurines demonstrating the fact that these primitive-looking terracottas can often be as late as the sixth century. At Argos the Aphrodision site has yielded many terracottas of both types. Plate 37.a illustrates some of these. One of those illustrated shows the more elaborate decoration typical of the later Archaic figurines and though this figurine may be as old as the end of the seventh century as is indicated by the style of the head, the great majority of the figurines of this sanctuary date to the sixth century. The statuettes were all dumped together which means that as usual there is no stratigraphy to allow more positive dating but miniature votive pottery was found in the same deposit, dated to the late seventh and sixth centuries and this

therefore gives some corroboration to the chronology of the mould-made figurines.<sup>488</sup> On the Larissa together with figurines of the crude handmade variety were also some with moulded heads, one of which evidently falls under Jenkins' Class B of the early sixth century.<sup>489</sup> Another deposit with such figurines was located on the Aspis.<sup>490</sup> At Epidauros the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas has been the source of dozens of terracottas, most of which are handmade but some moulded figurines are also represented.<sup>491</sup> The seated figurines are the more common, as usual, and they normally have at least two wide applied necklaces across the breast, attached with pins.

At the Agamemnoneion at Mykenai several figurines were found, most handmade with pinched heads but also a few of the moulded type.<sup>492</sup> Of course at the Argive Heraion such figurines are quite common and some wear quite elaborate decoration in the form of several applied necklaces. Another important source of Archaic terracottas is Tiryns. It is interesting to note that Tiryns appears to be somewhat apart from the mainstream in that it has not yielded any terracottas comparable to Jenkins' Classes A to E. Most moulded heads from that site are in fact quite late, most dating after the middle of the sixth century, as can be seen in their advanced style and appearance. Even those which seem comparatively early are, according to Jenkins, as late as his Class F dated c. 550.<sup>493</sup> If one were to follow Kaulen's dating scheme, however, these figurines would date to the late seventh century.<sup>494</sup> Frickenhaus was of the opinion that the earliest of these figurines were the crude bird-faced type, which he said were dated to the seventh century.<sup>495</sup> This is based mainly on the finds of Proto-corinthian pottery in association with some of the terracottas. One feature present in the sixth-century terracottas, especially those with moulded heads, is the development apparent in the clothing. Many of these more advanced figurines wear a broad shawl-like outer

garment fastened at the shoulders. It seems to be primarily a development of the peplos. It is not a feature peculiar to Tiryns however, but is found among terracottas of sixth-century date in general.

At Elaious a sanctuary deposit dated from the sixth century was found containing many terracottas both handmade and mould-made.<sup>496</sup> Since the pottery at this sanctuary is also clearly of the sixth century and later there is evidence here of very primitive-looking figurines being nevertheless of a quite advanced date. Some of the moulded figurines resemble fairly closely those of Tiryns with their outer shawl.

#### Male figurines and miscellaneous Archaic terracottas

So far all the Archaic figurines have been female but males are also found, though in much smaller numbers. Mounted warriors are the most popular of these and they are all basically of the same type, all handmade with the typical pinched head and pellet eyes. They usually wear a tall helmet and carry an applied shield. This applied shield as well as the bird-like face are two of the characteristics denoting Argolic manufacture. Plate 37.b gives an example of such a warrior.

At Argos several such mounted warriors have come from the general area of the Mykenaian chamber tombs.<sup>497</sup> Other finds in Argos have been made on the Aspis<sup>498</sup> and in Su83, a plot at the foot of the Larissa off Phoroneos St. This same general area had previously yielded a Geometric grave but by the Archaic period it apparently became a cult centre.<sup>499</sup> Among the figurines of this plot were several horses and riders as well as dogs and rams. One rider has what appears to be a very pointed head but it must rather be a crude attempt at representing a helmet and another has an applied shield. The helmets

depicted on such riders are of the tall open-faced type, as those worn by the Geometric charioteer discussed earlier. In some cases the helmet is curved towards the front as one from Epidauros<sup>500</sup> and one also from the Argive Heraion.<sup>501</sup> The helmet is usually fastened by an applied strap as in a figurine from Argos.<sup>502</sup>

In essence then two types of helmets are worn, one which is obviously a representation of the conical open-faced type, bronze examples of which were seen in the last chapter, and the other the type with tall stilted crest, as in the example from the Panoply Grave. It is tempting to see in these helmets reflections of contemporary fashions but on the whole such figurines are so crude and primitive and so conservative in style with such an obvious lack of attention to details that one really cannot say very much about the fashions of the seventh- and sixth-century warriors. There may have been some attempt at variety, hence the different types of helmets, but the main reason for their types was probably ease of modelling. The styles are undoubtedly anachronistic and remained so because of convention. In any case the artisans do not seem to have taken very much care with the modelling of their figurines and were obviously not trying to imitate nature very carefully so whatever conclusions one makes can only be very tentative at best.

Besides the mounted warriors already mentioned come several from the Agamemnoneion<sup>503</sup> and also from the area of the Epano Phournos Tomb.<sup>504</sup> Several were also dedicated at the top of the Barbouna hill at Asine.<sup>505</sup> Other sites to have yielded such warriors are Tiryns<sup>506</sup> and Kalaureia,<sup>507</sup> all of these sites yielding mounted warriors of the basic type illustrated in Plate 37.b.

The figurines discussed so far are the most common types of figurines in the Argolid in the Archaic period. A few others can also be included for the sake of completeness, although they are

relatively rare. Males for example are quite rarely found besides mounted warriors. At the Argive Heraion one figurine described as male has what appears to be a beard, formed by simply drawing out the lower part of the "beak".<sup>508</sup> It is interesting that the figure is also wearing a stephane, something usually associated with females. Another male figure, this time seated, comes from the same site and this time the beard is indicated by four vertical incisions.<sup>509</sup> A different type of male figurine is a flute player.<sup>510</sup> Here the figure wears a tall, conical cap or polos fastened by an applied strap. The sex is indicated by a lump of clay. A few other male figures, more or less similar to these, are also mentioned by Waldstein. Finally another male figurine comes from the Kalaureia deposit. The figure appears to be seated and wears a type of cap with five pellets; the face is very crude.<sup>511</sup> These are thus the only figurines that can definitely be called male. They therefore form a very small minority among the human figurines in the Argolid. Other fairly rare terracottas are groups of figurines such as that of a group of seated women holding hands, with a fourth figure in the middle.<sup>512</sup> They have the typical primitive features of the handmade figurines. Animals are also found in the various sanctuary deposits but these too are not very common. They include dogs and rams, oxen, birds and even frogs.<sup>513</sup> On the whole, however, these are rather exceptional cases. Female figurines, especially seated ones, dominate by far in all the sanctuaries of the Argolid.

Finally, mention should be made of the architectural model from the Argive Heraion.<sup>514</sup> Other examples, whether of houses or temples, have been found at Perakhora,<sup>515</sup> Ithaka<sup>516</sup> and Athens.<sup>517</sup> Until fairly recently such architectural models were thought to be Argolic in origin but now this is no longer felt to be the case. The Argive Heraion example, with its step-meander and squiggles done with

the multiple brush, is certainly Argolic but it is quite a late example as seen in its orientalizing decoration and it is probably in fact of the Subgeometric period.<sup>518</sup> Since this was the first model found it was assumed that such models were an Argolic specialty and so all the others were thought to be either Argolic exports or imitations. The models found at Perakhora reinforced this belief and led Payne to claim a great Argolic interest in the sanctuary, a view supported by much of the pottery which was also supposedly Argolic. Courbin, however, has demonstrated that much of this supposedly Argolic pottery has no definite Argolic traits and that there are very few pots which can be shown to be Argolic imports. Concerning the models he thought they might be local Corinthian imitations of Argolic examples<sup>519</sup> but recently J. Salmon has cast some doubt on this because the Perakhora models are all much earlier than that at the Argive Heraion; they are dated to the late ninth or early eighth century, and the clay also has certain differences from the Argolic; consequently he feels that perhaps the Corinthians themselves were the first to make such models and it may have been the Argolic craftsmen who copied the Corinthians.<sup>520</sup>

The other models come from Athens and Ithaka. The Athens example consists of only a small fragment but it appears to be definitely Argolic.<sup>521</sup> Finally the Ithaka model was also believed to be Argolic by Robertson but that was only because the Perakhora examples were thought to be so.<sup>522</sup> Salmon remarks that Corinthian parallels can be found for the drawing on the model and he believes it has a Corinthian origin.<sup>523</sup> This model dates to the very end of the eighth century. Courbin, however, felt that the Ithaka model could be Argolic because of the long tassels on the dresses of the dancers on one of the fragments, but he notes that nothing else about the model looks particularly Argolic and he remarks that the style of the

dancers is more reminiscent of Arkadia.<sup>524</sup> From the evidence so far it would appear therefore that Corinth was the home of the earliest terracotta models but that the Argolid also produced its own versions at the end of the Geometric period and even in the early seventh century. Of the models found beyond these two areas only the Attic fragment seems to have positive Argolic features.

The models are important for the light they shed on temple and house architecture in the Geometric and early Archaic periods. It is interesting to note that the Argive Heraion model is rectangular while the best preserved one of Perakhora has an apsidal shape. In other respects the models are fairly similar since they both have a small porch with columns in antis. The Perakhora example has four columns however while the Argive Heraion model only has two. It is impossible to know whether the models do indeed represent sanctuaries but since they were used as votives this interpretation is probably the most sensible one. Finally the position of the Argolid in relation to Perakhora is now more clearly established; the Argolid was in all likelihood not the home of these architectural models of the Geometric period although it did make models but its influence at Perakhora was considerably less than first imagined by Payne.

#### Influences in other areas

The Argolid's coroplast industry, though not so important or influential as that of the Corinthia, did exert some influence in surrounding areas. Argolic figurines identified in many cases by their white slip, matt paint and applied decoration, have been discovered in several areas outside the Argolid. The most obvious of these is Perakhora where among the imports Argolic terracottas figure most prominently. For the most part these comprise female



figurines with moulded heads, dated to the sixth century though the earliest may be as early as the end of the seventh century. The dating is based primarily on the style of the moulded heads though some of the handmade figurines may also be of the seventh century.<sup>525</sup> As Jenkins notes, however, these dates are only a possibility since the conservatism of the figurines does not allow more precise dating. Exports of terracottas anywhere in general were rare in the seventh century in any case so it would be surprising if many of the Argolic exports to Perakhora were dated so early. Some figurines are not labelled definitely Argolic by Jenkins but their style, type and decoration are so typical of the Argolid that if they were not made there they were certainly made under strong Argolic influence. One such figurine is a seated female with moulded head. She wears applied necklaces in the usual Argolic manner but the clay is indistinguishable from the Corinthian.<sup>526</sup> Another seated female is similar yet it is of the usual Corinthian pink clay, probably a case of the Corinthians' closely copying the Argolid.<sup>527</sup> The rider with his helmet, pellet eyes and applied shield belongs in the Argolic tradition but here again the yellow clay does not allow positive identification.

At Corinth too recent excavations have yielded figurines of a distinctly Argolic appearance. One figurine, a handmade standing type, has the pinched bird-like head distinctive of the Argolid. There is also a seated female type with applied decoration, including a polos in the Argolic manner and mounted warriors with applied shields.<sup>528</sup> None of these is dated earlier than the sixth century, however. Contrary to the Argolid in the Corinthia seated figurines never attained much popularity. In general the Corinthia had more influence on Argolic terracottas than vice versa. This is especially so in the later part of the sixth century when it becomes customary for the Argolid to use Corinthian moulds or copies of Corinthian

moulds to produce its own terracottas. At Tiryns these late Archaic Corinthianizing figurines are quite popular, especially the standing kore type with one hand under the breast and the other holding a fruit.<sup>529</sup>

The sanctuary at Nemea has also produced figurines of early Archaic date resembling Argolic terracottas of the crude handmade type with the bird-like face and polos.<sup>530</sup> There is also a standing figurine wearing two wide pectoral chains; this recalls the Argolic habit of applying decoration.<sup>531</sup> This Nemean figurine, although it was found in fifth-century contexts, seems typically Archaic.

Another area where the Argolid played an important role is Arkadia. As for the ceramic industry so in the making of terracottas the two areas were closely linked; the Argolid's influence here was stronger than anywhere else. Winter illustrates a few figurines from Tegea which seem definitely Argolic.<sup>532</sup> They are of the crude handmade variety and the habit of applying plastic ornamentation including necklaces and polos as well as pellets for eyes, is a peculiarly Argolic feature. In his report of the sanctuary at Tegea, Dugas illustrates a female figurine of typical Argolic appearance and a mounted warrior, also probably Argolic.<sup>533</sup> Other figurines from Tegea which may be Argolic are a few standing and seated examples with moulded heads. These too are illustrated by Winter.<sup>534</sup> In most respects the local Tegean terracottas bear a strong resemblance to the Argolic figurines except in the clay and the style of the heads. From Lykosoura come two male figurines both carrying animals.<sup>535</sup> One of the figures is wearing a pointed cap or helmet fastened by an applied clay strap. The other one obviously also wore such a cap once but only the strap remains. Stillwell thinks they are also to be identified as Argolic imports, probably because of their pinched head and pellet eyes. The closest parallel for these male figurines is a fragment

illustrated by Schliemann.<sup>536</sup> It has the well-known pellet eyes as well as an applied cap and strap in the same manner as the Lykosoura models.

From Halae in Boeotia come two figurines which seem Argolic in appearance.<sup>537</sup> One is seated and the other is standing and both are handmade with necklaces and polos and both have the typical bird-like heads with pellet eyes. According to Goldman such figurines are a very common Boeotian type of the sixth century but in the case of these two terracottas at least, the use of a white slip points strongly in favour of an Argolic origin.

At Phlius, a site seemingly closely connected with the Argolid in terms of the seventh-century pottery, terracottas very similar to those of the Argolid have been found in a votive deposit.<sup>538</sup> Both handmade and mouldmade figurines are seen, and they represent both standing and seated types. Very popular are rider figurines of the typical Argolic type and female figurines with the usual bird-like head and applied necklaces and hair. The use of a white slip and red paint are also Argolic features found in these terracottas. Mouldmade figurines are less common; the earliest are dated to the end of the seventh century. It would appear that the crude, handmade figurines are not earlier. From the evidence of both pottery and terracottas the area thus seems to have had quite close contacts with the Argolid in the Archaic period. It seems, however, that this influence was confined mainly to the seventh century for in the sixth century Corinthian terracottas became quite influential until theirs gradually was the dominating influence.

Other areas which have yielded what appear to be Argolic figurines include Ithaka, Rhodes, Aigina and Sparta. Robertson published a mouldmade head from Ithaka having the common Argolic feature of applied hair but the style of the head dates it no earlier

than the early sixth century.<sup>539</sup> From Kameiros in Rhodes come a few figurines of a very crude and primitive appearance. They have flat, plank-like bodies with only a slight indentation to indicate the face.<sup>540</sup> In general they seem fairly similar to some from Tiryns.<sup>541</sup> Higgins mentions a female figurine from the same site.<sup>542</sup> The terracotta is primitive and handmade, with pinched head and pellets for eyes and breasts. The head is covered by a polos as is the custom in the Argolid. The figurine resembles crude Argolic terracottas and as Higgins remarks, it no doubt reflects the Argolic origins of some of the inhabitants of Rhodes, an island which may have had close ties with the Argolid in other respects as well. Finally in the Italian excavations at Kameiros were found several others of the same type<sup>543</sup> and these too have Argolic connections. The terracottas published by Furtwängler from Aigina do not exhibit many Argolic characteristics but there are a couple that resemble some from the Argive Heraion,<sup>544</sup> for example two seated females which have the common Argolic features of applied bands at the chest and applied fibulae at the shoulder. One might be inclined to look for stronger evidence of Argolic influence in Lakonia but interestingly enough the material from Sparta does not betray strong Argolic links. The terracottas from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary for example do not have a close affinity with the Argolic figurines. One figurine from Sparta, however, a helmeted warrior, is of a type which does seem typical of the Argolid. The warrior wears a pointed helmet and has a band passing over the left shoulder and going down under the right arm. With its pellet eyes and pinched head the figure reminds one of the Argolid.<sup>545</sup> Usually the Spartan terracottas are of a bright red clay but this one is described as yellowish-brown, an indication that it is probably an import.

In general the terracottas present a picture somewhat paralleling that of the pottery. As has been seen the Geometric and

seventh-century pottery of the Argolid found its closest contacts with sites in the immediate neighbourhood although sherds have been found over a considerably widespread area, including some of the Aegean islands. With the terracottas the same general trends are visible; the Argolid in the Archaic period but particularly the earlier half of the period, exerted fairly strong influence in different areas but mostly at sanctuaries in the vicinity. In the sixth century the industry lost some of its vitality as Corinth with its superior technique began to dominate the market. In some sense the Argolic workshops seem to have merged to some extent with the Corinthian and it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish products of each area as mass production became the norm.

#### 6.5 Conclusions

On the whole the nature of terracotta figurines does not permit their comparison from site to site within the Argolid, nor can one make any conclusions with regard to place of manufacture. The only site which has been pointed out for its "provincialism" is Tiryns where the style of the moulded figurines denotes their late date. Most of the handmade types, however, do correspond to those of other sites. A study of the clay itself does not provide us with any answers since it varies from a yellowish to reddish colour on different figurines at each site. Usually it is a sort of ochre or even orange colour, lightly fired and micaceous. The use of a white slip seems to have been intended to hide the impurities of the clay. It is likely that the terracottas were made near the sanctuaries they were meant to serve, in workshops catering specifically for the needs of the worshippers.

The general impression is that terracottas were the

dedications of primary importance in the Archaic period, completely taking over from bronzes in popularity. At Perakhora too the same phenomenon is noticeable; bronzes are abundant in the Geometric and seventh-century layers but in the sixth- and fifth-century layers their place is taken by terracottas. The popularity of terracottas as votives may be explained by their low cost; they were easy and quick to make, especially when the use of the mould was adopted on a large scale, and they served their purpose well for the worshippers who do not appear to have been very concerned about the suitability of their offerings to the particular deity involved. The variety of the types of figurines at each sanctuary shows that often the votive did not match the deity to whom it was offered. An obvious example are the female figurines from the Apollo Pythaeus sanctuary at Asine. This seems to have been a very common phenomenon in Greece in general.<sup>546</sup>

It has been argued that the seated figurine so popular in the Argolid, represents Hera while the standing figurine is the votary. This interpretation seems probable especially since it is common in religious representations for the deities to be shown seated and libations to be brought to them. In the case of the Archaic Argolic figurines, however, it is not unlikely that the standing figures may also have represented a deity at one time since they too usually wear the polos associated with the goddess Hera. It may be that only after the moulded seated figurines became popular did a distinction occur as to their identities with the standing figures being then relegated to the position of votary. That most of them lack any sort of sexual identification may have been deliberate in that they were intended to represent votaries as such and no one in particular. They would thus have been suitable for any worshipper, whether man or woman. Mounted warriors were dedicated in some numbers at all the sanctuaries; perhaps they were favoured by male worshippers.

That there is so little variety in the types of figurines reflects perhaps the nature of the cult and the conservatism attached to it more than anything else. Also, one suspects, the needs of the worshippers meant that a high rate of production was required to meet the demands and it was therefore more convenient and quicker to keep manufacturing essentially the same figurines. The use of the mould encouraged this process even more by enabling craftsmen to make a great number of terracottas from a single mould, varying the details only slightly each time.

It is interesting to note how much energy was devoted to cults and sanctuaries in the Archaic period, not only in the Argolid but in all areas of Greece. In the Argolid in particular it seems that public religion became the focus of everyone's life. Great attention was turned towards a public display; it seems to have meant a fairly drastic change in society. Throughout most of the Geometric period until the eighth century the emphasis had been on personal dedications for one's own family in the form of grave offerings, but in the Late Geometric period the sanctuaries tend to become the focus of attention with vast tripod cauldrons and other bronzes dedicated. This organized religion in itself seems to have created an industry devoted to supplying votives to worshippers. Most probably the terracottas were made by the same artisans who made the miniature votive pottery. Just as the miniature pots were symbolic of the real thing so the little figurines were symbolic of the goddess or votary. The industry seems to have been at its height in the seventh and earlier part of the sixth century; after that Corinthian terracottas began to dominate and the Argolid relied more and more on imported moulds. As with the ceramic industry the Argolid in the later Archaic period found that its own products could not compete with those of its northern neighbour. Rather than try to improve their

own wares they appear to have given up and let the Corinthians dominate their own industry.

Finally there seems to be an almost complete break in terracottas between the Geometric and Archaic periods. The eighth-century terracottas in the Argolid are still barely known, but those mentioned in publications are said to be of the usual Geometric types, with their uplifted faces showing a much greater attempt at modelling than the Archaic handmade figurines. The use of the mould brought forth more human-like figurines but this is a somewhat later development. The change in the nature of the offerings in sanctuaries from the eighth to the seventh century is a remarkable one; the Argolid, at the forefront in the development of the bronze industry in the later part of the Geometric period, seems to have relegated this industry to second place, with all the attention now focussed on little terracotta figurines, of which thousands were dedicated at the Heraion and elsewhere. Undoubtedly they were much cheaper and easier to make than bronze figurines and huge tripod cauldrons and they could be mass produced without much difficulty, making them very suitable to be dedicated by the hundreds. One has the impression that financial considerations may have had a role in this change of dedications, perhaps another aspect of the recession which appears to have affected the area in the seventh century, yet terracottas became extremely popular votives in other areas as well in the early Archaic period and perhaps, therefore, the Argolid was simply following the trends in vogue at the time.



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CHAPTER 7

SEALS

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## 7.1 Introduction

The fall of the palace civilization at the close of the Bronze Age led to the close of many industries, among them that of gem engraving. Minoan and Mykenaian seals provide many excellent examples of the craft in the Bronze Age but in the Dark Age the art seems to have been lost. The date of its rebirth is uncertain; it may have begun in the middle of the ninth century but the main evidence for it does not begin before the middle of the eighth century.

Although gems have been collected throughout the centuries serious attempts to study Greek engraved stones have been few. Besides Furtwängler's major study Die antiken Gemmen in three volumes, published in 1900, and the various collections that have been catalogued over the years, it is only within the last twenty years that efforts have been made to examine gems in detail. Thanks principally to John Boardman and his illuminating studies Island Gems (1963), Greek Gems and Finger Rings (1970) and Archaic Greek Gems (1968), the history of Greek engraved stones has now been fairly well established. Much of what I shall say will therefore be drawn from his works.

Before delving into the question of Argolic engraved gems, a word must be said about the usage of the word "seal". The engraved gems which form the basis of this chapter are usually referred to as seals and will often be so called here. It is nevertheless used mainly for the sake of convenience since there is no certainty that such engraved gems were ever really used as seals. In essence therefore the term is used to refer to a class of objects usually of stone but also of ivory or bone with a design on one or two sides, that design being normally in intaglio although relief devices are not unknown, particularly in the ivory seals. More will

be said later concerning the usage of engraved gems.

The inspiration for the making of engraved gems seems to have come principally from the Near East and Phoenician imitations of Egyptian scarabs have been found in Geometric contexts at several sites including two in the Argolid, at Argos<sup>547</sup> and the Argive Heraion.<sup>548</sup> Once seals began being made in Greece they were of different materials and shapes from their Near Eastern counterparts; in style too they betray their Greek origins. It is probably true to say, therefore, that the Greek craftsmen learned the craft from foreign artisans but that once the art was mastered they then adopted designs familiar to them at home, in particular scenes from nature. In any case the inspiration of the Near East may not have reached the mainland directly but may first have passed through the Cyclades, in particular Melos. The evidence for this rests primarily in the fact that some of the earliest stone seals come from the Cyclades but also because in the later Archaic period all the seals seem to have their origins in the islands. Furthermore two of the best early seals come from Melos<sup>549</sup> and this is a fairly strong indication that that island and maybe others may have been responsible for passing on the craft to the mainland.

## 7.2 The Engraved Gems

### Stone Seals

The main reason that these early stone seals are of interest to us is that they are mainly found in and around the Argolid, besides those relatively few seals with island proveniences. The earliest seals from the mainland, however, are two from a mid ninth-century Attic grave.<sup>550</sup> Interestingly enough both seals are of ivory,

a material which does not reappear until the very end of the eighth century but especially the seventh century and although only fragmentary the Attic seals do show that ivory was being worked in Athens at that early date. These two seals are nevertheless isolated examples since the rest of the early engraved gems are of stone and cannot be dated any earlier than the second half of the eighth century. The later ivory seals will be examined separately later.

Almost all the stone seals found in the Argolid come from the Argive Heraion and they are all of serpentine, or steatite as it is more commonly but erroneously called, and usually this is of a dark grey colour often mottled with red. Serpentine was a convenient stone to use because of its relative softness which facilitated cutting. These early seals are very crude works, but the main reason for this is probably the method employed to make the designs: the early stone seals were simply cut with a knife. It is only later, in the Archaic period, that the boring drill was used<sup>551</sup> but by then the Argolic series had come to an end. Such simple methods could not produce works as exquisite as those of the Minoan-Mykenaian period. Ivory, of course, is a softer material and it is perhaps because of this reason that it was to be favoured in the Archaic period; it made the cutting of the device an easier task and more elaborate designs could be attempted.

R. Norton, who published the Heraion material, lists sixty such serpentine seals although three of those listed should in fact be put into the category of "Island Gems".<sup>552</sup> Other early stone seals come from sites closely connected with the Argolid including Sparta and Perakhora. From such proveniences and the fact that the Argive Heraion itself is the most prolific source it is not surprising that the Argolid is generally assumed to have been the main centre of production for engraved gems of the late eighth and early seventh

centuries. This may nevertheless be a false impression for it is based primarily on excavations carried out at those sanctuaries and the publications of those excavations. Future excavations at other sites may yet provide us with other workshops. There are nevertheless a few peculiarities of the drawing of the designs on some seals that make the Argolid's claim a fair one, as will be seen shortly.

Of the five shapes of gems found at the Heraion the earliest, as seen by their typical LG designs, are square, hemispherical and tabloid seals. Several examples of square seals are reproduced by Norton in the Argive Heraeum.<sup>553</sup> The drawing, Figure 36, illustrates this type of stone seal. These seals have a vertical hole bored through. Among the devices on these seals are two women, a man and a quartered pattern. Norton's seals 46 to 51 are smaller than the others and have generally crude, geometric motifs. The human figures discernible on some of these seals are of the usual Geometric appearance with their triangular torso, long stick-like arms but with slightly better-proportioned legs. One of the Heraion seals (Figure 37) bears as its design a theme highly reminiscent of Argolic LG pottery, two female figures each carrying branches. The women wear what seem to be flounced skirts, somewhat in contrast with the usual Argolic Geometric figures on vase painting, whose dress always includes long tassles. Perhaps in this case the triangular flounce is intended to represent such tassles but the fact that a very similar seal was found in Melos points to that island as the possible origin for the Heraion seal as well. The other seven examples, Norton's seals 45 to 51, have much more stylized designs and Norton believed that such crude geometric devices were probably only decorative.

As is the case with most of the material excavated at the Argive Heraion these square seals cannot be dated with any accuracy. One can attempt to date them by style, hence a date of the

Late Geometric is postulated for the square seals, but a firmer criterion comes from a find of the same type at the Perakhora sanctuary of Hera Akraia.<sup>554</sup> This seal was found in a deposit of Geometric vases and so can be dated no later than c. 720. It has an abstract design similar to the seven of the Argive Heraion mentioned above and it is because of this similarity that Payne feels the seal is undoubtedly Argolic. The design resembles "worm-eaten wood" as Boardman calls it<sup>555</sup> and it may be that these seals are actually recalling wooden seals which may have been in use before stone seals in the Geometric period.

Other square seals have been found in Melos and Delos as well as Crete but they consist of only one example each. As Boardman remarks it is not easy to determine the origins of the Argive Heraion seals. He considers them to derive from islands such as Melos and to have been exported to Argos where they were then made locally for use in the sanctuaries. One of the Heraion seals is made of white marble of island type, so it is probably an import.<sup>556</sup> The main difference between the square seals from the Argolid and those from the islands is the material: the island seals were made of white limestone (marble) while the Peloponnesian ones were carved of serpentine. This in itself is good evidence for the presence of different workshops. It would be difficult to prove that the seals were actually made in the Argolid were it not for the fact that actual blocks of stone, uncut, were also found at the Argive Heraion<sup>557</sup> and which may therefore have been intended for seals. Later seals of this type all come from the islands, a fact which lends credence to the theory that this is where they were first made. Ohly has proposed Melos as the origin of these seals and there is some evidence for contact between that island and the Argolid in the eighth century, as seen in pottery imported from the Argolid.<sup>558</sup>

Besides square seals, those of hemispherical shape were also quite popular in the Argolid. As the name implies these seals have a hemispherical shape, as illustrated in Figure 38. These seals are also pierced, but in this case the hole is bored laterally. Norton lists thirteen seals of this shape, including one which he calls "shield shape",<sup>559</sup> Blegen and Caskey list one each and finally Boardman<sup>560</sup> notes one other such seal from the Heraion now in Athens. The only other Argolic site to have yielded hemispherical seals is Mykenai where three have been found.<sup>561</sup>

For the most part these engraved gems bear designs recalling Late Geometric and Subgeometric vase painting. Horses and men as well as Geometric designs such as zigzags and chevrons are the common themes of these seals and therefore they can safely be dated to the second half of the eighth and early seventh centuries. In his Plate CXXXVIII of Waldstein's Argive Heraeum II, Norton gives examples of at least four seals displaying horses and in two of the cases a man is shown with the horse. Figure 39 illustrates one of these seals. In contrast with vase painting, however, the man is represented standing behind the horse, not in front of the horse's head. Needless to say this is most probably due to the restrictions imposed by the limited space offered on a seal. The horses themselves are interesting in that all have bent forelegs and with their long, thin bodies and high hindquarters they do bear some resemblance to those seen on Argolic Late Geometric vases, however the massed zigzag patterns on the other side of these seals is more reminiscent of pottery of the early seventh century, in particular some designs of the Fusco kraters. A date of the LG/Subgeometric period can therefore be envisaged for these seals. One need only compare them with a few of the Figures of chapter 4 to note the similarities. Furthermore as noted in that chapter the choice of man and horse is a particularly Argolic

trait. The linear patterns usually chosen as filling ornament are also those commonly seen in the Argolic repertoire, although they are of course found elsewhere.

Other hemispherical seals contain designs depicting humans of a type characteristic of Geometric styles. In his Die antiken Gemmen III, Furtwängler illustrates a few of these. One from Mykenai (Figure 40)<sup>562</sup> depicts two men holding long spindly objects, perhaps branches. A similar seal is illustrated by Furtwängler,<sup>563</sup> again showing two men, but this time joined at the waist. Their left legs are also connected. Another seal again represents two men, this time with a branch between them and a snake along the outside. The men on all these examples are very crudely drawn in the usual Geometric manner. Whatever the significance of such scenes, the custom of portraying human figures in a row and holding branches is a peculiarly Argolic one of the end of the eighth century and beginning of the seventh century. It is typical also of Argolic pottery of this period.

Hemispherical seals with designs reminiscent of some of the Argolic examples have also been found at Sparta, Olympia and Aigina,<sup>564</sup> but as before only one example has been found at each site. Since the greatest number comes from the Argive Heraion this in itself lends support to the belief that these seals were made in Argos or the Heraion itself. Those from the other sites were in all probability also made in the Argolid and were brought to those sites by individual Argolic travellers or worshippers. It is not surprising that Argolic seals found their way to these three sites since they all had close contacts with the Argolid in the Geometric period.

All of the above seals, therefore, whether square or hemispherical, fall within the second half of the eighth century and early seventh century and though their numbers are quite small, it seems fairly certain that the main centre of production on the



mainland was the Argolid. Not only is this where they have come to light in the greatest numbers but the designs are quite evocative of Argolic Late Geometric and Subgeometric vase painting. Opposed to this view, however, is Richter<sup>565</sup> who feels that not enough seals of the Geometric period have been found to make it possible to distinguish local schools. This seems to be an overly cautious view in light of the available evidence which appears to point to the Argolid as the home for seals of this date found within that area itself and its immediate neighbours.

In addition to square and hemispherical seals, rectangular tabloid seals also seem especially at home in the Argolid. These are similar to square seals except that they are rectangular and in contrast with most square seals, their edges are not bevelled. Furthermore instead of being pierced vertically they are pierced laterally; this enabled them to be worn as pendants. Usually the decoration is on both faces but it can also appear on the short sides.<sup>566</sup> Once again the greatest number comes from the Argive Heraion where Norton lists a total of nine.<sup>567</sup> Another tabloid seal from the Heraion was found by Blegen.<sup>568</sup> The only other site in the Argolid to have produced a tabloid seal is Asine.<sup>569</sup> Two others come from Aigina<sup>570</sup> and Boardman also notes one each from Boeotia, Brauron and Crete as well as two others with no proveniences.<sup>571</sup>

These tabloid seals also appear to date to the same period as the hemispherical seals and some of the square seals as well. Their designs have the same Geometric look as the other seals, most of them bearing intaglios typical of the late eighth century. Others, however, can probably be dated to the early seventh century since their designs remind one of the linear patterns of Argolic Subgeometric pottery. Two of the Argive Heraion examples are especially reminiscent of such pottery in their close-set zigzags and diminishing chevrons.<sup>572</sup>

These designs closely approximate those shown in Figure 39.

Others in the Heraion series include a few with indistinct markings but there is one with what Norton believes is a lion as one of its designs<sup>573</sup> although its leonine features are rather unclear and it may therefore be safer to call it simply a quadruped. Quadrupeds of indeterminate nature appear on a couple of other seals from the Heraion while on another seal a man and woman appear as the main design.<sup>574</sup> One seal from the same site shows a quadruped, probably a horse (Figure 41). The horse is interesting in having the appearance of a typical Argolic LG horse as portrayed on vases of that period. Note for example the high rump. As is to be expected of early seventh-century work, mythical animals make an appearance, though not on seals from the Argolid. Centaurs for example are seen on two seals, both of which unfortunately have no provenience.<sup>575</sup> These two seals appear to be rather exceptional, however.

The designs of tabloid seals can all be put into the category of intaglios, therefore these tabloids may all have been used as seals. That is not to say that they may not have been hung on a string, however, and since they are pierced laterally they could obviously have been worn around the neck as a pendant. One of the Heraion tabloids for instance, even has some bronze wire in the perforation.<sup>576</sup>

Although only a relatively small number of such tabloid seals have been found their place of manufacture seems almost assuredly to be the Argolid. This is based primarily on the fact that the Argolid has yielded more seals of this type than any other area and also that the majority of the designs can be related more to the Argolid than to other areas.

There are a few stone seals which in addition to having an intaglio on the underside also have a reclining animal on top,

carved in the round. Although only six seals of this type have been found it is noteworthy that two come from the Argive Heraion and one from Argos.<sup>577</sup> The seal from Argos was part of the votive deposit on the Larissa found by Vollgraff at the beginning of the century. The three others come from Attica, Sparta and Delphi.<sup>578</sup>

Though only three examples have been found in the Argolid the designs underneath these seals bear some resemblance to other seals found there. One of those from the Argive Heraion for example bears as its design the stylized figure of a man, resembling somewhat the design of another Heraion seal.<sup>579</sup> On the other<sup>580</sup> is what appears to be quadrupeds; they too call to mind some stylized animals on other types of seals. Other motifs include a man and scorpion, on the Argos seal, as well as spirals and triangles, dashes, animals and men on those from the other sites. The only seal which can be dated with any degree of certainty is that from Sparta, since it was found with pottery of the second half of the seventh century. These seals therefore may possibly extend throughout the seventh century. It is possible, however, that the Sparta seal was in a later context and that the seal itself dates to an earlier period. As will be seen, however, by the second half of the seventh century ivory and bone take over from stone as the material of primary importance for seals so it is unlikely that the other figure seals date so late as the one from Sparta, if that one is correctly dated.

To say unequivocally that these animal seals were made in the Argolid would be inappropriate, since so few seals of that type have so far come to light. On the basis of the similarity of the motifs of these seals with others of different types found in the Argolid, it may be possible to identify such animal seals as mainly an Argolic product but this is obviously far from certain. It is a conjecture based mainly on the provenience of these seals and the fact

that stone seals in general seem to be basically an Argolic feature.

Finally in this series of stone seals come several disc-shaped seals whose designs on the whole are of the same types as the other seals found in the Argolid. As usual the designs are twofold but unlike the other types of seals these seals usually have one side larger than the other. Norton enumerates eight such seals from the Argive Heraion<sup>581</sup> although he calls them by other names, including "button shape" and "lozenge shape". The only other seal of this type to come from the Argolid is one from Mykenai.<sup>582</sup> Other seals of disc shape include two from Megara.<sup>583</sup> Another one comes from Melos<sup>584</sup> and finally there is one with no provenance<sup>585</sup> but which Boardman thinks is Argolic. Both Perakhora and Crete have yielded disc or lentoid seals, but it may be best to exclude them since there is no reason for believing them to be Argolic in origin. The numbers for each area compare favourably with the Argolid; nine have been found in Crete and eight at Perakhora.

Some of the more interesting of the Argolid discs may be mentioned here. One is Plate 38.a; on one side it has an abstract design and on the other are women holding hands while in their other hand they hold branches. Below them are what seem to be a bird and snake. This theme of women holding branches returns frequently on Argolic LG or Subgeometric vase painting but perhaps the most important aspect of the design is the fact that the women's skirts bear the long tassles so typical of Argolic vase painting of that period. This in itself would be enough to show that the seal was made in Argos. Another seal from the Argive Heraion depicts, on one side, two figures holding a branch between them but this time the figures are men. Other designs on seals of this type include flying birds and various quadrupeds. Linear patterns are still found,<sup>586</sup> and mythical animals also appear; a gorgon's head can be seen on one seal<sup>587</sup> for

example, and one of the Megara seals depicts a winged man. Those with such fantastic scenes are more obviously oriental in taste, the influence certainly deriving from the Near East.

Some of these disc seals appear to contain mythological scenes, although the interpretation can never be completely certain, except in obvious cases such as the suicide of Ajax. One such seal which supposedly is mythological in aspect comes from Megara,<sup>588</sup> Plate 38.b. One side of the Megara seal depicts a man and woman holding a wreath. In their other hand they hold a branch although Stubbings felt they were sceptres and so identified the man and woman as Zeus and Hera.<sup>589</sup> The other side of the seal depicts a horse and rider. The rider holds a spear and there appears to be a small seated figure underneath the horse's belly. The rider may be a mythological figure himself, if one believes that the two on the other side are deities. What is perhaps more noteworthy is the horse for it has certain Argolic features including the wide neck and high hindquarters.<sup>590</sup> It is interesting to compare this seal with one in the British Museum<sup>591</sup> said to come from Amorgos. It too has a horse and rider as its design and as on the Megara seal the rider holds a spear in his hand but there is no figure under the horse's belly. There is however, a bird standing in front of the horse. Once again the horse's large neck and high hindquarters resemble similar scenes depicted on Argolic LG vases. The combination of bird and horse is one frequently found on such vases, and the whole scene itself is very similar to a Late Geometric pottery fragment from Tiryns. The shape of the rider's head is especially close to that of the Tiryns example. One may be justified in supposing therefore that this seal too may be Argolic.

Unfortunately there is no very definite way of dating these disc seals. From the subjects and style of decoration a date

from the late eighth century and earlier part of the seventh century is possible for the series as a whole. Even those from Perakhora do not provide any clear-cut answers and they too must be dated purely on style. The Argive Heraion seals would seem to date mainly to the Late Geometric and Subgeometric periods, judging from the themes and style. This too therefore tends to show that this was the Argolid's strongest period within the eighth and seventh centuries.

### Ivories

So far all the seals mentioned have been of stone but in the seventh century ivory gradually took precedence and the production of stone seals seems to have come to an end late in that century. As noted at the beginning of the chapter two ivory seals were found as part of a grave group of the mid ninth century in Athens. They are exceptional for the period since the material does not seem to have been used again until the late eighth century and especially the seventh century at which time it became the most popular material for seal engraving. On the whole these ivory seals betray much better workmanship than the earlier stone seals and this may be due in part to the softness of ivory which made it an easier material to carve, and to the adoption of the wheel, a device not used since the Bronze Age. The ivory seals are also notable for their much more obvious orientalizing motifs.

Seals of this type are commonly referred to as Peloponnesian, a name which on the one hand gives an indication of their most common provenience but on the other highlights the problem of finding the exact centre (or centres) of production. Three sanctuaries have provided the greatest number of examples of ivory seals: Perakhora, the Argive Heraion and Artemis Orthia at Sparta. In the

publication of the Argive Heraion seals Norton lists twenty-four ivories of various shapes but the majority appear to be discs carved on both sides. Another is mentioned by Blegen; it is from a possible rubbish pit.<sup>592</sup> Besides the Heraion the only other Argolic site to have produced an ivory seal is Mykenai.<sup>593</sup> Themes include animals such as lions, bulls, sphinxes and dogs, griffins, gorgons and various flying birds as well as rosettes and wheel designs. Plate 39 illustrates a few of these.

The earliest ivory seal from the Peloponnese is one from Perakhora, mentioned above<sup>594</sup> and shows a horse and rider with a bird standing in front of the horse. The Perakhora seal can be dated to the late eighth century since the scene is typical of Late Geometric vase painting. Stubbings lists ninety-eight seals made of ivory and most of them are of disc shape, some with stepped profiles so that one face is larger than the other. It is evident that these seals developed from the late eighth-century stone disc seals. In addition the sanctuary yielded twelve with a couchant animal carved in the round. These numbers contrast sharply with the Argive Heraion where only three couchant animals have been found.<sup>595</sup> At the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta over eighty ivories have been found and over fifty couchant animals.

Like the stone seals these ivories are also pierced and their designs are in intaglio; some of the earliest have couchant animals on the back. Some of the ivories have very finely-executed designs, in keeping with the excellent miniaturist quality of Proto-corinthian pottery. The most popular shape is the disc but some of them must have made very poor seals since they have very shallow intaglios and others have a device in relief.<sup>596</sup> Those with relief decoration could have been used as stamps, that is, the ivory could have been dipped in coloured liquid and stamped onto goods, as our

own modern ink stamps. It is probable that some of them were not intended for use as seals, but were purely decorative, although the ones with intaglios could have served as seals.

The production of ivory seals on the mainland seems confined almost totally to the seventh century although it is possible that a few are as early as the eighth century and some as late as the sixth century. From Athens, for example, comes an ivory stamp seal from a tomb of the early eighth century, MGII. Only one of the three pegs in the back is preserved and the design underneath shows two men and a horse.<sup>597</sup> At Perakhora almost all the ivories were found in seventh-century contexts but the earliest of the couchant animals date to the late eighth century since they were found with pottery of that period. Corroboration for these dates is supplied by the Sparta finds since these too are confined to the same period as the Perakhora ivories. By the very end of the seventh century bone began to be used, gradually supplanting ivory, and some seals made of this material are found in sixth-century contexts, especially at Sparta.

The main problem concerning ivory seals is to try to establish place of manufacture. It used to be felt that Sparta was the home for seals of this type, partly because of the numbers involved, but on the whole the seals from both Perakhora and the Argive Heraion appear to be of better workmanship. Furthermore the Sparta seals date for the most part to the second half of the seventh century whereas at Perakhora and most probably the Argive Heraion as well disc-shaped ivory seals, which form the majority of ivories, cannot be dated later than the middle of the seventh century, as evident from their contexts and style of execution. In her publication of the ivories from Perakhora Stubbings lists a few from both that sanctuary and the Argive Heraion as belonging to the same workshop<sup>598</sup> and yet it is not easy to determine where that workshop was.



One of the difficulties in imagining the Argolid as the main centre of production for these seals is that so few have in fact been found there in comparison with both Artemis Orthia at Sparta and the Hera Limenia sanctuary at Perakhora. This may of course be due only to the fortunes of excavations but the fact that the Argolid seems to have been the primary workshop for the stone seals and that these seventh-century ivories developed from them makes it possible that the area was also involved in the production of seals of this type. Furthermore as has already been seen the area continued to be fairly strong artistically in other media in the early part of the seventh century so there is no valid reason for it not to have been able to produce seals of such fine quality. The Heraion seals, however, are a rather mixed group, with some quite similar to a few from Perakhora, as mentioned earlier, and others of rather crude workmanship, resembling the later Spartan seals.<sup>599</sup> This therefore implies that the ivories from the Heraion were imports.

What becomes apparent from a study of the ivories is that the style of drawing is most closely related to Protocorinthian vase painting of the early seventh century rather than Argolic work of the same period. In this respect Corinth seems the likeliest site for their production. Corinth was the most progressive mainland site at that period and it is reasonable to claim, as Stubbings does, a Corinthian origin for most of these early ivories. Most of the Argive Heraion ivories therefore were probably of Corinthian manufacture. In view of the many Subgeometric designs on the stone seals from the Argolid, it may be most plausible to postulate the Argolid continuing with the production of stone seals for some time into the seventh century until finally its own industry was overshadowed by the finer, orientaling ivory seals, probably made in the Corinthia. This would parallel somewhat the developments in the Argolid's ceramic

industry. As for the seals from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary their relatively late date and rather inferior style suggest a local variant of the main series, made at Sparta and intended for local use only.

### 7.3 Conclusions

From the foregoing it has been seen that Peloponnesian seals, both of stone and ivory, cover a period of approximately 150 years. Several points can be examined to help our understanding of the origin and use of these seals, in particular those of stone since these apply more closely to the Argolid.

Whether or not engraved gems were ever actually used as seals is still not definitely known. One of the main reasons for this doubt is that many of the square seals, which are the earliest, have very shallow intaglios, too shallow for them ever to have been used as impressions. Furthermore several seals bear exactly the same device.<sup>600</sup> This is odd when one considers that such seals were supposedly meant for personal identification, however it is possible that people used more than one seal at a time; perhaps a combination of devices was necessary. It is conceivable that perhaps these seals were used as they seem to have been in Minoan Crete, that is, by official representatives of, for example, the Argolid, in different places. It is nevertheless strange that there is almost no evidence for the use of seals in the Geometric and early Archaic periods. Of course seals may have been used on perishable goods such as unbaked clay, or even bread, and therefore would not have survived.

Most of the seals have a hole bored through. In the square seals this hole goes through the centre, such that an area of the device on both sides is obliterated. In the other seals, including the ivories, the hole is bored across the diameter so that the

devices are not touched. In the latter case it is likely that those seals were meant to be hung on a string either worn around the neck or on the wrist. This could simply reflect the fact that the wearer had his "signature" ready for use at all times. It is impossible to ascertain, however, whether such seals were originally made with a hole and the possibility remains that the holes were only drilled later, when the seals were dedicated at the sanctuaries and were made so that the seals could be hung there. In the case of those with the hole bored through the face it is possible that a handle was fastened into the hole. Boardman in fact notes a seal from Athens with a peg fitted into a hole for use as a handle.<sup>601</sup> This one has three holes and so originally there must have been three pegs fitted into them, but only one of the pegs survived. A handle made the seal more convenient and easier to use.

Some seals have figured handles, such as a bronze seal in Oxford, supposedly from Cilicia.<sup>602</sup> Such seals with figured handles are reminiscent of the bronze horses standing on bases which have designs underneath. They too could conceivably have been used as seals and some of the designs on the bases are real intaglios, but Boardman doubts that they were ever actually used in this way.<sup>603</sup> Their size is such that they may have been rather too large to function as seals. If they were put to some use it was probably purely decorative. Even in the case of other engraved stones and ivories there is no proof that they were ever actually used as seals. The only indication of possible usage comes from a few sealings on clay bricks, plaques, pithoi and amphorae of the Late Geometric and early Archaic periods. In Crete for example there are a number of pithoi with impressed decoration which could have been made from stone seals and there is also impressed decoration on Cretan plaques of the mid seventh century and later.<sup>604</sup> The earliest of these plaques seems to be from Samos

and has as decoration the dead figure of a huge warrior being carried on the back of a friend.<sup>605</sup> This plaque dates to c. 700 B.C. and a sealing obviously taken from the same seal comes also from Pithekoussai in Italy. It comes from the handle of a plain amphora,<sup>606</sup> and is from the square type of seal common in the Argolid and Cyclades.

The warriors of these sealings may possibly be identified as Achilles and Ajax since this is just the period when epic poetry was beginning to have a strong influence on people's lives.<sup>607</sup> One aspect of this concern for long-gone heroes has been briefly examined already: the hero cults established at the end of the eighth century at several Bronze Age tombs in the Argolid. It is this same realization of the past that led craftsmen to paint narrative scenes on Archaic pottery and to make seals with epic themes. A fairly popular theme on seventh-century seals, for example, shows Ajax committing suicide on his sword.<sup>608</sup> In trying to understand the late eighth-century people of the Argolid and elsewhere one should therefore bear in mind the influence of the spread of epic poetry, an influence which can be said to have pervaded even the political sphere.

It is impossible to say from where the original seal of the sealings from Samos and Pithekoussai came, but either the Argolid or the Cyclades can be surmised as place of manufacture since both areas probably made seals at the same period. That impressions from the same seal can be found at such diverse sites seems to suggest that they may have functioned in some official capacity, somewhat like the Minoan seals of the Bronze Age. It is also possible that they had a purely decorative function, inspired by the east where seals made especially for that purpose had long been in use.<sup>609</sup> On the other hand it is easy to imagine that seals had some function in trade, in identifying products from specific areas. That they are not found

on pottery may only mean that the seal was put on the cover of certain pots, covers which may have been made of materials other than clay, so that now there remains no evidence of their ever having been used. That seals appear in the eighth century may be related to the increased need for personal or state identification, a need which came about due to increased trade. It may be more than coincidence that seals made their appearance at the time when the Argolid's foreign contacts were at their greatest.

There is also some evidence that the earliest seals (or stamps) were not of stone but of wood, and so of course have not survived. If the design resembling "worm-eaten wood", seen on a few of the early square gems<sup>610</sup> can be taken as representing earlier wooden seals, as Boardman believes,<sup>611</sup> then it would be a reasonable assumption to think that those eighth-century engraved gems were really used as seals and were imitating earlier wooden ones.

The provenience of engraved gems is another factor to consider when studying the question of usage. All these engraved stones and ivories come from sanctuaries. The only examples known to me of mainland seals found in other contexts are the three mentioned earlier which were found in Attic graves. Since all the other seals were found in sanctuaries they were obviously votives but although some may have been made especially for use as dedications others have signs of wear as Stubbings points out<sup>612</sup> and so must have had some history before being dedicated at the sanctuary.

That seals are not normally found in graves does not of course prove anything about their function. Possibly only seals made of wood or other perishable material were buried with the dead, or it simply may not have been the custom to put seals in graves. Another possibility is that stone and ivory seals were considered too precious to be left as grave offerings and people may have preferred

to keep them within the family, passing them on from father to son for example.

Another theory was put forth by Barnett<sup>613</sup> who did a study of ivory seals and concluded that they were the seals of office of priests or other officials. They were then dedicated by them in the sanctuaries at the end of their term of office. As evidence for this he cites Cypriot terracottas of priestesses wearing such seals around their necks. This theory seems plausible but one must contend with the differences in the number of ivory seals dedicated at Perakhora, Sparta and the Argive Heraion. The Perakhora and Argive Heraion seals date roughly to the same time but at the former sanctuary over one hundred ivories were dedicated while only approximately twenty-five were found at the latter. It may be only the chances of excavation that led to this inequality in numbers and it is likely that there were in fact many more seals dedicated at all these sanctuaries than have been found to date. Not only priestesses would have worn such seals but probably also various priests and other officials who used them while in office.

Perhaps this question can be examined from another point of view. As mentioned earlier the evidence for the use of seals is almost nonexistent. Since most were obviously meant to be hung on a string and therefore most probably worn around the neck or on the wrist they may have served either simply as jewellery or ornament, their original purpose having been forgotten, or they may have had amuletic qualities. In the latter context it is significant that they are found in sanctuaries; they may have served as thank offerings to the deity for a favour or answered prayer. Amulets were common in the Bronze Age, some dating as early as the EH<sup>614</sup> and especially in the late palatial period in Crete, in the MMIII-LMI, where a large class of amuletic seals was in use, the designs of which are notable

for their stylization in comparison with other gems of the day. These early amulets are distinguishable also by their technique which involved simple cutting with a drill or file.<sup>615</sup> In the later historic periods amuletic stones were also widely used. Some, at least in the Roman period, even bore inscriptions to that effect. In this connection it is important to remember that, in the later period, it was the stone itself that was thought to have certain protective or curative properties.<sup>616</sup> In Bronze Age Crete, however, the amulets were made of cornelian or jasper, which suggests that it was not the stone that was important here but the strange and unintelligible device. Those of the eighth and seventh centuries seem to have had more in common with the Minoan amulets than the later Roman ones, by virtue of the fact that they were all made of only one kind of stone implying that, if they were amulets, it must have been the device that was important and not the stone. The wearing of amulets has been a widespread practice throughout the ages but it remains impossible to be certain that the late eighth- or seventh-century Greeks thought of their gems in the way that people of the later historic periods did. In the LG and early Archaic periods there may not have been so much specialization and the fact of wearing a gem may have been enough to ensure one of some kind of protection. The use of some of these gems as amulets may also help explain why the devices are often abstract or unintelligible and why some have the same designs - the devices on amulets had no real significance. As Bonner also remarks, the designs on amuletic stones were meant to be seen the way they were engraved, not as impressions,<sup>617</sup> hence there was no need for a very deep incision and this as has been seen applies to several of the early gems.

The possibilities for the use of engraved gems are therefore fairly varied. A definite categorization of gems in this

respect is not really feasible and one can only enumerate the various possible uses of stone and ivory gems. Finally one must consider the Argolid's role in the manufacture of engraved gems of the late eighth and seventh centuries. Stone seals, in particular the early square seals, do seem especially at home in the Argolid. The blocks of uncut stone which were probably meant for the manufacture of engraved gems are further evidence in favour of a local workshop. Furthermore the designs of many of the stones reflect Argolic LG and Subgeometric pottery styles. Besides all this numbers alone may be a sufficient reason to speak of an Argolic centre of production yet some doubt still persists concerning this issue. At first glance the evidence of the stone seals may seem somewhat inconsistent with the rest of the picture at the end of the eighth and early seventh centuries. It is at this time that the area appears to turn away to a large extent from foreign influences; this is especially true in the ceramic industry. Here, far from admitting oriental influences as Corinth and Athens were beginning to do, the Argolid steadfastly kept its insular, Geometric tradition and thus fell behind, losing touch with the new fashions of the early seventh century.

Although the Argolid refused to admit foreign influences in its ceramic and other industries in the second half of the eighth century it is at that time that its contacts were widest. It is not surprising therefore that the art of engraving stones began in the Argolid at this time and it is also not surprising that once the craft had been adopted the foreign influences were left behind. Though the source for stone gems originated in the Near East the Argolid's contacts probably did not extend so far as that but more likely the idea was derived from the Cyclades, in particular Melos. The sherds and pots of Argolic manufacture found in the Cyclades and Cycladic sherds found in the Argolid show such contacts were at their



strongest at precisely this period. Two Late Geometric Argolic pots were found on Melos,<sup>618</sup> the island with perhaps the closest ties with the Argolid.

The appearance of stone seals in the second half of the eighth century may be another sign of the increased wealth of the period, evident also in the increased grave offerings and in the appearance of bronze armour, iron spits, as well as the various bronze offerings including tripod cauldrons at the major sanctuaries outside the Argolid. There can be no doubt therefore of the Argolid's very strong economic position at that time. The use of seals for official purposes, as can be surmised from the sealings from Samos and Pithekoussai, may indicate stronger central governments than before, and larger bureaucracies associated with the rise of individual city-states, that is, the polis. The use of seals does seem to correspond quite closely with this phenomenon in Greece, one that began to be felt in the later part of the Geometric period. The seventh century on the other hand was rather one of a general decline, seen already in the ceramic industry, in population and in most of the metalwork and now in seal engraving. Instead of adopting orientalizing fashions as Corinth and Athens the Argolid maintained a stagnant Subgeometric style in the engraving of stones. A few minor attempts were made to adopt the new styles but they were not successful and attempts were dropped. Although the Argolid continued to produce engraved gems for some time in the seventh century the competition from Corinth became stronger and stronger. By the middle of the seventh century the area seems to have stopped making seals in the face of better foreign products.

This picture is quite consistent with that provided by the ceramic industry. In the early seventh century the Argolid clung to a Subgeometric style and only made a few attempts to capture

the new orientalizing spirit. By the latter half of the century the area showed a general lack of inspiration and an apparent willingness to let other areas take over. No effort was made to compete and in light of this it is difficult to imagine the Argolid remaining an important centre of production for seals in the later part of the seventh century. These seals thus provide us with yet another example of the recession which seems to have befallen the Argolid in the period between c. 700 and 600 B.C.

CHAPTER 8

INSCRIPTIONS AND SCRIPT

As has been noticed in previous chapters the Argolid cannot be viewed as a homogeneous area. A great division separates the central plain from the eastern Argolid, so great that the two areas in some respects can almost be described as independent states. This division is twofold: a physical one in the form of a mountain range and an historical one in the form of a separate stock of people living in each area. It has been remarked already that the eastern peninsula in general looked out towards the Saronic Gulf rather than inland for its contacts. The sites are almost all located along the coast and naturally face out to sea, to Lakonia across the Gulf and to Attica. A major focus of this chapter therefore will be to investigate this apparent dichotomy through inscriptions and script. With regard to this the inscriptions can be of use in two ways: in what the letter forms themselves can tell us and what the inscriptions actually say; both of these factors will also be considered in this chapter. Whereas one can speak of the script of the whole of the Corinthia or Arkadia or Lakonia and so on, this is not possible with regard to the Argolid. There is not simply one script encompassing the whole area, however it must be remembered that scripts are not exact reflections of dialect. In dialect the Argolid as a whole falls under the Doric branch which together with North-West Greek make up the West Greek family. Even so, while the Doric dialect seems to have been in use throughout the Argolid, the written alphabet seems to have reached the area by more than one route so that slight differences appear in the script from different parts of the Argolid, differences which can show the route by which the script came.

All of this can therefore be of use in furthering our understanding of foreign relations, contacts and influences in the period between c. 800 and 600 B.C. Furthermore from one text in particular comes a very important addition to our knowledge of the political

situation in the central Argolic plain itself at the end of the seventh century. Such texts are thus a useful supplement to the information from ancient authors who for the most part lived several centuries later than the events they were recording.

For anyone studying Archaic alphabets and scripts the main source remains L. Jeffery's The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece (1961). Concerning the Argolid itself Jeffery had proposed three distinct groups with regard to script. The eastern Argolid formed one group, although even within it certain differences existed from place to place and the central plain was divided into two groups, one including Argos, the Heraion and Mykenai but another one with Tiryns in a group with Kleonai and Phlius.<sup>619</sup> Since the publication of Jeffery's excellent book, however, a new text has appeared which makes it clear that contrary to what she had thought, Tiryns in fact should now be grouped with Argos and not Kleonai. Inscriptions of the period in question come from Argos, the Heraion, Tiryns, Methana, Epidauros and Porto Kheli (Halieis) and there are also others from sites outside the Argolid, the script of which seems either Argive (the central plain) or East Argolic. These include inscriptions from Sparta, Delphi, Olympia, Rhodes and Kalymna. Most of these inscriptions are in fact nothing more than graffiti consisting of only one or a few words but they are nevertheless sufficient in pointing out characteristic features of the scripts of the Argolid. Although a total of seventeen inscriptions roughly dated to the period between 800 and 600 B.C. have been found one cannot really speak of eighth-century inscriptions since there is only one which might be dated to that century but even in this case it is dated to the very end of the century, as will be seen below.

There is as yet no general agreement concerning the birthplace of literacy in Greece. Claims had been made in the past

for its appearance on the north Syrian coast and from there its spread westwards to the Greek mainland and it was thought that Ionia and various eastern Aegean islands should have been among the first to use the alphabet.<sup>620</sup> This theory was based primarily on the fact that some early inscriptions were found in the Aegean islands, particularly Rhodes<sup>621</sup> and so it was felt that the alphabet must have come from the east and passed to the west.

Recently several alternative possibilities have been proposed. The oldest inscriptions date to the eighth century and the places which may have received literacy earliest are those which must have been in contact with the Phoenicians, they who, according to Herodotos (V.58.1-2) brought literacy with them when they settled in Boeotia. The alphabet is obviously derived from the Phoenician and places which may have adopted it first, besides Rhodes, include Athens, Crete and Euboea, all of which had early commercial contacts with the Phoenicians. It has been suggested, therefore, that the Greek alphabet may have originated in Greece itself, by people who were in contact with Phoenicians settled there.<sup>622</sup> Jeffery suggests that individual, professional teachers were responsible for spreading the alphabet.<sup>623</sup> Regardless of whether they were professional or not, it is from such resident Phoenician teachers that the alphabet was acquired, and differences in the script of various areas may be explained as the result of the individual habits of these Phoenicians and of the people who were learning the alphabet and memorizing the sounds they heard.

Insofar as the inscriptions from the Argolid itself are concerned they of course show certain peculiarities which set them apart from those elsewhere. Of course the Argolic scripts are not completely separate from those elsewhere and they naturally do share certain points with scripts of other areas in particular with those of the Argolid's neighbours in the eastern Peloponnese. In general the

script of the central plain resembles that of the Corinthia most closely, an area with which Argos and the central plain sites had many ties as is evident from some aspects of the archaeological record such as terracottas and bronzes for example.<sup>624</sup> Notwithstanding this the differences between the two areas in script are quite apparent. Certain letter forms are peculiar to the plain especially the beta, gamma, delta, epsilon, iota and lambda. The Argive lambda is particularly characteristic of the area. Furthermore the Argives are loath to use long vowels preferring instead to double the short vowel, hence double iotas and alphas etc. are commonly found. The picture presented by the script of the eastern Argolid on the other hand is somewhat different. The script here resembles most closely a group represented by Lakonia, Messemia, Arkadia, Elis and Rhodes.<sup>625</sup> Here the beta, gamma, lambda and ksi all have a different appearance from their counterparts in the central plain. Perhaps an even more important variation concerns the fact that in the early period the central plain preferred the use of "san" to sigma while in the eastern Argolid sigma was in use from the beginning. The influence of the Corinthia was thus not very strongly felt in this part of the Argolid. Although it appears that the central plain sites were related in script to Corinth such that both areas may have received their scripts from what seems to be a common source, the eastern Argolid remained isolated from this, looking out to the Gulf and to Attica to the east and Lakonia across the Gulf to the west. From Aigina there are no very early inscriptions but in the later historic periods those that have been found show strong similarities with the eastern Argolid.

While the Argolic plain's connection with the Corinthia is understandable the relationship of the Argolid with Rhodes and the other islands in the eastern Aegean is not so easy to comprehend at first glance. Historical sources do shed some light on this for there

are references to the Argolid as the founder of places such as Rhodes, Crete and Kos. For example Herodotos (VII.99), in speaking of the Persian War and the fleets of the various states, gives the following account when he mentions Artemisia who led the men of Halicarnassus, they who had come from Troizen. She was also the leader of the men from Kos, Nisyros and Kalydros, all of which islands had been colonized by Epidauros. Furthermore Herodotos (VIII.46) also mentions that the Epidaurians founded Aigina; this provides a basis for the Aiginetan script resembling that of Epidauros. Pausanias (VII.IV.2) records that even Samos was colonized by the Epidaurians. Furthermore the word Argos occurs frequently as a place name on various islands including Rhodes and one of the Rhodian phylai was called Argive, all indications that people from the Argolid at some time settled in those areas.<sup>626</sup> Such historical references are useful but only in providing evidence that there were links between the Argolid and these places at some time, but they do not give any indication about the dates of these links. It would be helpful to know whether there were strong contacts in the eighth century when the alphabet was first being diffused, but the archaeological evidence itself is not particularly useful for this period. The main evidence is either earlier, as in the case of PG Kos, or later, as the Euphorbos plate from Rhodes, discussed below.

The historical sources nevertheless make it clear that the connections of the various settlements of the Argolid with the Doric islands of the Aegean were long standing and close. Besides the accounts about the Doric islands, there are also references to Athens, as for example from Herodotos (VIII.41) who gives evidence of the close ties between Troizen and Athens. In this case he is referring to the Persian War and the fact that the Athenians sent their households to Troizen for safety. Again, however, this is a much later



incident and does not prove any contacts between the two areas as early as the eighth century. It is also known that Asine had close ties with Athens; some of its pottery for example has its closest parallels with that city, as seen in chapter 4. It is nevertheless surprising that in general the Argolic scripts do not appear to have had very strong ties with that of Athens, according to Jeffery's tabulations.<sup>627</sup> Buck, however, feels that at Epidaurus there are strong Attic influences in the script, but he is basing his assertions on much later inscriptions. He does claim, nevertheless, that Attic influences were stronger and earlier in the eastern Argolid than in the central plain.<sup>628</sup> Bartoněk feels that changes in the dialect of the eastern Argolid occurred soon after the arrival of the Dorians in the Peloponnese, c. 1000 B.C. and these changes affected the whole of the Saronic Gulf area, including the Corinthia, Megarid, Attica and the eastern Argolid.<sup>629</sup> In essence his view deals with the timing of the changes; he thinks they occurred much earlier than is generally assumed. The problem with such theses is that since they are based on late inscriptions, mostly of the Classical or Hellenistic period, they may not all be absolutely relevant for the period between 800 and 600 B.C. It is always possible that further excavations will reveal more early inscriptions from the various Argolic sites, thus these conclusions must of course be treated as tentative only.

As regards the inscriptions to be dealt with in this chapter their dating is based primarily on the form of the letters themselves, tall, straggly letters being an indication of an early date. For inscriptions painted or scratched on pots, a supplementary aid is provided in some cases by the style and fabric of the pot although an inscription need not be of the same date as the pot, perhaps having been written some time after the vase was in circulation.<sup>630</sup> Also letter forms do not remain constant but rather evolve

through time as is to be expected but the evolution need not be constant of course. Letter forms on stone inscriptions are bound to be somewhat different from those on painted inscriptions. Painted letters evolved more quickly and became simpler because of the medium used.<sup>631</sup> Painted inscriptions therefore can often be dated earlier than their stone counterparts, thus in general the two media must be examined separately. Official documents on stone should be regarded as formal, permanent records while graffiti on pots were not necessarily done by specialists and show for the most part a much more informal style.

One of the earliest inscriptions from the Argolid is a graffito on a fragment of a dinos from the Argive Heraion.<sup>632</sup> The graffito is painted just below the rim and the inscription itself is reproduced in Figure 42.<sup>633</sup> The letters of this graffito are tall, spindly and sloping, all marks of an early date and they represent a dedication of the type frequently seen on vases. It is unfortunate that it is in such a fragmentary condition but on the basis of the preserved letters and their forms and based on what is known about the script of other more closely datable inscriptions it can be dated to the seventh century.

The next inscription is a dedication engraved on a bronze plaque. It was part of a votive deposit on the Larissa in Argos.<sup>634</sup> The plaque is decorated on both sides with engraved figures. On one side appears a mounted warrior and on the side with the inscription is a warrior, standing and holding a spear. The inscription itself is illustrated in Figure 43. For the date of the inscription there are two clues, the nature of the engraved figures and the letter forms of the inscription itself. According to Vollgraff the deposit in which the plaque was found comprised material of the seventh and sixth centuries. No Geometric or Protocorinthian material was included.

The horse and rider represented on one side of the plaque look very Corinthian and in fact have parallels in vase painting of the second half of the seventh century.<sup>635</sup> The letters of the text, with their long and staggly form corroborate the date provided by the style of the figures and according to Jeffery it would be surprising if the inscription were later than the early sixth century.<sup>636</sup> The inscription provides good, clear examples of early letter forms including the characteristic lambda and iota. In the Corinthian script, which is the central plain's nearest relative, the lambda and iota would be written  $\wedge$  and  $\xi$  respectively, thus quite a change from the usual Argive  $\wedge$  and  $/$ . The inscription proves significant for another reason, in mentioning Enyalios, whose sanctuary in Argos is attested by Plutarch<sup>637</sup> but of which the remains have never been found.

Until fairly recently these were the only two inscriptions from the Argolic plain bearing the typical Argive script from the period down to c. 600 B.C. In 1962, however, a very important addition to this was made at Tiryns where a series of inscribed blocks of stone were found.<sup>638</sup> These stones covered the underground passages leading to the cistern. Figure 44 illustrates these inscriptions as they were found on the stones. A transliteration, Figure 45, follows the text.

The most important aspect of this inscription besides its subject, is the fact that it gives us for the first time, major evidence of the script from Tiryns. As can be seen from the illustration the writing is in the serpentine fashion and this in itself denotes an early date. From this inscription the script can be reconstructed as given in Figure 46:

The only letters which do not appear in the inscription are beta, ita, sigma, psi and omega. According to Jeffery no Argive inscription has yet produced a sigma or psi in the earliest period,

the earlier part of the Archaic, and both the eta and omega are never used in Argive inscriptions. Insofar as the absence of the beta is concerned that of course is simply due to the absence in the text of any word incorporating that letter. The letter forms coincide well with those of the two inscriptions mentioned above and with other Argive texts not noted in this chapter because of their slightly post 600 B.C. date. Based on such texts as well as the similarity of the letter forms with the early Argive inscriptions of the seventh century and the manner of writing, Verdelis, Jameson and Papachristodoulou date the Tiryns text to the late seventh century, c. 600 B.C.<sup>639</sup>

In fact in almost every detail, the Tiryns inscription is identical with the script of Argos. The script diverges from the normal early forms of the Argive letters in only one respect. In the Tiryns inscription the normal early  $\chi$  becomes  $\Upsilon$  which, according to the Argive script, is a later form of the letter.<sup>640</sup> Perhaps this is simply an indication that the inscription was set up at the time when the upsilon was undergoing a transition from its earliest form to its second stage. The earliest evidence for an upsilon of the second form appears to be an inscription from the Heraion, dated by Jeffery c. 575-550<sup>641</sup> so it is possible that the earliest evidence for such a form should now be regarded as that in this Tiryns text. Only one other unusual form appears in the text, the fact that at one point the normal Argive theta,  $\Theta$  becomes  $\Theta$ , a form never found in the Argive script or apparently in any other script. It therefore probably represents an error on the part of the mason since all the other thetas in the text are of the normal type. On the other hand typical features of the Argive script are also present, as for instance the practice of doubling certain consonants and vowels, in particular mu and iota, for example  $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\upsilon\delta\iota\iota\delta\upsilon$  and  $\iota\iota\alpha\rho\alpha\mu\mu\upsilon\alpha\mu\upsilon\alpha$  (Both from stones 1, 2 and 3) and in the doubling of vowels to show long vowels,

as for example *τρίιααφοντα*. Punctuation marks, which in the usual early Argive script are series of vertically placed dots, do not appear on this inscription but since it is in serpentine fashion punctuation marks are not necessarily to be expected.

All of these points are important in showing that the Tiryns script must now be grouped with Argos and Mykenai as part of the general central Argolic plain group.<sup>642</sup> Until this inscription was found the only other evidence from Tiryns tended to show that its script resembled most closely that of the Phlius-Kleonai group. Such for example was the case with a fragment of a lex sacra from Tiryns, dated c. 600-550 but written in the typical Kleonaian script.<sup>643</sup> It is to be noted that Peek, who first published the inscription, was unsure of its provenance.<sup>644</sup> Under the present circumstances it seems best to attribute that inscription to Kleonai and not Tiryns. In effect its character is much more appropriate to that site than the Tiryns script as it is now known and since its provenance is uncertain in any case there is no reason to place it among the Tiryns group.

This inscription is significant in being the longest text of that period so far found in the Argolid. The subject is its most intriguing aspect; it deals with regulations pertaining to meetings, seemingly of religious character, where wine is drunk. One hears of *πλατῖφοῖναρχοι* as well as an *ἰαρομνάμον* and *ἐπιγνομον*, all of whom appear to have had some kind of official role to play at these meetings. Perhaps even more interesting are references to Zeus and Athena: *Δι]φα·κᾶθα ναλιαν*, although the reading of *Δι]φα* is uncertain. In any case this shows that Athena, probably together with Zeus, was an important deity in seventh-century Tiryns, indeed perhaps the chief deity of the community. This seems somewhat inconsistent with the usual assumption that Hera was the chief deity of the town.<sup>645</sup> The word "Herakleio" also appears in the text, however, so it is

not certain that Zeus and Athena were so important as they seem. From the inscription it would appear that the worship of Herakles also played a major role. Verdelis, Jameson and Papachristodoulou nevertheless go as far as to claim that the temple on the citadel of Tiryns belonged to Athena, not Hera as Frickenhaus and others had assumed.<sup>646</sup> Furthermore the references to the δᾶμοι and ἀλαΐα suggest that Tiryns at that time had the institutions of a city-state with its own assembly.

All this of course has serious implications for the history of the Argolid in the early Archaic period. Argos is always regarded as the dominant centre in the Argolid, completely dominating and overshadowing the rest of the settlements in the neighbourhood. For the late eighth century and perhaps the early seventh century this picture is usually assumed to be accurate yet c. 600 or a little earlier Tiryns, a site only a few miles away from Argos, had its own popular assembly and religious festivals with two deities whose role appears to have been much more central to the community than it was in Argos where Apollo and Hera remained the preeminent deities. This suggests that Tiryns was still independent at this time but it is difficult to assess its degree of autonomy for it is always possible that these religious meetings were administered by Argos yet this seems a rather unlikely possibility. When one considers the fact that Argos in the second half of the seventh century seems to have been in a decline or recession it is difficult to imagine it strong enough to control religious activities, and perhaps political ones also, beyond its own boundaries. The degree of autonomy enjoyed by Tiryns no doubt depended on the fortunes of Argos itself.<sup>647</sup> There is one puzzling aspect to all of this which is that so far archaeology has produced no evidence of a settlement of that period at Tiryns. It may be that the community was scattered somewhere below the citadel in a lower

town but in any case the inscription makes it quite clear that a settlement did exist in the seventh century at Tiryns. All of this necessitates a reassessment of the role Argos played in the central plain and the Argolid in general at that period. It does also concur quite well with the evidence from pottery and other artefacts, that Argos was indeed in a decline and was therefore in no position to dictate policy to Tiryns, or indeed other sites.

To the late seventh century can also be dated an inscription in the usual Argive script, although the inscription does not come from the Argolid but was found in Sparta. The provenance is not very certain however. It is a dedication on a bronze aryballos, the text of which is written from right to left, interestingly enough in hexameter, as shown in Figure 47, with the transliteration accompanying it. As can be seen from a glance at the Figure the letter forms are all typical of the Argive script as found at Argos, the Heraion and Tiryns as written in Figure 46. The lambda for example has the typical half-mast stroke, and other noteworthy examples include the gamma, mu, "san" and straight iota. The only difference from the script as shown in Figure 46 is the theta, the form of which is that of a slightly later date but it is nevertheless a form commonly found in the Argolid. Jeffery proposes the late seventh century as the possible date for the inscription based on the shape of the aryballos.<sup>648</sup> The letters are rather straggly and of different heights, both factors in favour of an early date. That the dedication is to the twin gods may refer to the Dioskouroi, whose sanctuary is known to have existed near Argos,<sup>649</sup> but it is possible that the dedication was made by an Argive to the Spartan Dioskouroi since the aryballos was supposedly found in Sparta.

From beyond the Argolid comes another couple of inscriptions, both on the bases of two marble kouroi dedicated at Delphi.

The identification of the kouroi as Kleobis and Biton was proposed by T. Homolle who first published the now-famous statues. Richter dates the statues by style to c.615-590 B.C. which in essence is the same date, the early sixth century, that Homolle had proposed on the basis of the inscriptions.<sup>650</sup> Jeffery also proposes the same date, late seventh-early sixth century, for the statues and the inscriptions.<sup>651</sup> The inscriptions themselves are badly damaged, the result of which has been much controversy over their meaning. Different scholars have proposed various readings of the letters but the one which has found greatest favour is that depicted here (Figure 48). On the base of one of the statues runs the inscription shown in the first line of Figure 48. A transliteration of the inscription follows in the same Figure. Some have claimed to see τὸν ματάρα for the second part of the line<sup>652</sup> but this seems very conjectural on the basis of the letters actually visible on the base as published by Homolle. On the other base is the inscription depicted in the next two lines of the same Figure (with transliterations). The final line is obviously the most important for it gives the partial name of the sculptor and his homeland, Argos. The first part of the name has been completed various ways but that which has found the greatest acceptance seems to be "Polymedes". Whatever his name he was undoubtedly an Argive sculptor of some repute. This fact is important in the history of Argos for it shows that a revival was taking place in the arts at the end of the seventh century.

As for the identification of the statues themselves their names are based on a passage by Herodotos (I.31) in which it is said that Argives set up the statues of Kleobis and Biton at Delphi to honour the strength of the two youths after they had drawn their mother in a carriage 45 stades from Argos to the temple at the Argive Heraion. Some scholars have interpreted the first line of the



inscription (Figure 48) as [ΚΛΕΟΒΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΒΙ]ΤΟΥ but in effect this represents only a conjecture based on Herodotus not on the actual inscription. Jeffery prefers to see the name of another sculptor ending in -ΤΟΥ rather than the names of the two youths.<sup>653</sup> Indeed it may be regarded as rather strange that the names of both youths should be placed on the same statue. Other restorations of different parts of the inscriptions have been attempted over the years but none is very convincing. It is on the basis of such restorations in fact that the script of the inscriptions has usually been called Phokian with only the last line being Argive. Without these restorations the basis for the Phokian script is nonexistent. The letter forms of the last two lines are definitely Argive; note for example the gamma, "san" and upsilon, and the punctuation marks are also of an Argive character. Such are the main reasons behind Jeffery's assertion that the script of the whole inscription is Argive<sup>654</sup> and indeed her view seems the most satisfactory in light of the evidence.

In addition to these inscriptions are a few from the eastern Argolid but unfortunately only three can be dated to the period down to c. 600 B.C. The inscriptions in general from the eastern Argolid are rather late and most of our information about the script is based on those late Archaic and Classical inscriptions. Of the three which can be dated before c. 600 B.C. the earliest is a recent find, an inscribed amphora handle dated to the end of the eighth century or beginning of the seventh century found at the city of Epidauros.<sup>655</sup> No details were given about the amphora handle but presumably it was from a pot locally made in the eastern Argolid. The inscription, which runs from right to left, has not yet been published, however, and according to Mrs. Deilaki it is difficult to decipher. She nevertheless describes it as a very old form of the Aiginetan-Epidaurian script. According to Jeffery, however, it is not

possible to speak of an Aiginetan-Epidaurian script since various differences exist between the two. Aigina possesses a script which is quite close to the Attic while that at Epidauros remains somewhat apart, resembling that of the Corinthia-Argos group to some extent yet always maintaining its own peculiarities so that it does not match exactly any area in the Argolid nor of course Aigina.<sup>656</sup> This new inscription is nevertheless much earlier than those on which Jeffery based her conclusions so it is possible that this inscription possesses a script which does show a closer kinship with the Aiginetan than was felt to be the case previously. Until it is published such conclusions must remain tentative only. In any case its importance lies in the fact that it represents the earliest inscription so far found in the Argolid, if the amphora handle has been correctly dated.

From Methana comes an inscription on a gravestone. It too can be dated before c. 600 B.C.<sup>657</sup> It presents us with a third form of engraving inscriptions, running boustrophedon, that is, from left to right and right to left on alternate lines. That the text is fairly early in date can be seen in the fact that the letters at the end of each line curl round to join the next line. The letter forms themselves are still of the early type, and the writing is uneven and straggly, with letters of different heights. The inscription is illustrated in Figure 49. As can be seen from the inscription the script varies somewhat from that in use at sites in the central plain. For example none of the early Argive inscriptions uses sigma, preferring "san" in contrast with the script used in the Methana inscription. Another variant occurs with the lambda: here one finds  $\wedge$  instead of the Argive  $\lambda$ . Other differences between the eastern Argolid and the central plain can be noted, although this text from Methana does not itself contain the relevant letter. For instance in the central plain the beta is written  $\beta$  while in the eastern Argolid it becomes  $B$ . The

gamma, written  $\wedge$  in the central plain, turns into  $\lrcorner$  in the east and finally the ksi changes from  $\Xi$  in the Argos area to  $\dagger$  in the eastern peninsula.

These differences from the central plain are thus quite significant and they remain so in later inscriptions although for the eastern Argolid the evidence is somewhat meagre with several letters not attested in inscriptions. As has been pointed out at the beginning the most closely-related scripts come from Lakonia, Messenia, Arkadia, Elis and Rhodes but the letters in common with the central plain are those common to many areas in general and so are not proof of any close ties with that region of the Argolid.

The recent American excavations at Porto Kheli, the site of ancient Halieis, have produced a few examples of graffiti on pottery of various periods. The site was occupied in the prehistoric period and while sherds of the PG and G periods point to continuing occupation it was not until the end of the latter period that significant activity occurred at the site. One of the more interesting aspects of its history involves the immigration of Tirynthians, c. 468, after having been driven out of their community by the Argives. Inscriptions from the Classical period give evidence of this by making it clear that the script of the central Argolic plain, besides the eastern Argolic script, was in use there at that time. Earlier inscriptions are unfortunately very few but what does exist tends to show that in the seventh and sixth centuries Halieis used a script which differed substantially from the Argive. Although the evidence is slight and therefore not conclusive the graffiti show that in general early Halieis should probably be placed within the east Argolid group.

The earliest inscription consists of a name written on a skyphos of either Argive or local manufacture. The skyphos itself is associated with walls on the akropolis dated c. 630-580. The

inscription as it appears on the skyphos has not yet been published but it has been mentioned by M. Jameson who writes it as ΞΕΝΙΚΛΕΞ which presumably stands for Ξενοκλεξ.<sup>658</sup> A letter which apparently could be either East Argolic or Lakonian is the lambda, presumably written  $\wedge$  in the original, but both the Ξ for "xi" and the use of sigma rule out those possibilities, according to Jameson. He therefore thinks that the script of this inscription places it with one of the islands or with the Ionic dialect.<sup>659</sup>

The other inscriptions from the site are nothing more than graffiti with only a letter or two visible. One of these, HP 426, contains a sigma and koppa (ϙ); the latter is otherwise unattested on inscriptions of the eastern Argolid. This graffito, which can be dated fairly early because of its tall, straggly letters, may therefore be in a script other than East Argolic. A sigma reappears on HP 325, identified tentatively as a possible merchant's mark. Jameson also notes a Protoattic "SOS" amphora with four signs, the first of which is an hourglass-shaped letter. This too may be a merchant's mark. This inscription can be dated according to the date of the pot to the seventh century. One more inscription may be noted although it is dated to the sixth century. On three fragments of bronze plaques are various letters pertaining to a text of at least two lines. Among the letters Jameson notes are an early-looking alpha,  $\text{A}$ , which is probably East Argolic, a nu of the second type,  $\text{N}$ , which could be either Argive or East Argolic, as well as three letters,  $\text{YOP}$ , the first letter of which is described as tall with short arms and is therefore probably the East Argolic or Lakonian "chi".<sup>660</sup> Perhaps Spartans living at Halieis were responsible for the inscription. The site did have close ties with Lakonia and imports of Lakonian ware are common in the seventh century.

The evidence for this site, though still quite limited,

therefore shows that Halieis, like the other areas of the east Argolid known through Archaic texts, rejected any sort of association with the Argolic plain. This agrees quite well with other evidence from the site and it is not until the fifth century that the Argive script is seen at Halieis; this of course is in keeping with the historical evidence concerning the migration of the Tirynthians in the early Classical period. It is regrettable that nothing of early date has so far been found at other east Argolic sites but the evidence from later Archaic and Classical inscriptions suggests that the east Argolic inhabitants led a life quite isolated from the central plain. There is nothing to indicate that these conclusions do not apply for the early Archaic period as well. How the east Argolid got its script is not clearly known but it is unlikely to have come directly from an eastern Aegean island such as Rhodes. The area did have some similarity with the Lakonian script, and Jeffery was of the opinion that the east Argolid, Lakonia, Messenia, Arkadia and Elis all obtained their script from the same source.<sup>661</sup> In later inscriptions there are strong ties between Lakonia and the east Argolid but it is difficult to assess the strength of such ties in the late eighth century. The earliest Lakonian inscription comes from a bronze aryballos dating to the second quarter of the seventh century.<sup>662</sup> It is possible that the main influence for the eastern Argolid came from Lakonia but it would be of some help to have earlier inscriptions from Lakonia.

The only other inscription to have come to light in the Argolid of the period between 800 and 600 B.C. is a graffito on a kantharos of the Subgeometric period, c. 700-675?, found near the Argive Heraion (Figure 50).<sup>663</sup> The unusual feature here is the freak epsilon,  $\text{J}$ , used as the eta, a letter not found in the Argolid. Blegen had thought that the  $\text{J}$  represented the Corinthian beta but this seems unlikely in view of the very early date of the graffito, at

which time the Corinthian beta was written with rounded loops. It is better to see in its angular form the eta of the Kleonai group, as Jeffery suggests. Some uncertainty exists as to the meaning of the graffito. Between the eta and the epsilon a large crack on the pot makes possible the existence of a thin letter, obliterated by the crack. There is in any case a fairly wide gap between these two letters such that the division of the two words is not totally convincing. That the first word of the inscription is εἶμι seems fairly certain. The other word has been variously translated as χῶση or χούση by Blegen although there is a remote possibility that the first letter is a badly-written tau. This would then result in τούση εἶμι, the translation of which defies explanation. In any case one would expect the genitive case if the inscription were referring to the owner. On the other hand χῶση or χούση could perhaps refer to χοῦς, a unit of measure but even this is unsatisfactory because the size of the kantharos is too small for the unit of measure implied by the word. Possibly the measure in the Argolid was different from that in Attica, from where other examples of the word come.<sup>664</sup> Whatever the meaning of the graffito its script marks it as un-Argive, probably Kleonaian but Jeffery's proposal that it could also be Tirynthian must now be rejected in light of the recent Tiryns find which shows that that settlement, like Argos, did not make use of the freak epsilon. The script also implies that visitors from outside the Argolid were making trips to the Argive Heraion and offering votives there. Of course Kleonai lay just beyond the borders of the Argolid so it is not surprising to find its inhabitants travelling to their close neighbour to a sanctuary of major importance.

Finally there are a few inscriptions from the eastern Aegean islands in what appears to be Argive or Argive-related scripts. The best known of these is perhaps the Euphorbos plate from Kamiros

in Rhodes and probably made on Rhodes itself or some other island in that region.<sup>665</sup> The plate depicts Hektor and Menalaos fighting over the body of Euphorbos. By its style the plate is dated to the second half of the seventh century. The inscription (Figure 51) which simply consists of the names of the three characters involved, was obviously put in after the plate was decorated and had to be squeezed in wherever there was room around the figures, but it may have been painted by the same man who painted the scene since figured scenes are otherwise quite rare in the Rhodian "Wild Goat" style. In contrast the Argolid has produced several examples of somewhat similar scenes of warriors. From Tiryns comes the famous painted shield depicting a battle scene and on several pots are shown mounted warriors. It seems most probable that an Argive also painted the scene on this Rhodian plate. The three names of the inscription are illustrated in Figure 51. The most interesting aspect of the inscription is the presence of the peculiar Argive lambda. No other script contains a lambda of such appearance. All the other letters are found in the central plain as well except the beta which is plainly un-Argive. The obvious solution is that Argive workmen had settled on the island of Rhodes and one of them was responsible for inscribing the names on the plate. Although the beta is not Argive this could mean that the writer had developed a hybrid style simply from living in the east Aegean. The Rhodian plate is quite late however, and therefore can have no bearing on the origins of the Argive script but it does show close contacts between the two regions in the late seventh century. Another possibility presents itself but before discussing it it is necessary to mention three other inscriptions, all of them from Kalyмна.

The first inscription consists of a series of letters scratched on both sides of a sherd described as Geometric in date.<sup>666</sup> From Segre's photograph a few letters are discernible, including

those reproduced in Figure 52. The next inscription comes from a fragmentary vase the style of which dates it to the seventh century. On one fragment can be seen the letters of Figure 53. The other letters are not photographed but Segre transliterates them as  $\Lambda\epsilon\eta\alpha\iota\omicron---$ . The final inscription is also from a sherd described as Geometric. From Segre's photograph several letters are visible (Figure 54). Segre read this from right to left as  $[\acute{\zeta}] \acute{\alpha}\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ , thinking that the fourth letter from the left was an inverted rho. This seems somewhat unlikely since the other letters are all right side up. To see an Argive lambda, as Jeffery does,<sup>667</sup> seems more plausible. Her transliteration can be seen in the same Figure. She is of the opinion that the script may perhaps be Carian.

In all three examples from Kalymna as well as the Euphorbos plate from Rhodes the Argive lambda appears. The significance of this lies partly in the early date of the Kalymna examples. These are among the earliest in Greece and the fact that the script looks very much like that from the Argolic plain suggests that Argos may have derived its script from Kalymna or as is more probable both places got their scripts from some common source. Not enough is known about the scripts of the Doric islands to say much about their relationship with the Argolid but the likeliest explanation for the apparently Argive-like script used at Kalymna is that Argive craftsmen had settled there<sup>668</sup> and so were using a sort of hybrid script. As for the Rhodian plate, that too may have been inscribed in Kalymna.<sup>669</sup> Assuming that the Argives did receive their script from Kalymna, bypassing Corinth, it is possible that the Kalymnian lambda the Argives would have received was changed by them from  $\wedge$  to  $\nearrow$  to avoid confusion with the gamma, which in Kalymna was the same as the lambda. Some uncertainty concerning the role of Kalymna on the Argive script remains, however, for other indications point to close



ties with other islands. The Argive beta, β̄, seems closest in form to that found on Paros and Naxos, C, <sup>670</sup> so that some influence on the Argive script seems also to have come from those islands. If one looks at pottery and seals as well, the Argolid will be seen to have had close ties with both the Dodecanese and the Cyclades, as for example with Melos. Furthermore as noted at the beginning of the chapter the traditions are quite adamant in connecting the Argives with various islands. For the time being therefore and until more is known of the island scripts, it is best to conclude that the Argolid formed a fairly close relationship with various islands, the most important being Rhodes and Kalymna, but also Crete and Cyprus, <sup>671</sup> but exactly how the scripts were transmitted remains to be learnt. The role of Corinth as transmitter of the script to Argos is also uncertain.

Before leaving inscriptions altogether there are a few others which should be mentioned although they are not strictly speaking datable to the period covered in the present study. These are inscriptions on a few shield bands dedicated at Olympia. The bands themselves were discussed briefly in the Metalwork chapter. Only eight are in fact inscribed and all are of the sixth century but none is later than c. 540. <sup>672</sup> The earliest has been dated by Jeffery to c. 600-575 and bears the inscription illustrated in Figure 55. The other bands also contain names, such as Penthesila, Aristodamos, Ajax and Herakles. The letters are in the typical Argive script, as can be seen by the λ̄ for lambda, the ῑ for iota, ε̄ for epsilon and γ̄ for gamma. Kunze has dated the earliest of these shield bands to the last third of the seventh century. <sup>673</sup> The earliest in fact are uninscribed. They continue into the sixth century but the practice of dedicating them at Olympia seems to have come to an end by the late sixth century. These shield bands are usually called "Argivo-Corinthian" mainly because the style most closely resembles Corinthian work of

the period<sup>674</sup> but the inscriptions, though few, are all in the typical Argive script. This surely indicates that Argos was the main production centre for shield bands and of course the shields themselves, as befitting its reputation. The work may have been carried out in close cooperation with the Corinthians and they may have taken over the production of shield bands in the sixth century to some extent but it seems true to say that the Argives were the matrix-makers for the majority of shield bands. As Kunze remarks, the relative lack of inscriptions on the shield bands is unlike the Corinthian habit.<sup>675</sup> This, coupled with the script used, testifies to a flourishing Argive bronze industry in the late seventh and early sixth centuries.

In conclusion therefore, these inscriptions can all reveal something about seventh-century Argolid although perhaps not so much as one would wish since the inscriptions are for the most part extremely short. Furthermore their abundance or paucity in any given area depends on the fortunes of excavation and of course much work remains to be done, especially in the eastern Argolid. In comparison with other areas, in particular Attica and Corinth, the eighth- and seventh-century inscriptions of the Argolid are very few in number. In the Corinthia and Attica there are many more texts, though most are graffiti, in the eighth and seventh centuries than in the Argolid. While this state of affairs may reflect simply the number of excavations carried out in each area and hence the number of inscriptions found, it may also reflect different habits. Basically it seems that the Argolic people were less concerned about inscribing their names on pots or writing dedications. Furthermore in the seventh century not much pottery was produced in Argolic workshops in comparison with the Corinthia. This may be sufficient explanation for the relative dearth of inscriptions in the Argolid.

The inscriptions that are available nevertheless do

tend to reflect certain aspects of seventh-century life to some extent. The most obvious fact is the marked dichotomy existing in the Argolid at that time; the central plain and eastern peninsula were almost completely isolated from each other, such that the eastern peninsula seems to have been part of the Argolid in name only. The importation of Lakonian pottery into Halieis in the seventh century is also significant in that it adds support to the idea that the area was quite independent of Argos at that time. The ties between Lakonia and the east Argolid seem to have been very close, and the script itself also testifies this. The two regions of the Argolid appear to have been both economically and politically separate. This brings up the vexed question of the extent of Argos' influence within the Argolid at this period. Its influence in the eastern Argolid at any rate seems to have been minimal and one may wonder how strong was its control even within the central plain itself. For the late eighth century one may be tempted to speak of a unified area in the central plain, at least insofar as can be gathered from the very homogeneous pottery of the time, but at the end of the seventh century a settlement very close to Argos, Tiryns, seems to have been completely independent. This nevertheless appears to coincide with the beginning of a slight revival in Argos after its severe recession of the middle to late seventh century, for its ceramic industry was awakening as was its bronze industry. The evidence from Tiryns suggests, however, that this economic revival was not accompanied by a strengthening of Argos' position politically within the plain or the rest of the Argolid.<sup>676</sup>

Surely it would be unwise to place the great Argive king Pheidon as late as 600 B.C.<sup>677</sup> Here is a king who supposedly recovered the entire "Lot of Temenos", the whole of the Argolid and beyond, and yet a town at the very doorstep of Argos was able to exist completely independently at the time when Pheidon is supposed to have

been in power. A much earlier date for his reign should therefore be postulated, perhaps as early as the late eighth century, as will be discussed briefly in the final chapter.

CHAPTER 9

SANCTUARIES

## Introduction

In the past several chapters votive offerings have been mentioned on many occasions. Pottery, figurines, bronze and iron objects were all dedicated in various shapes and sizes within the eighth and seventh centuries. It is time now to delve further into these dedications and especially the sanctuaries and cults to which they were attached. In this way further clarification of the political and economic picture of this period should be produced.

Our greatest source of information about Argolic sanctuaries is Pausanias who, in his tireless journies throughout the mainland, visited dozens of sanctuaries in the Argolid.<sup>678</sup> Every town and even every village seems to have had a temple or at least an altar to some deity or other. Some sanctuaries were noted as being located on the summits of mountains or on the road to or from a certain settlement. Many of course were in ruins in the second century A.D. when Pausanias made his tour. He usually remarked anything noteworthy or unusual about the temples he saw but as he was not a geographer his topographical references are often not very precise. In some cases this has resulted in an increase in the number of problems posed by the actual remains and it has often proved difficult to identify sanctuaries based on Pausanias' geographical references. On the other hand archaeology has sometimes been able to fully corroborate Pausanias' remarks.

Let us begin therefore with an examination of the archaeological remains at these different sanctuaries. The dedications will be studied to some extent as well since they can afford valuable insights with regard to the main period of activity at a sanctuary and the relative prosperity of the votaries as well as the popularity and importance of each of the sanctuaries. The types of dedication may

tell us something about the nature of the cult or ritual although in most cases the votives were dedicated regardless of their suitability for the deity.

### The Argive Heraion

The most important sanctuary in the Argolid was of course the Heraion. Situated midway between Argos and Mykenai on Mt. Euboia the sanctuary commanded a good view of the surrounding plain. While several other sanctuaries of Hera existed in the Argolid none had the prominence of the Heraion. Hera was by far the dominant deity of the Argolid and the Argolic people thought of her as the foundress of their civilization; she was also responsible for teaching them to sow the land.<sup>679</sup> Her importance in Argos also had political overtones and as one of the patron deities of Argos she somehow belonged to that city. Homer in the Iliad (I.562-563; IV.51) for example, notes that Argos is one of Hera's favourite sites and she is called "Argeie", meaning "from Argos". Her next favourite site was Mykenai<sup>680</sup> and hence the political importance of placing the sanctuary halfway between both settlements.

The remains visible today date almost entirely to the period of the later temple built in the late fifth century after the earlier one had been destroyed by fire. Various other buildings are connected with the temple but almost all were erected after the seventh century. Among the earliest constructions of this later phase of the sanctuary seems to be the West Building put up in the last quarter of the sixth century but the East Building, South Portico, West anacronism wall and the stepped wall were all constructed within the fifth century, as was the New Temple itself, dated c. 420-400.<sup>681</sup>

The sanctuary comprised two terraces, a lower one on

which stood the New Temple, and the upper terrace on which the Old Temple had been built. This latter terrace had a rectangular plan and measured 55.80 by 34.40 metres with a height of 3.25 metres, a massive structure for its time.<sup>682</sup> The blocks themselves, of unworked stones, were monumental in character, each measuring approximately 6 metres in length. With walls of such Cyclopean appearance it is not surprising that the excavators thought they were Mykenaian. The terrace support wall is dated by the finds in the fill behind it to the late eighth or early seventh century. Amandry also notes Geometric and Protocorinthian sherds in what he calls the "sous-sol" of the terrace.<sup>683</sup> In a recent article, J.C. Wright has reexamined the problem of the date of this great terrace.<sup>684</sup> The main evidence for dating it to the Geometric period rests with LG sherds found within the wall.<sup>685</sup> Wright himself suggests a late eighth-century date for the construction of the terrace, based on technical and stylistic concerns,<sup>686</sup> but as he himself points out not everyone accepts this date for the terrace. Drerup claimed such monumental terraces could not be Geometric and he placed it in the seventh century while recently H. Plommer has reiterated a Mykenaian date for its construction.<sup>687</sup> Wright's arguments nevertheless seem the most persuasive, especially taking into consideration the LG sherds found within the terrace wall.

The temple stood on the terrace but the evidence for it is very scanty, consisting of part of the stylobate of the building's south side. Tilton, who published the remains in The Argive Heraeum, also remarked that traces of four column bases were found. From these bases it is obvious that the columns themselves were very thin, measuring between 0.78 and 0.80 metres. Furthermore they were very widely spaced, having a distance of 3.5 metres between them. In spite of this and the fact that Tilton thought the columns must have been of wood<sup>688</sup> Amandry maintains that they were probably of stone<sup>689</sup> although



the entablature may have been of wood. Tomlinson, however, feels that the columns were wooden and the superstructure of the temple of unbaked brick.<sup>690</sup> There is, however, a surviving column drum fragment which now sits on the stylobate, its diameter exactly fitting that of the stylobate. On the basis of this, one assumes that the temple had stone columns although there is no proof that the surviving drum actually belongs to this temple.

The date of the temple is the other main problem connected with the architectural remains at the site. The retaining wall to the southeast of the terrace as well as the wall of Cyclopean appearance and the terrace itself must date to the end of the Geometric period, but this does not necessarily mean that the temple itself was built soon after these structures and it is more reasonable to propose a seventh-century date for its construction. Other early temples in the northern Peloponnese include the temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, dated to the mid seventh century,<sup>691</sup> the temple of Apollo at Thermon dated 640-625,<sup>692</sup> the temple of Hera at Olympia dated c. 600 B.C.<sup>693</sup> and finally the predecessor of the temple of Apollo at Corinth, dated early in the seventh century.<sup>694</sup> The Argive Heraion temple should also date to the seventh century since its architecture resembles quite closely that of the other temples<sup>695</sup> but the others all had wooden columns. The Argive Heraion temple did have one technical advance over these temples: a series of bosses on the stylobate blocks used to help in the placing of the blocks. Taking all these factors into consideration has led Wright to propose a date of the third quarter of the seventh century for the building of the temple,<sup>696</sup> a project which must have taken a number of years to complete. This date has been disputed by Kelly, however, who feels a date in the second half of the eighth century is more appropriate for the construction of the Old Temple. He bases his argument on sherds of the

Geometric period found by Blegen below the terrace wall. The lack of Protocorinthian ware leads him to believe that the wall was built before c. 720.<sup>697</sup> All that this evidence suggests, however, is that the terrace wall itself was erected in the eighth century, not that the temple was built at that time. As Kelly himself notes, such an undertaking no doubt took considerable time. Perhaps in this connection it is worth mentioning the Argive Heraion temple model which dates to the Subgeometric period, the early seventh century, as its decoration implies.<sup>698</sup> This model may represent an early temple built on the site, a shrine erected soon after the terrace was built.<sup>699</sup> This early temple would undoubtedly have had wooden columns. It is unlikely that a temple of the size of the Old Temple would have been built with stone columns as early as the beginning of the seventh century. There may therefore in fact have been a building on the terrace soon after it was built, but the remains of the Old Temple itself do not appear to be so early and there seems to have been an interval of seventy-five years or more before the Old Temple was built.<sup>700</sup> The only other remains connected with the Old Temple are a single step for the surrounding colonnade and wall footings.

Unfortunately due to the fact that the excavation of the Heraion was carried out at the turn of the century when techniques were not so refined and little regard was paid to stratigraphy, many problems remain in connection with the history of the various buildings of the sanctuary. It is strange for example that no altar is mentioned in the excavation reports; presumably the altar would have stood on the terrace with the temple. Every other Greek sanctuary of the period had an altar preceding the temple so one can assume that the Heraion was no exception. In most cases altars were built of stone on the outside with an earth fill. This is also probably the way in which the Argive Heraion's altar was constructed, nevertheless there are no

traces of any other structures on the terrace besides the temple itself. The altar may have been located beyond the terrace, however, since a ringed portico surrounding the temple may have left no room for an altar. An altar is nevertheless associated with the New Temple located on the lower terrace and there is some feeling that it may in fact be much earlier than that temple since the nature of the construction and the associated Archaic pottery give a possible date of the seventh century for its erection. The altar stands at the extreme south end of the cult place and C. Kerényi feels it must have been standing as early as the ninth or eighth century.<sup>701</sup> The earliest post-Bronze Age votives date to the MGII period, the early eighth century, hence Kerényi's assumption is plausible, in accordance with the usual pattern of altars accompanying votives in the earliest period of sanctuaries, before the construction of the temples.

The only other structure which could be as early as the seventh century is the North Portico (Upper Stoa), a monumental building 62.10 metres long and 9.20 metres deep. The remains of this building include the stylobate of the colonnade and the bases of the interior colonnade. Several column drums and capitals were found in the area, some perhaps belonging to this portico but others which could also be part of the Old Temple or the West Building. Some of the capitals are dated to the seventh century, a factor which could help date the North Portico if indeed the capitals and drums belong to it.<sup>702</sup> There are five capitals of very early appearance and they have been assigned to the late seventh or early sixth century. One of them was found near the east end of the stoa, so there is reason to suppose that it and others like it do come indeed from that building. J.J. Coulton is of the opinion that the North or Upper Stoa dates c. 600 B.C.<sup>703</sup> The only other building which may be pre-sixth century is the Northeast Building (Stoa III). This was apparently a very low

structure of only 2.5 metres in height. Its north wall has the same appearance as the terrace wall which itself dates to the late eighth or early seventh century, hence this Northeast Building should date to the same period.<sup>704</sup> All the other buildings are to be dated much later but Tilton notes earlier walls and foundations among the later buildings.<sup>705</sup>

While the earliest evidence for post-Bronze Age activity at the site consists of votives of the eighth century, finds of the Mykenaian period indicate that a site existed here in the Bronze Age as well. Whether or not this points to continuity of cult from the Late Helladic period is a question to which no answer is readily available but that no votives were offered during the Dark Age seems to suggest discontinuity although as Coldstream points out, the general poverty of the Dark Age may be the reason for the lack of votives at sanctuaries at that time<sup>706</sup> and it does not necessarily mean that no cult was practised there in the Dark Age. From Bronze Age Linear B texts comes evidence that several of the later historic deities, including Hera, were already being worshipped at that time and therefore the possibility exists that Hera was venerated at this site in the Bronze Age. There is nevertheless no proof that any cult activity was practised there at any time before the eighth century. Even if one cannot prove continuity of worship throughout the succeeding Dark Age, some continuity of memory can perhaps be surmised and perhaps the site itself was chosen because of its Bronze Age predecessor. It remains impossible to prove continuity of worship, however, and since evidence shows that the area was mainly used as a burial ground in the Bronze Age it is not feasible to envisage a cult of major proportions in existence at that time. In the area were fifty Bronze Age chamber tombs and in thirteen of them, late eighth-century votives were offered, a fact which has prompted the recent suggestion

that it was because of these tombs that the site was chosen as a sanctuary in the eighth century.<sup>707</sup> In effect, cults were established at places where there was evidence of the heroic past, such as the citadels of both Mykenai and Tiryns. At the Heraion the chamber tombs were evidence of this past and thus a cult was established there. This is a provocative suggestion yet one which must remain conjectural for the time being as there is no proof of any connection between the establishment of the cult of Hera and the dedication of votives at the chamber tombs. A firmer ground might be provided if one could prove that the chamber tomb cults were in existence before the Hera sanctuary but it seems that the two were more or less contemporary. It is difficult to connect the accidental discovery of old chamber tombs with the organized state foundation of a pan-Argolic sanctuary.

As seen in previous chapters the finds from the Heraion are many and varied. The most abundant pottery seems to be Archaic ware although Geometric, especially Late Geometric and Subgeometric pottery are found in substantial quantities. The figured scenes on the Geometric pottery prove of interest for their varied subjects. Men and horses are commonly represented as are dancing men and women; more unusual are scenes of combat, including one involving a ship, and a scene of two men who appear to be fighting over a tripod cauldron. This pottery seems on the whole of local Argolic manufacture.<sup>708</sup> Much more numerous, however, are the votive pots of the Archaic period. Many miniature pots were dedicated at the sanctuary, especially little bowls, kalathoi, skyphoi, kotylai, kantharoi, aryballoi and oinokhoai. The most interesting aspect of this is that over 50% of all the Archaic pottery comprised hydriai.<sup>709</sup> Two possibilities for the popularity of the hydria as votive present themselves. One has to do with the cult itself: every year Hera, that is the cult statue, was bathed in a spring at Nauplia to regain her virginity.<sup>710</sup>

Furthermore the women employed in the sanctuary rituals were required to purify themselves in a certain brook on the way from Mykenai.<sup>711</sup> Possibly therefore the jugs of water offered to Hera were to commemorate the ritual bathing of the goddess, or they may have symbolized the purification of the women involved in the rites. Another possibility concerns the alleged drought at the end of the eighth century. In Athens for example the incidence of hydriai in graves increases greatly at the very end of the eighth century. This may show an obvious concern for water and its relative absence at that time. It is worth noting, however, that in contrast with Athens there is no increase in the number of hydriai offered in the LG period in Argolic graves. In fact their presence in graves is extremely rare throughout the Geometric period. The preponderance of hydriai at the Heraion could nevertheless reflect the same concern although they are somewhat later in date than the Attic offerings, being dated to the seventh century. Since they are later in date than the time of the supposed drought it may be that in fact they were being dedicated as thank offerings to Hera for delivering them from the drought and famine. It is impossible to date these hydriai with any accuracy but they were in a deposit dating from the second quarter of the seventh century to the second quarter of the sixth century. Only the earliest of the hydriai could be connected with the drought, since by the late seventh century there may have been only a dim recollection of a drought which had occurred almost one hundred years earlier.

Other votives that are very common at the sanctuary include terracotta figurines, the majority of which are seated females probably representing the goddess, but there are also standing figures usually thought to represent the votaries, as well as mounted warriors and various animals. The mounted warriors were undoubtedly offered by men; among the various functions of Hera was as a protectress during

warfare.<sup>712</sup> Such horsemen therefore may also represent thank offerings to the goddess for success in war. A large part of the religious festival was in fact very militaristic and included an armed march as well as games in which the prize was one of the famous Argive shields. As for the other clay animals, the birds, stags and goats, they may represent models of actual animals sacrificed to the deity. It was a common practice in sanctuaries to offer models in clay, metal or stone of perishable offerings including sacrificed animals.

Bronze pins and fibulae were dedicated in very large numbers at the Argive Heraion. Women often dedicated such articles to the goddess, often as a symbol of having passed a certain stage of life such as adolescence or in old age as a way of thanking the goddess for one's life's work and achievements.<sup>713</sup> Women dedicated pins and fibulae because they were articles especially associated with them just as men might offer weapons.<sup>714</sup> Pausanias (V.XVI.2 and VI.XXIV.10) says that every fourth year it was customary for the women of Elis (and so possibly of the Argolid?) to weave a garment for Hera for her statue in the sanctuary at Olympia. This garment was in all likelihood held together by pins or fibulae dedicated by female votaries. The thousands of pins and fibulae at the Heraion could therefore pertain to some such ritual. Jacobsthal long ago remarked that the extremely long "Group 2" pins were of such an extreme length that no ordinary mortal could be expected to wear them and he thus thought they were meant specifically for Hera.<sup>715</sup> His interpretation of these long pins still seems the most sensible.

The weaving of a garment for cult statues was a fairly common practice in Greece. Besides the ceremony at Olympia there was a similar robe made for Athena on the Akropolis at Athens.<sup>716</sup> At Amyklai there too the women wove a garment for Apollo every year.<sup>717</sup> At Samos the goddess Hera also had many robes<sup>718</sup> and one hears of the

cult statue of Dione at Dodona being given new robes every so often.<sup>719</sup> These robes all seem to have been made by women of the area, or in some cases young girls, as at Athens where there were between 100 and 120 who made the garment for Athena.<sup>720</sup> It must be inferred from such references that a similar custom was also practised at the Argive Heraion, although ancient sources do not specifically state this. If such a custom took place there the offering of pins and fibulae in large quantities would be a natural result in that they would be intended as symbolic fasteners for this garment. Perhaps this was also part of their function at other sanctuaries such as Olympia, where pins and fibulae were also dedicated in large numbers.<sup>721</sup>

The quantity of metallic offerings at the Heraion is noteworthy. No other Argolic sanctuary contains so many bronze votives including animals, especially horses, as well as various tripod cauldron legs, pins, fibulae, spits as well as the iron spits and standard. At other mainland sanctuaries beyond the Argolid there was a noticeable increase in the number of bronze offerings in the late eighth century and this, coupled with the abundant bronze dedications at the Heraion, probably reflects the growing wealth of the period, a wealth which found itself channelled more and more into sanctuary dedications.<sup>722</sup>

Although Pausanias describes the Heraion in some detail little is known of the actual religious festivals carried out there. What is known must be inferred from scattered references about the ritual at different sanctuaries of Hera, not just the Argive Heraion. In Argos Hera was especially important and the Argives regarded her as their own. The Argives claimed, with Samos, the honour of Hera's birthplace. Hera herself was a goddess of many facets. She was known by various names, including Prosymna, the "goddess to whom the hymn was raised", Akraia, "goddess worshipped on the heights", and EuBoia,



the goddess rich in oxen.<sup>723</sup> She was the goddess concerned with all aspects of women's lives from birth to death and she had a special interest in marriage and childbirth, the running of the home and the laws and customs of women.

The annual feast was known by different names but the most important seems to have been the Hekatombaia. In the ritual one hundred cattle were sacrificed to the goddess.<sup>724</sup> The feast began as a procession to the sanctuary involving the men and women of Argos. The men dressed as warriors and the priestess was taken to the sanctuary in an ox-drawn cart. The story of Kleobis and Biton refers to one such procession when the cart was unable to be drawn because the oxen were still in the fields so the two youths themselves drew their mother's cart to the temple. The cult was a mystical one in that part of the rites and myths were known only to some. The women employed in the rites had first to purify themselves in a certain stream.<sup>725</sup> This water in effect symbolically freed the women and this suggests that they originally belonged to the population subjected by the Dorians.<sup>726</sup> Another part of the festival involved the sacred wedding of Zeus and Hera, about which little is known, and finally the contests and games at which the prize was a shield. In the early period these games included gymnastics but some contests had a rather more warlike nature. Later, however, musicians and rhetoricians took part as well.

Perhaps some of the figured scenes on the LG and Sub-geometric pottery refer to the festivals but the interpretation of these scenes can only be conjectural. On several fragments can be seen processions of men and women. The women, who are always much more numerous than the men in such scenes, usually hold hands and carry branches. Though vases with such scenes are found at other sites they seem most prominent at the Argive Heraion. It is thus tempting to see in such processions a representation of the actual procession

to the sanctuary involving the "freed" women and people in general. Undoubtedly the branches they are carrying are connected with the rites in some way. Other scenes might refer to the various contests as for example a sherd depicting two men and a tripod cauldron. As Rouse points out, however, offerings of all sorts were dedicated to the patron deity of towns<sup>727</sup> so that in general the dedications at the Heraion and other sanctuaries need not necessarily have a specific theme or nature. Votaries do not seem to have paid much attention to the character or nature of the deity in offering dedications and in many cases the votary was probably offering gifts which pertained to himself rather than the divinity.

Although the Argive Heraion was an extremely important sanctuary it seems to have been so only within the Argolid. Not many dedications come from outside at this early period, besides the Protocorinthian ware, which remains only a small percentage of the total pottery and which in fact does not reflect the presence of Corinthian worshippers at the Heraion since all sites imported Protocorinthian pottery. Foreign visitors there undoubtedly were for there exists the example of the Kleonaian script on one seventh-century pot, implying that worshippers from that area came to the Heraion. Worshippers may have come from other neighbouring areas as well, but if so they dedicated offerings purchased at or near the Heraion, made by Argolic craftsmen.

There was much activity at the sanctuary throughout the seventh century and whereas the general picture at Argos for most of the century is one of decline, this is not particularly noticeable at the Heraion. Even the preference for miniature, quickly-made pots which show almost no variety and are mass produced may simply be an indication of a large increase in demand for votives, such that the potters could only keep up by producing these masses of little pots.

In the case of these miniature pots the emphasis seems to have been on the fact of the dedication rather than the object dedicated. In contrast with the rather careless appearance of most of these pots and the terracotta figurines the bronze pins continue to show the existence of a lively, important industry in that field.

### Argos

Pausanias enumerates dozens of sanctuaries and cult places in Argos, many of them in or near the agora, but of these only a very few are known. Remains in general are extremely scanty and those that are visible date mostly to later periods, especially the Classical period. There were sanctuaries devoted to almost all the Olympians but remains from the Roman period to the present day have obliterated almost all traces of most of these sanctuaries.

(A) The preeminent deity of Argos was Apollo, the chief protector of the city. One of his temples, that of Apollo Lykeios, was situated in the agora and was the most revered in the city. Here official decrees were set up for public view.<sup>728</sup> Part of the evidence for this sanctuary rests in an inscribed altar<sup>729</sup> found in the northwest part of the agora. The only remains consist of a group of blocks on which may have been nailed the various bronze plaques containing the decrees.<sup>730</sup> The altar itself has been dated to the fifth century and there is mention of many fragments of sculpture<sup>731</sup> although no date for them is given; as no other votives are mentioned it is impossible to say when the sanctuary was founded.

(B) Other sanctuaries in Argos include several on the Aspis and Larissa. On the Aspis were built the temples of Apollo Pythaeus (Deiradiotis) and of Athena Oxyderkes, while on the Larissa stood the sanctuaries of Hera Akraia, Athena Polias and Larissaian

Zeus.<sup>732</sup> Pausanias notes that the sanctuary of Athena Oxyderkes borders that of Apollo Pythaeus; both still seem to have been in use in his day. The remains of the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus were first uncovered by Vollgraff at the beginning of the century.<sup>733</sup> Unfortunately much uncertainty exists concerning the identification of the remains partly because all traces of the temple have completely vanished. Among the remains excavated by Vollgraff were four terraces and buildings which included among them two porticoes, a monumental altar and a cistern.<sup>734</sup> All these remains were located on the southwest flank of the Aspis. No prehistoric sherds were reported by Vollgraff but he did note the presence of many Geometric and Archaic sherds.<sup>735</sup> Furthermore a votive deposit was situated just north of the sanctuary area, dated to the seventh and early sixth centuries.

Although no remains exist of the temple of Apollo, from associated finds it may possibly date to the sixth century.<sup>736</sup> The sanctuary began life as a terrace with probably an altar and temple, the siting of which, though conjectural, has been established by Roux on the western part of this terrace. To the north a portico was built in the sixth century. It is on this terrace that the Archaic sherds were found. Gradually the extent of the sanctuary was enlarged, with three more terraces added until the Hellenistic period. While no constructions earlier than the sixth century can be discerned the presence of Geometric sherds in the area denotes cult activity at the sanctuary from at least that period.<sup>737</sup> The votives of the Archaic period mentioned by Vollgraff include many miniature pots as well as terracotta figurines both of humans and animals.

The cult of Apollo Pythaeus was one of the most important in Argos. Apollo himself is said to have come from the north and the various cults of Apollo to have been brought by the Dorians when they came down from the north. It is interesting to note, however,

that in Argos the sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus was set up on the Aspis in the centre of pre-Dorian Argos, in contrast with the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios established in the lower town. This has prompted R.A. Tomlinson to suggest a Mykenaian origin for the former cult<sup>738</sup> although it seems unlikely that a cult existed there at that time due to the absence of any Mykenaian votives and in any case since the cult of Apollo Pythaeus is supposed to have come from the north, a Mykenaian origin for this cult seems highly improbable. Another possibility is perhaps that the establishment of this cult in the centre of Mykenaian Argos was another way for the Dorians to link themselves with the Mykenaian inhabitants of the past, a way perhaps of authenticating their presence, somewhat like the Argives' possible motive for the establishment of the Heraion near Mykenaian tombs: to connect themselves with the heroic past and so to have a greater claim to the control of the area.

Apollo was known as a god of fertility and as the protector of the pasture and tilth. His most venerable sanctuary was of course at Delphi for it is here that Apollo first established himself; according to legend he won possession of Pytho (Delphi), hence the sanctuary there held the greatest significance.

The most important aspect of the Pythian rites involved the oracle. At Delphi the oracle was consulted only once a month and a sacrifice had to be performed before each consultation. Only a woman could become an oracle.<sup>739</sup> Of the other Pythian cults only in that at Argos was divination practised. Here as at Delphi the oracle had to be a woman and celibate. Furthermore the consultations took place on a monthly basis as well. According to Pausanias (II.XXIV.1) the priestess was obliged to drink the blood of a lamb sacrificed by night. Through this blood communion she became possessed of the god and uttered her prophecies and advice. Festivals of Apollo in general

included singing and dancing and were held from spring to autumn. Two types of festival were associated with Apollo, an agrarian type connected with the harvest and a more artistically inclined type. At Argos a more militaristic approach was practised in some part of the festivals for both Apollo and the priest were called "Leader of the Host". Besides the animals sacrificed as part of the rituals, a large part of the dedications included bloodless sacrifices such as vegetables and cereals. It is thus clear that the votive finds from this sanctuary as well as others give only part of the picture and certainly a very large proportion of the votives were of a perishable nature.

(C) On the summit of the Larissa was found a large deposit of votives dating to the eighth and seventh centuries with most of the pottery seemingly of the mid eighth to the mid seventh century.<sup>740</sup> The deposit was first uncovered by Vollgraff in 1928. No stratification was noticeable in the deposit, nor were any building remains excavated. Possibly the deposit belonged to one of the three sanctuaries mentioned by Pausanias on the Larissa summit, that of Larissaian Zeus, of Athena Polias or of Hera Akraia.

(D) The only other major sanctuary excavated in Argos is the sanctuary of Aphrodite. It is located in the South Quarter of the city, south of the Odeion. The area was first explored in 1968 when a peribolos wall was found below a Roman layer. The south side of this wall measured 11 metres long. Associated with it was a rectangular structure made of massive poros blocks set in two rows; this seems to be an altar. The altar was built on a terrace and both constructions have been dated to the middle to late sixth century. It was not until the late fifth century, it seems, that a temple was constructed; its foundations give the building a measurement of 13.4 metres by 6.2 metres. With its east-west orientation it follows the customary Greek pattern.

Within the peribolos wall of the sanctuary were found many votive objects, among them inscriptions to Aphrodite herself. Much pottery was dedicated at the sanctuary though most of it seems quite late, dating for the most part to the fifth century. Terracotta figurines of standing or seated females holding fruits, flowers or doves were also a very common offering. While most are dated to the late Archaic because of their obvious late features especially the profusion of ornaments and the late style of the heads, the earliest, some of which can be seen in Plate 37.a, have a late seventh-century appearance<sup>741</sup> and they thus provide some indication as to the date of the establishment of the cult there. In contrast with the pottery, most of which appears to be of Attic or Corinthian make, the majority of the figurines seems to have been produced in local Argive workshops. In addition to female figurines animals were also offered in fair numbers, birds being the most popular. While Hera seems to have needed many bronze articles, such as pins and fibulae, Aphrodite apparently did not want anything of that sort for objects of bronze are extremely scarce at this sanctuary, in sharp contrast with the Heraion.<sup>742</sup> This may also pertain to the relative importance of the sanctuaries. Bronze offerings, objects obviously of greater value than terracottas, were reserved for major sanctuaries such as the Heraion.

The absence of bronzes may also pertain to the cult of Aphrodite although the information available about it does not make this clear. Aphrodite was an eastern goddess whose functions were quite varied, including protecting vegetation, life and growth of the earth and she was concerned with family, births and marriages. In this latter respect she closely mirrored Hera. Among her other duties she protected cities and states and was even noted as a goddess of war.<sup>743</sup> Not much is known of the particular cult practices in Argos, however. From Pausanias (II.XIX.6) information is given about her

cult statue and temple and Plutarch<sup>744</sup> mentions a certain feast at Argos in which the men and women exchanged clothing in the worship, presumably, of Aphroditos or the Bearded Aphrodite, a practice which came from the east. Beyond this there is not much evidence to link the goddess with particular votives. An interesting exception concerns her function as a deity powerful in the animal world. Her favourite animals included the ram, goat and swan and in Classical art she was often represented seated on one of these animals. The Argive sanctuary has produced a terracotta statuette of a female seated on what may be a ram or a goat.<sup>745</sup> Undoubtedly in this case the figure represented is the goddess herself.

According to the date of the earliest figurines the foundation of the sanctuary can be put at the end of the seventh century, long before any constructions were built to house the deity or the offerings or even before an altar was built. Presumably there must have been some sort of enclosure from the seventh century. The establishment of the cult at the end of the seventh century represents the first use of the site in over five hundred years since below the foundation deposit nothing later than the Late Helladic came to light.

(E) In some other areas of Argos votive deposits have been excavated which confirm the existence of cult activity even though the deity itself is not known. This is the case with a deposit found in the Bonoris plot.<sup>746</sup> Here the oldest habitation layers date to the Early Helladic period. After the Middle Helladic the next evidence of occupation is the Geometric period and by the early Archaic period the area was evidently a sacred one, for many objects of a votive character were found of that date, including figurines, wreaths, spools, kotylai and other pottery. By the fifth century a structure was erected on the site; it may have been a temple or perhaps only an altar.<sup>747</sup>



(F) In another area, between Gounaris St. and the theatre, more votive objects were located. Here the deposit extended from the Archaic to the Classical period and included an important group of Archaic figurines. Although there is no certainty that this area was one of cult such figurines usually do denote that some religious activity was taking place in the area.<sup>748</sup> From the second half of the sixth century and early fifth century dates a small, square building with a terrace constructed around it. Inside the building lay more Archaic pottery as well as figurines of both women and animals.<sup>749</sup> Although the report does not specify the nature of this establishment the finds suggest a cult centre.

(G) A few other cult centres are also attested in the city. One of these was located in S73 at the foot of the Larissa north of the theatre. Here another Archaic votive deposit consisting of idols and pottery was noted, indicating more cult activity in this area.<sup>750</sup>

(H) To the south, on Atreos St., a votive deposit of the Archaic to the Hellenistic period was uncovered. This lay over a Geometric nekropolis.<sup>751</sup>

(I) On Sographou St. more votives attest the presence in that area of a cult in the Archaic period.<sup>752</sup>

(J) Furthermore more cult activity was found on the south part of the Aspis in the area of the Deiras. The evidence included miniature pottery as well as terracotta figurines of females and horsemen.<sup>753</sup> This deposit, however, is undated.

(K) Finally it is worth noting a dedication to Enyalios on a bronze plaque.<sup>754</sup> As seen in the last chapter the dedication bearing an inscription has been dated to the seventh century. This offering therefore denotes the existence of a cult, if not a sanctuary, of Enyalios although no other evidence of his cult is

known. The find was from a votive deposit on the Larissa, which Vollgraff assumed came from the sanctuary of Athena Polias, whose sanctuary was supposed to be on the Larissa.<sup>755</sup> From Plutarch<sup>756</sup> it is known that a temple of Enyalios existed and according to him, it was of great antiquity. No hint was afforded by that author about its location, however. Vollgraff assumed that Enyalios' sanctuary was also on the Larissa, mainly because of the evidence of the one plaque, but no remains have ever been found to confirm its existence there.<sup>757</sup> At some point the cult may have been assimilated with that of Ares at the foot of the Larissa. Enyalios was never a god to whom many offerings were dedicated, a fact which makes the bronze plaque even more significant.

(Summary) These therefore form the bulk of the evidence for cult practice in Argos itself. The remains on the whole are quite meagre and in no case can one note the presence of any constructions prior to the sixth century. In the case of those votive deposits which are only described as Archaic it is possible that they in fact date to the sixth century rather than the seventh. Until the finds themselves are published greater precision about the dates of such deposits is not possible. Finally it is worth noting that most of these cult places were located in the western and southern areas of the city although one, the Bonoris plot,<sup>758</sup> was located more towards the eastern part of the city. It is precisely in the southern and western parts of the city in fact that the public area of Argos is thought to have been established. Several more sanctuaries can be presumed to have existed in Argos in the Archaic period but because of later activity at the site up until the present time most of them have been completely obliterated.

#### Asine

While Apollo was the chief deity of Argos he also had sanctuaries elsewhere in the Argolid; one of the most important was that of Apollo Pythaeus at Asine. The sanctuary was situated on the summit of the Barbouna hill, just to the west and northwest of the highest point.<sup>759</sup> Among the constructions excavated were the foundations of a temple measuring 4.3 metres by 9.6 metres oriented north-south with a door at the south end, (Figure 56). The doorway was just slightly off centre. The walls of the temple were built of large, unworked stones. Two rooms were comprised in the interior with a partition wall separating them.<sup>760</sup> On three sides of the inner room were benches, at the level of which were found Corinthian sherds; underneath lay Mykenaian pottery. Outside the east wall were recovered Protocorinthian and Geometric sherds. Two other constructions were associated with this temple, one of which was a wall running east-west 6 metres long and 0.5-0.6 metres wide. To the north of it ran an apsidal wall, measuring 7 metres, apparently unconnected with any other structure. Geometric sherds were found in the vicinity; nevertheless the purpose of the wall remains unknown. It may simply have been some sort of enclosure where some of the ritual took place. The wall's appearance suggests that it was built at about the same time as the temple itself. In the area of the temple were found Geometric, Protocorinthian and Ripe Corinthian sherds as well as figurines of the usual Archaic appearance with their bird-like heads. A few bronzes were also among the votives, among them rings and pins, but perhaps the most important was a small Archaic lead statuette, believed to be of Apollo.

Pausanias (II.XXXVI.5) states that the temple of Apollo Pythaeus was situated at the top of what is known as the Barbouna hill and these finds thus render his statements quite likely to be correct. Although Frödin notes the presence of Geometric sherds within

the temple<sup>761</sup> the building's main period of activity seems to have been the Archaic period since most of the finds mentioned by Frödin date to that time. He dates the foundation of the temple to the seventh century but evidently the cult was already being practised in the late eighth century, in accordance with the finds of Geometric date in the area. The sanctuary of Apollo is the only evidence of activity at the site in the Archaic period. This too corroborates the testimony of Pausanias who remarks that after the destruction of the town by the Argives the only building left standing was the temple of Apollo.

The Asinaeans were Dryopians who originally had lived in the Delphi region near Parnassos. Legend tells of their being conquered by Herakles and then becoming temple slaves to Apollo at Delphi. Through an oracle Apollo had Herakles remove them to the Peloponnese where they took up a new home at Asine in the Argolid.<sup>762</sup> After moving to the Argolid the Asinaeans maintained close contact with Delphi through their cult of Apollo Pythaeus.

The Argives claimed that their own sanctuary of Apollo Pythaeus was the oldest in the Argolid, having been founded by Pythaeus son of Apollo, when he came from Delphi. It is noteworthy, however, that after Asine was destroyed the Argives continued to maintain the cult there; this suggests that the Asine cult had major significance for the Argives as well. Barrett in fact thinks that the Asine sanctuary was probably the oldest one of Apollo in the Peloponnese<sup>763</sup> and that many towns, notably those with Dryopian settlers, were involved in the rites.

When the Argives destroyed the site of Asine, all that was allowed to remain standing was the sanctuary of Apollo. This suggests that it was quite a significant sanctuary and that the Argives felt they could benefit from maintaining and controlling it. If other Dryopian towns had been involved in the cult, a fact which is not

certain, the fact that the Argives allowed the temple to stand might be seen as an attempt to appease these Dryopians by not destroying one of their most important sanctuaries.<sup>764</sup> The Argives may thus have used this to gain some political advantage. This is only conjecture, however, in that there is no proof that other towns were actually involved in the cult at Asine as early as the end of the eighth century and there is also the evidence from Pausanias who ascribes the Argive destruction of Asine to a retaliation for the help the Asinaeans had given the Spartans when they had made an incursion into the Argolid.<sup>765</sup> The Argive control of the sanctuary was a long-term one for the cause of a war in 419 B.C. between Argos and Epidaurus was the latter's refusal to pay its duties to the temple of Apollo Pythaeus.<sup>766</sup> While there is no direct evidence that this did not refer to the Apollo sanctuary in Argos, the fact that the Argives are called κυριώτατοι τοῦ ἱεροῦ suggests that the temple was located outside Argos.<sup>767</sup> That at Asine therefore fits this quite well.

### Mykenai

Several sanctuaries existed at Mykenai in the historic period, one over the ruins of the Bronze Age palace, another an apsidal temple by the House of the Oil Merchant and two other sanctuaries located further away from the citadel.

(A) Over the ruins of the Mykenaian palace was built a sanctuary established in the Geometric period. It was discovered by Tsountas<sup>768</sup> and excavated by Wace in the 1930's.<sup>769</sup> The remains as he found them belong to a building of the Hellenistic period but earlier architectural fragments were incorporated in this temple so earlier constructions certainly existed. The sanctuary had been enlarged over the years as seen in the fact that the terrace on which

it was built was enlarged at least twice. Much Geometric pottery of the late eighth century as well as the so-called Pie Ware and a few bronzes were found on the terrace. The pottery thus dates the establishment of the cult to the eighth century.

As usual the sanctuary was in use long before a temple was built in that the earliest evidence for the temple building dates it to the sixth century, probably the earlier part of that century. Wace, however, also notes the presence of fragments of sculpture in high relief dated to the end of the seventh century. He thinks they may have formed part of the altar since they were found to the south of the temple; as the temple is oriented north-south, the location of the fragments in front of the temple makes Wace's suggestion possible if improbable because such sculptures are very rarely found in conjunction with early altars. The main sculpture is a relief, in the Daedalic style, of a woman unveiling herself. She may represent the goddess Hera, but such a fine relief most probably is to be assigned to some later construction than the altar suggested by Wace.<sup>770</sup> The temple itself yielded no column drums or capitals, thus it is unlikely to have had a peripteral plan. It had rather the shape of a long, narrow building with walls of mud brick on stone foundations.

When Wace investigated this area he came to the conclusion that the temple lay over two separate structures, the old palace megaron and the Mykenaian shrine. He had assumed that this shrine, located immediately beside the Bronze Age palace, was the main cult centre at Mykenai.<sup>771</sup> The pronaos of the temple covered part of the court and vestibule of the megaron but the rest of it lay over the shrine and he felt there had been a deliberate attempt in this case to follow old Mykenaian traditions by placing the temple partly over the shrine. It was because of this supposed desire on the part of the eighth-century Mykenaians that a terrace had to be constructed

to support that part of the temple which did not rest on the megaron. This is where the early pottery was located.

More recent excavations have shown that in fact the main Mykenaian shrine was located in a very different part of the citadel, in the area of Tsountas' House and the South House.<sup>772</sup> The so-called shrine beside the palace was to be investigated by G. Mylonas in the early 1980's but at the present time the evidence suggests that if there was a shrine there, it was of minor importance. It may thus have been premature of Wace to claim that the temple overlay the main Bronze Age cult centre at the site.

As to the nature of the deity worshipped at Mykenai one clue comes from an inscription on a bronze plaque, dated 500-480, mentioning Athena.<sup>773</sup> Tomlinson argues for continuity of cult from the Bronze Age since he believes that Athena was also the goddess worshipped in the Bronze Age because of figurines of that date which he feels represent that deity,<sup>774</sup> but in fact there is no evidence for this, and even in the case of the main cult area near Tsountas' House the evidence there suggests four different deities were worshipped.<sup>775</sup> Athena, however, was certainly known in the Bronze Age since her name appears in the palace archives<sup>776</sup> but there is also mention of a deity simply named Potnia, whose identification is unknown, but who it is felt may be the goddess of the fresco fragment found by Taylour in a room in the main cult area of the citadel.<sup>777</sup> Although the title Potnia is often used of Athena there is no evidence to link the Potnia of the Mykenai tablet with Athena. Besides Athena Hera was also worshipped at Mykenai: there is a fifth-century inscription from the Perseia fountain house describing the boundaries of a sanctuary to Hera<sup>778</sup> but there is no proof that she was worshipped there as early as the eighth century, nevertheless Wright believes that the sanctuary overlying part of the megaron may have been dedicated to Hera, and not

Athena as has usually been assumed.<sup>779</sup>

(B) In 1962 Verdelis excavated the foundations of an apsidal building near the House of the Oil Merchant,<sup>780</sup> (Figure 57). The building is oriented north-south and comprises three sections, a porch and two inner rooms. Its overall dimensions are 9 by 3.50 metres. Dividing the two inner rooms stands a partition wall of, it seems, only one course of stones, forming in a sense more of a threshold than a wall although the upper courses may have been of mud brick.

In the fill was a large number of Geometric sherds as well as sherds of other periods in particular of the Archaic and Classical periods. Many pots and figurines of votive character, especially terracotta animal statuettes of the Archaic period, were also among the finds. These obvious dedications make the identification of this building as a temple fairly certain, however Verdelis' claim that the temple must date to the tenth century on the basis of a couple of PG sherds seems rather inconclusive to say the least. It is interesting nevertheless that this sanctuary is the only one so far in the Argolid which has yielded sherds of the Dark Age. In this case it is tempting to assume that some cult activity was taking place here as early as the tenth century but on the evidence of only two sherds perhaps one needs to be somewhat cautious in this assertion. In any case it is highly unlikely for the temple itself to have been erected as early as the Protogeometric period; Drerup suggests a later Geometric date is more probable,<sup>781</sup> but on the basis of the finds the temple could easily date to the early Archaic period. It is unlikely, however, to date far into the Archaic period since the apsidal plan followed the contemporary fashion in domestic architecture and by the later Archaic such plans were no longer used in settlements.<sup>782</sup> To whom the temple was dedicated is unknown.



(C) Approximately 1 km. south-southwest of the akropolis is situated another sanctuary, this one however apparently dedicated to a hero not a deity.<sup>783</sup> When excavated the remains comprised various walls forming an enclosure. Although this enclosure dated to the Hellenistic period the presence of Archaic roof tiles in the area suggested that an earlier enclosure must have existed in the Archaic period. The votive deposit of the Archaic period was located under the level of the later stone pavement. Under the pavement was also a pit with ash, animal bones and pottery. The Archaic deposit was located in two specific regions, the east and west ends of the area and it is possible that a construction existed in association with the early finds. A date as early as the LG for the beginning of the cult is indicated by the earliest pottery at the site. That the cult was dedicated to a male can be seen in the nature of the finds: while many of the usual Archaic female figurines are present the majority of finds are of types more appropriate for a male, in particular rider figurines, kantharoi and pedestal kraters. Furthermore fourth-century inscriptions to Agamemnon make the identification of the sanctuary certain.<sup>784</sup>

In the establishment of a cult to Agamemnon at the end of the eighth century people were showing a new interest in heroes and the heroic past. It is at the same time that votives began to be laid in the old Mykenaian chamber and tholos tombs. It is possible furthermore that some of the figured pottery of this time may represent heroic scenes or sequences from epic poetry. An obvious surge of interest in the exploits of their heroic forefathers prompted such demonstrations of worship especially in the areas where evidence of the past was visible, such as in the case of the collapsed Mykenaian chamber and tholos tombs in the Argolid. At such sites hero cults sprang up, all at about the same date, as will be seen later. The

Agamemnoneion was one such cult that appeared in honour of a local hero. The Agamemnoneion is a hero cult in that it pertains to a hero, not a deity, but there is some difference between it and the cults established at the old Bronze Age tombs. The Agamemnoneion was a deliberate, organized cult, while the other hero cults were the result of accidental discoveries of chamber tombs where votives were then offered to past heroes, but heroes who remain anonymous, at least to us. The Agamemnoneion, in contrast, was dedicated to a particular hero. It represents much more than the casual dumping of votives in the collapsed Bronze Age tombs. The fact that the cult was established some way away from the akropolis of Mykenai nevertheless suggests either that the eighth-century inhabitants had no tradition connected with Agamemnon or the heroic past in general,<sup>785</sup> or that there was some story circulating at the time which mentioned this location in connection with Agamemnon; perhaps this is where his tomb was thought to be.<sup>786</sup> This newly-formed interest in the heroes seems to coincide with the spread of epic poetry at the end of the Geometric period.

(D) The final sanctuary at Mykenai is located approximately 1 km. north of the akropolis at a place called Asprokhomata. Here Mylonas excavated the remains of two buildings with a central courtyard and an altar.<sup>787</sup> The building identified as the temple comprised only one room measuring 8.50 metres in length by 4.70 metres in width. Like the temple over the megaron on the Mykenai akropolis it too was oriented north-south but with its main entrance at the south side. An unusual feature of this temple is the presence of a door in the east side wall. From the associated finds this temple is given quite a late date, having been built only in the fifth century. In front of the temple stood a rectangular altar.

Although the temple itself dates to the fifth century, earlier remains are associated with the other building. This structure

comprises a corner room and two stoas extending from it. The whole structure therefore forms an "L" shape. In front of the west stoa stood an altar in the fill of which bones of small animals were found mixed with Late Geometric and early Archaic sherds. By the east wall of the stoa was found a pile of iron spearheads and a Middle Proto-corinthian aryballos which may give a clue about the date of this building, but the finds were outside the stoa and the stoa might therefore be of the same date as the temple. In any case it seems that the sanctuary was in use from the late eighth century, at first comprising probably only an altar. Although the remains of the temple date it only to the fifth century Mylonas thinks there may have been an earlier temple. In support of this claim is the presence of a stone pavement at the southwest corner of the stoa; this may have served to support a primitive temple which would have been connected with the altar in front of the stoa.

Among the dedications were inscriptions, one of them on a bronze helmet offered to Enyalios. This sanctuary to Enyalios, another sanctuary of whom was noted previously at Argos, seems to have been of some importance, judging from the nature of the finds as well as the size of the sanctuary itself.<sup>788</sup> It is interesting that this is only the second sanctuary dedicated to this god of war so far noted in the Argolid.

### Tiryns

Several deities were worshipped at Tiryns, including Hera, Athena and Herakles. In previous chapters references have been made to these cults. All are attested by inscriptions yet some controversy exists concerning the so-called temple of Hera. The plan of the "temple" is illustrated in Figure 58. As can be seen from the

Figure, this "temple" was built directly over the Mykenaian megaron. Is the building an actual temple or simply a late reconstruction of the LH palace?

The building was first uncovered by Schliemann in his excavations at the site and it is partly because of the early date of the excavation that controversy exists about the nature of this structure. Schliemann devotes a paragraph to the building, claiming it to have been built after the complete collapse of the megaron.<sup>789</sup> He notes that there are no traces of fire on the building remains and thinks it may have been a later temple, the LH palace floor having been used as a foundation for this later structure. Its walls were much thinner, however, and the whole building much narrower than the old megaron. It measured 20.9 metres by 6.9 metres and as it lay directly over the old megaron it had of course the same orientation, north-south, with its opening at the south end. The east wall of the megaron was used as the east wall of this building while the north and west walls were new. The walls were built of rough, unworked stones. The dimensions of the building were such that its back wall rested on one of the old column bases while another column base stood within the new building. In front of the building a square altar was erected over the old rectangular Mykenaian altar.

The problem with this structure is due mainly to the fact that whatever stratigraphy there may have been was never noted. There is nevertheless an additional factor to be borne in mind, that is the presence of a bothros 22 metres to the east of the "temple". It contained votives from the mid eighth to the mid seventh century; among the finds were many miniature bowls, skyphoi and other shapes, terracotta figurines of the usual Archaic types as well as a few bronze rings, pins and fibulae. Most of the pots had a hole pierced in the bottom and were partially burnt. This votive deposit was

connected with the square altar so regardless of whether or not the building over the megaron was a temple there is no doubt that a cult was practised in the area in the Late Geometric and Subgeometric periods.

Although many scholars have accepted the proposition that the building is a temple,<sup>790</sup> some doubt has been cast about its purpose by others, in particular Blegen. He felt the building was simply a Late Helladic reconstruction of the palace itself.<sup>791</sup> His main argument against its being a temple rests in the building technique. Even the oldest temples, he claims, were built with fairly thick walls of worked stones as opposed to the foundations of this building, which denote walls of rather flimsy construction. The fact that the portico rests directly on the megaron floor without having foundations is a feature seen nowhere else. He therefore felt that the construction was more reminiscent of the very end of the Mykenaian period than the seventh century. In addition he cites the lack of any seventh-century material in the area of the structure as further proof against a post-Bronze Age date for its erection. It does seem indeed strange that on the floor of the building was found some Mykenaian pottery but no later material.

His argument is not totally convincing, however, in that such narrow and poorly-built walls need not necessarily preclude a late date for their construction. The earliest temples, probably of wood or mud brick, cannot have had a very imposing appearance. As Nilsson also points out,<sup>792</sup> it is possible that the east wall was built over the old Mykenaian wall emerging above the debris and that the other walls were carried down to the firm surface of the old pavement so it need not have been exactly the same floor.

Recently the whole problem has been reexamined by J.C. Wright who comes to the conclusion that the structure is indeed a

temple built probably in the second half of the eighth century.<sup>793</sup> He feels that a cult was established here mainly because the old Mykenaian remains were still visible and it was felt to be appropriate to have a cult on the citadel, in the area of the old habitation of the heroes. The architecture of this temple he feels is suitable for a late eighth-century date in being elongated and rectangular and having a plan similar to a megaron, as others of the period did. He also uses the evidence of the bothros material in support of his argument although C. Potzweit also recognized some LHIIIIC material in the bothros.<sup>794</sup> Part of Wright's argument rests in his opinion that the Upper Citadel was not reoccupied in the LHIIIIC and that the building therefore is unlikely to have been a reconstruction of the megaron, but as he himself admits, there is now evidence by K. Kilian for occupation on the Upper Citadel in the LHIIIIC.<sup>795</sup> Wright's argument is thus weakened somewhat and Kilian in fact strongly believes that this structure was built in the LHIIIIC.<sup>796</sup> Both points of view have their merits and for the time being there can be no resolution of this problem. One should nevertheless bear in mind the bothros material and the altar in front of the megaron which give strong evidence of cult activity on the Upper Citadel in the eighth and seventh centuries. This rectangular altar is felt to be contemporary with the building over the megaron.<sup>797</sup>

Finally in connection with this whole question is the evidence of ancient authors whose testimony gives strong credibility to the presence of a Hera cult on the citadel. Eusebios for example says that the first temple in Tiryns was dedicated to Hera.<sup>798</sup> Furthermore Pausanias (II.XVII.5) mentions that he saw two very similar statues of Hera, one at the Argive Heraion and the other at Tiryns. Presumably the statue was placed in a temple, identified as that lying over the megaron. One other piece of evidence for the Hera

cult is noted by U. Naumann; it is the base of a bowl of the Classical period inscribed HPA.<sup>799</sup> Jameson, Verdelis and Papachristodoulou feel that the three letters are only the beginning of a longer name and they suggest Ἡρα<κλείδης>,<sup>800</sup> yet there does not seem to be any reason for assuming this. The word Hera is quite clearly inscribed; nothing suggests that originally the name was a longer one or that it was a shortened version of something else. Perhaps mention can also be made here of the Doric capital found in a late wall built over the great court.<sup>801</sup> The shape of the capital places it among the oldest found; Frickenhaus dated it to the mid seventh century<sup>802</sup> while Müller and Sulze both gave it a date in the second half of the seventh century<sup>803</sup> but these dates may be too early since the earliest Doric capitals found anywhere date to the late seventh or early sixth century.<sup>804</sup> The important factor is that this capital must have belonged to a building, perhaps the temple built over the megaron, and the capital could perhaps date c. 600 B.C.

Other finds on the citadel must nevertheless also be considered. In the area of the chief gateway to the citadel and both to the north and south of the gateway, at road level, were found various sherds and two Archaic votive Corinthian bronze helmets. Nearby to the east was found a fourth-century terracotta head of Athena as well as a krater inscribed to her. At the gateway of the Middle Citadel were found, among other things, a fragmentary miniature shield rim and kantharoi.<sup>805</sup> These finds as well as the inscription found in the underground passages, discussed in the last chapter and illustrated in Figure 44, show that a cult of Athena existed at Tiryns in the Archaic period. As has been seen already, Verdelis, Jameson and Papachristodoulou are of the opinion that in fact Athena was the chief deity of the community and that her cult was centred around the temple over the old megaron. This temple in their view was dedicated

to Athena herself, not Hera. This may be stretching the evidence somewhat for there is no ancient text referring to a temple of Athena at Tiryns. Both goddesses were protectresses of cities hence both conceivably could have been the focus of cult activity at Tiryns. Hera is, however, the only one mentioned in connection with a temple. In any case the inscription mentioning Athena also contains the name of Herakles so that while Athena (and perhaps Zeus) may have had an important function at Tiryns, Herakles' role must not be forgotten. According to legend Herakles was born in Tiryns<sup>806</sup> and he therefore has a large claim to preeminence at the site. In other words all of these points emphasize the precariousness of any attempt to identify the main cult at the site, not to mention the deity worshipped in the area of the old megaron and it is far from certain that the building over the megaron is indeed a temple.

Naumann feels that the Athena cult was localized within the area of the main finds, that is, the area near the gateway east of the Middle Citadel or the east area of the Middle Citadel itself.<sup>807</sup> The finds of the Athena cult indicate it flourished from the early Archaic period to the fourth century B.C. The cult (of Hera?) associated with the bothros east of the megaron seems at least a century earlier, from the mid eighth to the mid seventh century. It appears in fact that the finds from the Athena cult begin only after the other votives from the bothros come to an end in the seventh century. Perhaps the Athena cult took over from the earlier one in popularity. Kerényi suggests that the sanctuary of Hera at Tiryns in some sense competed with the Argive Heraion.<sup>808</sup> One wonders if the establishment of the Athena sanctuary at Tiryns may not have been partly politically motivated. If not politically motivated it may at least have been a sign of the political climate of the period. The founding of this sanctuary, with its feasts and observances which were seemingly



totally independent and separate of Argos is indicative of a self-reliant community, managing its own affairs. Its establishment coincides with the period of lowered fortunes at Argos and it seems that this reflects some degree of independence from Tiryns' usually more powerful neighbour.

### Epidauros

The sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas, founded in the Late Geometric period, was overshadowed by its more famous neighbour, the sanctuary of Asklepios. The Asklepios sanctuary was founded at least a century later than that of Apollo Maleatas, in the sixth century, and while it grew to great prominence especially in the Classical period, Apollo was never entirely forgotten.

Apollo Maleatas had his sanctuary on Mt. Kynortion, approximately five miles inland from the harbour settlement of Epidauros. Since the sanctuary was excavated one hundred years ago and the remains never published to any extent, not very much is known about it.<sup>809</sup> Most of our information in fact comes from Papademetriou who went over the site in the 1940's.<sup>810</sup> Papademetriou's excavations were quite limited although he identified the temple of Apollo, a building of only one room, but this temple was not built until the fourth century. To the northeast of the temple was found a burnt deposit full of terracottas, pottery and bronzes. The metallic finds were quite considerable and included the usual bands and pins, pottery as well as knives and swords, arrowheads, double-axes and even gold leaves from crowns or wreaths. One of the most interesting bronzes was a lion of mid seventh-century date.<sup>811</sup> The pottery dated mainly to the seventh and sixth centuries. Most pots were miniatures especially kotylai of the sixth century. The terracotta figurines were quite

numerous as well and comprised the usual Archaic types. Especially popular seemed to be rider figurines.

Recently V. Lambrinudakis has reconsidered the sanctuary of Apollo Maleatas.<sup>812</sup> Besides finding votives of the Archaic to the Hellenistic period he also noted the presence of Late Geometric dedications, such as for example pottery of LG Attic workshops.<sup>813</sup> Most of the structures of the sanctuary are late, but it seems that an altar existed at least as early as the seventh century. More recent work at the site has revealed that the Archaic altar consisted of two elliptical stone rings.<sup>814</sup> Much of the early pottery consisted of Corinthian ware, as is to be expected in seventh-century contexts. Finally underneath all of these finds there were prehistoric layers with remains of the Mykenaian period and earlier. These finds formed part of an open-air altar, which lay directly underneath the Archaic altar.<sup>815</sup> From such evidence, the excavator deduced that a sanctuary existed here from the Mykenaian period onwards. Here then there is very strong evidence for continuity of cult, even though no finds from the end of the Bronze Age until the eighth century have been reported. Once again it seems the sanctuary may have been refounded in the late eighth century after a hiatus of several hundred years, unless the site was in use in that interval but without the dedication of votives to confirm it.

Although much more is known about the later Asklepios cult, thanks mainly to the Classical remains including the famous theatre, an interesting remark by Pausanias (II.XXVII.7) refers to Apollo Maleatas sharing the temple of Asklepios. Worshippers had to make a sacrifice to Apollo before entering the Asklepios sanctuary. At Epidauros therefore Apollo was regarded as a health deity and his association with his divine son Asklepios was very close.<sup>816</sup> The cult of Asklepios was probably introduced from the north sometime in the

sixth century. It soon overshadowed that of Apollo with a sanctuary that became famous all over the Greek world. Its glory, however, rests in a much later period than is covered by this survey.

### Kalaureia (Poros)

The sanctuary of Poseidon, located fairly centrally on the island of Poros, became quite well known as the centre of the Kalaureian Amphictiony. As usual the architectural remains at the sanctuary are late but other finds suggest a date as early as the ninth century for the introduction of the cult there although the evidence for activity in the ninth century is very slender. The main structural remains at the site is the temple, standing in an enclosure measuring 55.50 metres long by 27.60 metres wide. Very little survives of the temple itself, however. From the capitals and other features dated to the late sixth century it is possible to date the temple as well to that period.<sup>817</sup> The presence of roof tiles of earlier date has been noted by Welter and this may indicate an earlier temple. If one was built before the end of the sixth century it may have been of mud brick since there is no evidence of stone walls prior to the late sixth-century construction.<sup>818</sup> Remains of various other structures have been found but they are all of late date.

Various small finds have been published by Wide and Kjellberg including pottery of several periods, among them Mykenaian, Geometric and Archaic. Although the Geometric sherds are very scanty, one is dated as early as the Middle Geometric.<sup>819</sup> More numerous are the Protocorinthian sherds which suggest activity at the sanctuary by the late eighth century. From the publication the impression one obtains is of a fairly large quantity of Protocorinthian and Ripe Corinthian pottery; besides the slight Geometric remains, whatever

local Archaic ware there may have been did not come to the attention of Wide and Kjellberg.

Bronzes and terracottas also numbered among the finds, although only a few examples of each were published. Seated female figurines, mounted warriors and animals are the common types mentioned among the terracottas. Animals were quite common among the bronzes as well although bronze vessels and various ornaments had also been dedicated at the sanctuary. Most of these seem to date to the Archaic period. The site, however, was also in use in the Bronze Age since Mykenaian constructions and sherds were noticed. Continuity of cult has been claimed as a result of this but since no Dark Age material has been found the probability that the cult continued from the Bronze Age is slim. In any case the Mykenaian finds are probably related to tombs of the Late Helladic period and seemingly have nothing to do with the cult.

The Geometric material is so scanty that the site cannot have been much used before the seventh century. The date of the founding of the cult there is still in dispute, however. Surely more Geometric votives would be expected from an eighth-century foundation date, as is the case at other sanctuaries. Kelly believes that the sanctuary only came to be in full use by the second quarter of the seventh century.<sup>820</sup> He bases this on the finds from the sanctuary area.

Little is known of the cult at this site; it is famous mainly as the seat of the Kalaureian Amphictiony, a league comprising Prasiai, Nauplia, Minyan Orchomenos, Athens, Aigina, Epidauros and Hermione. Much controversy has existed concerning the date of its foundation but a date in the seventh century is probably the most reasonable<sup>821</sup> in view of the archaeological evidence available so far. Strabo, the only ancient author who mentions the league, says those seven cities shared in the sacrifice at the sanctuary,<sup>822</sup> but that

the Argives paid dues for Nauplia and the Spartans did the same for Prasiai. While this league may have had a maritime character - Poseidon was after all a god connected with the sea - Kelly argues that its main purpose was as a defensive alliance, at least when it was founded. Could it be possible that the Kalaureian Amphictiony was an alliance against Argos? This is only speculation but it is interesting nevertheless that the league seems to have come into being at the time when the Argives may still have been trying to assert their control over the whole of the Argolid. How long this league endured is not known but the sanctuary itself was still receiving worshippers as late as the first century B.C., for Plutarch mentions it in connection with events of that date.<sup>823</sup>

### Porto Kheli

The American excavations at Porto Kheli have yielded the remains of a settlement, the earliest occupation of which dates to the Neolithic period. Among the constructions uncovered were the remains of at least three sanctuaries, one now submerged in the harbour, another situated on the akropolis and a third outside the city east of the akropolis.

(A) Submerged in the northeast part of the harbour outside the city wall, once stood a temple. The building was long and narrow, measuring 27 metres by 4.46 metres and comprised three rooms as well as a pronaos.<sup>824</sup> The pronaos itself had a length of 3.50 metres, the sekos measured 7.80 metres, the middle room was 8.25 metres and the north room was 5.40 metres long. The temple was apparently oriented north-south and was built of grey limestone. Although no evidence for an external colonnade has been noticed, columns stood in the interior of the temple. They were spaced at

1.5 metres and must have been of wood. Evidence for the roof of the temple comes in the form of Corinthian roof tiles. Many sherds of votive pots were found within the temple, the earliest dating to the late eighth and early seventh centuries while the latest were no later than the middle of the fifth century.

Each of the rooms in the temple seems to have had a particular function, judging from the types of finds in each. For example in the north room were found hundreds of miniature kotylai while in the middle room were recovered many bones of piglets. As well as these bones many knife blades and spearheads also came to light in that room. In the sekos some iron axes were found and other iron implements included iron obeloi, used for roasting the meat.

Southeast of the temple had been built a long altar. Two of its sides were constructed differently and this, together with the orientation of the altar, suggests that an earlier one had stood to the west and north, more in line with the temple. At the north side of this altar were fragments of Geometric pottery.

In addition to the temple and altar the sanctuary comprised several other structures. To the east of the temple lay a building tentatively identified as a stoa. When it was erected remains uncertain, although Jameson feels it may have been contemporary with the temple. Finally there was a group of small rooms located between the altar and the modern beach; these may have served to house the visitors to the sanctuary. They were probably built in the Archaic period. Connected with the cult activity were games including races, the starting lines of which were found in the area of the sanctuary.

Nothing is known of the cult at this sanctuary but the identification of the deity to whom it was devoted has been made certain by several finds. Included among them is a temple key inscribed to Apollo, dated to the fifth century B.C.<sup>825</sup> Another source of

evidence is a marble statue of Apollo although its date has not been determined. As seen from the types of finds within the temple, part of the cult seems to have involved the sacrificing of animals, and Jameson suggests this formed part of a purificatory rite.<sup>826</sup> It seems reasonable to assume a date in the late eighth century for the beginning of activity at this sanctuary and perhaps for the construction of the temple itself.

(B) Much less is known of the other sanctuaries. In 1962 Jameson began work at the site of Halieis and in that first season the akropolis was explored. It was here that a small sanctuary was discovered, with two altars, a votive deposit and a statue base.<sup>827</sup> The sanctuary was not established before the sixth century, however, as suggested by the votives, including jewellery, terracotta figurines, armour, wreaths, and miniature pottery. The votives range in date from the sixth to the early fifth century. The altars, however, date to an even later period and there are no constructions associated with the votive deposit.<sup>828</sup>

(C) Finally, outside the city itself on a hill east of the akropolis, surface finds point to the presence of a small sanctuary. The votives were of the typical sort, including miniature cups, terracotta figurines and marble statuettes. The finds have not yet been published, however the sanctuary is felt to belong to Demeter since figurines of females carrying pigs were among the votives.<sup>829</sup> Such figurines are usually associated with the goddess Demeter. No date has been proposed for its period of use.

### Katsingri

North of the village of Ayios Adrianos, formerly known as Katsingri, stands the hill of Prophitis Ilias where in 1962 Mrs.

Deilaki uncovered a considerable votive deposit. The deposit, which contained material from the Mykenaian to the Roman period, was bordered by a semi-circular wall.<sup>830</sup> Among the votives were the usual Archaic figurines as well as pins, fibulae, bronze phialae, miniature skyphoi and other votive pottery. While Mykenaian and post-Archaic sherds also formed part of the deposit the majority belonged to the Archaic period.

It is to the Archaic period that belong the remains of a temple. The building measured 6.60 metres by 13 metres. The lower courses of the exterior wall were built of large, unworked stones while the upper part was apparently of mud brick. In the area of the foundations sherds dating mainly to the Archaic period were found.

To whom the sanctuary was dedicated is unknown. A clue may be had in the form of an Archaic fibula depicting a male and female on the catchplate. Mrs. Deilaki has proposed Zeus and Hera as the divinities portrayed but the attribution is of course tentative. Among the sites visited by Pausanias is one called Lessa<sup>831</sup> and it may be possible to equate this with the site of Katsingri. He notes the presence of a temple of Athena at Lessa. Whether this is to be identified as the one found by Mrs. Deilaki is uncertain however.

### Kourtaki

At the site of Kourtaki a votive deposit was first discovered in 1966.<sup>832</sup> Many whole pots of Archaic appearance were included, as well as terracotta figurines of the same date. Excavation then revealed a building containing two rooms.<sup>833</sup> One room was quite small, measuring 1.45 metres by 2.20 metres while the other measured 6 metres by 5 metres. One of the rooms had a round depression reached by two steps.



Many votives lay about the building, the majority of them krateriskoi of the very end of the seventh and sixth centuries. With their polychrome, floral motifs they provide us with a valuable addition to our knowledge of the Argolic ceramic industry of that time. The terracottas were of the typical types with bird-like faces and pellet eyes. They included many rider figurines and seated females as well as various animals. That many of the pots were whole, stacked one inside the other, suggests they were being produced here for use as votives. The excavators thus came to the conclusion that this centre was a workshop associated perhaps with the sanctuary of Mysian Demeter mentioned by Pausanias (II.XVIII.3). He saw the sanctuary on the road from Mykenai to Argos. Presumably the sanctuary is to be located somewhere in the region of this workshop.

#### Douka

At this site in the western Argolid Mrs. Deilaki excavated an Archaic building.<sup>834</sup> Some fragments of bronzes were found within it including pins of Jacobsthal's Orientalizing 1 and 2 categories.<sup>835</sup> According to Mrs. Deilaki the building has the appearance of a temple.

#### Magoula

At Magoula, on the road to Myloi from Argos, a small temple was found. The northeast corner of the foundation was uncovered, made of tuff stone, as well as a fragment of a monolithic Doric column. Besides this the site yielded a large deposit of votives. The votives were of two main kinds, figurines and pottery. Hundreds of terracotta figurines were dedicated as well as thousands of votive

pots of miniature size. The pottery has been dated to the seventh and sixth centuries and is said to resemble that at the Argive Heraion. This sanctuary was discovered by Vollgraff<sup>836</sup> and although he provides no pictures of the material he remarks on its great similarity to the Heraion material of the seventh and sixth centuries and this provides strong evidence for dating the sanctuary and temple itself to the seventh century. Vollgraff has identified the sanctuary as that of Artemis mentioned by Pausanias who found the temple of Artemis after descending from Mount Lykone and turning towards the source of the Erasinos River, on the left of the highway leading to Tegea<sup>837</sup> but he himself does not name the site.

#### Other Sanctuaries

The existence of several other sanctuaries in the Argolid is known, all of them, however, from surface finds only.<sup>838</sup> One such site is Akra Milianos (no. 7 in the site index) where a sanctuary apparently existed from the Archaic to the Roman period. Another such sanctuary was that of Artemis Koryphaia (no. 37) but its periods of occupation, from the Archaic to the Roman, are uncertain. Several other sanctuaries dating from the Archaic to the Roman period have been noted, including Galatas (no. 26), Gyphtokastro (no. 29), Kokkygion (no. 53), Lazaretto (no. 61), Poros (no. 90) and Psiphti (no. 95). It is impossible, however, to be more precise about the date of any of these sanctuaries since no excavations have been carried out and it may be that most in fact date from the sixth century, not the seventh. More work undertaken at all these sites would of course prove of immense value.

#### Hero Cults

Another aspect of cult practice, interesting for its sudden appearance in the second half of the eighth century, concerns the habit of placing votives in old Mykenaian tholos and chamber tombs. The practice was centred at Argos, Mykenai and Prosymna near the Argive Heraion, areas where the Bronze Age tombs could still be seen.<sup>839</sup> Usually the votives were placed in the collapsed chamber or in the dromos.

At Mykenai several tholos tombs received such offerings, including the Cyclopean Tomb where, however, only one Geometric sherd was found and the Epano Phournos Tomb where many Geometric pots had been deposited in the dromos and the doorway.<sup>840</sup> Especially prominent among the votives at the latter tomb were kantharoi, skyphoi and kraters. Some Corinthian and Archaic Argolic ware had also been offered. Furthermore some figurines of the typical Archaic types were found on the floor of the doorway. The Tomb of Aegisthus contained twenty-three G sherds and a few more in the dromos including an orientalizing sherd while the Panagia Tomb contained sixteen sherds in the dromos. Many Geometric pots had been deposited in both the dromos and the tholos of the Lion Tomb as well and in the Tomb of Klytemnestra Wace found various Late Geometric sherds; six fragmentary Archaic horse figurines had long ago been found by Mrs. Schliemann.<sup>841</sup> In the Kato Phournos Tomb Tsountas found a considerable number of Archaic female figurines<sup>842</sup> but his finds were never published. Finally in the Tomb of the Genii a couple of Geometric fragments were found.<sup>843</sup>

Certain chamber tombs also received such offerings. In Tomb 520 for example, some Geometric pottery had been placed over the collapsed chamber and in the chamber of Tomb 522 was a large number of Geometric sherds; some Protocorinthian ware was also recovered. In the dromos of Tomb 533 were a few early seventh-century pots but they, however, formed part of a burial and so were not offerings in

the usual sense. A child had been buried in a krater with a few other pots and a bronze pin of the Orientalizing 1 type.<sup>844</sup> In addition to the offerings at these tombs comes some Geometric pottery from a chamber tomb near Grave Circle B<sup>845</sup> and a considerable amount of Geometric pottery was also found in Grave Circle A. In all cases the Geometric sherds date to the second half of the eighth century, the Late Geometric period.<sup>846</sup> In some instances later pottery was also discovered, including Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic, but these were always in the minority and comprised only a few fragments.

At Prosymna votives of post-Bronze Age date had been deposited in fifteen of the fifty Mykenaian chamber tombs. In two of these tombs the objects had been laid in the Classical and Hellenistic periods (Tombs III and XIII) but in the other thirteen the activity at the tombs had been concentrated in the period in the later part of the eighth century.<sup>847</sup> Most of these too had been placed in the chamber after the roof had collapsed. The most common shapes offered were mesomphalic phialae, skyphoi, kraters, plates and especially cups. Besides pottery, however, other objects were included such as bronze pins, fibulae, rings, discs, as well as terracotta spools, a figurine and a silver ring. All the pottery seems locally made except five Protocorinthian vases. All form a closely-knit group in terms of age: they all date to the late eighth and beginning of the seventh centuries.

Finally at Argos the Mykenaian tombs of the Deiras also were the recipients of votive offerings in the late eighth and seventh centuries. In seven of the chamber tombs Geometric pottery had been deposited within the collapsed chamber.<sup>848</sup> The deposits in both Tombs XIV and XVII comprised several whole pots plus many fragments. Deshayes dated them all to the Subgeometric period although according to Coldstream, some of the pottery is to be dated to the LGI-II.<sup>849</sup> As usual therefore the votives were laid in the tombs in

the second half of the eighth century. Pots of different types were placed in the chamber tombs, including kraters, oinokhoai, kantharoi and skyphoi. In Tomb XXIX, however, only one Geometric sherd was encountered in the collapsed chamber together with a fragmentary Archaic rider figurine.

In addition to these tombs some votives had been placed in the dromoi of other tombs, such as Tomb XIX and XXVI. In Tomb XIX several Archaic figurines were found on top of the dromos. They were of the usual seated female type with bird-like heads. A small Subgeometric pot as well as Geometric sherds were found over the dromos of Tomb XXVI.<sup>850</sup> In the dromos of Tomb XVI more Subgeometric and Archaic sherds had been placed.<sup>851</sup>

In all the above-mentioned tombs the later deposits had been introduced at about the same date, the latter half of the eighth century or early seventh century. These tombs cannot have been simply regarded as convenient dumping grounds; the pots were laid there for a definite purpose - a hero cult. That they should all have sprung up in the space of a relatively few years is indicative of something pervasive happening in society and it has been suggested that it was the spread of epic poetry that led to the deposition of votives in the tombs.<sup>852</sup> Having suddenly been made aware of their glorious past the late eighth-century inhabitants of those areas where evidence of that past was greatest naturally turned to the chamber and tholos tombs as the obvious resting place of heroes of the Trojan saga and therefore this led people to lay votives in the honour of the various heroes. Blegen had first conceived the notion of a hero cult when he excavated the tombs at Prosymna, however, he saw it as a continuous tradition from the end of the Bronze Age. Coldstream<sup>853</sup> proposed that these hero cults only really started in the later part of the eighth century thus confirming Farnell's ideas of hero cults

based on the spread of epic poetry.<sup>854</sup>

For the most part the cults at the various Mykenaian chamber and tholos tombs continued into the Archaic period. By the late seventh century, however, votives become quite rare; some sherds dating to both the Classical and the Hellenistic periods have been recovered but they do not comprise a sizeable amount. Perhaps the novelty had worn off, perhaps the point had been made and the ancestors pleased.

These hero cults were all the result of the presence of a visible sign of the heroic past - the Mykenaian tombs. These tombs had been accidentally discovered after their collapse at some point after the Bronze Age and when people became imbued with a greater sense of their heroic past and their own heroic ancestors, they began to offer dedications at these tombs, which to them symbolized the heroic age. The role of epic poetry in this has been well argued by Coldstream<sup>855</sup> but these cults probably remained haphazard since there is no evidence that they were established cults; anyone could leave a votive if he wished. On the other hand there were cults founded in the Late Geometric period to specific heroes, such as the Agamemnoneion at Mykenai or the Menelaion at Sparta. These were official cults begun by the state and the finds show that these were established at a later date than the cults at the old tombs; the Agamemnoneion for example was founded at the very end of the eighth century. These cults were state organized, probably established with a greater purpose than a simple honouring of ancestors. The Agamemnoneion undoubtedly had political significance as well for the Dorian rulers would have seen it as a means of justifying their position by claiming ancestry to the Mykenaian heroes, in essence, taking over the local hero as their own. It was, in other words, a claim to the land; the Dorians were outsiders and for them to trace their ancestry back to the

Mykenaian era was a way of greatly enhancing their position.

### Conclusions

Turning back to the sanctuaries themselves it is apparent that the eighth century was a major stepping stone from the private to the public worship. The Heraion and the Poseidon sanctuary on Poros seem to be the earliest sanctuaries to have received votives since they may both have begun as early as the end of the ninth century although admittedly the sanctuary of Poseidon has very little Geometric material. By the later part of the eighth century sanctuaries were flourishing all over the central plain, at Argos, Mykenai, Tiryns, Kourtaki and perhaps Asine. In the eastern Argolid the only evidence for a sanctuary at that time, besides that on Poros, is at Halieis.<sup>856</sup>

At this time the sanctuaries were still rather unprepossessing sights, consisting for the most part of only an earth altar and votives dedicated at the altar. At only two sites, Halieis and Mykenai (the apsidal temple) is there strong evidence for sacred buildings in the eighth century. At Tiryns the evidence is not very definite but it may also indicate an eighth-century date for the temple there. The existence of a terrace at the Argive Heraion strongly suggests a building must have stood there in the eighth century. Within the seventh century building activity at the various sanctuaries became more widespread. At the Argive Heraion itself the temple, if not of an eighth-century date, was surely built in the seventh century as were the North Portico and the Northeast Building. At Mykenai the altar near the palace temple may date to the seventh century, while at Asine the constructions on top of the Barbouna hill probably date to that period, if not the eighth century. At Epidauros some construction was undertaken by the late seventh century and the

temple at Douka can also be dated to that period.

All this activity must surely be indicative of strong local pride; each area was honouring a deity which had special significance for that particular area. It does not necessarily follow from the above that Argos was not in some position of power or authority over these areas, however one hears of Tiryns having its own assembly; in this case one has the impression that Tiryns was fairly independent c. 600 B.C. and perhaps earlier. Even within Argos, however, as well as at the other settlements, several deities were worshipped, each with its own sanctuary.

The sanctuaries received thousands of votives, usually very repetitive objects such as miniature skyphoi and kotylai but other types of vases were also offered. The votives dedicated at the various sanctuaries combine to reveal something of the relative importance of each of the sanctuaries by means of the types of offerings dedicated and their numbers. Pottery was offered at all the sites; it was undoubtedly the easiest obtainable votive, made in the thousands at the sanctuary workshops. Terracotta figurines, also very popular, were so summarily executed for the most part that they too were very convenient offerings since they could be produced very quickly. On the other hand not many sanctuaries have yielded large quantities of bronze objects. Tiryns for example has produced almost none whereas at the Heraion thousands of bronzes were dedicated, from the little animal figurines to the extremely long pins, fibulae and rings, tripods and so on.

The predominance of bronzes at some sanctuaries and not others is partly due to the fact that their production required more specialized craftsmen than did the clay offerings. These craftsmen worked at only a few sanctuaries, those held in highest regard and therefore attracting the most visitors since it can be assumed



that only the most important sanctuaries could employ the specialized craftsmen needed. In this respect the Heraion obviously far outclassed its rivals for it has by far the most bronzes of any sanctuary. This also shows its more general appeal; its basis was much more widespread than the other Argolic sanctuaries which were relatively poorer and more narrowly local in appeal. The fact that bronzes were dedicated in such numbers at the Heraion and other noted Greek sanctuaries also reflects a growing wealth, and as has been noted already, more of that wealth was being channeled into the sanctuaries.

It is impossible to be very definite about the political situation in the eighth and seventh centuries in the Argolid from the evidence of sanctuaries and cult. The establishment of the different sanctuaries all over the Argolid corresponds to the situation in other regions. Religion was becoming a much more public affair in the late eighth and seventh centuries, not only in the Argolid but all over Greece. It is a growth which took place in the eighth century. This, however, is not sufficient reason to explain the popularity of sanctuaries nor their rapid spread to all communities. The erection of temples and other buildings forming part of sanctuaries betrays a strong element of public and civic pride. Each town wanted to honour its own patron deities in the grandest way possible. It is thus possible to see some sense of rivalry among the different towns, a situation resembling that of the Middle Ages in Europe when each town tried to outdo its neighbour in the size of its church.

Some hints of the political situation can be glimpsed here and there, for example the fact that Tiryns had its own assembly and that the sanctuary at Poros was the centre of a league of cities of which Argos formed a part but only after defeating Nauplia c. 600 B.C.<sup>857</sup> Further evidence comes from the Apollo cult at Asine which was essentially a Dryopian cult in the Argolid. Again Argos became

involved, but only after destroying Asine c. 700 B.C. At Mykenai the cult of Agamemnon, a purely local cult since Agamemnon was a purely local hero, may have been instituted by the Dorian state to improve their position with the local people. It may therefore be more than coincidence that by the time of Aeschylus, Agamemnon belonged to Argos.<sup>858</sup> The offerings at the old Mykenaian tombs can also be seen as an expression of local pride in one's illustrious past. The evidence is thus conflicting since on the one hand it suggests that Argos was taking a more dominant position in the Argolid by the end of the eighth century and again by the end of the seventh century and yet on the other hand Tiryns for example seems to have been independent of Argos c. 600 B.C. Tiryns in fact seems to have remained independent of Argos until 468 when Argos attacked and annexed the settlement.

In any event, none of these local sanctuaries matches the Heraion in size and grandeur. The Heraion was obviously intended as the main sanctuary of the Argolid. The focus of all religious activity in the Argolid was this sanctuary where considerable effort was spent in its construction. That such grand work could be undertaken in the late eighth and early seventh centuries means that the state, Argos, had considerable wealth at hand and the human resources necessary to carry out the work. Undoubtedly it marked a major effort at religious unity within the whole Argolid. The funding for the construction was undoubtedly obtained from among the rest of the Argolic cities; Argos itself at that time could not possibly have had enough resources to take on work of such a scale by itself. While the actual construction of the temple took place within the first half of the seventh century most of the planning and preliminary work was carried out in the late eighth century. The great terrace was already in existence at that time and a temple of some sort may perhaps be assumed for the same period.

Perhaps therefore the establishment of the Heraion was essentially a political move; religious unity was to be used as a means of assuring political unity. The construction of the Heraion, beginning in the late eighth century, means that Argos by that time was in a position to command the manpower and resources for this work. This in itself is quite a strong testimony to the power of Argos in the Late Geometric and Subgeometric periods. It is also possible that the Argives founded the sanctuary at the Heraion primarily because of the Mykenaian tombs in the vicinity. At Argos itself there were only a few such tombs known, thus the Heraion had more history than the Argives' own city. They needed to "authenticate the heroic past of this city" for the Dorians who lived there.<sup>859</sup> It was therefore a political move meant to enhance the position of Dorian Argos within the Argolid. The Heraion was a grandiose scheme for its time and was obviously intended to impress - the Argolid now finally had a sanctuary meant for the whole of the Argolid; the Argives could not have chosen a better means to demonstrate their rights in the Argolid and to unite that area, the Lot of Temenos, under their own dominance. Much of the history of that period can therefore be related to the Dorians' need for security and their need to prove their inheritance, even if a false one, as their city grew to polis status in the eighth century.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSIONS

The archaeological evidence presented in the previous chapters affords a picture of the Argolid in the eighth and seventh centuries which is stimulating and thought provoking if somewhat contradictory at times. This inconsistency is to be expected, however, since the archaeological record, by its very nature, is incomplete.

In examining the archaeological record several aspects must be borne in mind, the position of the Argolid with regard to the rest of the Greek world, in particular its immediate neighbours, the dichotomy which seems to exist between the central plain and eastern peninsula and the position of Argos with respect to the rest of the Argolid, and finally the changes from the eighth to the seventh century.

The picture presented to us by the distribution of sites from the LHIII B to the Archaic period indicates a pattern consistent with that generally seen in the central Greek mainland and the Peloponnese. After the fall of the palace civilization the Argolid appears to have suffered severe depopulation. Regardless of the causes of the downfall of the Mykenaian civilization the effects were severe and of long duration. From a possible total of thirty sites in the LHIII C only six survived into the subsequent period, all of them within the central Argolic plain. Already therefore this is the area of greatest activity in the Argolid. The palace sites of Mykenai and Tiryns suffered greatly in the last two phases of the Late Bronze Age, yet they were never completely abandoned yet it is obvious that the population was considerably reduced by the end of the LHIII C and that a more rudimentary lifestyle had become the norm. It seems in effect to be a return to conditions in force before the more highly-organized way of life of the Late Helladic period. This debased lifestyle is reflected in the pottery of the LHIII C and Submykenaian periods, in which the scant decoration and paucity of shapes suggests a simpler way of life and a dearth of professional craftsmen. This lack of

professionals can be mirrored in the seventh century to some extent, though of course it is not due to the same reasons, as will be seen.

By the Protogeometric period a slight awakening takes place in the Argolid as elsewhere. A few more sites are occupied, including one in the eastern Argolid, Porto Kheli (Halieis). An important sign of life is the pottery which gains a new and fresh look and a much greater assurance in both technique and decoration. It is in the PG period that the site of Argos begins to be significant. The town, if such it can be called at this early period, had grown considerably since the Submykenaian days, as is indicated by the graves whose numbers rise dramatically in the PG period. It is in the tenth century that Argos has a silver cupellation workshop, important evidence for the craft of metalworking in the Argolid at a date which is much earlier than one would expect. The Protogeometric period is thus a time of progress when conditions were apparently more stable than they had been. The period is one in which people show a certain sense of boldness and of experimentation which can only occur in a time of relative stability and peace.

Argos, however, was not the only site showing strong signs of a revival after the Bronze Age. At Asine for example, where continuity from the Bronze Age is now assured, a total of sixty graves have been found dating to the PG period. Such numbers probably reflect only a small percentage of the actual total of graves at any one time and so on the basis of graves alone the settlement must have been quite large, especially when one compares the numbers of graves between different periods. By themselves of course, absolute numbers do not mean very much but by comparing the numbers between periods one can learn about the growth or decline of sites. At other sites a picture similar to that at Asine emerges with the PG appearing as quite a significant time; Tiryns, Mykenai and the other main sites all seem to

have been flourishing in the tenth century.

At first glance the ninth century seems to represent a drop in population at most sites. This may be a false impression, however, since the PG covers fifty years more than the EG and MGI combined. For Argos there is not much of a change; in the ninth century a total of forty or so graves have been excavated, only six fewer than in the PG period. This may actually represent a slight increase in population, if looked at as generations with 9.2 graves per 30 years in the PG period but 12 per 30 years in the ninth century. Unfortunately such calculations are rather arbitrary and it is difficult to subdivide the PG graves into more meaningful divisions although an attempt to do this has recently been made by B. Wells.<sup>860</sup> She has divided the PG period at Asine into four phases, but as she herself says, to attempt to give these phases absolute dates is extremely difficult. In effect it appears that in general the early ninth century does not represent a great change from the previous century, although by the second half of the ninth century the situation is somewhat different with fewer graves at sites such as Tiryns, Mykenai and Asine. At Asine the reduction in graves, and hence of population, from the PG period is quite noticeable with only six graves in the EG and six again in the MG, quite a drop from the sixty graves of the PG period. This suggests a decline of population, but it certainly does not mean that only six people were buried at Asine in the EG or MG periods. Like at other sites such as Mykenai and Tiryns, there was some change in population patterns at that time, some decline of population. The numbers can give rough guides about the relative size of settlements but they cannot be used in absolute terms.

This phenomenon of changing grave patterns is quite interesting in that it indicates a certain degree of population shift, not very extensive in most cases, but perhaps fairly drastic at a site

such as Asine. One possible hypothesis to explain this decline might be emigration but the only evidence of such a move dates to the tenth century, rather too early to explain the population changes of the ninth century. Some of the evidence for this is literary and comes mainly from Herodotos from whom one hears that the island of Kos was settled by people from Epidauros. Archaeologically speaking the island also possesses links with the Argolid, for example on Kos the burial customs of the late PG period closely match those of the Argolid and even the pottery is quite similar. The picture is thus one of some movement out of the area in the late PG period, however one should not interpret this to mean a very widespread emigration of people. There is also the possibility that the late PG and EG periods were times of uncertainty and trouble and that a consequence of this, in addition to emigration, was a move towards a greater unification. As noted earlier Argos itself seems to have been unaffected by any loss of population. On the contrary the archaeological evidence points to an expanding settlement, even if still quite a small one. This would be indicative of a kind of synoikismos taking place at this time. One has the impression that people were leaving the more isolated communities or farmsteads, preferring to live in the relative safety of a larger town such as Argos. This synoikismos seems to occur throughout the ninth century as Argos becomes larger at the expense of other communities such as Asine or Tiryns.

In the ninth century there is nothing very spectacular about life in the Argolid, insofar as can be deduced from archaeology. Argos is still a fairly small settlement with a concentration of habitation in the southwest area of the city. The habitation area in general had shifted after the Bronze Age from the Aspis to the lower town and this in itself is a strong indication of a change of population. Argos was now a Dorian settlement and the evidence from



literature tells of the pre-Dorian people being subjugated by their Dorian conquerors. From then on these Dorians, who seem to have been quite warlike, became the overlords within Argos and indeed the whole Argolid. They were the dominant force in the early historic period. In most communities therefore the remnants of the old Mykenaian population were subject to the Dorian rulers. Perhaps the legend of the freeing of the women involved in the rituals at the Argive Heraion reflects the fact that they were once part of this subject population. By the late eighth and seventh centuries, however, this freeing had become nothing more than a symbolic gesture but it does indicate a time when those women must have been under the rule of the Dorians. The fact that there existed this pre-Dorian and Dorian population together has some bearing on the political and economic history of the Argolid and I think it is possible to see evidence of this dual people in the archaeological record of the eighth and seventh centuries in particular. Much of the political history of the area can in fact be much better understood when viewed partly as a result of there being two distinct groups of people with different traditions, backgrounds and ways of thinking.

The ninth century can be viewed as a time when a certain momentum was being gained in various industries, including pottery and metalwork. A slow progress was being made but the developments took time and the achievements at first were not numerous. It is in the second half of the ninth century that the first figured scenes appear on Argolic pottery; the attempt is rather tentative at first although by the eighth century the Argolic workshops produce figured pottery of a very distinctive character. Already in the ninth century and indeed in the PG period, some of the Argolic graves have bronze and iron pins and other jewellery besides a few pots. On the whole, however, the grave goods are rather poor at this time and once

again it is in the eighth century that the most notable advances are made.

It is in the eighth century that is attained the acme of the Argolid in terms of its position in general within the Greek world and the position of Argos itself in particular within the Argolid. As will have been obvious in previous chapters the seventh century represents a certain decline in many ways. The Argolid loses its preeminent position and Argos itself seems to suffer quite a severe recession. It is not until the very end of the seventh century that the situation reverts to a more normal one. While the early seventh century can be said to offer a continuation and even a progression in some respects the century as a whole gives the impression of being an intermission between two acts. In almost every aspect of life the century is marked by a drastic change from the eighth century. This can be seen in the settlement pattern, in grave types and numbers and in the burial customs in general, in pottery and in metalwork and so on.

It is to the eighth century that one must turn first. All the evidence points to this time as one of growth and expansion, and of increased wealth and prosperity. It is in this century that the Argolid becomes very self-sufficient and turns away from outside influences. Furthermore its position although it never reaches that of Attica is second only to that area in most respects. Athens in the earlier part of the eighth century led the Greek world in its ceramic industry yet the Argolid was very close behind and there is almost no noticeable time lag in the Argolid in the development of new techniques such as the use of the compass and multiple brush, and the employment of new motifs. It is the rejection of outside influences, especially in the late eighth century when Corinth was becoming the dominant school, which distinguishes the pottery of the Argolid and renders it

so unique.

The eighth century is also a time when there is an obvious increase in prosperity. This is noticeable for instance in the graves, where the grave goods tend to increase in number and bronze and iron objects are found more often than earlier. This is the situation particularly in the second half of the eighth century. It is also significant to note that it is in the second half of the eighth century that construction begins on the Argive Heraion and that at other sanctuaries this is the period when activity begins in earnest. Throughout the eighth century Argolic craftsmen are producing great bronze tripod cauldrons for major sanctuaries such as Olympia, and their bronze workmanship in general stands out as being among the very best in the Greek world. The Argolid is recognized in fact as being the leader in the manufacture of bronze pins, many of which were found in graves in their original position at the shoulders of the dead, but thousands of which were dedicated at the Heraion in the late eighth century onwards. Bronze horses, with a distinctive appearance, were also offered at the Heraion and many more at Olympia. From Pausanias (VI.XXII.2-3) one learns of an Argive takeover of Olympia in 748 B.C. It is interesting that it is just after this date that Argive influence at Olympia seems strongest. Are the two connected? It seems quite plausible to postulate this intensified Argive activity at Olympia in the late eighth century as a possible result of that takeover in 748 even though this was only a temporary move, during the year of the Anolympiad. In any case, this will be examined further below.

Furthermore the eighth century is also the time when the Argolid takes a dominant role in the production of stone seals. This craft seems to have reached the Argolid from the Cycladic islands, in particular Melos. The Argolid's contacts with the Cyclades seem to have been quite strong at this period and in all likelihood it

received the impetus for the art of gem engraving directly from Melos, an island with trade relations with the Argolid.

It is also in the eighth century that sanctuaries begin to flourish all over the Argolid. Activity at the sanctuaries seems to increase quite drastically by the late eighth century with many more offerings and at some sanctuaries the offerings are of a wealthier nature than earlier, with bronzes being dedicated in large numbers. Also in the late eighth century a number of official, public hero cults arise, such as the Agamemnoneion at Mykenai, and offerings are also deposited in the old Bronze Age tombs as a kind of private cult. There is a certain awareness, a consciousness of the past, but this is not peculiar to the Argolid of course, nevertheless it is perhaps more noticeable there than elsewhere because it was the centre of the Bronze Age palace civilization. The evidence for these cults is concentrated within the central plain, understandably so since this is where the Bronze Age tombs are located. There is a strong element also of local pride in the tomb cults as people honour their own particular heroes or ancestors. Argos itself was also the scene of such cults, at the Deiras graves for example. In this case the popularity of the hero cults at the tombs might be interpreted as a way for the local population to reject the authority and power of their Dorian rulers by claiming a long and illustrious past, one which was alien to the Dorians who had no claim at all to the land. This therefore might be seen as a means of defiance. That it should have occurred in the second half of the eighth century is in itself significant in that it coincides with the period when Dorian Argos was trying to establish a stronger control over the Argolid. The two may be interrelated.

In contrast with the tomb cults the official hero cults were state controlled. It would seem that Dorian Argos was quick to realize the potential benefits of such cults and by establishing the

Agamemnoneion at Mykenai the Argives were attempting to forge links with the Mykenaian past, in order that they might increase their domination over the rest of the population by making that domination seem justified from an historical point of view. It may be more than coincidence that the Heraion was itself situated in an area with strong Mykenaian connections. Politically both were astute moves on the part of the Dorians.

It seems therefore that the main developments take place in the second half of the eighth century. Progress is steady but slow until that time when there is a rather sudden blossoming in the arts and crafts, in prosperity and in the general standard of living. One of the signs of a rise in prosperity can be seen in the use of iron; in several graves of Argos iron spits have been found and in some cases they had the obvious function of currency or at least of a sign of wealth. All the graves containing iron spits date to the LG period. There is none before that time. The same is true of bronze armour: in three Argive graves were found helmets and in the Panoply Grave a corslet as well, in addition to iron spits and firedogs. The well-equipped warrior (hoplite?) of the Panoply Grave comes closest perhaps to what one might call royalty. The warrior was undoubtedly wealthy and perhaps ahead of his time insofar as military defensive armour is concerned. The man was also undoubtedly a Dorian, they who formed the "high class" of Argolic society. These warrior graves, all cists, were all found in Argos, a fact which in itself is important. There is also one warrior grave at Tiryns, a Submykenaian burial, but this is quite early and there is nothing afterwards, in the Geometric period, to compare with Argos.

Two points emerge from this, first that the centre of power seems to have been concentrated in Argos, and second, that the wealthy were buried in cist graves as opposed to pithoi or other modes

of burial. Consistently it is cists which have the more numerous offerings, the richer goods. Pithoi in contrast are consistently poorer in offerings. Whereas the eighth century sees an increase in grave offerings deposited in cists this is not the case with pithoi or other types of burial. The impression is therefore that while some people were becoming richer, others were becoming poorer. Perhaps, however, this is symptomatic of any society facing a sudden rise in prosperity. There are always those who do not profit from such an increase and who consequently find themselves in a worse position than that in which they had been before. The discrepancy between rich and poor seems more evident at such times and this is exactly the case with Argos. Furthermore in the later part of the eighth century pithos burials increase in number, suggesting that there were more poor people than before. To go even further it is also interesting that in Argos, while there are no real cemeteries as such, some grave areas are almost exclusively reserved for cists and others for pithoi. The pithoi are found more frequently on the outskirts of the town while the cists tend to be concentrated towards the centre of the community. This suggests that people of the same social class tended to congregate together. One must nevertheless be careful when making such conclusions concerning the use of pithoi or cists since there are some pithoi whose very size and decoration indicate that they were meant for people of some means. Not all pithoi were intended for the poor but on the whole there does seem to be some social stratification between the different types of graves. It is also possible that family traditions had a role to play in the choice of grave type and it may simply not have been the custom for some families to leave gifts in graves.

It is interesting to compare the situation in Argos with that at other sites. The main difference of course, is that far

fewer graves have been found elsewhere but nevertheless some unusual facts come to light, for instance the fact that at Tiryns pithoi were much preferred to cists. This suggests perhaps a different type of population from Argos; perhaps the population was poorer in general than that at Argos, or as seems to be the case with Argos, if people of the same social class congregated in the same area, then perhaps the upper class burials at Tiryns are still to be found. On the other hand there may not have been a visible, wealthy class at Tiryns. Regardless of the reasons for the preference of pithoi at Tiryns, one fact emerges and that is that every community in fact had differences in its burial customs. Asine for example preferred intramural burials and had its children buried in cists, whereas pots were favoured elsewhere for children. At Nauplia they too seemed to favour pithoi and pit graves, a situation resembling Tiryns so again there seems to be a poorer population from Argos, perhaps even a people with a different background and traditions. In any case it is clear that Argos was the main settlement in the central plain and the whole Argolid. It has many more graves than any other settlement in the area and a higher proportion with wealthier offerings than anywhere else.

Throughout all this period the eastern Argolid seems rather barren in contrast with the central plain. There was already a sanctuary existing on Kalaureia and there is evidence for a few settlements but the evidence is far from complete. In the southwest part of the eastern peninsula for example, recent survey work has revealed the presence of many sites, most of them only farmsteads but nevertheless it is evident that in the eastern Argolid there were more Geometric sites than are apparent on the maps. The area of Porto Kheli and its environs seem to have been settled in the Geometric period and even earlier. Troizen and Epidaurus were also occupied at this period, however, one must keep in mind the existence of possibly

several more Geometric sites in this whole area. Comparisons between the central plain and eastern peninsula are easily made but these are valid only to the extent of our knowledge today and they may of course need revision when further work is undertaken in the area.

In any case certain differences are noticeable between the two areas. Although it is not really possible to compare burial practices, one does note a difference in pottery in the two areas as the eastern Argolid uses a distinctive orange clay, rather like Asine but unlike any of the other plain sites. Most of the remains seem to be of the Late Geometric period which seems to suggest an increase in the number of sites at that time. There does not appear to have been very much activity in the eastern Argolid before the second half of the eighth century. That the eastern peninsula had its own workshop or workshops is evident in the clay itself and the area may have been under greater influence from the Corinthia than is evident in the central plain, at least insofar as can be discerned from the number of Protocorinthian imports. Some sherds may also have been imported from Lakonia, but besides these there is not much evidence of Lakonian influence at that time. It is interesting to note that Asine, the clay of which closely resembles that used in the eastern Argolid, had strong contacts with Attica in the eighth century. It too had ties with Lakonia, for as Pausanias remarks it was Asine's aid to the Spartans when they invaded the Argolid that led the Argives to retaliate by destroying the settlement.<sup>861</sup> It too therefore appears to have followed an independent course but to have paid dearly for this audacity.

That the eastern peninsula seems to have had its own identity, separate from the central plain, should not be very surprising in view of the geography of the Argolid. In the central plain communication among the various settlements was easy and the sites were



fairly closely clustered within only a short distance from each other. The land is fairly flat and travel within the area is quite easy. The eastern peninsula was somewhat isolated, though not greatly so, by low hills, and most of the settlements tended to be situated on the coast rather than inland. Those communities never showed great interest in the affairs of the central plain, preferring instead to focus their attention on those shores opposite their own, such as Lakonia, Aigina and Attica. No doubt many of the settlements were small fishing villages whose main concerns were with the sea. In some ways the archaeological evidence points to the eastern Argolid as being Argolic in name only.

Emphasizing this as well are historical accounts which tell of several colonies founded by people from Troizen and Epidauros. They went to islands such as Kos and Nisyros, to Aigina, Samos, Rhodes and Halicarnassus while Troizen and Athens also had a history of close ties.<sup>862</sup> In history Epidauros and Athens were also closely related. Another example of the eastern Argolid's ties with other areas as opposed to the rest of the Argolid is the Kalaureian Amphictiony, established in the seventh century and composed of various cities of the eastern peninsula and other sites such as Orchomenos and Prasiai. Although its character may have changed over the years, at first it may have been intended partly as a defensive alliance against Argos. Basically the league was composed of non-Dorians whose interests, while undoubtedly maritime, were also concerned with preserving their independence from Argos, at least insofar as the eastern Argolic members of the league were concerned. This independence was shown simply in their association with certain non-Argolic communities. Argos' concern with the league is evident by its forced entry into it, after destroying Nauplia, a legitimate member of the league. This Amphictiony, therefore, combined with the evidence from pottery and

the script, as well as historical accounts, is quite a strong indication of the dichotomy existing between the central plain and the eastern peninsula. Argos no doubt saw the league as a thorn in its side and one of the main reasons for destroying Nauplia was to gain access to the league and thus have some control over its members. Argos had as its primary aim the domination of the whole Argolid; this move suited its goal well.

When one looks at the seventh century the general impression is of a great contrast with the eighth century. The changes which occur in this century are marked and they reflect a change of attitude in general; this is seen in several respects: in the burial customs, pottery, settlement pattern, seals, and so on. Asine was destroyed by Argos c. 700 B.C. and this is a convenient date for the turning point in Argolic fortunes. In some cases of course there is no drastic change at the beginning of the seventh century and things seem to continue as before for a short time and in those cases the change does not occur much before the middle of the seventh century.

Two things are noticeable at the very beginning of the seventh century, one is the abrupt change in burial practices and the other is the apparent move of people out of the central plain. The change in burial practices is very conspicuous and it is one which affects all the sites where graves have been found; hence this is not simply an isolated phenomenon occurring at one site only. As seen in chapter 3 the end of the eighth century also marked the end of the use of cists which up until then had been the preferred method of burial in the Argolid and especially Argos from where most of the evidence comes. Besides cists the Geometric period had also witnessed the use of pithoi as an alternative form of burial. Although they never approached cists in popularity, at some sites they did seem more popular. In any case by the end of the Geometric period these pithoi

also underwent quite a change. From the moment the seventh century opens, all the graves are cylindrical pithoi and they remain like this until almost the very end of the century. The cists of the Geometric period totally disappear as do the ovoid or egg-shaped pithoi, the normal pithos grave shape of that time. Not only does the grave type itself change but now the graves are devoid of any offerings. It is not until the very end of the century that offerings reappear. At the very beginning of the seventh century there are a few graves which can best be called transitional, for example a few burials in Fusco-type kraters, but it is the wholesale abandonment of cists which is perhaps most striking. This is especially true at Argos where cists had far outnumbered every other type of grave in the Geometric period.

Furthermore the other main consideration when dealing with seventh-century graves is their numbers. The seventh century represents a fairly drastic drop in grave numbers, from fifty-seven in the LG at Argos to thirty-three in the seventh century. This decrease is noticeable everywhere that eighth- and seventh-century graves have been found. At Tiryns a very sharp drop occurred, from twenty-nine to only two. This situation repeats itself at other sites so that a total of only approximately twelve graves in all have been found for seventh-century sites besides Argos.

Also in the seventh century one notices what appears to be a definite decline in population in Argos and the central plain. At Argos it is visible in the number of ground plots where seventh-century material has been found and in the number of graves. There is a thinning out of the population in the city. In other words the situation reverts to something similar to the ninth century in terms of areas of the city that are inhabited. Some new areas of the city are now occupied in the northwest but in general the period is one of declining population. The decline may have been quite sharp since

the thirty - four seventh-century graves cannot be closely dated and therefore there is no way of knowing exactly how many of those actually date to the early seventh century. An average of 16.5 graves per 50 years in the seventh century is quite a severe reduction from the 57 graves of the second half of the eighth century and this coupled with the fact that there are simply fewer areas of the city with seventh-century remains, argues in favour of this decline in population. This is reinforced by what happens in the central plain. Several Geometric sites are totally abandoned at the end of that period - seven in the area of the central plain. For others there is no abandonment yet the remains are so scanty that one is hardly justified in calling them settlements. This applies in particular to Mykenai and Tiryns, both sites whose remains are almost totally confined to sanctuary material for the whole of the seventh century. At Asine the only evidence for occupation is at the Apollo Pythaeus sanctuary; there was no longer a settlement as such. In contrast there are new sites in the eastern Argolid, as well as a few new sanctuary sites in the central plain. This is all evidence for a somewhat shifting population in the early Archaic period. It is also at this time that there is evidence of Argolic people buried in Sicily. At Syracuse the Fusco kraters themselves show contacts with the Argolid. The evidence for the presence of Argives at Syracuse does not suggest a mass migration, but it is significant that the presence is seen at this time, the very end of the eighth century and early seventh century.

The fact that people migrate is not in itself worthy of much comment and indeed any emigration must have been quite minor since Argos was never one of the main colonizing cities of Greece. In the seventh century, nevertheless, the picture of life is so different from the eighth century that it is inviting to reflect on its implications and causes. Three main interrelated causes are suggested

for the changes in settlement pattern, population decline, and burial customs. The first of these is related to the proposed increase in population which occurred in the later part of the eighth century. Snodgrass had first adopted this theory in his inaugural lecture by examining the number of graves in different areas throughout the Geometric period. The rather sharp increases in the Late Geometric implied a fairly sudden rise in population. This could be seen as the result of better economic conditions, a more stable agriculture and greater overall prosperity. The eighth-century economy, however, was fairly precariously balanced since there was not very much agricultural diversity. A rather severe strain on the economy may have resulted from this sudden population growth. Any unforeseen problems with the agricultural production, especially if it was concentrated in the urban centres such as Argos, would have created problems which could not readily be met by the political system of the time. Emigration out of these centres would therefore have been one solution to this sort of problem. The Fusco cemetery and the abandonment of sites in the central plain both may have been the result of Argives leaving the area in the late eighth century. This is not to imply that a mass migration took place out of the Argolid, but rather that some people, perhaps a relatively small number, found refuge away from Argos itself. They may have gone only as far as the eastern peninsula, not necessarily beyond the Argolid.

This in itself is not enough to explain the change in burial customs in the seventh century. For this one must turn to another theory concerning the late eighth century, that of a drought with its resultant consequences as proposed by J. Camp. This theory, which also relates to the increased number of graves in the late eighth century, accepts that while there may have been an increase in population, there was also an increased death rate. This of course

was the result of a severe drought with its resulting famine and disease. The study was mainly concerned with Attica but one can say that it could equally apply to the Argolid, even though the numbers involved may not be so impressive as for Attica.

The change in burial customs, that is, the universal adoption of cylindrical pithoi, is such a drastic departure from eighth-century practices that it cannot be explained simply as a change of fashion. Cists were abandoned all at once and the practice of reusing cists was also abandoned. The drought and resulting famine need not have been so severe as to require mass graves but after a misfortune such as this it is understandable that people might refrain from using the same burial customs which, in their eyes, were associated with the calamity. The decrease in number of graves in Argos in the early seventh century may also be explained as a result of this misfortune. If a drought did occur in the late eighth century, it alone may have been responsible for the decline in population and the change in settlement patterns of the seventh century. The drought also prompted some movement out of the more heavily populated central plain to the eastern peninsula and perhaps even to areas beyond the Argolid. As further evidence for such a drought there is the inordinate number of hydriai dedicated at the Argive Heraion in the seventh century; this is similar to the dedication of hydriai in late eighth-century Attic graves. The two may be related to the same cause, if some of the Heraion hydriai date to the beginning of the seventh century.

Other factors to consider include the possibility of political and social upheavals at the end of the eighth century. It was a time of some unsettling troubles, for instance the continual border disputes with Sparta, the destruction of Asine by the Argives in retaliation for the Asinaeans' help to the Spartans in one of their

incursions into the Argolid, the possible repercussions of the Argive takeover of Olympia in (?)748, not to mention the expansionist policies of Argos itself at this time. Understandably these problems, combined with the possibility of a drought and disease as well as the burdens of overpopulation, would have had a very serious effect on the fabric of life in late eighth-century Argolid. Of course only some of the above conditions may have applied to the period in question, but the consequences of these may not all have been felt until the seventh century. The recession which seems to have befallen the Argolid in the seventh century may therefore have been the result of one or the combination of several of these factors. For the time being this must be viewed as only a suggestion and further work will need to be carried out to add greater support to these hypotheses.

The decline in the seventh century is apparent in several respects besides the population decrease, the change of settlement pattern and the change of curial customs. The ceramic industry for instance suffers a severe downfall and the same is true of the seal industry and to some extent, the same applies to metalwork. Only the terracotta industry seems to continue thriving and this may only be because terracottas act as cheap substitutes for bronzes; their increase may therefore be related to the decline of the bronze industry. Their popularity may be a sign of the decreased prosperity of the period; in other words people could only afford to dedicate small clay figurines, besides the monotonous miniature pottery.

Could such changes in these industries be due to a lack of skilled craftsmen? Any of the conditions enumerated above could have contributed to a decline in the number of such craftsmen. In the ceramic industry for example there were only a few attempts made at a more "progressive" pottery style in the seventh century, all in the earlier half of that century, but these were exceptional cases

and in general the period represents a collapse in the industry. It seems difficult to believe that this might simply have been caused by changes in taste. Almost all the pottery of the seventh century is from sanctuary deposits. This may help explain its decline in that worshippers did not seem to care very much for objects of high quality; it was the thought that counted, hence there was no need to maintain very high standards and the pottery became extremely monotonous. This feeling may therefore have contributed to the general shoddy-work of the seventh century.

At the end of the Bronze Age the pottery became rather dull; it declined rapidly into the degenerate Granary Class ware. This may have been due to a dearth of skilled potters and painters caused by the crisis of that period. A similar sort of situation may have existed in seventh-century Argolid. There is a definite lack of motivation shown by the various Argolic artisans. Perhaps there was simply no incentive for works of good quality because of the recession, but a stronger impression is that there were no longer the good craftsmen to follow in the footsteps of those who had produced the high quality pottery of the LG period and few orientaling experiments of the early seventh century. Obviously there was no great crisis in the Argolid in the late eighth century but the signs of some troubles are unmistakable and perhaps therefore the recession itself was partly the result of a decline of population, including among them of course, some of those who had done much to enhance the Argolid's position in the first place, the craftsmen themselves. The proximity of Corinth in this regard must also be kept in mind. The excellence of Corinthian products may itself have contributed to the decreased motivation of Argolic painters. One wonders if in fact this in itself may not have been the primary reason for the decline of the Argolid in the seventh century.



Many of the problems associated with the end of the eighth century in terms of strife, skirmishes with Sparta and various destructions, are to be attributed to the policies of the Argive kings at that time. Argos had definite expansionist ideas at that period, as one learns from ancient authors such as Pausanias, Herodotos and Eusebios and this undoubtedly created much tension within the central Argolic plain in particular. The antagonism towards Argos felt by people of the Dryopian stock, for example, must have been extreme once the Argives had annihilated one of their fellow communities, Asine, c. 700 B.C. The Dryopians inhabited several towns along the coast in the eastern peninsula. The dichotomy between the central plain and eastern peninsula can thus be better understood.

Argos was a fairly strong city by this time, although how powerful is difficult to measure. Various accounts by ancient authors testify to the city as the dominant centre in the Argolid. It is near the end of the eighth century that Argos sent help by sea to Helos, a town which was attempting to break free from Sparta.<sup>863</sup> Although the attempt was unsuccessful the fact that Argos sent help is further evidence of its strength. Pausanias remarks that the Argives took over Olympia in 748 B.C., the year of the Eighth Olympiad. Some modern scholars have disputed that date on the grounds that it is too early and that the Olympics were a purely local affair at that time, but in effect the date fits in well with events in general in the second half of the eighth century. One of the aims of Argos was no doubt to try and unify the whole Argolid under its own leadership, in order to offer a more effective resistance against Sparta, a city which also had aims of expanding its control. Herodotos (I.82) even remarks that Argos had an empire extending down the east coast of the Peloponnese and even including the island of Kythera. Again this empire cannot be dated with any accuracy although most scholars agree

that it should be placed somewhere between 750 and 650 B.C. Herodotos may well have been exaggerating the extent of Argive influence and indeed archaeology is hard pressed to find evidence of such an Argive empire, but nevertheless it is important simply in demonstrating that Argos was a fairly powerful city at that period.

There are a few other traditions about Argos which help to increase our knowledge about events in the eighth and seventh centuries. Pausanias (IV.X.7) for example, remarks that Argos took part in the First Messenian War, dated c. 735-715, as an ally of the Messenians, Arkadians and Sikyonians against the Corinthians and Spartans. In the reign of the Spartan king Theopompos, c. 720-675, the Argives and Spartans fought for the Thyreatid district. The Argives won that battle.<sup>864</sup> Another example of Argive-Spartan conflict is the battle at Hysiai, dated 669 B.C., again one which the Argives won.<sup>865</sup> Again, other traditions make it seem possible that Argos was also quite strong in the first half of the seventh century. One of these concerns the revolt of Aigina from Epidaurus. Athens became involved on the side of Epidaurus and Argos then stepped in against Athens. The Athenians suffered a terrible defeat at the hands of the Argives. The date of this battle has been variously established as belonging to the first half of the seventh century, although Coldstream would place it much earlier, c. 750.<sup>866</sup>

Traditions further mention that Argos destroyed not only Asine, but also Tiryns, Nauplia, Midea and Prosymna.<sup>867</sup> These destructions cannot be accurately dated, but Nauplia seems to have suffered its defeat c. 600 B.C., since the destruction is placed after the Second Messenian War in the reign of King Damokratides, dated c. 600 by Huxley.<sup>868</sup> As for the destructions of both Midea and Prosymna there are no indications in the traditions about the dates and archaeology itself provides no strong clues. The evidence at the site of

Midea is stronger in the Geometric than the Archaic period in terms of the amount of pottery recovered, but that in itself is not proof of a destruction at the end of the Geometric period.

The fortunes of Argos, as has been seen in previous chapters, turned somewhat in the course of the seventh century. A so-called recession began just after 700 B.C. but its greatest effects were not felt until sometime later, perhaps by the second quarter of the seventh century, and this situation continued until almost the very end of the century. This seems to coincide fairly closely with a rather important event in the history of Argos, the rule of the last king who had any real power. His name was Meltas and after his reign, dated sometime in the earlier part of the seventh century, the Argive kings became little more than figureheads.<sup>869</sup> It seems that with this last true king, Argos lost some of the vigour and strength it had previously enjoyed. It was to regain some of that, however, by the end of the seventh century, at which time Nauplia was destroyed.

Throughout all the above discussion no mention has been made of that most enigmatic figure of Argive history, King Pheidon. A discussion of this king would merit a chapter in itself, in that the traditions concerning his achievements are so inconsistent and contradictory that they would all need thorough study. The traditions are fairly consistent in claiming that Pheidon was a very great man indeed. So many accomplishments have been attributed to him in the traditions that he becomes almost superhuman in stature. The main problem is to find a niche in which to place him among the Argive kings. Although modern historians have attempted to establish a firm date for Pheidon's reign, the traditions are so confused that no one solution has been entirely satisfactory. On the one hand he can be dated c. 750 since he is supposed to have taken over the Eighth Olympiad in 748 B.C., according to Pausanias (VI.XXII.3). On the other

hand a date as late as c. 600 has been claimed for his rule, in accordance with Herodotos' testimony that Pheidon's son was a suitor of the daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon.<sup>870</sup> Unless Pheidon was indeed superhuman, these traditions cannot both be correct! Hence Pheidon has prompted countless debates and numerous have been the attempts made over the years to find a satisfactory answer to this problem. Unfortunately no solution has proved entirely satisfactory, although their proponents have done their best to make their proposed dates for Pheidon seem most logical and most in keeping with traditions. In any event, any attempt made to date Pheidon means that one or several traditions must be discarded as irrelevant or simply false. This in itself means that any solution will be open to argument since it is virtually impossible to find a date which is consistent with every tradition or with all the various historical events associated with Pheidon.<sup>871</sup>

Until fairly recently the whole question of Pheidon's date had been dealt with in purely historical terms. Recently, however, there have been attempts made to use archaeological evidence in order to date this king. From this two rather distinct trends have developed with historians tending to favour a seventh-century date for Pheidon, usually c. 668, and archaeologists favouring a late eighth-century date. People such as Huxley, Courbin and Coldstream have all favoured an eighth-century date, Huxley on historical grounds but Courbin and Coldstream on archaeological grounds.<sup>872</sup> In all of this debate there is one thing about Pheidon which should be kept in mind, and that is that he is called the greatest man of his time and under him Argos reached its greatest heights. It is logical therefore to place Pheidon at the period when Argos seems to have been at its greatest. From what has been said in the previous chapters, this Argive apex is to be found in the second half of the eighth century. King

Pheidon would therefore be placed sometime within that period. He cannot be placed at the very end of the century since that is when Asine was destroyed, an event attributed to King Eratos of Argos.<sup>873</sup> Traditions which can be used to corroborate a late eighth-century date are that of the Olympian takeover of 748, as well as that linking Pheidon with the Corinthian Arkhias, founder of Syracuse.<sup>874</sup> Syracuse's foundation is placed 736/5-725. A date therefore between c. 750-720 for this great king seems quite logical. It does not, of course, fit every tradition and there will undoubtedly be arguments against this date, but no date, in the present state of our knowledge, can be entirely satisfactory.

The main reason for placing Pheidon in the late eighth century is that, according to archaeology, this period appears to be the time when Argos was at its height. In the seventh century Argos was simply no longer a great city. There is a noticeable decline in population and the city shrank somewhat in size. The whole central plain seems to be undergoing some change and several sites are simply abandoned. Others are not abandoned but are known purely as sanctuary sites, such as Mykenai and Tiryns. Mykenai and Tiryns had not been extensive settlements in the Geometric period but in the seventh century there are no remains of habitation at all. Did Argos have a hand in this, as it did at Asine for example? There may not have been an actual destruction at this time, but Argive interference in their affairs or the results of a drought may have been enough to prompt a move out of those settlements.

It is difficult to estimate the extent of Argos' control in the area. From historical sources it is known that Pheidon succeeded in retaking the Lot of Temenos, which in effect means the whole of the Argolid. The archaeological remains, however, do not really confirm such historical accounts. It is easy to assume that

Argos dominated at least the central plain by the late eighth century, but this cannot really be proved. The fact that Argos was able to send troops across the plain past Tiryns and Nauplia to destroy Asine may indicate that it was already in control of those sites. Argos was so much bigger than any of the other settlements in the vicinity that they were in no position to argue about Argos' wishes or plans. The pottery industry of the late eighth century in the central plain reveals a great cohesion and while there are certain differences, it is the degree of similarity which is so remarkable. This demonstrates a certain unity within that part of the Argolid. From this perhaps some degree of political unity is implied in that the high degree of similarity in the pottery might be a sign of this unity of feeling. This is not necessarily indicative of some kind of forced unity by Argos over the other settlements but it is a unity which arose in the eighth century particularly because of conditions of that time.

The unity within the central plain was at least partly based on economic considerations. Political unity followed mainly as a result of Argos' superior position. The people in the area never seem to have been completely happy with this situation, however, and as soon as conditions permitted, they began showing their independence, especially in the establishment of their own local cults. Regretably the fortunes of these settlements were intertwined with the fortunes of Argos so that when Argos began to decline the other settlements in the area also suffered. All of the central plain sites were affected by the recession which befell Argos. It was only by the end of the seventh century that the recession declined and that Argos regained some of its old confidence in itself. The seventh century appears in fact as an aberration and a time of general decline. By the sixth century a return to more normal conditions was achieved.

In general this work has demonstrated the complexity

of the archaeological and historical evidence for the eighth and seventh centuries in the Argolid. By its very nature the archaeological evidence is difficult to interpret and one may never know all the answers to the questions posed by the archaeological remains. The evidence does nevertheless shed some light on the situation at that time. It is obviously a very fascinating period and the archaeological evidence becomes part of a massive jigsaw puzzle, many of the pieces of which will never be found. The picture is therefore only partially complete, and this is at once both fascinating and frustrating. As more and more work is carried out in the area more of the pieces of the puzzle will fit together. It is hoped that this work has done its share to fill out some of that picture and to make some sense of the many and confusing pieces of evidence available today. Archaeology, however, is only part of the evidence; the historical accounts cannot be forgotten. The accounts dealing with the Argolid in the Geometric and Archaic periods are revealing in their own right, if somewhat daunting. As such they must be taken into consideration since they can also help to fill in some of the picture.

Finally it would appear that the historical accounts and the archaeological evidence as a whole are not so contradictory as is sometimes thought. In fact they tend rather to complement each other. The more archaeological evidence comes to light the closer seems to be the relationship between it and the evidence of the ancient authors. This is obvious in the Argolid itself and in the events of the eighth and seventh centuries. Future investigations should make this period an even more fascinating one and perhaps some of the enigma will be resolved. It is hoped that this work has provided the basis for a better understanding of this period in the Argolid.

FOOTNOTES



1. The numbers correspond to those in Figure 5.
2. These are illustrated by Tomlinson in Argos and the Argolid (1972), Fig. 1, p. 9.
3. Paus.II.XXXVIII.1.
4. Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer, 61-74, 107-121.
5. *ibid.*, 198-224.
6. For a good general summary of the various theories as well as the author's own personal views, see. J.T. Hooker, Mycenaean Greece (1977), 166ff.
7. Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer, 61-224.
8. For Asine see B.R.H. Frizell, Acta of the XI International Congress of Classical Archaeology (1978), 185.
9. P.A.H. Greenhalgh, Acta Classica XXI (1978),
10. Hägg, Gräber, 25, Fig. 5.
11. J. Deshayes et al., BCH LXXX (1956), 361.
12. G. Daux, BCH LXXXIII (1959), 768 and also Desborough, GDA, 72, 162, 165; P. Courbin, EA (1963), 71f.
13. W. Rudolph in Siedentopf, Tiryns VI, 36-40.
14. H.W. Catling, JHSArch. (1979-80), 29.
15. Frödin and Persson, Asine, Figs. 207:7, 216:4, 220:4.
16. S. Dietz and C.-G. Styrenius, ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 231 and Styrenius, OpAth. XI (1975), 180. Apsidal houses of this period seem to show discontinuity from their Bronze Age counterparts, as Drerup testifies in AA (1964), 180-188, in having slight convexity on their long sides but unfortunately, for the Asine examples, no specifics are given.
17. H.W. Catling, JHSArch. (1979-80), 29.
18. A.K. Orlandos, Ergon (1955), 76; S. Charitonides, Prakt. (1955), 234f.
19. Hope-Simpson and Dickinson, Gazetteer, no. 25.
20. Amoriani: Courbin, CGA, 120, 190, 338 n.8. For Monastiraki, *ibid.*, Pl. 81.
21. G. Sjöflund, Excavations at Berbati (1965), 81f.
22. J.-P. Michaud, BCH XCVI (1972), 647.
23. D. Evangelides, AE (1912), 127-141 and V.R.d'A. Desborough, BSA L (1955), 241-247.

24. A.J.B. Wace, Mycenae an Archaeological History and Guide (1949), 24 mentions these Geometric huts but he does not give any further details.

25. N.M. Verdelis, Prakt. (1962), 82-87.

26. Its date, however, remains controversial. It may be a late twelfth century rebuilding as Blegen contends in Korakou (1921), 130.

27. P. Gercke and U. Naumann, AAA VII (1974), 15-24.

28. S. Charitonides, Prakt. (1953), 194; (1954), 235-238; (1955), 233-235.

29. Frödin and Persson, Asine, 39f.

30. *ibid.*, 64.

31. C.-G. Styrenius, OpAth. XI (1975), 180.

32. R. Hägg in Hägg, Asine Fasc. 1, 31.

33. I. Hägg and R. Hägg, ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 233.

34. I. Hägg and R. Hägg, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 157.

35. G. Touchais, BCH CII (1978), 670.

36. For more details about the Asine sanctuary see chapter 9, 422f.

37. G. Daux, BCH LXXXIII (1959), 755.

38. N.M. Verdelis and O. Alexandri, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 60.

39. S. Charitonides, BCH LXXVIII (1954), 412, 422.

40. J. Deshayes et al., BCH LXXX (1955), 314.

41. P. Aupert et al., BCH CII (1978), 783.

42. M.H. Jameson, Hesperia XXXVIII (1969), 318. Some G graves are located near this tower so the sherds are probably associated with them.

43. *ibid.*, 315, n.4 and Xenophon, Hell. VI, 2, 3 and VII, 2, 2.

44. Berbati is not included.

45. The sherds in the photographs look MG. See V.N. Khatzimikhali, ADelt. XX B (1965), 130-131.

46. The literature states that "ripe G" sherds were found there. See the site index for full references.

47. Porto Kheli may have been occupied in the EG and MG but the publications refer solely to G sherds and in fact those I

have seen in the Nauplia storerooms all look rather late.

48. Paus.II.XXXVI.4-5.
49. J. Deshayes et al., BCH LXXIX (1955), 312f.
50. G. Daux, BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762.
51. G. Daux, BCH XCII (1969), 976.
52. *ibid.*, 977.
53. *ibid.*, 992.
54. J.-Fr. Bommelaer et al., BCH XCV (1971), 740.
55. J. Camp, Hesperia XLVIII (1979), 397-411.
56. A. Snodgrass, Archaeology and the Rise of the Greek States (1977).
57. N.G.L. Hammond, CAH<sup>3</sup> III Pt. 3 (1982), 338.
58. M.H. Jameson and C.K. Williams, ADelt. XXI B (1966), 148f.
59. W. Rudolph, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 162 and M.H. Jameson, ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 234f.
60. N.G.L. Hammond, CAH<sup>3</sup> III Pt. 3 (1982), 338.
61. Paus.III.VII.3.
62. Paus.III.II.7.
63. P. Cartledge, Sparta and Lakonia (1979), 75ff.
64. G. Roux et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 177f. and Courbin, TGA, 35f.
65. At the end of the PG an apsidal building of Argos was destroyed by fire, suggesting perhaps a time of trouble. See H. Gallet de Santerre, BCH LXXVII (1953), 211.
66. A. Snodgrass, Archaeology and the Rise of the Greek States (1977).
67. J. Camp, Hesperia XLVIII (1979), 397-411.
68. Hägg, Gräber, 109.
69. Courbin, TGA, 121.
70. G. Roux et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 178 and P. Courbin, BCH LXXXI (1957), 322-386.
71. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 81-82.

99. 72. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973),  
TGA, 75f.
73. Courbin, TGA, 75f.
74. C.B. Kritzas, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 127.
75. G. Daux, BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762f. and Courbin,  
TGA, 75f.
76. Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 260 and Courbin,  
TGA, 14f.
77. G. Daux, BCH XCI (1967), 844f.
78. Idem, BCH LXXXIII (1959), 766 and Courbin, TGA, 68f.
79. R. Hägg, AAA, XIII (1980), 120f.
80. N.M. Verdelis, ADelt. XVII B (1961-1962), 55f.
81. G. Daux, BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762 and Courbin,  
TGA, 70-71.
82. G. Daux, BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762.
83. T190/3: *ibid.*, 757; T13: Ecole française, BCH  
LXXVII (1953), 260 and Courbin, TGA, 26f.
84. T12: Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 260 and  
Courbin, TGA, 25; T23: G. Roux et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 180 and  
Courbin TGA, 34f.
85. I. Papachristodoulou, ADelt. XXIII B1 (1968), 127f.
86. G. Roux et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 177 and Courbin,  
TGA, 35f.
87. J. Deshayes et al., BCH LXXIX (1955), 312 and  
Courbin, TGA, 43.
88. T53: G. Roux et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 178 and  
Courbin, TGA, 41; T152: G. Daux et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 656  
(R8) and Courbin, TGA, 63f.
89. J.-Fr. Bommelaer et al., BCH XCV (1971), 740.
90. R. Hägg, AAA XIII (1980), 125-126.
91. R.P. Charles, BCH LXXXII (1958), 283 and Courbin,  
TGA, 64f.
92. Courbin, TGA, 86.
93. Six plots have not been included on the map because  
their locations are not known.
94. Gr. Δ': N.M. Verdelis, ADelt. XVII B (1961-1962),  
55f.; Gr. VI: I. Papachristodoulou, AAA II (1969), 159-162.

95. T14: Ecole française, BCH LXXVII (1953), 260 and Courbin, TGA, 27-32; T90: J. Deshayes et al., BCH LXXX (1956), 376 and Courbin, TGA, 45f.
96. G. Daux, BCH XCI (1967), 844f.
97. J.-Fr. Bommelaer, RA (1977), 330f.
98. Hägg, Gräber, 118.
99. E. Kunze, ÖJh (1952), 55, n.11.
100. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryms I (1912), 131.
101. Gr. 30: *ibid.*, 132; Gr. 35: *ibid.*, 133.
102. N.M. Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 50-51.
103. *ibid.*, 47-48.
104. *ibid.*, 48-50.
105. *ibid.*, 50-52.
106. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryms I (1912), 132.
107. Gr. 37: *ibid.*, 133; Gr. 38: *ibid.*, 133; Gr. 39: *ibid.*, 134.
108. N.M. Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 35-40, 42.
109. *ibid.*, 25.
110. Hägg, Gräber, 85.
111. *ibid.*, 68.
112. V.R.d'A. Desborough, BSA XLIX (1954), 260f. See also Courbin, CGA, 177 for his dates.
113. D. Evangelides, AE (1912), 127f.
114. Desborough, BSA XLIX (1954), 265.
115. Evangelides, AE (1912), 128f.
116. Desborough, BSA LI (1956), 128.
117. C. Tsountas, Prakt. (1893), 8 and Coldstream, GGP, 120.
118. Hägg, Gräber, 66, n.239.
119. S. Charitonides, Prakt. (1954), 234f.
120. Idem, Prakt. (1953), 194.

121. *ibid.*
122. Hägg, Gräber, 74, n.283.
123. *ibid.*, 105.
124. S. Charitonides, Prakt. (1953), 195.
125. *Idem*, Prakt. (1954), 233.
126. Hägg, Gräber, 141.
127. Courbin, TGA, 115.
128. Strabo VIII.6.11; Paus.IV.XXIV.4 and IV.XXXV.2.
129. J.L. Caskey, Hesperia XXV (1956), 171 and K. De Vries, Hesperia, XLIII (1974), 81.
130. Coldstream, GGP, 125.
131. Courbin, CGA, 177, 221f.
132. J.L. Caskey, Hesperia XXIII (1954), 7 and Coldstream, GGP (1968), 118.
133. C. Kritzas, ADelt. XXIX B2 (1973-1974), 246.
134. Courbin, TGA, 123. A parallel for the fully extended position of the bodies is seen in seventh-century Argos graves T83 and T84.
135. Angel, Lerna II, 66f.
136. R. Hägg, OpAth. X (1971), 45f.
137. *Idem*, Gräber, 52, 122.
138. B3: *Idem*, Asine Fasc. 1, 34-37; B4: *Idem*, OpAth. X (1971), 45f.
139. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 158.
140. C.W. Blegen, AE (1937), 378, 180, 384-388.
141. Hägg, OpAth. IV (1962), 80-82, 87-102.
142. A. Lolling, ADelt. (1889), 107f. and S. Wide, JDAI XIV (1899), 86.
143. G. Kallipolitis and G. Petrakos, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 52.
144. Snodgrass, DAG, 163.
145. *ibid.*, 76, 95.
146. Desborough, GDA, 178 and also *Idem*, PGP, 224.

147. C.W. Blegen, AE (1937), 377.
148. A. Snodgrass, Archaic Greece (1980), 38f.
149. J. Camp, Hesperia XLVIII (1979), 393-411.
150. G. Daux et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 677.
151. Coldstream, GGP, 132.
152. G. Daux, BCH LXXXIII (1959), 762.
153. O. Alexandri, ADelt. XVI B (1960), 93.
154. G. Daux, BCH XCI (1967), 833.
155. Courbin, CGA, 247.
156. Idem, RA (1977), 327.
157. Idem, TGA, 52.
158. *ibid.*, 376.
159. G. Daux, BCH XCI (1967), 844.
160. Courbin, TGA, 102.
161. *ibid.*, 102, n.2.
162. G. Daux et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 677.
163. P. Courbin, RA (1977), 327.
164. C. Kritzas, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 132.
165. G. Daux, BCH XCI (1967), 833.
166. Courbin, TGA, 123.
167. T254: G. Daux, BCH XCI (1967), 826; T230: *ibid.*, 825; grave B: K. Krystalle and I. Papachristodoulou, ADelt. XXII B (1967), 170.
168. Laloukiotis plot graves: Ecole française, BCH LXXXI (1957), 537; Courbin, CGA, 211, 276 and idem, RA (1977), 327.
169. Iliopoulos grave: E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 155. For the Kypourououlos graves II and IV see I. Papachristodoulou, ADelt. XXIII B1 (1968), 127f. and idem, AAA II (1969), 159. See also Courbin, RA (1977), 327.
170. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt. XIX B (1964), 123-126 and Courbin, RA (1977), 327.
171. Courbin, RA (1977), 327 and S. Charitonides, ADelt. XXI B (1966), 126.
172. G. Daux et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 647.

173. Coldstream, GG, 234.
174. T. Kelly, A History of Argos to 500 B.C. (1976), 92f. expands on this idea.
175. Courbin, CGA, 247.
176. J. Camp, Hesperia XLVIII (1979), 410.
177. S. Charitonides, Prakt. (1953), 232-234 and idem, Prakt. (1954), 232f. Also Courbin, RA (1977), 327.
178. E. Deilaki, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 91.
179. A.J.B. Wace, Archaeologia (1932), 115f.
180. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryns I (1912), 131 and Coldstream, GGP, 132.
181. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 156f.
182. In the following catalogue, graves dated simply to the "Geometric" period by the excavators, without further precisions, have not been included.
183. Courbin, CGA, 457-459.
184. Coldstream, GGP, 132-133.
185. *ibid.*, 146f.
186. Courbin, CGA, 181-182.
187. J.-Fr. Bommelaer, Etudes Argiennes (BCH Suppl. VI) (1980), 55 and for the other motifs see Coldstream, GGP, 122f.
188. Coldstream, GGP, 130.
189. For a list see *ibid.*, 133-141 and Courbin, CGA, 448-452.
190. P. Schweitzer, Greek Geometric Art (1971), 64f.
192. R. Hampe, Ein frühattischer Grabfund (1960), 60f.
192. P.P. Kahane in The Archaeology of Cyprus (1975), 151-210.
193. *ibid.*
194. K. Shefold, Frühgriechische Sagenbilder (1964), 25.
195. Courbin, CGA, 486-487.
196. A. Roes, BCH LXXVII (1953), 96 and H. Lorimer, Homer and the Monuments (1950), 70.



197. For a discussion of this idea see K. Krystalle-Votsi, Etudes Argiennes (BCH Suppl. VI) (1980), 90-92.
198. Courbin, CGA, 216.
199. For example E. Brann, The Athenian Agora VIII (1962), Pl. 2.
200. In this connection it is interesting to note that Asine seems to have had close ties with Cyprus. Even in the PG period, the site had links with that island in the pottery. See Wells, Asine II Fasc. 4:2 120f.
201. Coldstream, GGP, 133-134.
202. See for example C. Dugas and C. Rhomaios, Délos XV, Pl. XXXI, 72 and XXXII, 84, 86.
203. The fragment is Nauplia 1042:59-60. See Coldstream, GGP, Pl. 46f for example.
204. Courbin, CGA, Pl. 121 and p. 383 n.1.
205. Coldstream, GGP, 74f.
206. For the Attic kantharos see Frödin and Persson, Asine, 331 fig. 224,4. For the Boeotian import see Coldstream, GGP, 133 and n.5.
207. Frödin and Persson, Asine, 321, fig. 214,4 and Coldstream, GGP, 277.
208. Coldstream, JHS LXXXVIII (1968), 237.
209. Paus.IV.XXXIV.9; Strabo VIII.6.13.
210. Paus.II.XXXVI.4-5.
211. Coldstream, GGP, 361, n.10.
212. Courbin thinks this pot (Pl. 10a, top left) was painted by the painter who also painted a krater from Asine, Nauplia 2239. See Courbin, CGA (1966), 450, n.13.
213. For this workshop see Coldstream, GGP, 134-135.
214. J.C. Hoppin in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. 57,4.
215. *ibid.*, Pl. 57,12.
216. G. Ahlberg, Fighting on Land and Sea in Greek Geometric Art (1971), 15. The Tiryns example is Nauplia 9290.
217. Courbin, CGA, 553f.
218. Coldstream, GGP, 124.
219. *ibid.*, 135-136.

220. Courbin, CGA, 198 and V.R.d'A. Desborough, BSA  
XLIX (1954), Pl. 44.
221. Courbin, CGA, 225 and Desborough, BSA L (1955),  
Pl. 47e.
222. Courbin, CGA, 225.
223. *ibid.*, 235 and Desborough, BSA L (1955), Pl. 47b.
224. Courbin, CGA, 236 and Desborough, BSA XLIX (1954),  
Pl. 46.
225. Courbin, CGA, 238.
226. As for example T164: *idem*, TGA, 64-66 and Pl. 42  
and T181: *ibid.*, 85f. and Pl. 50.
227. A.J.B. Wace et al., BSA XXV (1921-1923), 366.
228. For the amphora see Ecole française, BCH LXXIX  
(1955), 239 fig.17. For the amphoriskos see Courbin, CGA, 192-193.
229. Coldstream, GGP, 134.
230. For example, *ibid.*, Pl. 17g, from Corinth.
231. For the fragment C4654 see Courbin, CGA, Pl. 121  
(MGII).
232. Coldstream, GGP, 125.
233. Courbin, CGA, 275, 281.
234. K. De Vries, Hesperia XLIII (1974), 85.
235. Courbin, CGA, 190.
236. J.C. Hoppin in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. 58,13 and  
Courbin, CGA, Pl.90.
237. Hoppin in Waldstein, AH II, 105.
238. *ibid.*, Pl. 57,4.
239. See *ibid.*, Pl. 57,10,11,12 for these sherds.
240. J.L. Caskey, Hesperia XXI (1952), Pl. 50:69.
241. They were published by C.W. Blegen, AE (1937),  
377-390.
242. R. Hägg, OpAth. IV (1962), 101.
243. *ibid.*
244. S. Wide, JDAI XIV (1899), 86 fig. 46-47.
245. Courbin, CGA, Pl.6.

246. *ibid.*, 275.
247. S. Wide, JDAI XIV (1899), 86.
248. Coldstream, GGP, 143.
249. See A. Furtwängler, Aegina (1906), Pl.125, no. 31, 32, 37.
250. S. Weinberg, Corinth VII Part 1 (1943), Pl. 22, 153.
251. Coldstream, GGP, 133.
252. E.A. Lane, BSA XXXIV (1933-1934), Pl. 31,c.
253. Courbin, CGA, 550.
254. J.N. Coldstream and G.L. Huxley, Kythera (1972), 37.
255. Courbin, CGA, 551.
256. E. Hansen, BCH LXXXIV (1960), 401 fig. 18.
257. R.M. Dawkins, The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (1929), 63 fig. 37d and e.
258. Courbin, CGA, 549 and see C. Dugas, BCH XLV (1921), 398 fig. 49,291; 407 fig. 54,226 and 269; 410 fig. 56, 269; 413 fig. 58,270 and 271, 314-317; 412 fig. 57,311; 415 fig. 59, 298, 301 and 420 fig. 61, 307.
259. Courbin, CGA, 552 and Coldstream, GGP, 364. Also S. Benton, BSA XLVIII (1953), Pl. 41,741 and 744.
260. S. Alexiou, KCh IV (1950), Pl. 16 facing p. 313, second row no. 5, and Coldstream, GGP, 364.
261. E. Pfuhl, AM XXVIII (1903), Pl. 17:3 and 48:4. Also Courbin, CGA, 551.
262. Courbin, CGA, 204 and A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryns I (1912), 146 fig. 12.
263. Coldstream, GGP, 364 n.8.
264. Courbin, CGA, 552 and G. Vallet and F. Villard, Megara Hyblaea II (1964), Pl. 59:2, 4-6, 8-9, 11-13.
265. Coldstream, GGP, 364.
266. *ibid.*, 152.
267. *ibid.*, 146.
268. S. Weinberg, Corinth VII Part 1 (1943), no. 176 and Coldstream, GGP, 146-147 in which he also distinguishes the differences in the shape throughout the seventh century.
269. Coldstream, GGP, 146f.

270. *ibid.*, 147.
271. P. Courbin, BCH LXXIX (1955), 1-49.
272. J.-Fr. Bommelaer, BCH XCVI (1972), 229-251.
273. *ibid.*
274. *ibid.*, 250.
275. P. Courbin, BCH LXXIX (1955), 34-35 and see for example J.M. Cook, BSA XXXV (1934-1935), 195, 205 and K. Kübler, Altattische Malerei, (1950), 18.
276. J.-Fr. Bommelaer, BCH XCVI (1972), 251.
277. P. Courbin, BCH LXXIX (1955), 6.
278. Deshayes, Argos, Pl. LV,8 and p. 218.
279. E. Brann, The Athenian Agora VIII (1962), Pl. 8,141 for example.
280. For the Attic parallels see *ibid.*, 48 and Pl. 8 nos. 140-142 especially, where the shapes are very similar to the Argive examples.
281. As for example Deshayes, Argos, Pl. XXXI,2 and p. 10, 217.
282. See for example P. Courbin, BCH LXXVII (1953), 263 fig. 57.
283. As at Olympia: W. Schiering, OlFor V (1964), 160 and Pl. 59,9.
284. See Coldstream, GGP, 146-147 for description.
285. J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), 44.
286. U. Jantzen (ed.), Führer durch Tiryns (1975), 97.
287. N.M. Verdelis, M.H. Jameson and I. Papachristodoulou, AE (1975), 150-205.
288. J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), 81.
289. A.J.B. Wace, Archaeologia (1932), 114.
290. Coldstream, GGP, 147.
291. Published by J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), 30-68.
292. J.L. Caskey, Hesperia XXI (1952), 193.
293. See for example *ibid.*, Pl. 53,199 for the Argive Heraion, and J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), Pl. 19, 137 for the Agamemnoneion.

294. J.L. Caskey, Hesperia XXI (1952), 197.
295. J.C. Hoppin in Waldstein, AH II, 159 fig. 93b and Pl. 60, 17a, b.
296. Courbin, CGA, 452 n.29.
297. C.W. Blegen, AE (1937), 389 fig. 14.
298. R. Hägg, OpAth. IV (1962), 87 no. 5-9, 11 and Pl. III fig 6.
299. *ibid.*, 88.
300. I. Papachristodoulou, ADelt. XXIII B1 (1968), 131-132 and E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 156.
301. J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), 45 fig. 18.
302. *ibid.*
303. For a Mykenai example see *ibid.*, A33, Pl. 19.
304. I. Papademetriou, BCH LXXIII (1949), 377 and 178 fig. 9.
305. G. Welter, Troizen und Kalaureia (1941), 24.
306. See for example J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), A23, p. 39 fig 12.
307. M.H. Jameson and C.K. Williams, ADelt. XXI B (1966), 149 and Jameson, Hesperia XXXVIII (1969), 318.
308. For example Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), A35, Pl. 22.
309. T. Kelly, AJA LXX (1966), 116.
310. S. Wide and L. Kjellberg, AM XX (1895), 312.
311. T.J. Dunbabin, Perachora II (1962), 370 no. 4001.
312. *ibid.*, no. 4006.
313. *ibid.*, no. 4012.
314. *ibid.*, no. 4016, 4017, 4018.
315. Courbin, CGA, 550 n.5 and 551 n.1.
316. T.J. Dunbabin, Perachora II (1962), 314f.
317. W.R. Biers, Hesperia XL (1971), Pl. 86, 87.
318. *ibid.*, 397-423.
319. J.N. Coldstream and G.L. Huxley, Kythera, (1972), 201 no. 310.

320. C.W. Blegen, H. Palmer and R.S. Young, Corinth XIII (1964), 44 and Pl. 9:43-1.
321. E. Brann, The Athenian Agora VIII (1962), 105 no. 649a, b, c, Pl. 41.
322. Idem, Hesperia XXX (1961), 345 no. F78.
323. G. Vallet and F. Villard, Megara Hyblaea II (1964), 72.
324. J. Deshayes, La nécropole de Ktima (1963), 214.
325. *ibid.*, 214 n.6.
326. After I had started typing this, I found that I. Kilian-Dirlmeier had just published Nadeln der frühhelladischen bis archaischen Zeit von der Peloponnes (1984). Her book re-classifies all the pins from the Peloponnes. She follows Jacobsthal's ideas, but her groups are much narrower. His Geometric Group 1 pins for example, she puts into four sub-groups. She has a total of twenty-one groups of Geometric pins plus separate groups of other specific types of pins, and Archaic pins are put into six groups. She also notes that certain pins are found only in sanctuaries, (her groups VIII-XVII for example). In general her book is a much more detailed classification of Peloponnesian pins than has been attempted in the past.
327. T13: Courbin, TGA, 27f.; T37: *ibid.*, 38f.; T191: *ibid.*, 93f. For Mykenai: V.R.d'A. Desborough, BSA L (1955), 242. For Tiryns: N.M. Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 36.
328. H.L. Lorimer, Homer and the Monuments (1950), 339.
329. Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, 3f.
330. N.M. Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 33, fig. 124-127 and Coldstream, GG, 83 and fig. 27a.
331. V.R.d'A. Desborough, BSA LI (1956), 128 and Pl. 35a.
332. As pin B5 of South Cemetery grave T6 in Courbin, TGA, Pl. 22.
333. Shortest pins for example B7 in South Cemetery grave T6/1 of the MGII: see Courbin, TGA, 21. For those of c. 25 cm.: pin B6, 27 cm. long, of grave T6/1, dated MGII. For Jacobsthal's examples: Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, 3 fig. 12 and 4 fig. 14a. For Corinth pin see *ibid.*, 6.
334. V.R.d'A. Desborough, BSA LI (1956), 128.
335. Coldstream, GG, 135.
336. Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 42-46. Grave XXV contained two skeletons. Inside the grave were two pots of the EG and the two pins. Outside the grave were six pots of the LG. Verdelis assumed all the goods inside the grave belonged to the first burial but Courbin, TGA, 118, says the pins date to the eighth century.

337. Tiryns: Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 25, 32. Argos T6/1: Courbin, TGA, 20f., B6, B8 and B11. There could possibly be other graves with such pins but as several of them are not yet fully published there is no information about the pins.
338. Tiryns XXV/2: Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 43. Argos T175: Courbin, TGA, 74 and 83 for T176/2.
339. Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, 9-12.
340. For the first interpretation see Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 43 and for the second, Courbin, TGA, 118.
341. For Group 1 see de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. LXXXIV, 721-723, 725, 728, 731, 739, 756 etc. and Pl. LXXIX for Group 2, no. 319, 321, 324, 332, 333, 334, 341, 344, 348, 351 etc. Those over 30 cm.: *ibid.*, p. 237 no. 770, 34 cm. or 765, 31 cm.
342. *ibid.*, 214.
343. Courbin, TGA, 83 and de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, 262, no. 1496 and Pl. XCI; also 262 no. 1498 and PL. XCI.
344. Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, 15.
345. *ibid.*, 141f.
346. T176/2: Courbin, TGA, 83 and Pl. 48; for the Heraion pins see de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, 215 no. 352-383.
347. Courbin, TGA, 131.
348. Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, 12f.
349. For Argos pins: Courbin, TGA, 57. For Heraion: de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. LXXXVIII, 105 etc. and Pl. LXXIX, 184a-302.
350. de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. LXXX, 398-399 for example.
351. T83: Ecole française, BCH LXXXIX (1955), 312. Mykenai: A.J.B. Wace, Archaeologia (1932), 118 and fig. 49.
352. Papademetriou, BCH LXXXIII (1949), 371.
353. Makris 2: Verdelis and O. Alexandri, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 58-59; T163: Courbin, TGA, 64f.; Makris 1: Verdelis and Alexandri, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 57.
354. C. Blinkenberg, Fibules grecques et orientales (1926), 147-185.
355. K. De Vries, Hesperia XLIII (1974), 92.
356. V.R.d'A. Desborough, BSA L (1955), 242f.
357. A. Säflund, Excavations at Berbati (1965), 82, 90.

18. 358. P. Gercke and U. Naumann, AAA VII (1974), 22, fig.
359. Wells, Asine II Fasc. 4:1, 18 and fig. 24-25.
360. N.M. Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 8.
361. Deshayes, Argos, 92, 207-208, Pl. 87,6.
362. K. Kilian in Λακωνικαὶ Σπουδαὶ Δ'- Πρακτικὰ Α' (1979), 33-38.
363. H. Philipp, OlFor XIII (1981), 277f.
364. H. Himmelmann-Wildschülz, AA (1974), 544-554.
365. See de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. LXXXVII, 881 and also J. Bouzek, Eirene VI (1967), 122 n.22 and fig. 4,13.
366. de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pls. LXXXIV-LXXXVIII. Examples of different types are Pl. LXXXV, 834 (Class X); Pl. LXXXVII, 882 (Class XIII); Pl. LXXXVII, 881 (Class VII); Pl. LXXXVII, 901 (Class XII); Pl. LXXXV, 818 (Class XIV); Pl. LXXXVI, 858, 868 (Class VIII); Pl. LXXXVI, 880 (Class VI).
- no. 12. 367. C.W. Blegen, AJA XLIII (1939), 414 and fig. 4
368. J.L. Caskey, Hesperia XXI (1952), 182.
369. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryns I (1912), 107.
370. Paus.V.XVI.2.
371. H. Philipp, OlFor XIII (1981), passim.
372. Courbin, TGA, 132f.
373. *ibid.*, 14f., 132.
374. Tiryns gr. II: Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 47 and fig. 24,4 and p. 35f.; Lerna: K. De Vries, Hesperia XLIII (1974), 89; Mykenai: Desborough, BSA XLIX (1954), 263; Nauplia: S. Charitonides, Prakt. (1954), 233; Porto Kheli: C. Dengate, ADelt. XXXI A (1976), 314.
375. As grave XI of Tiryns: Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 53; and gr. G603 of Mykenai (EG): Desborough, BSA L (1955), 242; Argos T90/3: Courbin, TGA, 51.
376. XIIIb: Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 7f; T6/1: Courbin, TGA, 14f.; Verdelis types: Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 7.
377. T37: Courbin, TGA, 38f; PA6-1: De Vries, Hesperia XLIII (1974), 89f.; gr. XXIII: Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 35; Asine PG44: Hägg, Gräber, 122.
378. de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. XCI, 1505, 1506 etc.



379. Courbin, TGA, 132.
380. For example Tiryns grave XIIIa of the SM/PG period, Verdelis, AM LXXVIII (1963), 6f.
381. Porto Kheli grave: Dengate, ADelt. XXXI A (1976), 314. For the two Argos graves: I. Papachristodoulou, ADelt. XXIII B (1968), 127f. and *ibid.*, AAA II (1969), 159.
382. As for example de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. LXXXIX, 966-970.
383. GII: Desborough, BSA XLIX (1954), 260f.; Alexopoulos B' grave: Verdelis, ADelt. XVII B (1961-1962), 55f.
384. Panoply Grave: Courbin, BCH, LXXXI (1957), 322-386 and *idem*, TGA, 40-41. Stavropoulou grave: E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt. XXVI B1 (1971), 81-82. Theodoropoulou grave: *idem*, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 99 and Pl. 95e.
385. Snodgrass, EGAW, 13.
386. For the date of c. 710 see Coldstream, GG, 146 and for the date of c. 730 see Courbin, TGA, 41.
387. These two are listed by Snodgrass as A3 and A4, both from Olympia. For A3 see W. Wrede et al., OlBer I (1937), 52f., Pl. 6 (R), Inv.B51 and for A4 see E. Kunze and H. Schleif, OlBer II (1938), 93, n.4 and also see Snodgrass, EGAW, 13, 15.
388. For Praisos see R.C. Bosanquet, BSA VIII (1901-02), 258, Pl. 10 and S. Benton, BSA XL (1939-40), 57, Pl. 31, 17. For Gortyn see D. Levi, Annuario N.S. XVII-XVIII (XXXIII-XXXIV) (1955-56), 261ff., fig. 71-3. For a discussion about all these helmets, Snodgrass, EGAW, 16f.
389. For Knossos see H.G.G. Payne, BSA XXIX (1927-28), 240, Pl. 11, 11 and also J. Boardman, The Cretan Collection in Oxford (1961), 109, n.5. Also see J.K. Brock, Fortetsa Early Greek Tombs near Knossos (1957), 160 Pl. 101, no. 1299; for Kavousi see E. Kunze, Kretische Bronzereliefs (1931), 218, fig. 31, Pl. 56e. For Dreros see Sp. Marinatos, BCH LX (1936), 276 and Pl. 30.
390. E. Deilaki, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 99.
391. Snodgrass, EGAW, 14.
392. Though ultimately their ancestry points to Mykenaian Greece as for example the Dhendra corslet. See *ibid.*, 76f.
393. Coldstream, GG, 334-337 and see also B. Schweitzer, Greek Geometric Art (1971), 168-185.
394. C. Rolley, FdD V, 3 (1977), *passim* and especially 100f.
395. As for example de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. CXXIV, 2223-2224.

396. C. Rolley, FdD V, 3 (1977), Pl. XLV-XLVII.
397. *ibid.*, 53.
398. de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. CXXIV, 2221 for example and for Delphi see C. Rolley, FdD V, 3 (1977), Pl. XXXV, 392. Similar ones include nos. 389-391.
399. F. Willemsen, OlFor III (1957), Pl. 49, B2585 and Pl. 46, 12823, 1665 etc.
400. *ibid.*, 175-180.
401. C. Rolley, FdD V, 3 (1977), 103.
402. Coldstream, GG, 336 and fig. 108a.
403. For all this see M. Maas, OlFor X (1978), *passim*.
404. *ibid.*, 37-38 and Pl. 32 and for an Argolic example see Courbin, CGA, Pl. 137, C11.
405. For Maas' chronology see OlFor X (1978), 110f. and for Coldstream's view see his review of Maas in Bonner Jahrbücher (1982), 613.
406. S. Wide and L. Kjellberg, AM XX (1895), 308 fig. 25 and W.-D. Heilmeyer. OlFor XII (1979), 17 no. 119.
407. See chapter 4, Pls. 10.a, 10.b for example and Coldstream GGP, 130.
408. H.G.G. Payne, Perachora I (1940), 124-126.
409. R. Hampe, Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien (1936), 48, fig. 23 and Pl. 34 top left. It is interesting to note that post-Geometric horses no longer have decorated bases; perhaps their function is taken over at that time by seals. Seals themselves are also seen in the last quarter of the eighth century, as for example the sealings of Ajax and Achilles from Samos, *ibid.*, 72 and fig. 31.
410. W.-D. Heilmeyer, OlFor XII (1979), 54-72.
411. *ibid.*, *passim*.
412. L.H. Jeffery, Archaic Greece (1976), 24f.
413. Coldstream, GG, 149.
414. The horses are illustrated by de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. LXXII-LXXIV and are described p. 197-200. The more naturalistic horse is that of Pl. LXXIV, 18.
415. F. Willemsen, OlFor III (1957), Pl. 53-60 for example and de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. CXXIV, 2223, 2224.
416. See for example M. Maas, OlFor X (1978), 172 no. 176 Pl. 44 and 178 no. 197 Pl. 46.
417. Compare for example my Pl. 31.a and 31.b with

- ibid., Pl. 32,35 no. 142a, 37 no. 144, 40 and Pl. 41, no. 161a.
418. H.-V. Hermann, JDAI LXXIX (1964), 29 n.52.
419. J. Bouzek, Eirene VI (1967), 115-139.
420. C. Rolley, FdD V, 2 (1969), 7.
421. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryus I (1912), 132 fig. 6.
422. See J. Bouzek, Eirene VI (1967), 121 and fig. 3 p. 120 for these birds.
423. Kilian-Dirlmeier, Anhänger, 160ff.
424. For the Heraion examples see J. Bouzek, Eirene VI (1967), 120 fig. 3 no. 11, 12, 15 and 16.
425. For example ibid., 11, 12, 16.
426. For Sparta birds, J.P. Droop, BSA XIII (1906-07), 111 fig. 25. For Heraion, de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. LXXVI, 42, 43. See also Rolley, FdD V, 2 (1969), 90. Also W.-D. Heilmeyer, OlFor VII (1972), 186 and n.233.
427. See Kilian-Dirlmeier, Anhänger, for her very detailed classification of these birds.
428. J. Bouzek, Eirene VI (1967), 119 and fig. 2.
429. For examples of these birds see ibid., fig. 2, p. 18 and fig. 3, p. 120.
430. Kilian-Dirlmeier, Anhänger, passim.
431. For this type of cock see de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. LXXVII,47 and see also Kilian-Dirlmeier, Anhänger, 128f.
432. ibid., 132.
433. For the Heraion statuette see C.W. Blegen, AJA XLIII (1939), 430-432; for Asine see E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, AE (1953-54), 318-320.
434. H.-V. Hermann, JDAI LXXIX (1964), 62-63.
435. E. Kunze, OlBer VIII (1967), 223-224.
436. B4567, E. Kunze et al., OlBer VII (1961), 150f. and H.-V. Hermann, JDAI LXXIX (1964), 45.
437. C. Rolley, FdD V, 2 (1969), 23 and see E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, AE (1953-54), 318-320.
438. C. Rolley, FdD V, 2 (1969), no. 28 and p. 45-46 and also in the appendix by Rolley of H. Sarian's article in BCH XCIII (1969), 661.

439. A. Arkhontidou-Argiri, *Στήλη. Τόμος εις Μνήμην Νικολαού Κοντολεοντος* (1980), 358-360, Pls. 159-163.
440. For these inscriptions see chapter 8.
441. E. Kunze, *OlFor* II (1950), *passim*.
442. C.W. Blegen, *AJA* XLIII (1939), 416 fig. 6 and p. 415f.
443. P. Courbin, *BCH* LXXXI (1957), 385 and fig. 66.
444. See R. Higgins, *Greek and Roman Jewellery*<sup>2</sup> (1980), 212 for a quick summary.
445. P. Courbin, *Annales* XIV (1959), 223f.
446. *Idem*, *BCH* LXXXI (1957), 384.
447. In Crete they were found at Kavousi and in Cyprus at Old Paphos, Salamis and Patriki. See Coldstream, *GG*, 146.
448. Paus.II.XXXVI.4.
449. For the Heraion dedication see Waldstein, *AH* I, 62 and fig. 31 p. 63.
450. A. Snodgrass, *Archaic Greece* (1980), 52.
451. R. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (1967), 17.
452. W.-D. Heilmeyer, *OlFor* VII (1972).
453. Courbin, *CGA*, 250 and Pl. 107.
454. The bird is C194 from grave T32 in Argos. Dated MGII as the grave. The horse is C4669 dated only "Geometric" from its decoration. For both of these see *ibid*. For the shield see also H. Lorimer, *Homer and the Monuments* (1950), 157 and Pl. VII 2,4.
455. All the figurines are presumably Geometric since that is their context but there are no photographs of the four idols described as being of a known G type. The group playing "blind-man's buff" seems to have pinched heads, common in the Archaic period. See G. Roux et al., *BCH* LXXVIII (1954), 166, 180 and fig. 41.
456. H. Sarian (and C. Rolley), *BCH* XCIII (1969), 651-678.
457. F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten I* (1903), 25, 26.
458. R. Higgins, *Greek Terracottas* (1967), Pl. 8B.
459. See W.-D. Heilmeyer, *OlFor* VII (1972), 61f. and Pl. 28 no. 172.
460. H. Sarian (and C. Rolley), *BCH* XCIII (1969), 661, n.2. The bronze was mentioned in the previous chapter.

461. Waldstein, AH II, 4.
462. A.N. Stillwell, Corinth XV Part II (1952), 15.
463. *ibid.*, 25.
464. *ibid.*, 32.
465. See *ibid.*, and Pl. I,1 and also Waldstein, AH II, Pl. XLII,1.
466. A.N. Stillwell, Corinth XV Part II (1952), 35f. no. 25 and Pl.2, no. I,25.
467. For examples of these see Waldstein, AH II, Pl. XLII, 8-13. Very little dating evidence exists for these crude hand-made terracottas.
468. See D. Burr, Hesperia II (1933), 608.
469. W.R. Biers, Hesperia XL (1971), 399.
470. As for example *ibid.*, Pl. 93 no. 76.
471. H. Schliemann, Tiryns (1886), 150, no. 79, 81.
472. Waldstein, AH I, 43f. and II, 4f.
473. J. Deshayes, Argos, 226f.
474. G. Daux, BCH XCII (1968), 1028 fig. 16 and W. Vollgraff, BCH XXXI (1907), 180.
475. W. Vollgraff, BCH XXX (1906), 36, 37 and figs. 63-65.
476. Frödin and Persson, Asine, 149, 334, fig. 225,5. The others illustrated are somewhat more elaborate.
476. I. Papademetriou, BCH LXXIII (1949), 377-380 and fig. 9,1 nad 10,2. -
478. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryns I (1912), Pl. I, 1-3.
479. For his view see Higgins, Terracottas, 268f.
480. J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), Pl. 22, I5, I3.
481. *ibid.*, fig. I5 for example.
482. A.N. Stillwell, Corinth XV Part II (1952), 9.
483. Higgins, Terracottas, 268.
484. R.J.H. Jenkins, BSA XXXII (1931-1932), 24ff.
485. A.N. Stillwell, Corinth XV Part II (1952), 9.
486. R.J.H. Jenkins, BSA XXXII (1931-1932), 27.

487. See G. Kaulen, Daidalika (1967), 39f. for his section on Argos in which he re-classifies Jenkins' classes.
488. G. Daux, BCH XCIII (1969), 996f.
489. Idem., BCH LXXXIX (1965), 896 and Fig. 3 centre p. 897.
490. W. Vollgraff, BCH XXXI (1907), 156 fig. 5.
491. I. Papademetriou, BCH LXXIII (1949), 377-380.
492. J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), 62-64.
493. R.J.H. Jenkins, BSA XXXII (1931-1932), 35 n.5.  
The earliest Tiryns moulded figures are in A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryns I (1912), Pl.1
494. See G. Kaulen, Daidalika (1967), 39f.
495. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryns I (1912), 53-54.
496. N.M. Verdelis, Adelt. XIX B (1964), 121-122 and Pl. 121.
497. Deshayes, Argos, 226f. and p. 6.
498. W. Vollgraff, BCH XXX (1906), 36f.
499. G. Daux, BCH LXXXIII (1959), 761.
500. I. Papademetriou, BCH LXXIII (1949), 379 fig. 10,3.
501. Waldstein, AH II, Pl. XLVIII,2.
502. G. Daux, BCH LXXXIII (1959), 761 fig. 16 bottom centre.
503. J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), Pl. 23, I19, I21.
504. A.J.B. Wace, M.S.F. Hood and J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), 80 and fig. 45, 14.
505. Ecole française, BCH XLVI (1922), 499-500.
506. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryns I (1912), 83 fig. 20 no. 141.
507. S. Wide and L. Kjellberg, AM XX (1895), 315-317 and fig. 33.
508. Waldstein, AH II, 17 no. 10 fig. 8.
509. *ibid.*, no. 16 fig. 9.
510. *ibid.*, fig. 10.
511. S. Wide and L. Kjellberg, AM XX (1895), 315 fig. 32.

512. G. Roux et al., BCH LXXVIII (1954), 181 fig. 14.
513. I. Papademetriou, BCH LXXIII (1949), 378 fig, 9, 3; 10, 4; 10, 1.
514. K. Müller, AM XLVIII (1923), 52-68, Pls. VI-VII and see also G.P Oikonomou, AE (1931), 25f. and fig. 11 p. 11.
515. H.G.G. Payne, Perachora I (1940), 34-35, Pl. 8-9, 117:1, 2 and 11; Pl. 119-120.
516. M. Robertson, BSA XLIII (1948), 101, 102 no. 600, Pl. 45a-g and also I. Beyer, Die Tempel von Dreros und Prinias A (1976), 40f. and Pl. 25 in which a very different restoration for the model is proposed.
517. Ecole française, BCH LXXVI (1952), 202 fig. 1.
518. See Courbin, CGA, 248.
519. *ibid.*
520. J. Salmon, BSA LXVII (1972), 185ff.
521. Courbin, CGA, 551 and n.7.
522. M. Robertson, BSA XLIII (1948), 101f.
523. J. Salmon, BSA LXVII (1972), 185-186.
524. Courbin, CGA, 552 and n.6.
525. R.J.H. Jenkins in H.G.G. Payne, Perachora I (1940), 241f.
526. *ibid.*, Pl. 93, 79 and p. 214 no. 79.
527. *ibid.*, Pl.100, 166 and 228 no. 166.
528. C.K. Williams II, Hesperia XLVII (1978), 35 and Pl. 2, 11-17.
529. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryns I (1912), Pl. VIII, 8 for example.
530. S.G. Miller, Hesperia XLVI (1977), 8 and Pl. 4e.
531. *ibid.*, 63 and Pl. 12d.
532. F. Winter, Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten I (1903), 26, 3 and 26, 1; 26, 8.
533. C. Dugas, BCH XLV (1921), 423.
534. F. Winter, Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten I (1903), 27, 2-3 and p. 28, 1; see also A.N. Stillwell, Corinth XV Part II (1952), 31.
535. K. Kourouniotes, AE (1912), 160 and fig. 38, 39.

536. H. Schliemann, Tiryms (1886), 159 no. 93.
537. H. Goldman, Hesperia IX (1940), 422f. and 466, fig. 72 p. 423 and fig. 158 p. 466.
538. W.R. Biers, Hesperia XL (1971), 411f. and Pl. 91-96, 68; Pl. 93-78 and 79, 83.
539. M. Robertson, BSA XLIII (1948), 113 and Pl. 46a1.
540. F. Winter, Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten I (1903), 10,1; 10,6; 20,3; 20,7.
541. H. Schliemann, Tiryms (1886), 150 no. 77, 78 etc.
542. Higgins, Terracottas, 32 and Pl. 1,1.
543. G. Jacopi, ClRh VI-VII (1932-33-1941), 304 fig. 35 for example.
544. A. Furtwängler, Aegina das Heiligtum der Aphaia (1906), Pl. III, 5-6.
545. J.M. Woodward, BSA XXIX (1927-1928), 81f. and also H. Sarian (and C. Rolley), BCH XCIII (1969), 662 n.9.
546. See W.H.D. Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings (1902), 391f.
547. Y. Béquignon, BCH LIV (1930), 480.
548. R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, 367-374 and Pl. CXLIII-CXLIV.
549. Boardman, IslG, 115.
550. E.L. Smithson, Hesperia XXXVII (1968), 115-116, no. 79-80 and Pl.33.
551. See S. Casson, The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture (1933), 44f.
552. R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, 348 no. 34 and 350 no. 57-58.
553. *ibid.*, Pl. CXXXIX, 43-51.
554. H.G.G. Payne, Perachora I (1940), 75 no. 20.
555. Boardman, GrG, 109 and fig. 154.
556. *Idem*, IslG, 114-115.
557. R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, 344.
558. For the suggestion of Melos as the place of origin, see D. Ohly, Griechische Goldbleche des 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. (1953), 153.



559. R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, 345f. and Pl. CXXXVIII no. 3, 9-19, 25. The "shield shape" is no. 25.
560. C.W. Blegen, AJA XLIII (1939), 433 and fig. 19,2. See also J.L. Caskey, Hesperia XXI (1952), 183-184 and fig. 5 no. 120. Also Boardman, IslG, 117, B11.
561. H. Schliemann, Mycenae (1878), 362 no. 540. Also S. Casson, AntJ VII (1927), 39 and Pl. V,5 and H.B. Walters, Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum (1926), no. 315.
562. This equals H. Schliemann, Mycenae (1878), 362, no. 540.
563. A. Furtwängler, Die Antiken Gemmen (1900), 61 fig. 47.
564. Sparta: R.M. Dawkins, The Sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (1929), Pl. 204. C1; Olympia: A. Furtwängler, Olympia IV (1890), 118 fig.; Aigina: idem, Aegina das Heiligtum der Aphaia (1906), Pls. 118, 30, 119, 63.
565. G.M.A. Richter, Engraved Gems of the Greeks and Etruscans (1968), 28.
566. Boardman, IslG, 119.
567. R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. CXXXVIII, 26-33, 41.
568. C.W. Blegen, AJA XLIII (1939), 432 fig. 19,1.
569. Boardman, IslG, 120, C12.
570. A Furtwängler, Aegina dea Heiligtum der Aphaia (1906), Pl. 118, 27, 29.
571. Boardman, IslG, 121, C18; 120 C15; C13, C14; 121, C19.
572. R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. CXXXVIII, 29, 30.
573. *ibid.*, Pl. CXXXVIII, 27.
574. *ibid.*, Pl. CXXXVIII, 31.
575. S. Casson, AntJ VII (1927), Pl. V.9 facing p. 38 and Boardman, IslG, 120, C14.
576. R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, 348 and Pl. CXXXVIII, 31.
577. Argive Heraion seals: *ibid.*, Pl. CXXXVIII, 39-40. Argos seal: W. Vollgraff, Mnemosyne LVI (1928), Pl. XVII bottom.
578. Boardman, IslG, 122, D5, D4, D6.
579. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. CXXXVIII, 39. It is similar to no. 14 of the same plate.

580. *ibid.*, Pl. CXXXVIII, 40.
581. *ibid.*, Pl. CXXXVIII, 20-22, 35-38, and Pl. CXXXIX, 56.
582. A.J.B. Wace, Archaeologia LXXXII (1932), 204 and Pl. XXa.
583. R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, 348 and see also Boardman, IslG, 130, G12 and G13, both illustrated.
584. A.J.B. Wace and M.S. Thompson, Prehistoric Thessaly, (1912), 165 fig. 112C.
585. Boardman, IslG, 130, G15.
586. R. Norton in Waldstein, AH, II, Pl. CXXXVIII, 20.
587. *ibid.*, Pl. CXXXVIII, 36.
588. Boardman, IslG, 130, G14.
589. Stubbings in Dunbabin, Perachora II (1962), 412 n.3.
590. A very similar seal has been found at Perachora but it is of ivory: *ibid.*, 412, A23.
591. H.B. Walters, Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos Greek, Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum (1926), Pl. V no. 224.
592. R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. CXXXVIII, 1-19, 21; Pl. CXI, 27-29 and p. 353 no. 87. Also C.W. Blegen, AJA XLIII (1939), 436 fig. 23 bottom right and *idem*, Prosymna (1937), 18.
593. Stubbings in Dunbabin, Perachora II (1962), 410 n.5, 415.
594. See above n. 590.
595. R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, 353 no. 87 and Stubbings in Dunbabin, Perachora II (1962), 408 n.5. Also C.W. Blegen, AJA XLIII (1939), 436 fig. 23.
596. Boardman, GrG, 114.
597. Coldstream, GG, 131 fig. 42a; Boardman, GrG, 109 fig. 153.
598. Stubbings in Dunbabin, Perachora II (1962), 411, A78-A82 and R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. CXXXIX, 1-5.
599. Stubbings in Dunbabin, Perachora II (1962), 411 and R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. CXXXIX-CXL, 7, 14, 27-28.
600. As for example R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, 350 no. 47-49.
601. Boardman, GrG, 108 fig. 153. This seal has already

been noted in this chapter.

602. Idem, IslG, 114.
603. *ibid.*
604. Idem, The Cretan Collection in Oxford (1961),  
113-114.
605. D. Ohly, AM LXVI (1941), 35 and Pl. 11.416.
606. K. Buchner, Expedition VIII (1966), 11f.
607. It is worth noting that a seal with a similar representation comes from Perakhora. This is the earliest ivory seal mentioned above (n.590), on the other side of which is a mounted warrior.
608. Boardman, GrG, 121f. and Pl. 264.
609. See for example R.D. Barnett, JHS LXVIII (1948),  
14 n.78 and Pl. VIII,g, on a jar rim.
610. As R. Norton in Waldstein, AH II, Pl. CXXXIX,  
46-51.
611. Boardman, GrG, 108.
612. Stubbings in Dunbabin, Perachora II (1962), 411.
613. R.D. Barnett, JHS LXVIII (1948), 12.
614. As one from Asine, see Boardman, GrG, 22.
615. *ibid.*, 42f.
616. C. Bonner, Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly  
Graeco-Egyptian (1950), 6, 45.
617. *ibid.*, 10.
618. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryns I  
(1912), 146 fig. 12 and 147 fig. 13.
619. L. Jeffery, LSAG, 144f. and 151f.
620. *ibid.*, 326.
621. A mid eighth century inscribed skyphos comes from Rhodes. See P.J. Riis, Sukas I. The North-East Sanctuary and the First Settling of Greeks in Syria and Palestine (1970), 174 fig. 64.
622. Coldstream summarizes all these different possibilities for the origin of the alphabet in GG, 298-301.
623. Jeffery, LSAG, 41.
624. The central plain seems to have had close ties with Kalymna as well and there is some feeling now that its alphabet may

have come directly from that island, bypassing Corinth. More will be said about this below in connection with the finds from Kalyrna.

625. Jeffery, LSAG, 42.

626. Concerning this see C. Blinkenberg, Lindos II Inscriptions (1941), 1012-1014.

627. Jeffery, LSAG, 66 and compare with p. 151 for example.

628. C.D. Buck, The Greek Dialects (1955), 164. He notes some of the differences found in the eastern Argolid in comparison with the central plain. In the eastern Argolid for example, the '∨σ' combination is rarely seen and whereas in the central plain script one finds a change of intervocalic 'σ' this does not occur in the east. Also rare in the east is the appearance of 'η' and 'ω' in place of the secondary ē and ō. This last point seems to me to be as rare in the central plain as in the east, at least in the early inscriptions.

629. A. Bartoněk, Classification of the West Greek Dialects at the Time about 350 B.C. (1972), 115.

630. Note the case of a silver pin dated c. 650-575 bearing an inscription dated c. 550-525. See Jeffery, LSAG, 159f.

631. *ibid.*, 63.

632. T.W. Heermance in Waldstein, AH II, 185 fig. 102.

633. The small dots represent tentative restorations of fragmentary letters. The thicker dots between the "san" and the nu are punctuation marks as written in the inscription.

634. W. Vollgraff, BCH LVIII (1934), 138-156 and 139 fig. 1.

635. H. Payne, Necrocorinthia (1931), 71f. and 72 fig. 18.

636. Jeffery, LSAG, 156.

637. Plutarch, De Mul.Virt. 245c-f.

638. N.M. Verdelis, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 73 and published fully by Verdelis, M.H. Jameson and I. Papachristodoulou, AE (1975), 150-205.

639. N.M. Verdelis, M.H. Jameson and I. Papachristodoulou, AE (1975), 188.

640. Jeffery, LSAG, 151.

641. *ibid.*, 168 and see Pl. 27 no. 9.

642. Later inscriptions from Mykenai show the typical Argive script but so far this site has not yielded any so early as the seventh century.

643. Jeffery, LSAG, 149f.
644. W. Peek, AM LXVI (1941), 198 no. 5.
645. There is also evidence for a cult of Athena, however, as will be seen in the next chapter.
646. N.M. Verdelis, M.H. Jameson and I. Papachristodoulou, AE (1975), 199. Frickenhaus based his opinion primarily on the evidence of ancient authors. See A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryms I (1912), 19f. This will be discussed further in the next chapter.
647. Another period of relative independence for Tiryns occurred for instance after the defeat of the Argives by the Spartans at Sepeia c. 494. This autonomy lasted no more than approximately 25 years by which time Argos had recovered sufficiently to devastate the settlement c. 468.
648. Jeffery, LSAG, 156 and n.3.
649. According to Paus.II.XXII.5.
650. Statues with inscribed bases originally published by T. Homolle, FdD IV, 1 (1909), 5f. For the date proposed by Richter see G.M.A. Richter, Kouroi Archaic Greek Youths (1960), 30f. and 49f.
651. Jeffery, LSAG, 155, 168.
652. See M.N. Tod, Greek Historical Inscriptions<sup>2</sup> (1946), no. 3 p. 4-5.
653. Jeffery, LSAG, 155.
654. *ibid.*
655. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, AAA V (1972), 356 and n. 17 and also *idem*, ADelt. XXVIII B1 (1973), 87 and it is also mentioned by J.-P. Michaud, BCH XCVII (1973), 305.
656. Jeffery, LSAG, 180.
657. A.W. Premerstein, AM XXXIV (1909), 356-362. For the date see Jeffery, LSAG, 175-176.
658. M.H. Jameson in Phoros Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt (1974), 70 n.17.
659. Other inscriptions from the eastern Argolid including that from Methana above, do make use of the sigma and this, contrary to what Jameson proposes, seems to be part of the reason for assigning those texts to the eastern Argolid rather than the central plain. A more reliable point is the "xi", the 'E' form of which is never found in the eastern Argolid.
660. M.H. Jameson in Phoros Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt (1974), 71 n.18.
661. H.W. Catling and H. Cavanagh, Kadmos XV (1976), 147f.

662. Jeffery, LSAG, 184.
663. C.W. Blegen, AJA XLIII (1939), 425f. and 424 fig. 13 and see also Jeffery, LSAG, 149.
664. As Jeffery points out in LSAG, 149 n.1, the word may only describe the cup.
665. E. Pfuhl: Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen I (1923), 139 and III, 27 fig. 117. It is also discussed by Jeffery, LSAG, 153-154 with regard to its relationship with the Argive script.
666. M. Segre, Annuario XXII (1944), no. 245a-b, Pl. CXXV facing p. 216 and also discussion of sherds p. 217.
667. From Segre's photograph in Annuario XXII (1944), Pl. CXXVI no. 246, it is easy to understand the uncertainty about the letter. There does seem some basis for attributing it to an inverted rho but what Segre thought was the outside loop of the rho may only be a scratch, probably produced long after the graffito and totally unrelated to it. In any case it does appear that the "loop" is much too angular to be part of a rho. For Jeffery's assertion that it is a lambda see LSAG, 354.
668. As suggested by S. Sherwin-White, Ancient Cos (1978), 29.
669. Jeffery, LSAG, 354 holds this view and does not attribute the script directly to an Argive source.
670. *ibid.*, 154 and 289. There is still much to learn about the scripts of the Cyclades and Dodecanese, especially in the Archaic period, however it seems true to say that the Argolid's ties with islands such as Rhodes, Kalymna and Melos were stronger than that of other areas of the Peloponnese.
671. Note for example the firedogs and obeloi in warrior graves of Argos, Kavousi in Crete and 3 sites in Cyprus, Old Paphos, Salamis and Patriki. These are mentioned also in the Metalwork chapter, n.447. They do indeed show some common feeling among the three areas.
672. E. Kunze, OlFor II (1950), 212-213 and Jeffery, LSAG, 158-159.
673. E. Kunze, OlFor II (1950), 242-243.
674. As usual the workshop is difficult to identify because the dedications occur mainly at Olympia.
675. For his view see E. Kunze, OlFor II (1950), 213-214.
676. A somewhat incongruous note is provided by Paus.IV. XXXV.2 who mentions the destruction of Nauplia by the Argives in the reign of Damokratides. This according to G. Huxley, BCH LXXXII (1958), 599, places the destruction c. 600. If this is correct it would perhaps imply that the Argives already controlled Tiryns, since it lay on the route to Nauplia. In any case the dating of the Argive takeover of Nauplia is very tentative and may have occurred much later.

677. As does T. Kelly in A History of Argos to 500 B.C. (1976), 94f. and especially 125f.
678. For his trip see Paus.II. Strabo also gives some information about the Argolid, especially in Bk. VIII.
679. Homer, Iliad IV.51-2 and V.908 for example.
680. *ibid.*, IV.52.
681. P. Amandry, Hesperia XXI (1952), 273.
682. Drerup, Griechische Baukunst, 57.
683. P. Amandry, Hesperia XXI (1952), 225.
684. J.C. Wright, JHS CII (1982), 186-201.
685. As noted by A. Frickenhaus and W. Müller, AM XXXVI (1911), 21-38 and fig. 2.
686. J.C. Wright, JHS CII (1982), 191-192.
687. See Drerup, Griechische Baukunst, 57-89 and H. Plommer, JHS XCVII (1977), 76.
688. Tilton in Waldstein, AH I, 10.
689. P. Amandry, Hesperia XXI (1952), 225.
690. R.A. Tomlinson, Greek Sanctuaries (1976), 91.
691. J. Ducat, BCH LXXXVIII (1964), 585-586, 604 and see also J.C. Wright, JHS CII (1982), 189 n.12.
692. H.G.G. Payne, BSA XXVII (1925-26), 124-132 and Jeffery, LSAG, 226 no. 2.
693. A. Mallwitz, JDAI LXXXI (1966), 310-376.
694. See J.C. Wright, JHS CII (1982), 189.
695. This includes a stylobate having only a single course of blocks and no paving of the pteron. See *ibid.*, 190.
696. *ibid.*, 190-191.
697. C.W. Blegen, Prosymna (1937), 18-20 and T. Kelly, Historia XVI (1967), 428-429.
698. This is discussed in chapter 6.
699. This is what Wright proposes, JHS CII (1982), 191.
700. There are nevertheless other early temples, such as the Heraion of Samos, dated c. 800 B.C. and the Hekatompedon at Eretria, dated early in the eighth century, which are quite large, but both of these early temples had wooden columns and mud-brick walls. See Coldstream, GG, 327.

701. C. Kerényi, Zeus and Hera, (1976), 117. He bases his date on Homer since this is the period presumably referred to in the Iliad when he mentions Hera's favourite city, Argos. Tilton in Waldstein, AH I, 109, felt that a possible location for the altar was to be afforded by remains within the Second Temple. These remains consisted of stonework whose appearance suggested a much earlier date than that of the Second Temple itself. This means, however, that the altar would have stood quite some distance away from the Old Temple, over 60 m. to the SW. Altars usually faced temples so Tilton's assumption seems unlikely but unfortunately there is no other evidence for an altar anywhere else on the site.

702. There is no certainty that they do form part of this building, however. They could just as well belong to the Northeast Building. Tilton enumerated several drums and capitals which he said were from the North Portico but they comprise diverse styles so they surely cannot derive from the one structure. For Tilton's observations see Waldstein, AH I, 112f. and also Amandry's remarks, Hesperia XXI (1952), 226-235.

703. J.J. Coulton, The Architectural Development of the Greek Stoa (1976), 27-30.

704. Some of the drums and capitals noted above may thus pertain to this building.

705. Tilton in Waldstein, AH I, 112.

706. Coldstream, GG, 329.

707. J.C. Wright, JHS CII (1982), 193f.

708. As has been discussed in chapter 4.

709. J.L. Caskey, Hesperia XXI (1952), 197.

710. Paus.II.XXXVIII.2-3.

711. Paus.II.XVII.1.

712. L.R. Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States I (1896), 187.

713. W.H.D. Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings (1902), 109.

714. There is nothing to prove that men themselves did not also dedicate pins for the evidence from graves suggests they too wore pins to fasten their clothing, hence pins were not strictly a female adornment.

715. Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, 13f.

716. Aristophanes, Birds, 826ff.

717. Paus.II.XVI.2; III.XIX.2.

718. Paus.VII.IV.4.

719. Frazer, Pausanias III, 574ff.



720. See *ibid.*, 592ff.
721. For these pins and fibulae see H. Philipp, O1For XIII (1981), *passim*.
722. As Snodgrass has already pointed out in Archaic Greece (1980), 52.
723. L.R. Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States I (1896), 181f.
724. Spits were probably used for roasting these sacrificed animals.
725. Paus.II.XVII.1.
726. C. Kerényi, Zeus and Hera (1976), 118.
727. W.H.D. Rouse, Greek Votive Offerings (1902), 80.
728. Thukydides V.47.11.
729. G. Roux, BCH LXXVII (1953), 119-123.
730. J. des Courtils, BCH CV (1981), 607-610.
731. W. Vollgraff, BCH XLIV (1920), 219.
732. Paus.II.XXIV.1-2.
733. W. Vollgraff, BCH XXXI (1907), 159ff.
734. A tholos was also found but it probably belongs to the sanctuary of Athena. See G. Roux, REG LXX (1957), 475-478.
735. For his report see W. Vollgraff, Le sanctuaire d'Apollon Pythéen à Argos (1956), 11-12.
736. G. Roux, REG LXX (1957), 486, is less definite than Vollgraff, however, in dating the temple, preferring to call it simply Archaic, that is, the 6th or early 5th century.
737. In the Hellenistic period a sanctuary of Asklepios seems to have been established to the east of all this, on its own terrace. G. Roux, REG LXX (1957), 483f.
738. As R.A. Tomlinson suggests in Argos and the Argolid (1972), 205.
739. L.R. Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States IV (1907), in his section on Apollo, especially p. 131, 180ff. 215, discusses the cult at length. The information for Argos is not so definite, however, and it is not certain how much of the Delphi rituals can be transferred to Argos. Pausanias' remarks on the subject in II.XXIV.1, are rather brief.
740. A. Roes, BCH LXXVII (1953), 90-104.
741. These are illustrated in the terracotta chapter.

742. G. Daux, BCH XCII (1968), 1025ff. and also idem, BCH XCIII (1969), 994-1012 for the excavation reports.
743. L.R. Farnell, The Cults of the Greek States II (1896), section on Aphrodite, especially 618-655.
744. Plutarch, De Mul.Virt. 4.245f.
745. G. Daux, BCH XCIII (1969), 999 fig. 26.
746. For the reference see the map of Argos, fig. 15, no. 5 .
747. G. Touchais, BCH CIV (1980), 599.
748. J. Deshayes et al., BCH LXXX (1956), 366.
749. G. Daux et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 673ff.
750. G. Daux, BCH LXXXIII (1959), 758.
751. G. Touchais, BCH CIV (1980), 599.
752. C. Kritzas, ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 198.
753. G. Touchais, BCH CIV (1980), 596.
754. Jeffery, LSAG, 156 no. 2 and W. Vollgraff, BCH LVIII (1934), 138f.
755. See W. Vollgraff, BCH LVIII (1934), 138f. for a discussion of the find.
756. Plutarch, De Mul.Virt. 245e.
757. W. Vollgraff, BCH LVIII (1934), 151f.
758. See n.746 above.
759. For the actual excavation report of the sanctuary see Frödin and Persson, Asine, 148ff., 333-334 and fig. 225.
760. The south room measured 2.4 by 2.7 m. and the main one was 5.2 by 2.7 m.
761. Frödin and Persson, Asine, 149.
762. Paus.IV.XXXIV.9. They were to move again later, to Asine in Messenia, a place provided for them by the Spartans after their own settlement was destroyed.
763. W.S. Barrett, Hermes LXXXII (1954), 438.
764. Halieis is one of the towns supposed to have taken part in the cult. See the papyrus text quoted by *ibid.*, n.85, p. 421-422. Epidauros is also mentioned by Thukydides V.53. It is difficult to establish the dates when these towns were involved.
765. Paus.II.XXXVI.4-5.

766. Thukydides V.53.
767. As W.S. Barrett, Hermes LXXXII (1954), 428 suggests.
768. C. Tsountas, Prakt. (1886), Pl. IV.
769. A.J.B. Wace, JHS LIX (1939), 210-212 and also idem, Mycenae an Archaeological History and Guide (1949), 84ff.
770. A.J.B. Wace, Mycenae an Archaeological History and Guide (1949), 85.
771. See *ibid.*, 84f. and idem with E. Porada, BSA LIII (1957), 197-204.
772. See in particular W. Tylour and I. Papademetriou, ADelt. XVI B (1960), 89-91; idem, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 82-84; W. Tylour, ADelt. XX B (1965), 164-165 and idem, Antiquity XLIII (1969), 91-97 and idem, Antiquity XLIV (1970), 270-280; also most recently E. French in Sanctuaries, 41-48.
773. Jeffery, LSAG, 172.
774. R.A. Tomlinson, Argos and the Argolid (1972), 207. There is no certainty or proof, however, that the Bronze Age shrine with those peculiar idols was in fact dedicated to Athena.
775. E. French in Sanctuaries, 47.
776. Coldstream, GG, 328-329 and also M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek (1973), 126-127.
777. M. Ventris and J. Chadwick, Documents in Mycenaean Greek (1973), 411 n.97; W. Tylour, Antiquity XLIII (1969), 91-97; idem, Antiquity XLIV (1970), 270-280.
778. A.G. Woodhead, BSA XLVIII (1953), 27-29.
779. J.C. Wright, JHS CII (1982), 194.
780. N.M. Verdelis, Prakt. (1962), 85-87.
781. Drerup, Griechische Baukunst, 28.
782. Coldstream, GG, 322.
783. The site was excavated by J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), 30-68.
784. See *ibid.*, 64 no. 1 for example.
785. As *ibid.*, 33 notes, it implies a lack of knowledge about the site of Agamemnon's burial place specifically.
786. This is suggested by J.C. Wright, JHS CII (1982), 194 n.100, who also says that the stories of the time may have mentioned this spot in connection with Agamemnon's murder.
787. See G. Mylonas, Prakt. (1965), 95-96 and idem, (1966), 111-114.

788. It is obvious that the cult was to a war god: the finds include fragments of iron spears as well as bronze shields and helmets.

789. H. Schliemann, Tiryms (1886), 229 and Pl. II.

790. Including Dörpfeld, Frickenhaus, Müller, Nilsson as well as later archaeologists such as U. Naumann. See Jantzen, Führer, 102-105 in which the temple is dated to the Geometric period. Also M.P. Nilsson, Minoan-Mycenaean Religion (1950), 475f.; K. Müller and H. Sulze, Tiryms III, (1930), 214 and A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryms I (1912), 2-46 in which the temple is dated to the mid seventh century.

791. See C.W. Blegen, Korakou (1926), 130ff.

792. M.P. Nilsson, Minoan-Mycenaean Religion (1950), 479.

793. J.C. Wright, JHS CII (1982), 195-197.

794. *ibid.*, 201.

795. As noted by K. Kilian, C. Podzuweit and H.-J. Weisshaar, AA (1981), 159-160 and J.C. Wright, JHS CII (1982), 201.

796. See previous note.

797. The altar has three phases. The first is round, of poros blocks, imbedded in the courtyard of the megaron, while the second and third are rectangular and of rubble. Some blocks of the round altar had been used in the socle of the building, which suggests to Wright that the old debris was cleared when the building was erected. The building must therefore post-date this round altar. See J.C. Wright, JHS CII (1982), 197.

798. Eusebios Praep. Ev. III.8.1.

799. U. Naumann in Jantzen, Führer, 105 and fig.25 p. 104. It is also discussed by N.M. Verdellis, M.H. Jameson and I. Papademetriou, AE (1975), 199 n.4 in which they say it was part of Schliemann's finds but they give no further references.

800. N.M. Verdellis, M.H. Jameson and I. Papachristodoulou, AE (1975), 199 n.4.

801. W. Dörpfeld in H. Schliemann, Tiryms (1886), 271, 293f.

802. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, Tiryms I (1912), 7f., fig: 6.

803. K. Müller and H. Sulze, Tiryms III (1930), 213-214; H. Sulze, AA (1936), 14f.

804. As A.W. Lawrence says in Greek Architecture<sup>3</sup> (1973), 99, 102.

805. U. Naumann in Jantzen, Führer, 105.

806. L.R. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality (1921), 114.
807. U. Naumann in Jantzen, Führer, 106.
808. C. Kerényi, Zeus and Hera (1976), 137.
809. P. Kavvadias, Prakt. (1896), 31 and idem, τὸ Ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ (1900), 178ff.
810. I. Papademetriou, BCH LXXIII (1949), 361-383 and idem, Prakt. (1948), 90-111; idem, Prakt. (1949), 91-99; idem, Prakt. (1950), 194-202; idem, Prakt. 204-212.
811. idem, Prakt. (1948), 104 fig. 8.
812. V. Lambrinudakis, Prakt. (1974), 93-101; idem, Prakt. (1975), 162-175; idem, Prakt. (1976), 202-209; idem, Prakt. (1977), 187-194.
813. Idem, Prakt. (1975), 173.
814. G. Touchais, BCH CI (1977), 551 and V. Lambrinudakis in Sanctuaries, 59.
815. V. Lambrinudakis in Sanctuaries, 59-65.
816. L.R. Farnell, Cults of the Greek States IV (1907), 236.
817. The excavations were carried out at the end of the 19th century and published by S. Wide and L. Kjellberg, AM XX (1895), 296-326.
818. As G. Welter suggests in Troizen und Kalaureia (1941), 45.
819. Coldstream, GGP, 405 but the date is unsure.
820. T. Kelly, AJA LXX (1966), 117f.
821. *ibid.*, 121.
822. Strabo VIII. 6.14.
823. Plutarch Pompey, 24.
824. For all the information concerning this sanctuary see M.H. Jameson, ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 233-236. The report is also summarized by H.W. Catling, JHSArch. (1972-73), 11-13.
825. It is worth noting here that the inscription is in the Argive script, confirming the statement of ancient authors that Tirynthians immigrated to Halieis after their town was destroyed by the Argives in the second quarter of the fifth century. See M.H. Jameson, ADelt. XXVII B1 (1972), 235.
826. H.W. Catling, JHSArch. (1972-73), 12.

827. M.H. Jameson, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 74.
828. C.K. Williams, ADelt. XXII B (1967), 195.
829. M.H. Jameson, Hesperia XXXVIII (1969), 340-341.
830. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt. XVIII B (1963), 65-66 and also summarized by G. Daux, BCH LXXXVII (1963), 748.
831. Paus.II.XXV.9-10.
832. Archaeological Service, ADelt. XXII B (1967), 178-179.
833. I. Papachristodoulou, ADelt. XXIII B1 (1968), 131-132.
834. E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), 156.
835. Compare *ibid.*, Pl. 122b with Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, fig. 71 and 81 for example.
836. W. Vollgraff, BCH XXXI (1907), 179-180.
837. Paus.II.XXIV.5.
838. All of them are noted by Faraklas, AGC. For Galatas, vol. X (1972), 14; for Gyphtokastro XII (1972), 12; for Kokkygion, XIX (1973), 9; for Lazaretto, X (1972), 15; for Poros, X, 16; for Psiphti, X, 15.
839. The practice was not confined to the Argolid of course; Attica, Boeotia, Messenia and even Kephallenia all witnessed the same phenomenon. Coldstream has recently noted the instances of cults at various Mykenaian tombs in JHS XCVI (1976), 8-17.
840. A.J.B. Wace, BSA XXV (1921-1923), 295-296 and Wace, M.S.F. Hood and J.M. Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), 71, 80.
841. A.J.B. Wace et al., BSA XXV (1921-1923), 315 for the Tomb of Aegisthus, 320 for the Panagia Tomb, 329 for the Lion Tomb, 364 and 366 for the Tomb of Klytemnestra.
842. C. Tsountas, Prakt. (1893), 8.
843. A.J.B. Wace et al., BSA XXV (1921-1923), 387.
844. For Tomb 520 see Wace, Archaeologia LXXXII (1932), 23; for Tomb 522, *ibid.*, 32-33 and for Tomb 533, *ibid.*, 115, 117-118 and see also Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, 21 and fig. 71 for the type of pin found in T533. The grave has already been mentioned in the graves chapter.
845. I. Papademetriou, Prakt. (1952), 470.
846. Coldstream, GGP, 405.
847. The tombs containing these votives are II, VIII, IX, X, XIX, XXV, XXVI, XXXIV, XXXVII, XL, XLIII, XLIX, L. See C.W. Blegen, Prosymna (1937), 161-198, 262-263, and also *idem*, AE (1937),

377-390 for all the details with regard to these tombs and their deposits.

848. Tombs I, IV, XIV, XVII, XVIII. For Tomb I and IV see W. Vollgraff, BCH XXVIII (1904), 366f., 375. The others are discussed by Deshayes, Argos, 40, 46, 51, 54, 90, 226f.

849. Coldstream, GGP, 405.

850. Deshayes, Argos, 76, 226.

851. *ibid.*, 46.

852. J.N. Coldstream, JHS XCVI (1976), 8-17.

853. *ibid.*

854. As illustrated by L.R. Farnell, Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality (1921), 340, 342.

855. J.N. Coldstream, JHS XCVI (1976), 8-17.

856. Others may perhaps exist in the eastern peninsula but the area still needs much excavation work.

857. For the date see n.676 above.

858. As can be seen in Aeschylus, Agamemnon for example.

859. J.C. Wright, JHS CII (1982), 199.

860. Wells, Asine II Fasc. 4:2, 123-124.

861. Paus.II.XXXVI.4-5. It is in this passage that he states that only the temple of Apollo Pythaeus was left standing.

862. As for example Herodotos VII.99 and VIII.46.

863. Paus.III.II.7.

864. Paus.III.VII.5.

865. Paus.II.XXIV.7.

866. H.T. Wade-Gery, CAH III (1925), 539; P.N. Ure, The Origin of Tyranny (1922), 165f.; Coldstream, GG, 135.

867. Strabo VIII.6.11.

868. G. Huxley, BCH LXXXII (1958), 599.

869. Pausanias gives the story of Meltas' deposition in II.XIX.2.

870. Herodotos VI.127-3.

871. As this is an archaeological thesis, not an historical one, no attempt will be made here to deal in detail with all the traditions concerned with Pheidon. The principle sources include

Aristotle 1310b.3-6 in which he calls Pheidon a tyrant, a fact which has prompted many modern historians to place him in the seventh century. Strabo VIII.3.33 says Pheidon was tenth in line from Temenos, that he took over the Olympics and that he minted coins, statements which could place Pheidon in both the mid eighth century and late seventh century, clearly an impossibility. Pausanias VI.XXII.2-3 says Pheidon took over the Eighth Olympiad, dated 748 B.C. In fact this is the only reference to Pheidon which can be accurately dated. Africanus, however in Eusebios Chron.1.96 says the Pisatan interlude, that is, Pheidon's takeover, occurred in the Twenty-eighth Olympiad, 668 B.C. He does not, however, mention Pheidon specifically in connection with that event. Another tradition, related by Plutarch in Amat. Narrat.2, links Pheidon with the Corinthian Arkhias, founder of Syracuse. Syracuse was founded 736/5-725, and this places Pheidon in that period. This tradition is a confused one, however, and there are two versions. In one of them Pheidon would date to the generation after the founding of Syracuse, in the last third of the eighth century. Herodotos VI.127.3 adds to the confusion by connecting Pheidon's son with the daughter of Kleisthenes of Sikyon. Pheidon would thus have been a contemporary of Kleisthenes and would have ruled c. 600 B.C. Obviously not all of these traditions can be correct. There are also other traditions which have been used in support of a date in the eighth or seventh century but they do not clarify matters. They include Diod.7.13.2 who says that Meltas, Pheidon's grandson, was involved in the Second Messenian War, and Herakleides of Pontus in Orion's Etymologicum who says that Pheidon was the first to mint coinage and having done so, dedicated the old iron spits at the Argive Heraion. As is obvious from the above selection, the historical evidence is contradictory at best. The major problem is thus in attempting to choose the most acceptable traditions and this is no easy task as countless modern historians have discovered. It seems that these ancient sources may never be totally satisfactory and this is why archaeology may be of some use, in suggesting a time when Pheidon is likely to have ruled, based on the assumption that his rule must have coincided with Argos' apex. It is therefore conceivable that he ruled sometime in the late eighth century or beginning of the seventh century.

872. The modern literature on Pheidon is fairly extensive. People who favour a seventh-century date for Pheidon begin by emending Pausanias' statement about the Eighth Olympiad to read the Twenty-eighth Olympiad, thereby lowering Pheidon's date from c. 748 to c. 668. This, they claim, is more logical, firstly because Pausanias' dates are usually unreliable, and secondly because they feel that the Argive takeover of the Olympics could only have occurred after the battle of Hysiai in 669, in which the Argives defeated the Spartans, enabling them to cross Arkadia unimpeded. In fact, it seems that the emendation of Pausanias has been undertaken because of a desire to place Pheidon in the seventh century, the time when tyranny appeared, rather than because of any problems with the text itself. People who have favoured a seventh-century date for Pheidon are many, among them D. Kagan, TAPA XCI (1960), 121-136, who bases his argument around the word "tyrant", P.N. Ure The Origin of Tyranny (1922), 154ff., C. Seltman, Greek Coins (1955), 34f., W.G. Forrest, A History of Sparta 950-192 B.C. (1966), 104f., H.T. Wade-Gery, CAH III (1925), 539f., E. Will, Korinthiaka (1955), 346f., W. Den Boer, Laconian Studies (1954), 55f., N.G.L. Hammond, CAH III Part 3 (1982), 325, D.W. Bradeen, TAPA LXXVIII (1947), 232f., C. Trieber, Pheidon von Argos (1886), T. Lenschau, RE XIX (1938), 1939-1945. Many other



scholars have also looked at this problem. Most favour a date c. 668 but T. Kelly, A History of Argos to 500 B.C. (1976), 98-128, would place Pheidon in the early sixth century. On the other hand, an eighth-century date is preferred by G. Huxley, BCH LXXXII (1958), 422-431, Coldstream, GGP, 362, Courbin, Annales XIV (1959), 209-233, A.B. Dascalakis, The Hellenism of the Ancient Macedonians (1965), 127-130, and H. Berve, Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen (1967), 1:6-7. There are in fact as many opinions about Pheidon as there are scholars writing about him.

873. Paus.II.XXXVI.4-5.

874. Plutarch Amat. Narrat.2.

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FIGURES

FIGURE 1. Archaeological sites in the Argolid with periods of occupation.

	N	EH	MH	LHI	LHII	IIIA	IIIB	IIIC	SM	PG	G	A	C	H	R
1. Ayia Marina		X		X	X	X	X								
2. Ayia Paraskevi														X	
3. Ayios Ioannes												X	X	X	X
4. Ayios Leonidas				X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	?	?
5. Ayios Stathis		X													
6. Akhladokambos							X				X	X	X	X	
7. Akra Milianos											?	X	X	X	X
8. Alea															X
9. Amoriani										X					
10. 'Tou Andreiomenou to Mnema'												X	X	X	
11. Angelokastro															X
12. Ano Phanari													X	X	X
13. Argive Heraion	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
14. Argos	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
15. Aria						X									
16. Asine		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
17. Bedeni Kiapha				X	X	X	X	X					X	X	
18. Berbati	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X		X	X	X	X
19. Dhendra	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
20. Didyma														?	?
21. Douka															X



	N	EH	MH	LHI	LHII	IIIA	IIIB	IIIC	SM	PG	G	A	C	H	R
22. Eileoi		X	X			X	X	X				?	X	X	X
23. Elaious							X					X	X	X	
24. Epidauros Sanctuaries		X	X	X	X	X	X			X		X	X	X	X
25. Frankthi Cave and Hill	X		X	X	X	X	X			X		X	X	X	
26. Galatas												?	?	?	?
27. Gouri-Gliati													?	?	?
28. Gymno			X		X	X	X						X	?	
29. Gyphokastro			X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	?
30. Haliki		?	X	?	?	?	?								
31. Hellenikon													?	X	
32. Hermione		X	X		X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
33. Hermionis: Apollo Platanistios Sanctuary															
34. Hermionis: Demeter-Kore Sanctuary													?	?	X
35. Hydra		X	X	X	X	X	X							X	
36. Hyrnethion														X	X
37. Hyrnethion: Artemis Koryphaia Sanctuary													?	?	?
38. Iria	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	?	X	X	
39. Kaimenikhora													?	?	?
40. Kalloni		X				X	X						X		
41. Kalogria															X

	N	EH	MH	LHI	LHII	IIIA	IIIB	IIIC	SM	PG	G	A	C	H	R
42. Kandia		X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X				X	X
43. Kastraki				?	?	?	?	?							
44. Kastraki Dimainas		?	?	?	?	?	?	?							
45. Kastro Khoriza				?	?	?	?	?							
46. Katsingri				X	X	X	X			X			X	X	X
47. Kazarma		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	
48. Kenkhreiai		?							?				X		
49. Kephalaria	X	X	X				X					X	X	X	X
50. Kephalaria Cave	X	X	X							X			X		
51. Khoriza					X	X	X			X		X	X	X	?
52. Koiiladha				X	X	X	X						X	X	
53. Kokkygion													X	X	X
54. Kokla				X	X	X	X					?	X	X	X
55. Koliaki														?	?
56. Koroni													X	X	?
57. Kosta				X	X	X	X								
58. Kourtaki						X	X	X		X		X	X		X
59. Kouzounios						?	?	?							?
60. Kyveri						X	X								
61. Lazaretto														?	?
62. Lemonodasos														?	X
63. Lerna	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X

	N	EH	MH	LHI	LHII	IIIA	IIIB	IIIC	SM	PG	G	A	C	H	R
64. Leukakia													X	X	
65. Ligourio						X	X						X	X	X
66. Loutra Methana		X		X	X			X					X	X	?
67. Mount Lykone													?	?	X
68. Magoula													X	?	?
69. Magoula (Monastiraki)						X	X			X					
70. Magoula Kephalaria		X	X												
71. Malandrini			?	X	X		X	X							
72. Megalokhori		X			X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X
73. Methana		X											X	X	
74. Mykenai	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
75. Myloi			X	X	X								X	X	X
76. Mysia													?	?	?
77. Nauplia	X	X			X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
78. Oga													X	?	?
79. Oinoe													X		
80. Orneiai													X	X	?
81. Palaia Epidauros			X		X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
82. Palaiokhori							X								
83. Phourkaria				X	X	X	X	X						X	X
84. Phousia													X	X	X
85. Phytia (Boliari)					X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X

	N	EH	MH	LHI	LHII	IIIA	IIIB	IIIC	SM	PG	G	A	C	H	R
86. Phytia (Ayios Yeorgios)		?	?			X	X						X	?	?
87. Piada				?	?		?	?							
88. Pigadaki													X	?	
89. Pogon						X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
90. Poros										?	X	X	X	X	X
91. Poros: Temple of Poseidon		X					X			X	X	X	X	X	X
92. Porto Kheli															X
93. Porto Kheli (Haliéis)	X	X	X	X	X				X	X	X	X	X	X	
94. Prophitis Ilias													?		
95. Psiphti													X	X	X
96. Pyrgos							X								
97. Pyrgos		X	X	X	X	X	X	X					X	X	
98. Riniza	X														
99. Skaphidaki													X		X
100. Skhinokhori	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
101. Spetsai															X
102. Synoro	X			X	X										
103. Temenion													X	?	?
104. Thalassopetra											X	X	X	X	X
105. Thermisi						X	X								
106. Throni			X	X	X	X	X						X	X	?

	N	EH	MH	LHI	LHII	IIIA	IIIB	IIIC	SM	PG	G	A	C	H	R
107. Tiryns	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
108. Trakheia				X	X	X	X	X					X	X	X
109. Troizen		X								X	X	X	X	X	X
110. Troizen: Temple of Ares Genethion													?	X	X
111. Vassa		X	X	X	X	X	X				X				
112. Vreserka				?	X	X	X								

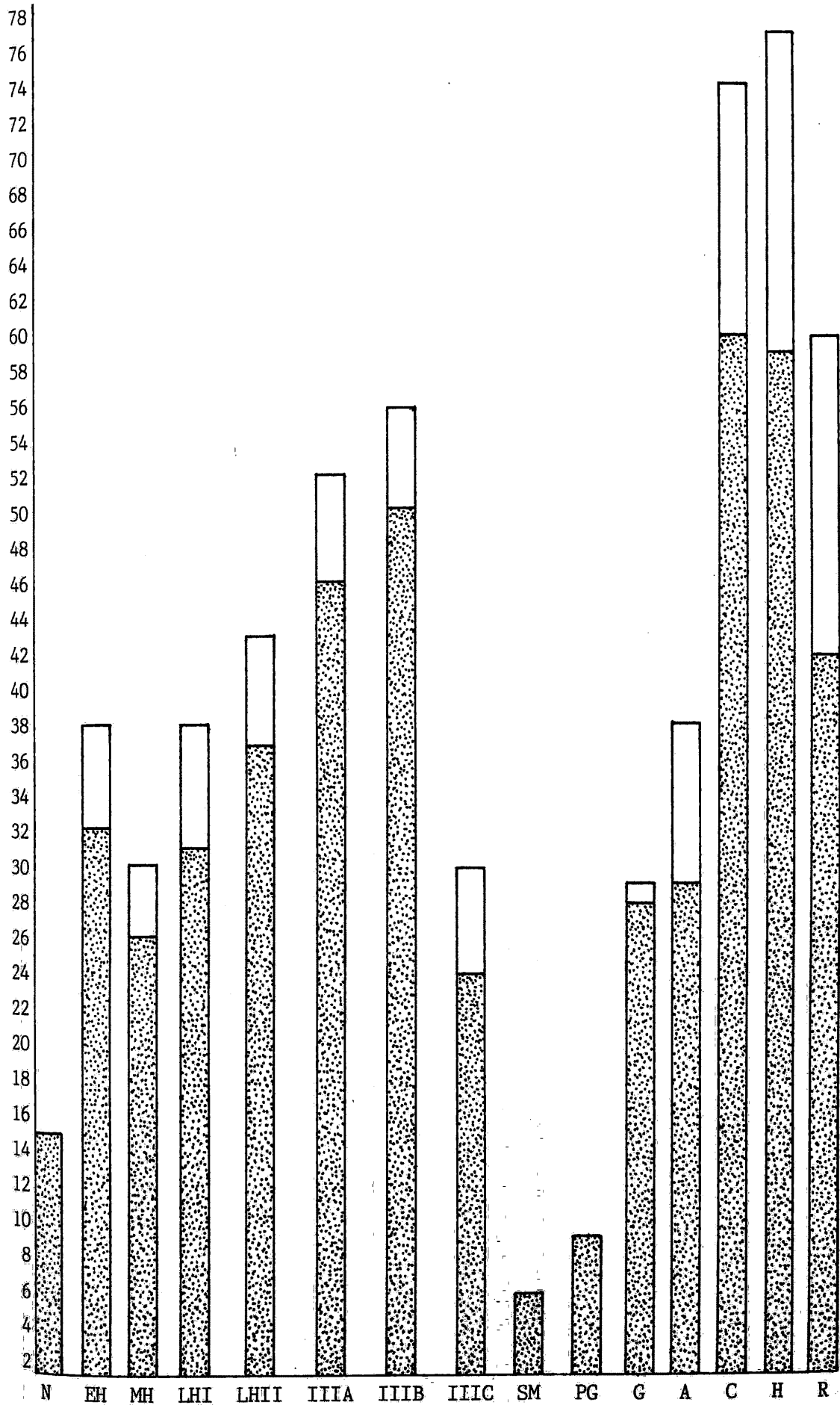


FIGURE 2. Number of sites in each period. ■ certain □ possible

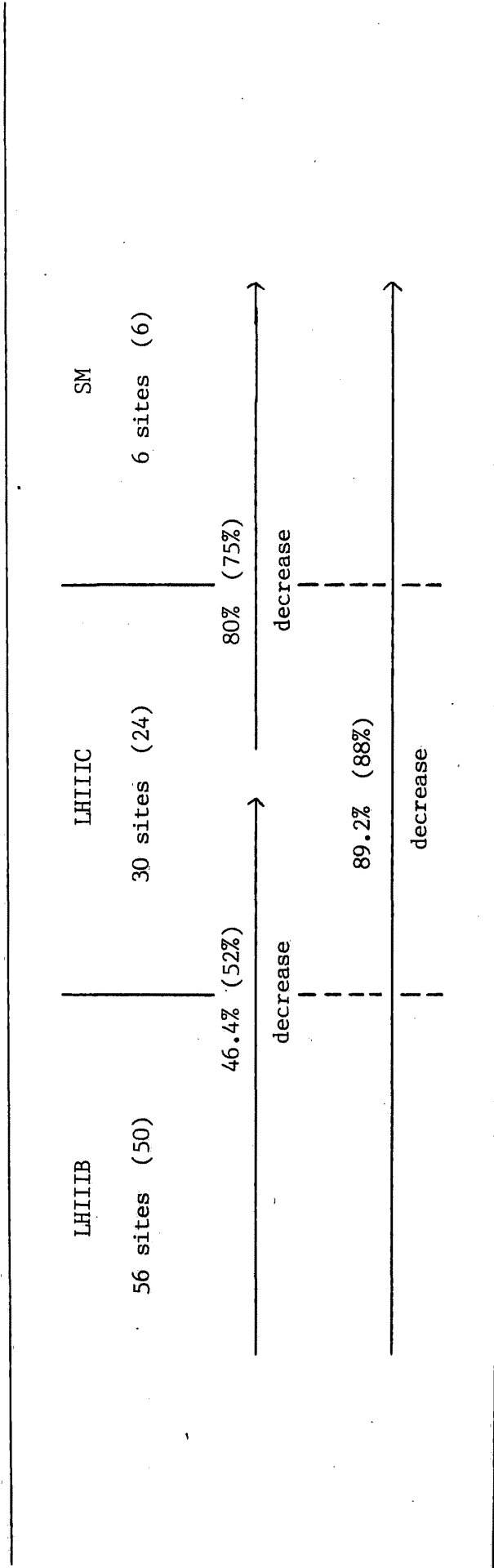


FIGURE 3. Number of sites from the LHIIB to the SM period and the percentages of decrease from one period to the next. (Numbers in brackets refer to those sites that are certain.)

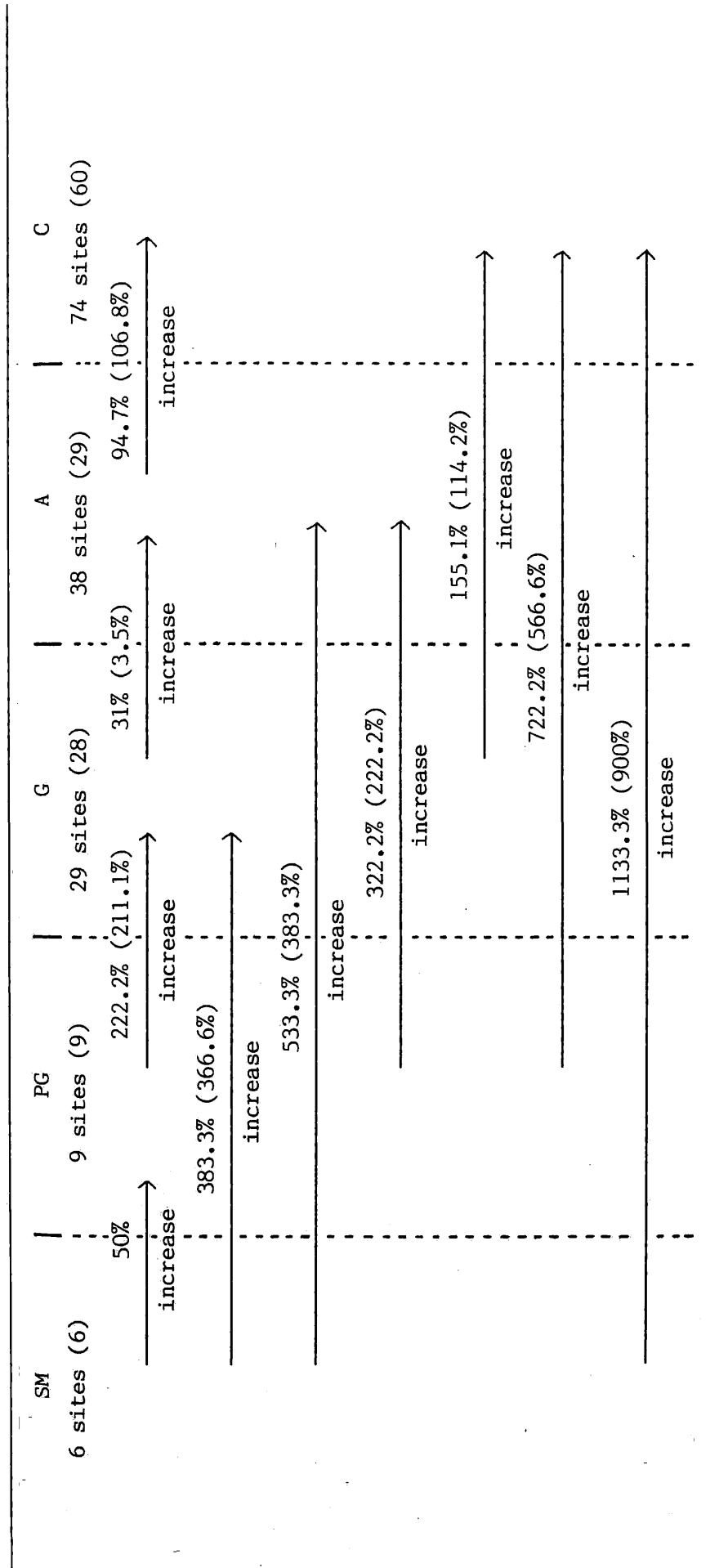


FIGURE 4. Number of sites from the SM to the C period and the percentages of increase from one period to the next. (Numbers in brackets refer to those sites that are certain.)



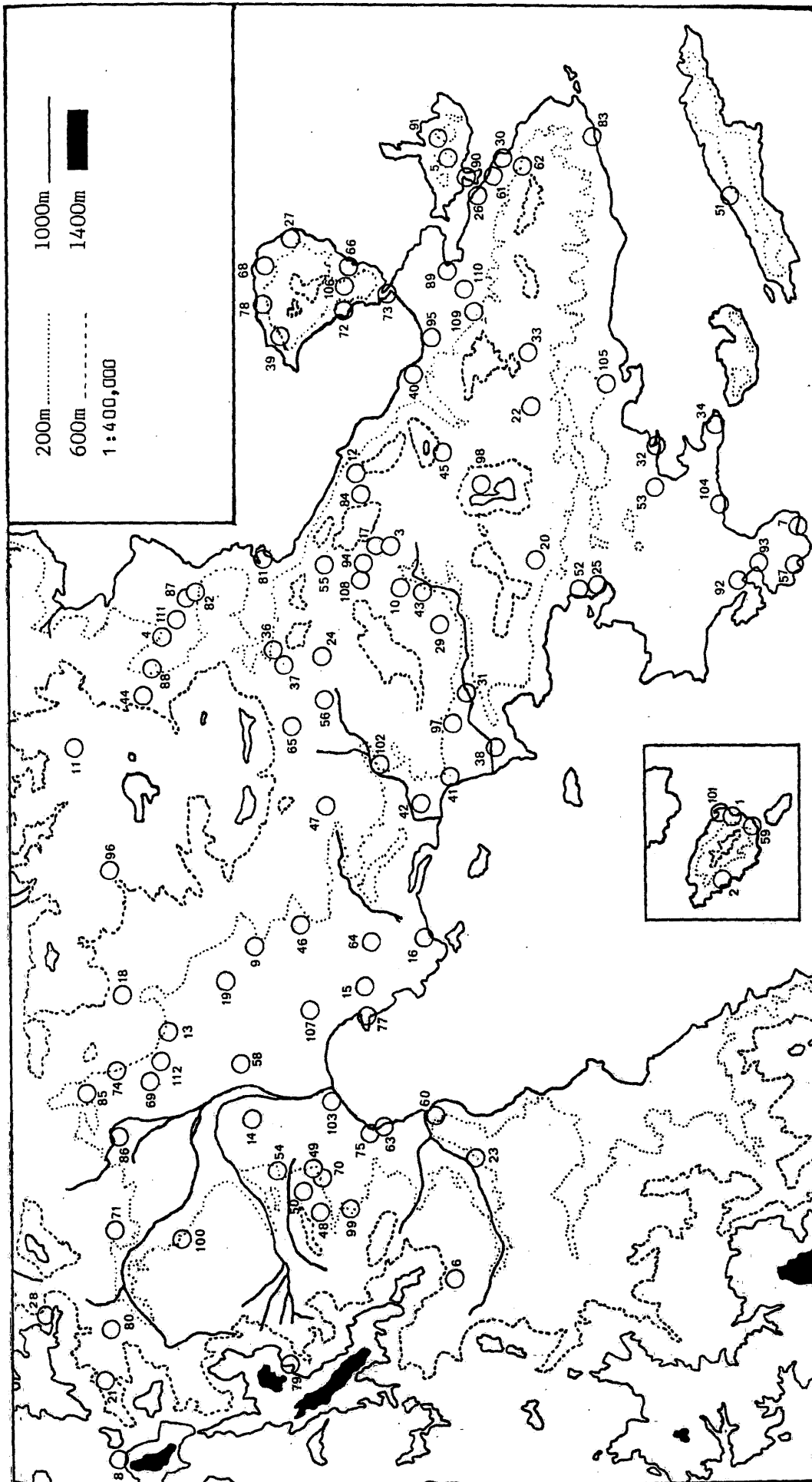


FIGURE 5. Base map of archaeological sites in the Argolid.

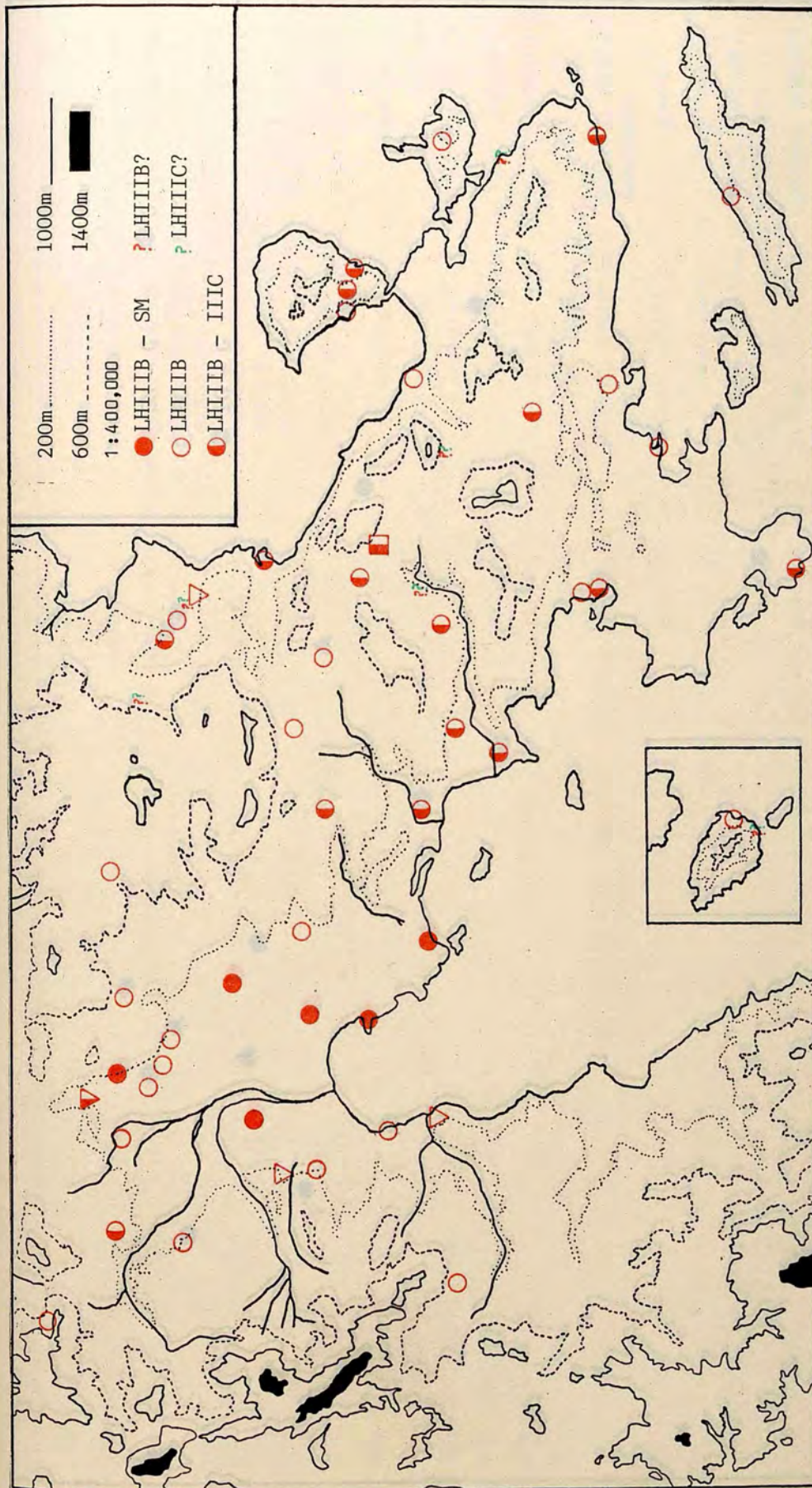


FIGURE 6. Distribution of sites in the LHIIIB, LHIIIC and SM periods. ○ settlement □ fort △ sanctuary ▽ graves

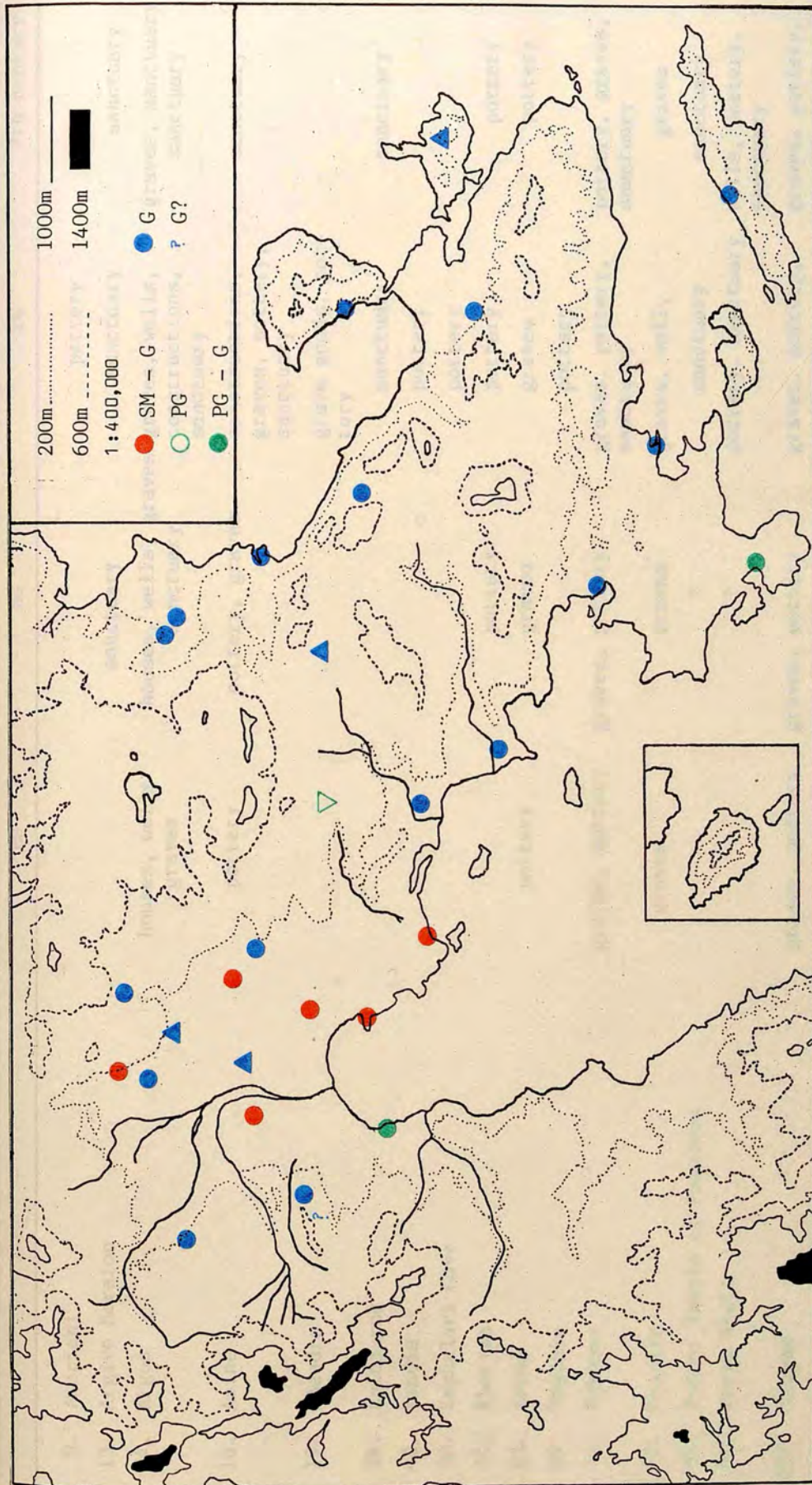


FIGURE 7. Distribution of sites in the Submykenaian, Protogeometric and Geometric periods.

	EG	MG	LG	7th century
9. Amoriani			pottery	
13. Argive Heraion		sanctuary	sanctuary	sanctuary
14. Argos	houses, wells graves	houses, wells, graves sanctuary	graves, wells, constructions, sanctuary	graves, sanctuary sanctuary
16. Asine	pottery	pottery, graves	constructions, graves, pottery, sanctuary	sanctuary
19. Dhendra			grave goods, pot- tery	
24. Epidauros			sanctuary	sanctuary
42. Kandia			pottery	
50. Kephalaria Cave			pottery	
51. Khoriza		pottery	pottery	pottery
63. Lerna	pottery	graves	graves	pottery
69. Magoula			pottery	
74. Mykenai	graves, pottery	graves, pottery	graves, pottery, sanctuary	pottery, graves, sanctuary
77. Nauplia	graves	graves	graves, wall, sanctuary	graves sanctuary
91. Poros: Temple of Poseidon		?	sanctuary	sanctuary
93. Porto Kheli		?	pottery, sanctuary	walls, pottery, sanctuary
107. Tiryns	graves, pottery	graves, pottery	graves, pottery, sanctuary	graves, pottery, sanctuary
109. Troizen		?	graves	

FIGURE 8. Sites from the EG to the seventh century with the main evidence for occupation in each phase.

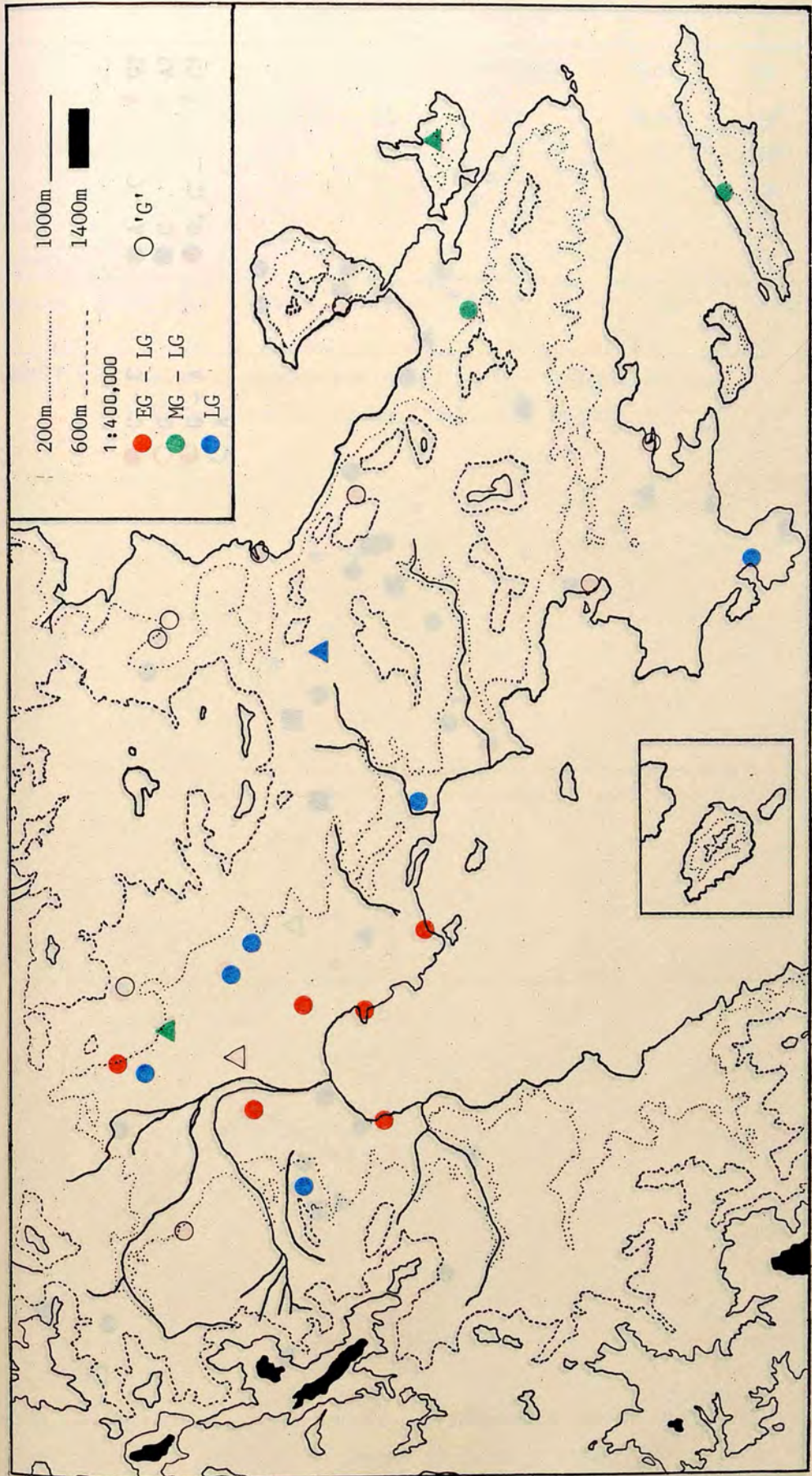


FIGURE 9. Distribution of sites in the Early Geometric, Middle Geometric and Late Geometric periods.

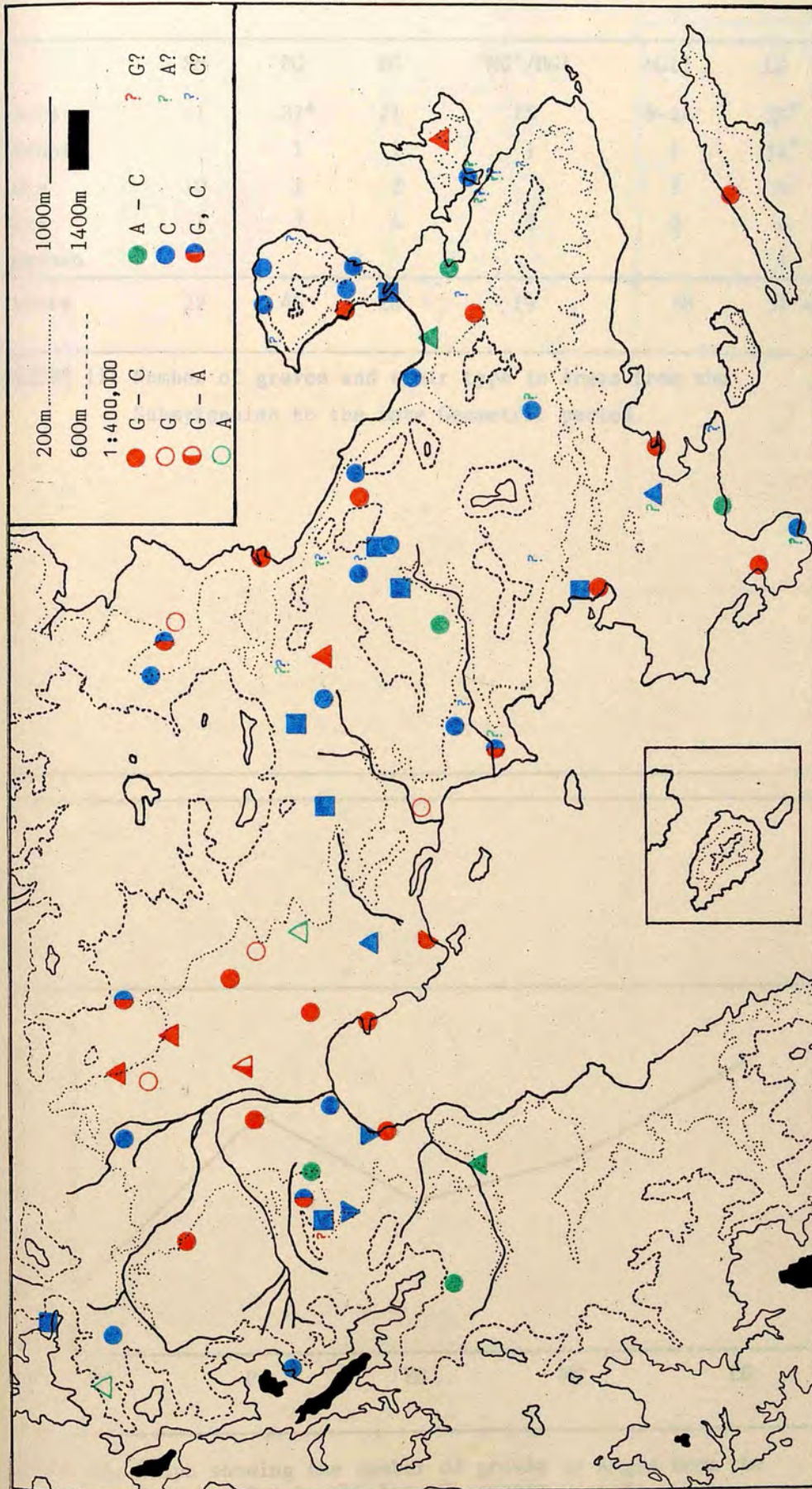


FIGURE 10. Distribution of sites in the Geometric, Archaic and Classical periods.

	SM	PG	EG	'MG'/MGI	MGII	LG
cists	11	37 <sup>+</sup>	21	15	9-14	29 <sup>+</sup>
pithoi		1	1	1	1	14 <sup>+</sup>
pots	10	1	2		1	9
pits	1	7	4	3	2	4
unknown						1
<b>totals</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>57 = 190</b>

FIGURE 11. Number of graves and their type in Argos from the Submykenaian to the Late Geometric period.

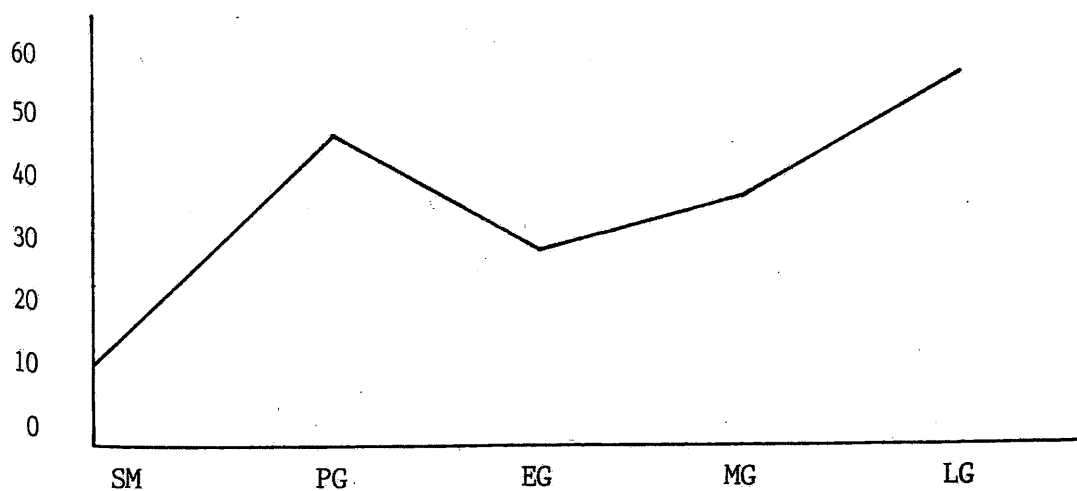


FIGURE 12. Graph showing the number of graves in Argos from the Submykenaian to the Late Geometric period.

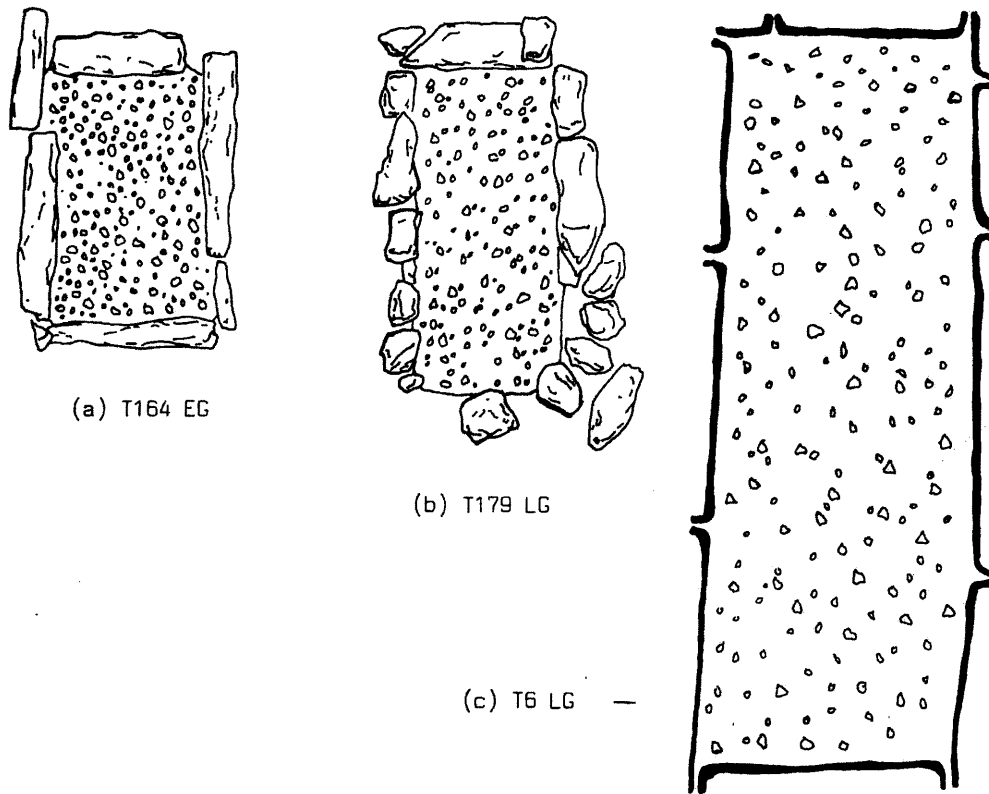


FIGURE 13. Argos, typical Geometric cist graves.

(a; Courbin, IGA pl. 13. b; *ibid.*, pl. 19. c; *ibid.*, pl. 7.)

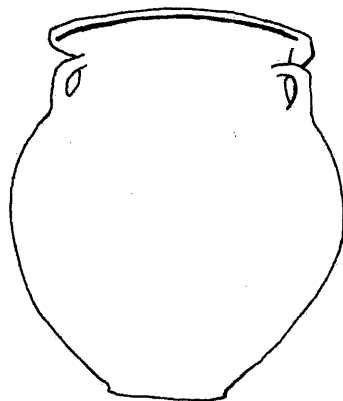


FIGURE 14. Argos, eighth-century burial amphora.

(G.Daux et al., BCH LXXXI (1957), 658 fig. 43, (II 651 = T152 LG1).)



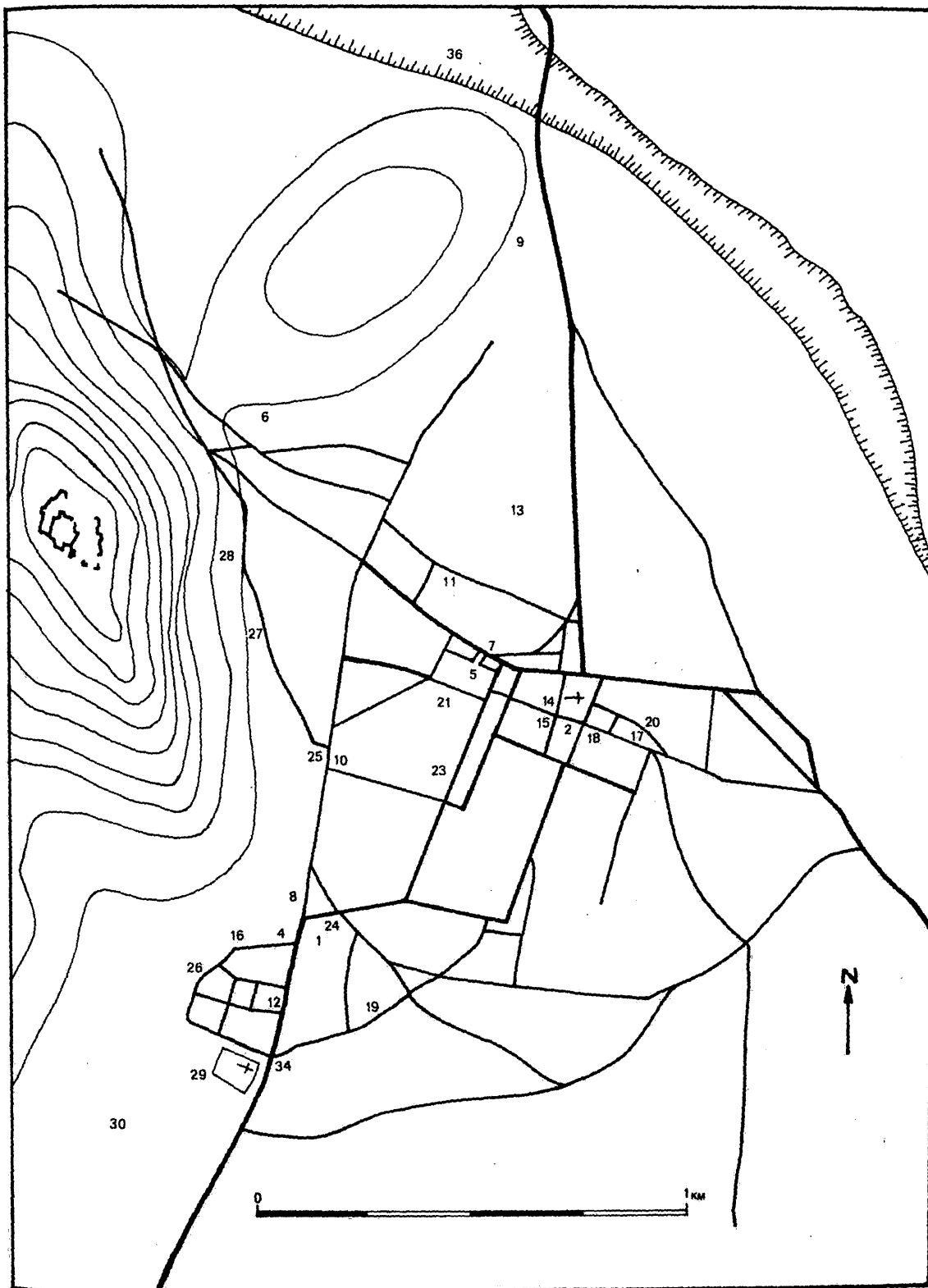


FIGURE 15. Map of Argos showing areas where eighth and seventh-century graves have been found. (The numbers correspond to those of Figure 17: plots of uncertain location are not included.)

(Map after Hägg, Gräber)

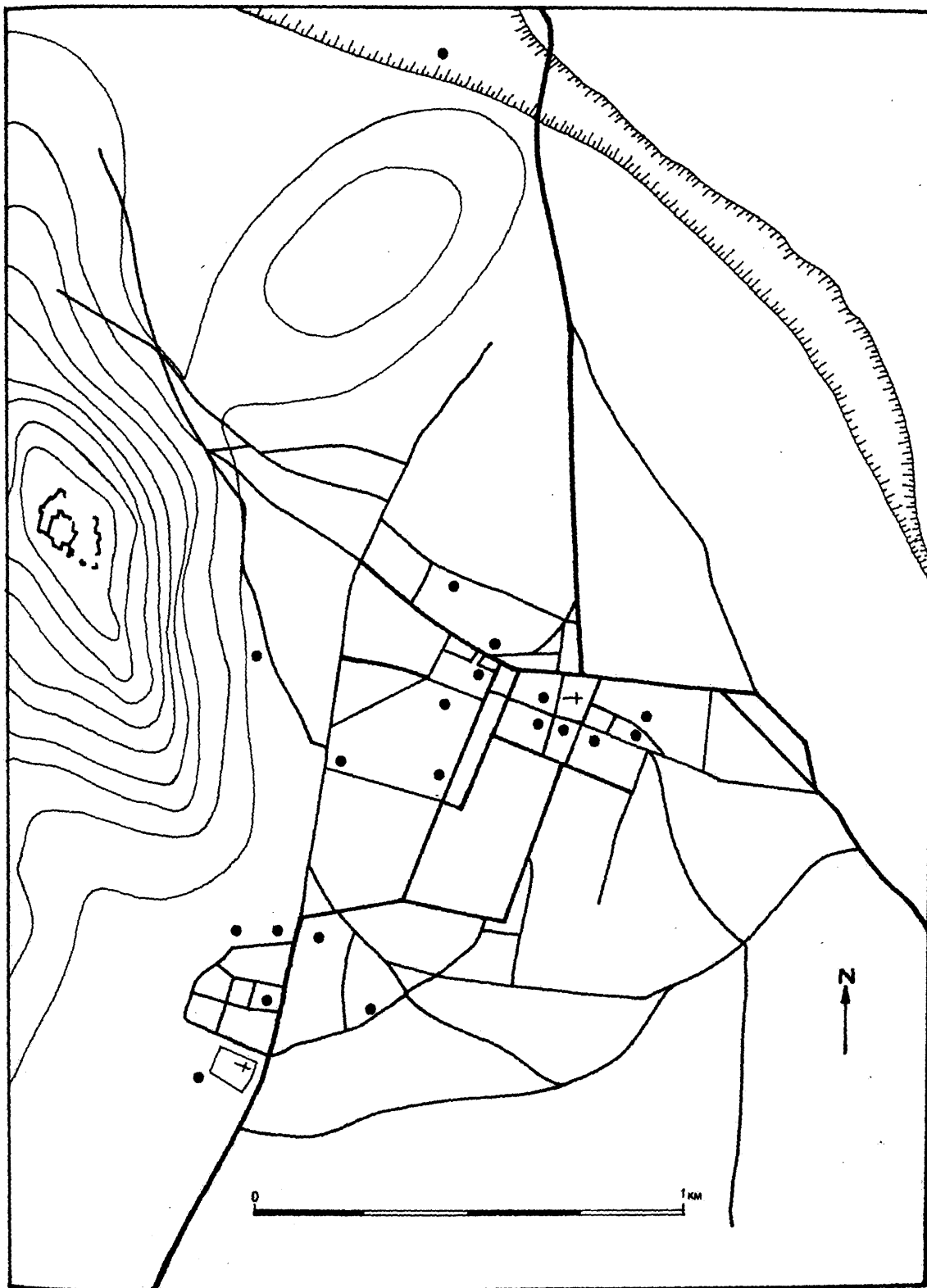


FIGURE 16. Map of Argos showing areas where eighth-century graves have been found.

(Map after Hägg, Gräber)

Map no.	Plot
1.	Agora
2.	Alexopoulos and Lynkitsou
3.*	Atreos/Danaos St. junction
4.	Bakaloianis
5.	Bonoris
6.	Deiras - Karantanis
7.	Giagos
8.	Grantias
9.	Hospital
10.	Iliopoulos
11.	Kympouropoulos
12.	Kypseli Square
13.	Laloukiotis
14.	Makris and Phlessas
15.	Museum area
16.	Odeion area
17.	OTE
18.	Papanikolaou
19.	Papapaskevas
20.	Paraskevopoulos
21.	Phloros
22.*	Presvelos-Bobos-Pagonis
23.	Raptis
24.	Sirouni
25.	Skliris
26.	Sondage 34
27.	Sondage 70
28.	Sondage 74
29.	South Cemetery area
30.	Stadium area
31.*	Stavropoulou
32.*	Stranka
33.*	Theodoropoulou
34.	Tripolis 26 St.
35.*	Tsouloukha
36.	Xerias River

FIGURE 17. List by name and number of grave plots of both the eighth and seventh centuries in Argos. (\* indicates plots not located on map).

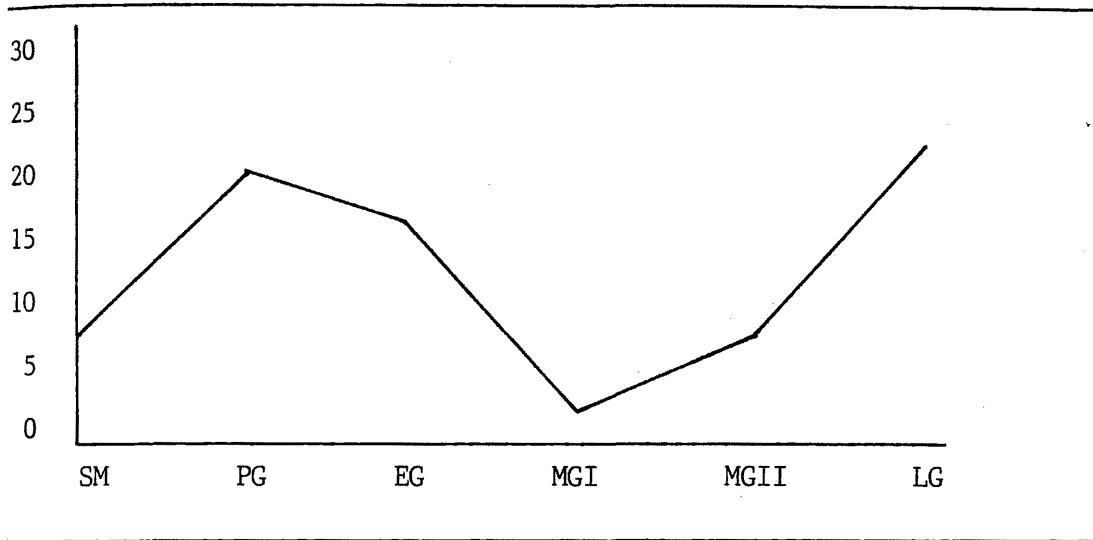


FIGURE 18. Graph showing the number of graves at Tiryns from the Submykenaian to the Late Geometric period.

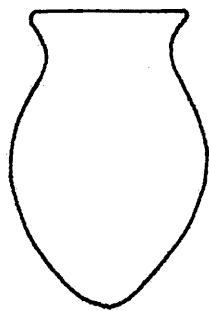


FIGURE 19. Tiryns, Late Geometric burial pithos.

(Adapted from A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Delmann, *Tiryns I* (1912), 126, (G33).)

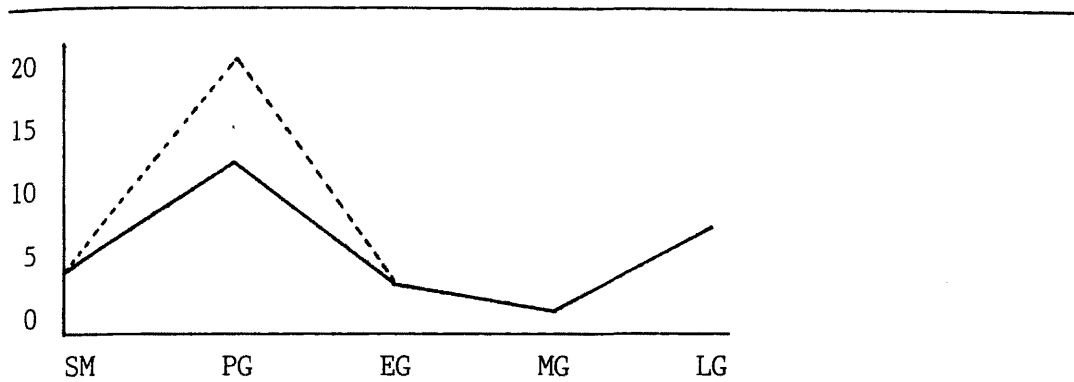


FIGURE 20. Graph showing the number of graves at Mykenai from the Submykenaian to the Late Geometric period.

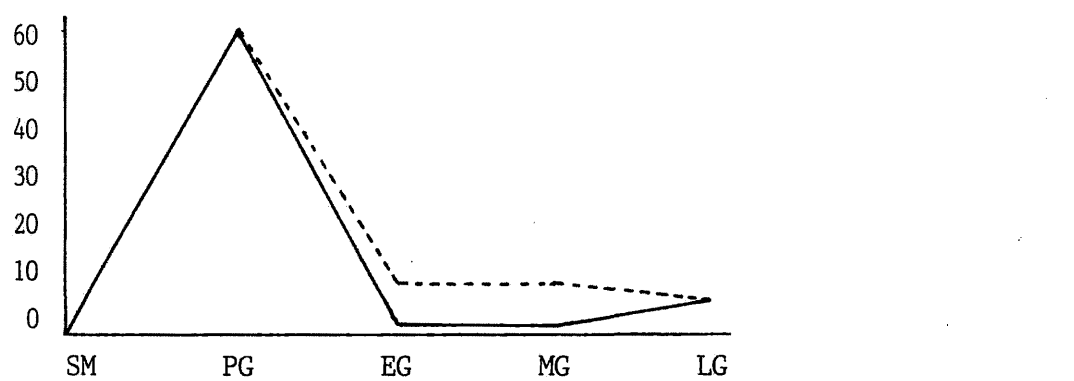


FIGURE 21. Graph showing the number of graves at Asine from the Submykenaian to the Late Geometric period.

	SM	PG	EG	MG	LG	'G'	7th century
Argos	22	46	28	37	57	87 <sup>+</sup>	33 <sup>+</sup>
Tiryns	7 <sup>+</sup>	19 <sup>+</sup>	16	9	22	3 <sup>+</sup>	2
Mykenai	4	12-20	3	1	7	2 <sup>+</sup>	2
Nauplia	4 <sup>+</sup>	1?	2	1 <sup>+</sup>	8-20	5 <sup>+</sup>	8 <sup>+</sup>
Asine		60	1-7	1-7	4 <sup>+</sup>	3	
Dhendra					1 <sup>+</sup>		
Lerna			1	3	1	17	
Prosymna					1	1	
Troizen					2		

FIGURE 22. Number of graves by site and period from the Submykenaian period to the seventh century.

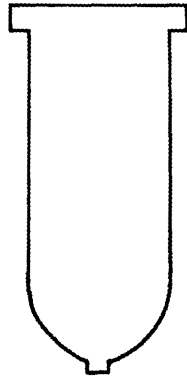


FIGURE 23. Argos, seventh-century burial pithos.  
(P.Bruneau, BCH XCIV, 457, fig. 48, (T60).)

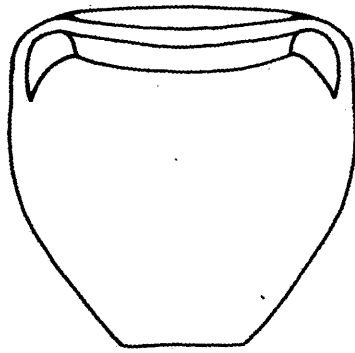


FIGURE 24. Argos, seventh-century burial amphora.  
(G.Daux et al., BCH LXXXI, 679, fig. 28.)

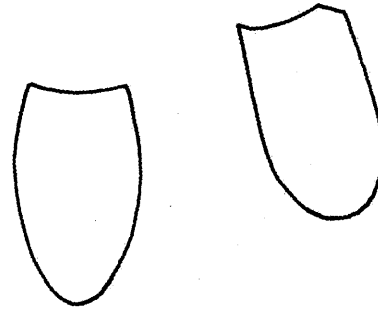


FIGURE 25. Argos, Archaic burial pithoi from the Stranka plot.  
(Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt XXVIII B1 (1973), 121, fig. 23.)

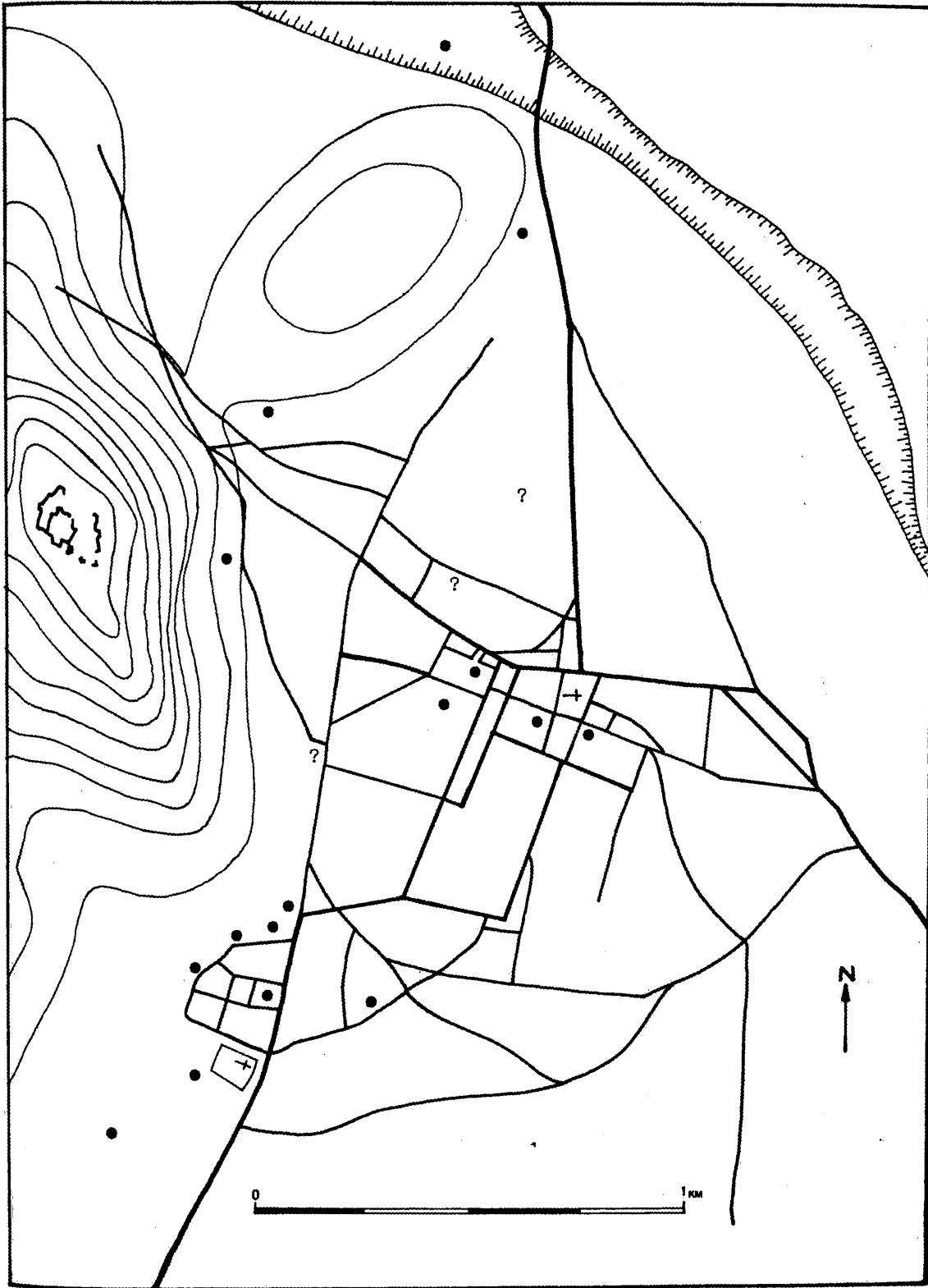


FIGURE 26. Map of Argos showing areas where seventh-century graves have been found.

(Map after Hägg, Gräber)

	MGII		LG		'8th century'		7th century	
	total graves	with bronzes	total graves	with bronzes	total graves	with bronzes	total graves	with bronzes
Argos	14-17	7-11(?)	57	19+4(?)	2		34	1(+2?)
Tiryns	7	2	22	5			2	
Mykenai	1		7	3			2	
Nauplia	1(?)		8 <sup>+</sup>	2		2	8 <sup>+</sup>	
Lerna	1(?)		1	1				
Asine	1 <sup>+</sup>		4 <sup>+</sup>					
Dhendra		1(?)	1 <sup>+</sup>					
Prosymna			1	1				
Troizen			2	1				
Porto Kheli							1	1

FIGURE 27. Total number of graves at each site in the eighth and seventh centuries and those among them with bronze objects.



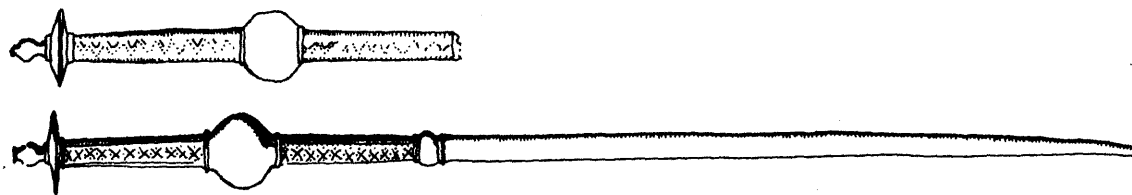


FIGURE 28. Geometric Group 1 pin.  
(Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, pl. 12.)

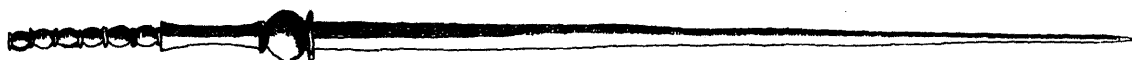


FIGURE 29. Geometric Group 2 pin.  
(Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, pl. 25.)

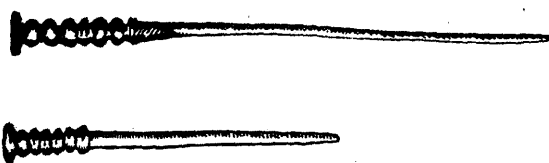


FIGURE 30. Geometric Group 3 pin.  
(Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, pl. 34,35.)

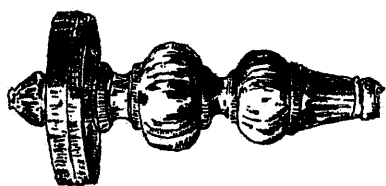


FIGURE 31. Orientalizing pin.  
(Jacobsthal, Greek Pins, pl. 91.)

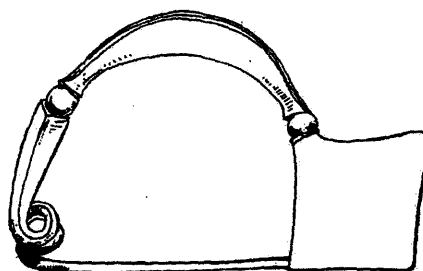


FIGURE 32. Fibula of Blinkenberg's Class VIII.  
(Blinkenberg, Fibules grecques et orientales (1926), 169, fig. 199.)

	MGII		LG		'8th century'		7th century		Archaic	
	total graves	with rings	total graves	with rings	total graves	with rings	total graves	with rings	total graves	with rings
Argos	17	5	57	7		1	34			2
Tiryns	7	1	22	4			2			
Mykenai	1		7	1			2			
Nauplia	1(?)	1	8 <sup>+</sup>			1	8 <sup>+</sup>			
Lerna	1(?)		1	1						
Asine	1 <sup>+</sup>	1	4 <sup>+</sup>							
Dhendra			1 <sup>+</sup>							
Prosymna			1							
Troizen			2							
Porto Kheli							1		1	

FIGURE 33. Total number of graves at each site in the eighth and seventh centuries and those among them with rings.



FIGURE 34. Typical Argolic bronze birds.

(J.Bouzek, Eirene VI (1967), 120, fig. 3, nos. 1 & 4.)

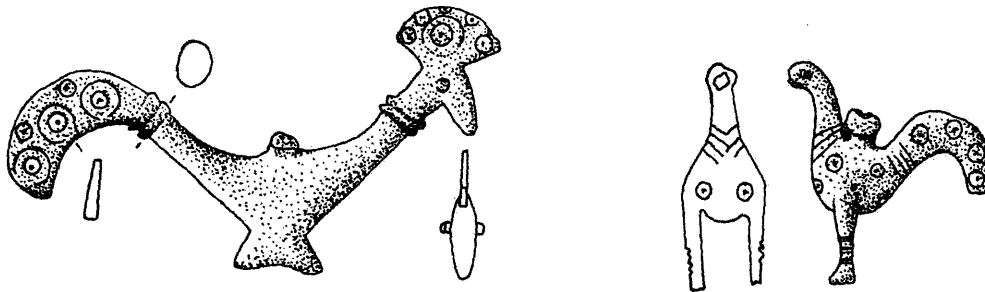


FIGURE 35. Typical Argolic bronze cocks.

(Kilian-Dirlmeier, Anhänger, pl. 37 no. 712 and pl. 39 no. 726.)

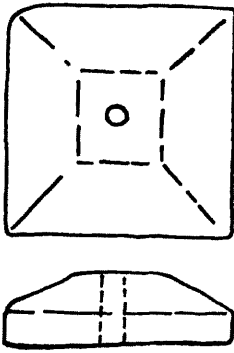


FIGURE 36. Outline drawing of square seal.

(Boardman, *IslG*, 113 top left fig. 10.)



FIGURE 37. Square seal depicting two women in flounced skirts.

(S.Casson, *AntJ* VII (1927) pl. V,1, facing p. 38.)



FIGURE 38. Outline drawing of hemispherical seal.

(Boardman, *GrG*, 113 fig. 165 (right).)



FIGURE 39. Hemispherical seal from the Argive Heraion showing a man and horse.

(Boardman, *GrG*, 113 fig. 165 (left).)



FIGURE 40. Hemispherical seal from Mykenai showing two men.

(A.Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen III* (1900), 61, fig. 45.)



FIGURE 41. Rectangular tabloid seal from the Argive Heraion depicting a horse.

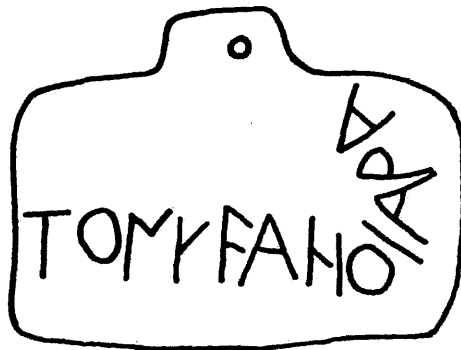
(C.W.Blegen, *AJA* XLIII (1939), 433, fig. 19,1.)

ΥΔΡΟΣ ΜΕΑΥ

[---] υδρος με αυ[εθεκε]

FIGURE 42. Graffito on a dinos from the Argive Heraion.

(Heermann, AH II (1905), 185 fig. 102. Transliteration from Jeffery, LSAG, 156.)



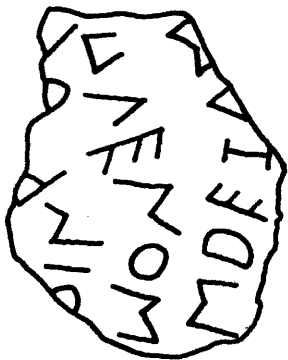
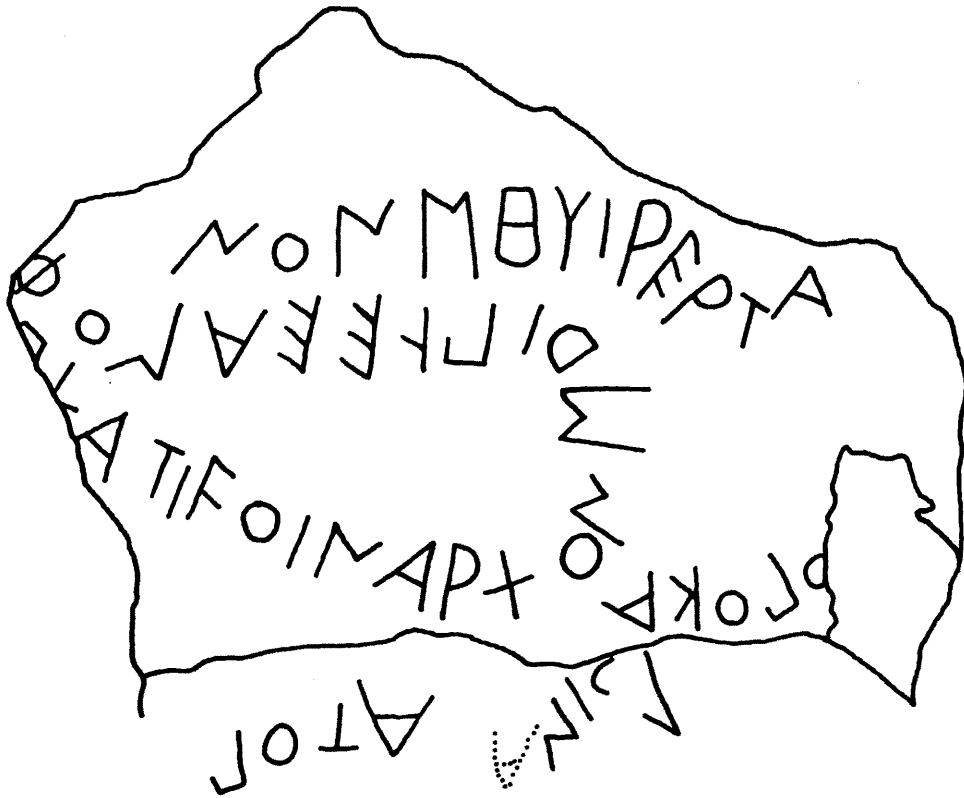
τόμυφαλιό ιαρά

FIGURE 43. Votive bronze plaque with inscription, from the Larissa in Argos.

(Vollgraff, BCH LVIII (1934), fig. 1, 139.)

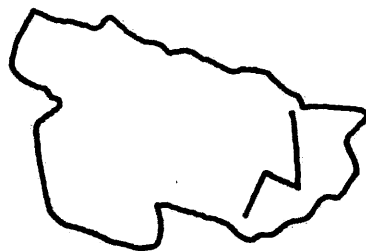






(Stones 11, 12, 13)





(Stones 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19)

FIGURE 45. Transliteration of inscription in Figure 44.

(N.M.Verdelis, M.H.Jameson and I.Papachristodoulou, AE (1975), 163-184.)

--.ρα--||  $\dot{\text{F}}$ ετεον ταιδε || [·:·:]αι $\dot{\text{F}}$ ρε[·]ν τους πλ|| [ατι] $\dot{\text{F}}$ οιναρχους  
ενς.. [---].ν δαρ.(?)οι $\dot{\text{F}}$ ακτον ταμιον || [τον]ς  
πλατι $\dot{\text{F}}$ οινον[ς ||  $\dot{\text{F}}$ εκαστε. αι μ'έξσθ[ο]ασαιιεν οφλεν  
εν[ς || Δι] $\dot{\text{F}}$ α κάθαναιιαν τριτῖαροντα μ[ε] || δίμνους  
α[-||-]ασιον || [..] ποσταντον πλατι $\dot{\text{F}}$ οιναρχον τα  
δ || [---]...---|| [α]ποδομεν τοι ιαρομναμονι τους πρα[---]ς.  
τον δ' ιαρομναμον[α---]εν τ|α δαμοσια ho ||πυι κα  
δοκει τοι δαμοι αλιαιιαν θεν.(?)ια. αιδ.---απα  
θαιιεατρα α.. vacat.

---ι ηαγνον...---τα γραθματα τα.---

---τον] δ' ιαρομναμονα αλιαιι---

---κα τον ἐπιγνομονα εξστραφεται· αι δεραμοισ  
.(?)φερε. (?) τα (·:·)ι η[ο]δε πλατι $\dot{\text{F}}$ οιναρχος α---

---.ιθοδοροιληοονεμ[·:·:]δο---

---ας ηονα.[·:·:]τ]ονς πλατι $\dot{\text{F}}$ οιναρχονς [τα]ν ζαμιιαν  
παρσχε[ν] τοον ϑ|ο[ι]νον·αι δε με ηυπερπαρσχ[ο]ιιεν  
 $\dot{\text{F}}$ οιροθεν ho επιγνομον επελ[α]στο τον οϑλον vacat?

---νονς αι μ εξστ---

---. ας εραν---

(Stones 1, 2, 3, 4, 5a, 5b, 6, 7, 8)

---ε]πιγνο[ν?]ς ε---

---σπ---

---ν αι τις εξσ---

---πλατιϜοιναρχους διπλεεαν οφ[λεν---

---..νους ηυιρερτα---

---η]οποκα | Ϝοινα.[.(?)] ατοπ---

---πλατιϜοινα[ρχο---

---ο.α γενομ---

---ς δε ζαμ [ι---

---ζ]αμιας ενστε---

---τ[.]ι ανδρ---

---ι[.] ηι---

---α]ρχους---

---α ενστε α---

---ιαρα τραπ---

---α το ηερακλειιο επευθ---

---ο δε αν [.(?)] θεν δ---

---..επο.---

---αεεν πο.---

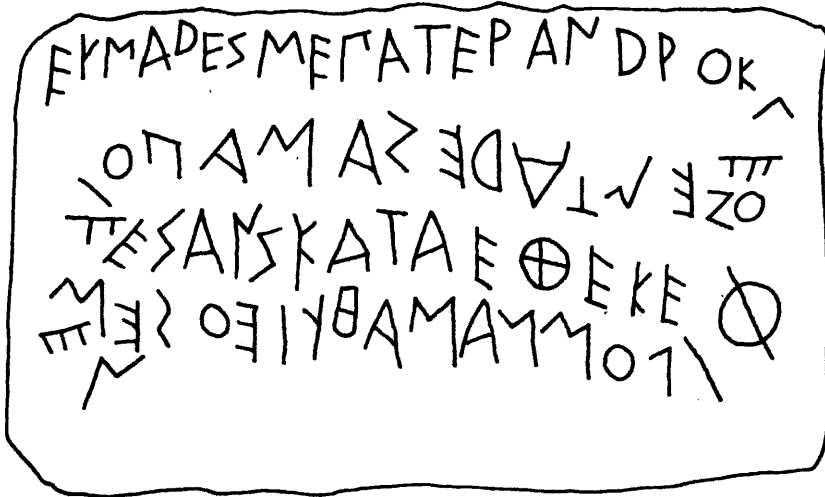
---θ | ηεντ---

---εκαα---

---ν---

(Stones 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19)





Ευμαρῆς με πατέρ Ανδροκ|λεος ενταδε σαμα  
 πο|ιῆσανς καταεθεκε | φιλο μναμα κυιεος εμ|εν

FIGURE 49. Inscribed gravestone from Methana.  
 (Premerstein, AM XXXIV (1909), 357 fig. 1.)

ΕΛΙ ΓΜΟ\*

Χος {η}εμ

FIGURE 50. Graffito on Subgeometric kantharos from the area of the Argive Heraion.  
 (Blegen, AJA XLIII (1939), 424 fig. 13. Transliteration from Jeffery, LSAG, 149.)

ΜΕΜΕΛΑΜ ΕΚΤΟΡ ΕΥΦΟΡΒΟΜ

Μενελας Εκτορ Ευφορβος

FIGURE 51. Inscription on Euphorbos plate from Rhodes.  
 (Pfuhl, Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen III (1923), 27 fig. 117.)

Θ Υ Ε Ο ⊗ Ρ Λ Ζ

FIGURE 52. Graffito on sherd from Kalymna.

(Segre, Annuario XXII-XXIII (1944-45), no. 245a-b, pl. CXXV facing p. 216.)

Μ Α Δ Ι Ψ Ι Α

Αλκιδαμ[ος?----]

FIGURE 53. Graffito on a fragmentary vase from Kalymna.

(Segre, Annuario XXII-XXIII (1944-45), no. 247a, pl. CXXVI facing p. 217.)

. Τ Μ ° Ι Υ Τ .

[---]ι το λυ τι ? [---]

FIGURE 54. Graffito on a sherd from Kalymna.

(Segre, Annuario XXII-XXIII (1944-45), no. 246, pl. CXXVI facing p. 217.)

Μ Θ Ο Ψ Ο Κ

Μηοψου

FIGURE 55. Inscription on 'Argolic' shield band from Olympia.

(Kunze, OJFor II (1950), 213.)

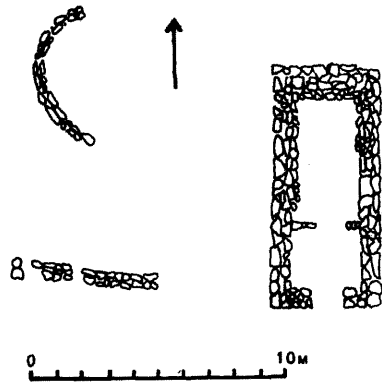


FIGURE 56. Plan of the remains of the sanctuary at Asine.  
 (Frödin and Persson, Asine, 150, fig. 130.)

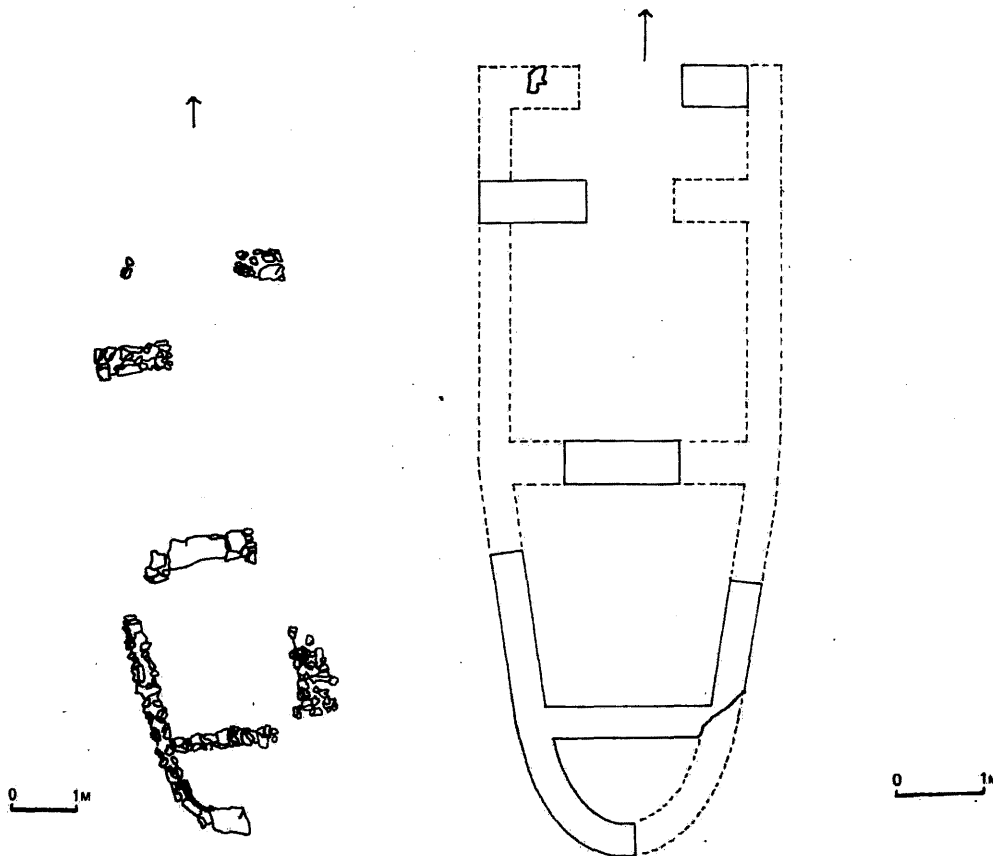


FIGURE 57. Plan and schematic drawing of apsidal temple at Mykenai.  
 (N.M. Verdelis, Prakt. (1962), 86, fig. 9; 87, fig. 10.)

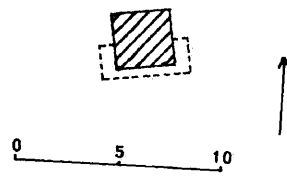
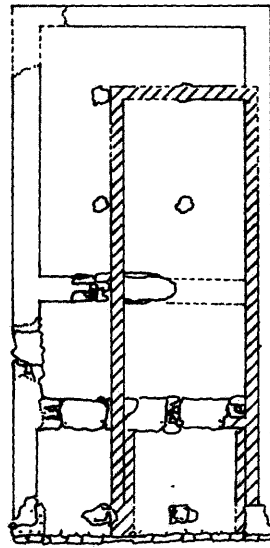


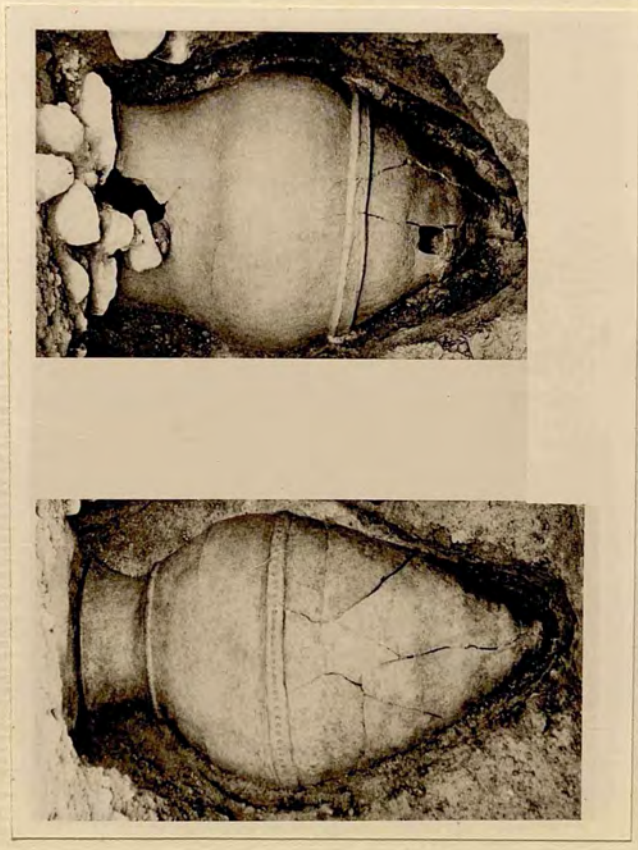
FIGURE 58. Plan of the 'temple' at Tiryns.  
(Jantzen, Führer, 96, fig. 24.)





C4002

b. T180, a burial pithos of the LGII from Argos.  
(Courbin, CGA, pl. 106)



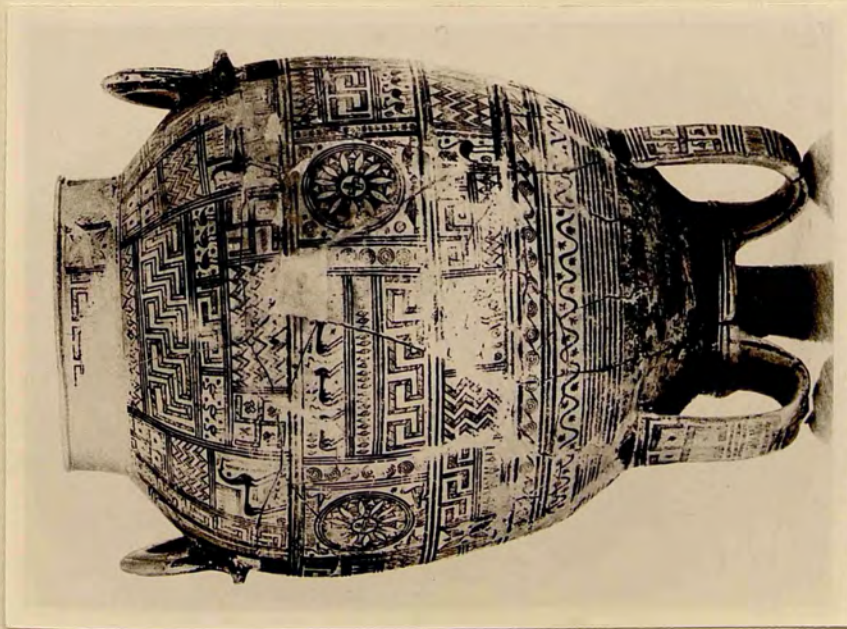
C3966

a. T191 and T190/1, two burial pithoi from Argos, dating to the MCI and LGI periods. (Courbin, CGA, pl. 106)

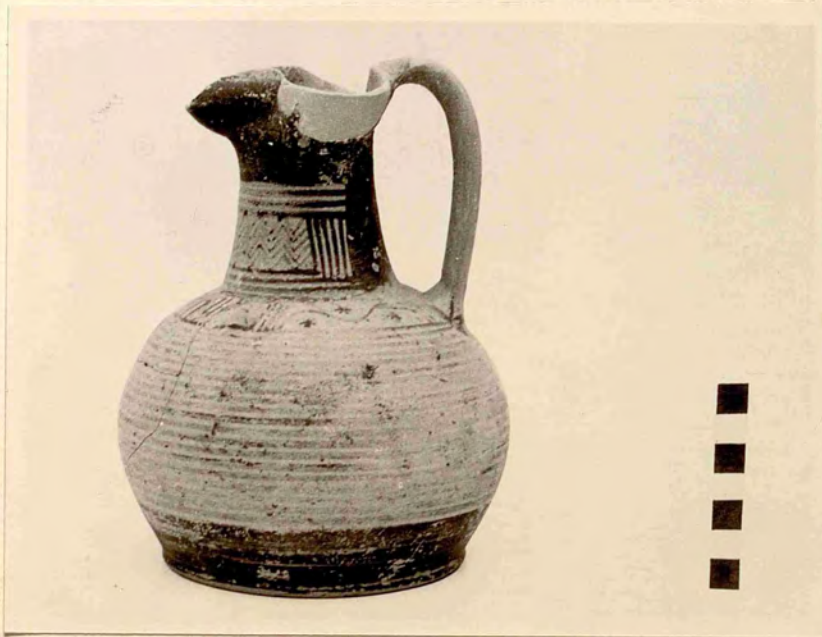
C3967



b. Cup, Naup. 7707, from Argos. MGII.



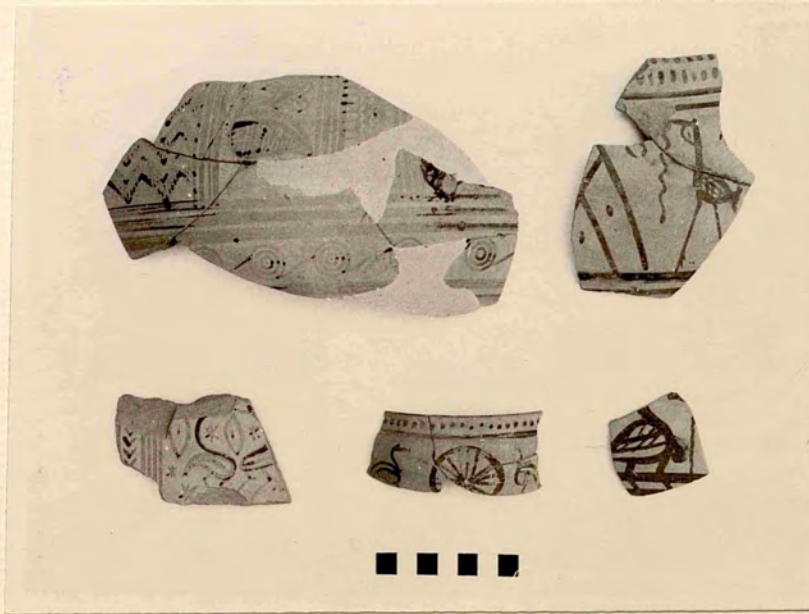
a. C209, giant burial pyxis from Argos. LGI.  
(Courbin, GCA, pl. 100)



a. Dinokhoe, Naup. 7851, from Argos. LGI.



b. Kantharos, Naup. 7922, from Argos. LGI.



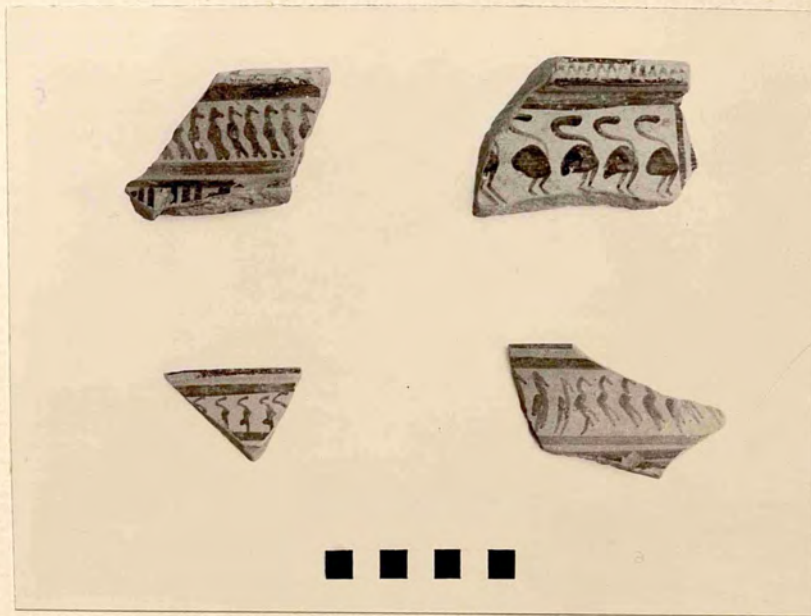
no no.		C4166 LG
C3796 LGI	Naup. 14398 LG	C3313 LGII

a. Birds on LGI-II pottery fragments from Argos. (cf. Courbin, CGA, pl. 125 for C3796, pl. 130 for C3313 and pl. 128 for C4166)



C3283 LGII	Naup. 7416 LGII
C3613 LGII	no no. LGII

b. Horses on LGII pottery fragments from Argos. (cf. Courbin, CGA, pl. 134 for C3283 and pl. 128 for C3613)



C3622 LGIIb  
C3806 LGIIc

no no. LG  
C2773 LGIIb

a. Argive sherds with typical bird files. (cf. Courbin, CGA, pl. 131 for C3622; pl. 132 for C3806 and pl. 131 for C2773)



C4441 LGIIc  
Naup. 7276

C2554 LGIIc  
Naup. 6988 LGII

b. Fragments of Argive pottery depicting men. (cf. Courbin, CGA, pl. 142 for C4441 and pl. 144 for C2554)



b. Sherds from Asine with typical motifs. LG.



a. Three amphorae from Asine. LGII. (Frödin and Persson, Asine, 327, fig. 222: 1,2,3)



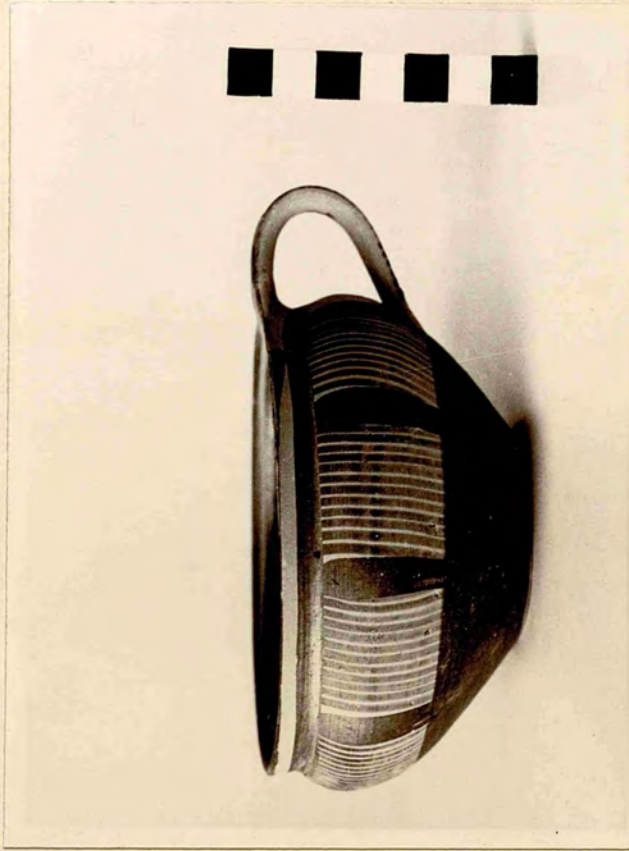
Naup. 2228 LGII

a. Oinochoe with lateral concentric circles from Asine. (cf. R. Hägg, OpAth. VI (1965), pl. II 1:2)



Naup. 13219

b. Asine fragment. LG.



Naup. 10220

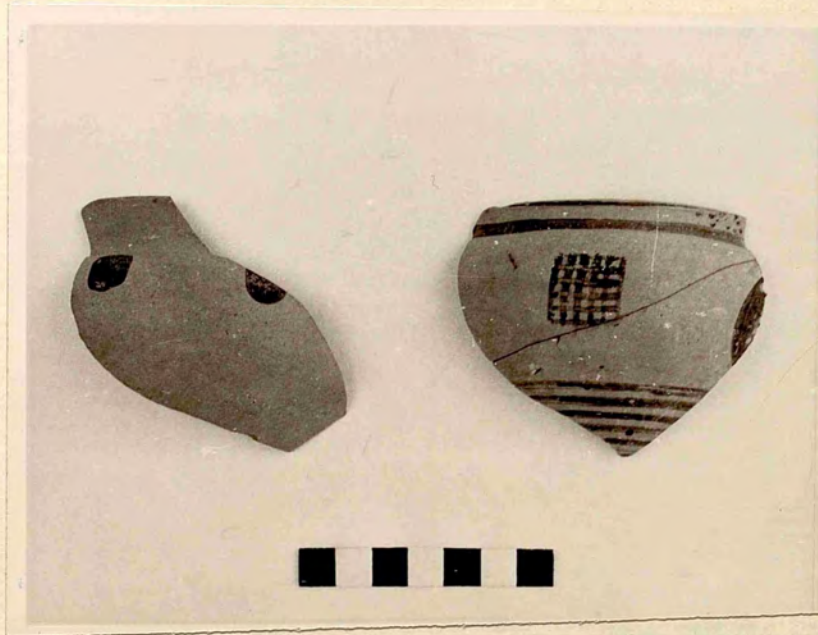
b. Cup from Tiryns. LG



Naup. 1042:1

a. Asine hydria. LG.





Naup. 16577

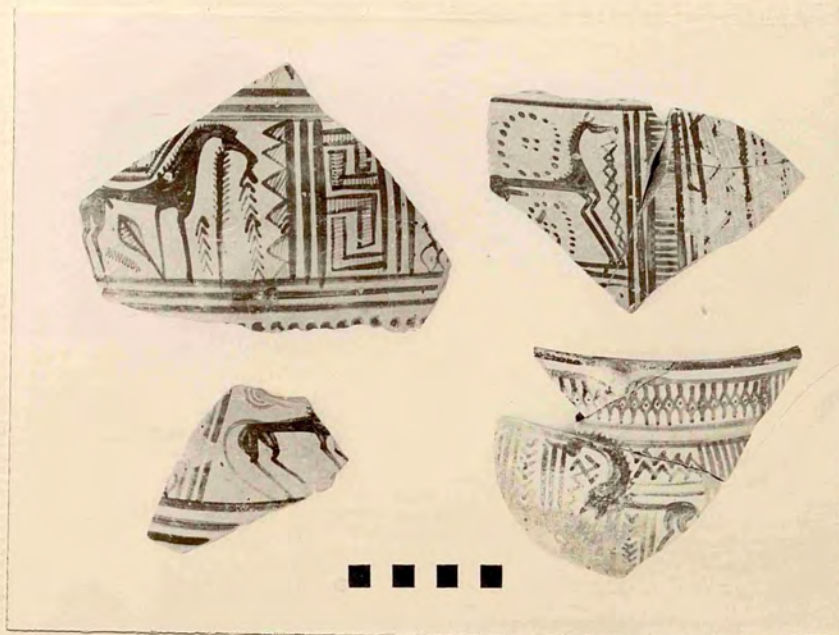
Naup. 117

a. Cup fragments from Tiryns. LGII.



Naup. 2011

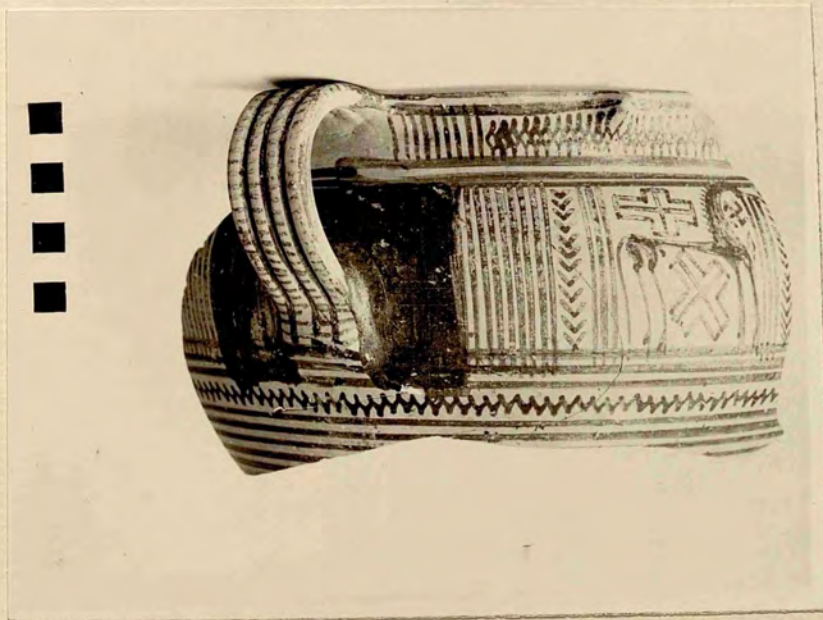
b. Skyphos from Tiryns. LGII.



Naup. 1971 LGII  
Naup. 9168 LGII

Naup. 1971/314 LG  
Naup. 17174 LGII

a. Tiryns, fragments with horses. (cf. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller and F. Oelmann, *Tiryns I* (1912), pl. XV,2 for Naup. 1971)



Naup. 17163

b. Krater of the Fence Workshop, Tiryns.



Naup. 9226 LGII  
no no.

Naup. 9138  
Naup. 1976

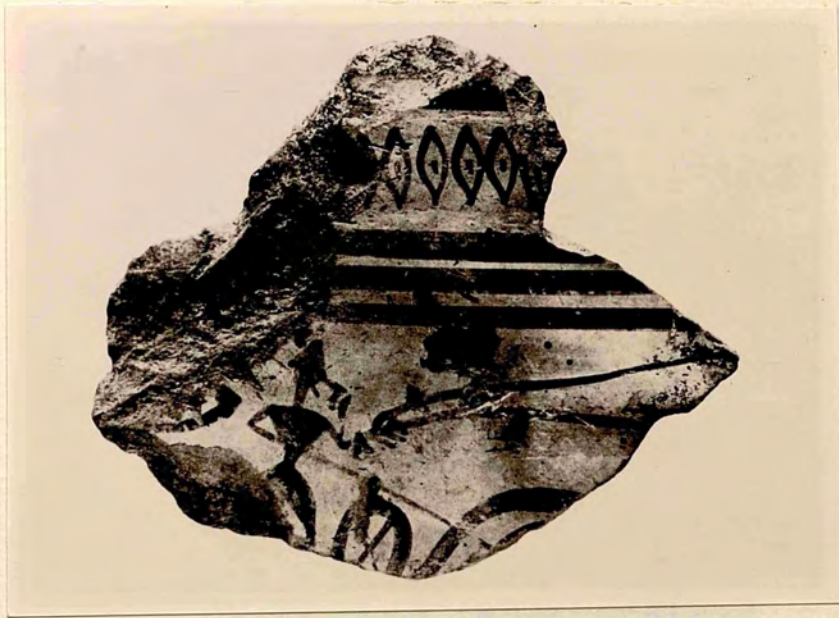
a. Tiryns fragments depicting horse-taming scenes. LG.



Naup. 2715 LG  
Naup. 715Z LGII

Naup. 17068 LGII

b. LG sherds from Tiryns.



DAI 75/1352

a. Tiryns fragment with chariot scene. LG.



Naup. 17167

b. Tiryns fragment with men rowing a boat. LG. (cf. P. Gercke and U. Naumann, *AAA* VII (1974), 15-24, fig. 14)



Naup. 17074

Tiryns, fragment with hunt scene.



Naup., Myk. 53-338



Naup., Myk. 53-339  
Naup., Myk. 53-337

Naup., Myk. 53-340

Mykenai, pottery from grave GII. LHI. (cf. V.R.d'A. Desborough, *BSA* XLIX (1954), pl. 45)



a. Mykenai, LG birds.



Naup., Myk. A3. LGII  
Naup. 137-2. LGII

Naup., Myk. A10. LG

b. Sherds from the Agamemnoneion, Mykenai.



Naup. 10006 LGII

b. Amphora of the Fence Workshop, from Nauplia. (Courbin, CGA, pl. 11)



Naup., Myk. A3 (top) Naup., Myk. A4 (bottom)

a. Sherds from the Agamemnoneion, Mykenai.





Naup. 1931

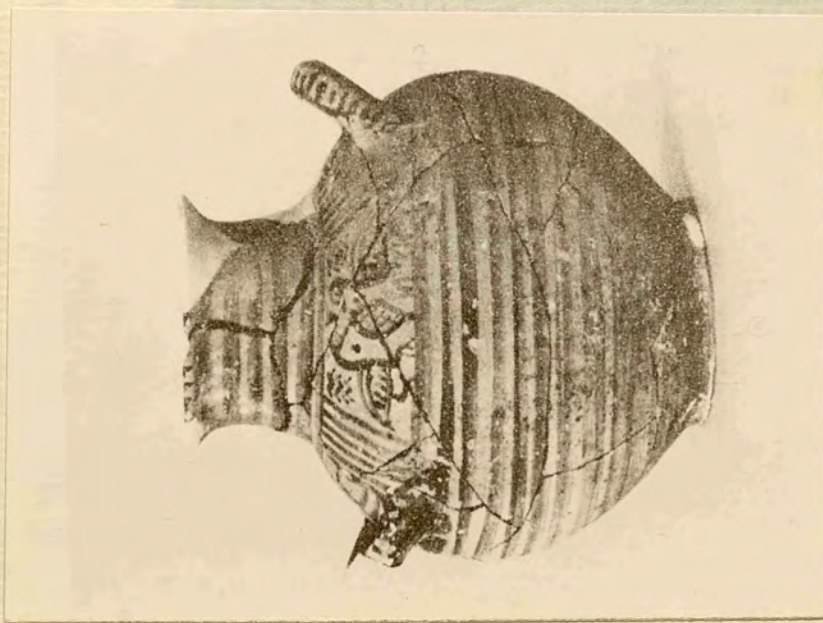
Naup. 1930

Naup. 1934

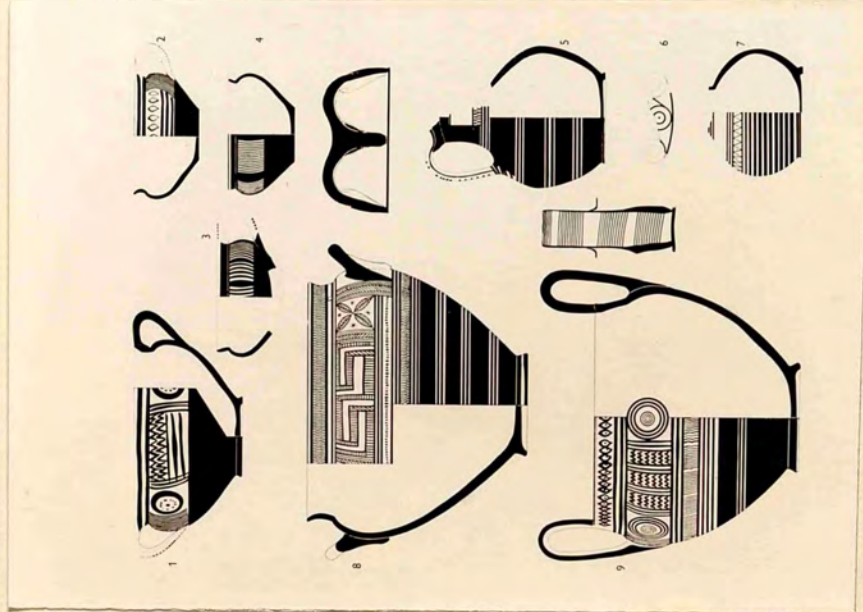
a. Amphoriskoi, Tiryns. LG. (cf. A. Frickenhaus, W. Müller, F. Oelmann, *Tiryns I* (1912), pl. XVII, 7 (Naup. 1930) and pl. XVII, 3 (Naup. 1931))



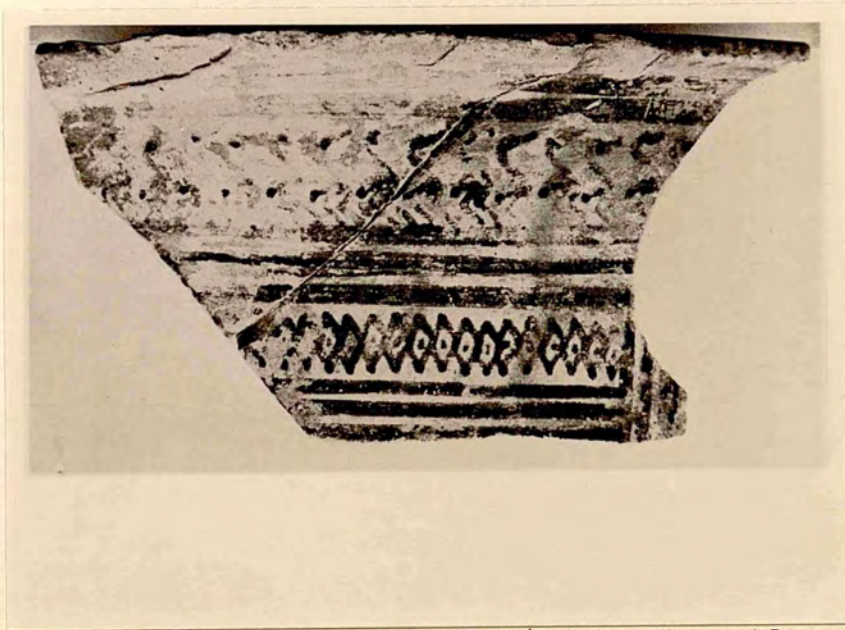
b. Pottery from burial PA6-1 from Lerna. (K. De Vries, *Hesperia* XLIII (1974), pl. 14)  
LGI/II



a. Amphoriskos from Amoriani. LG. (R. Hägg, OpAth. X (1971), 42 fig. 1)



b. Dhendra, group of vases of LGI. (R. Hägg, OpAth. IV (1962), pl. VI)



a. Amphora fragment from Troizen. LGII. (G. Kallipolitis and G. Petrakos, *ADelt.* XVIII B (1963), pl. 59,c)



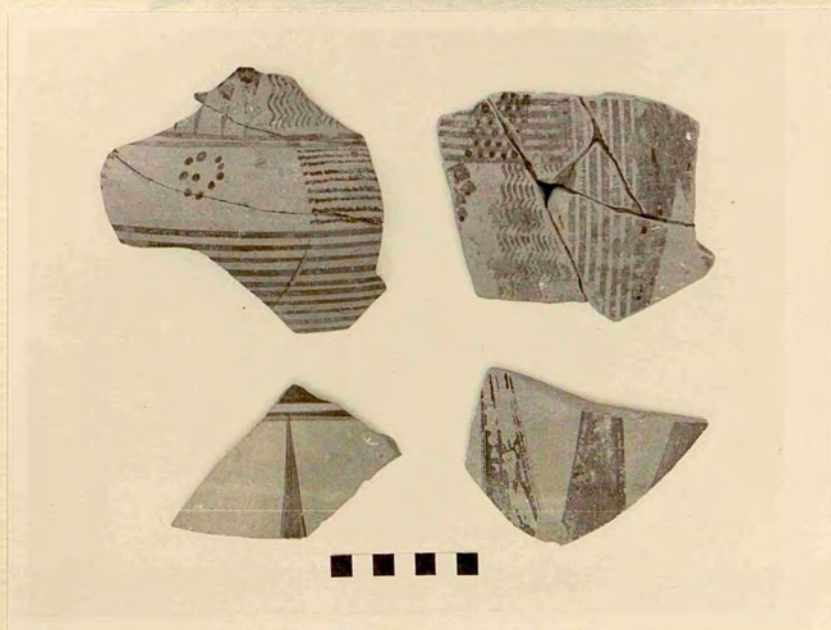
C224

b. Argos, Subgeometric fragment of krater.



C26605

a. Argos, Subgeometric krater. (J.-Fr. Bommelaer et al., *BCH* XCV (1971), 739 fig. 5)



Argos 256  
Argos 745

Argos 3696  
no no.

b. Fragments of Subgeometric vases, Argos.



Argos 19384

a. Argos, seventh-century skyphos fragment.



C26611

b. Argos, orientalizing krater. (J.-Fr. Bommelaer, BCH XCVI (1972), 229-251, fig. 4)



C26611

a. Argos, orientalizing krater. (J.-Fr. Bommelaer, *BCH* XCVI (1972), 229-251, fig. 6)



b. Argos, Polyphemos krater. (P. Courbin, *BCH* LXXIX (1955), 3 fig. 1)



Argos 864

Argos 4677

a. Argos, seventh-century cups. (cf. J. Deshayes, Argos, pl. LV,8 for Argos 4677)



Argos 7566

Argos 7390

b. Argos, seventh-century kantharoi.

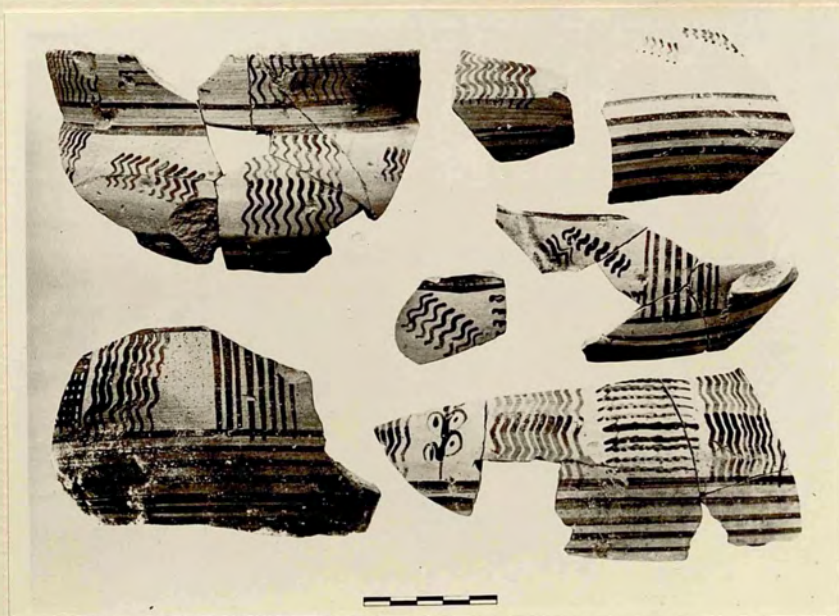


Argos 17702  
Argos 3756

Argos 3770  
Argos 3754

Argos 4262

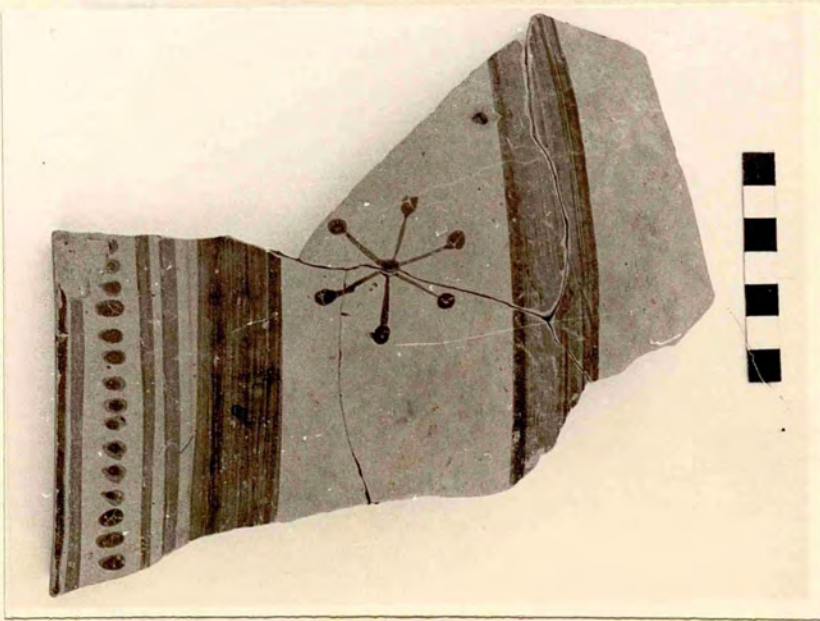
a. Argos, late seventh- and early sixth-century fragments.



DAI 1258

b. Tiryns, Subgeometric fragments.



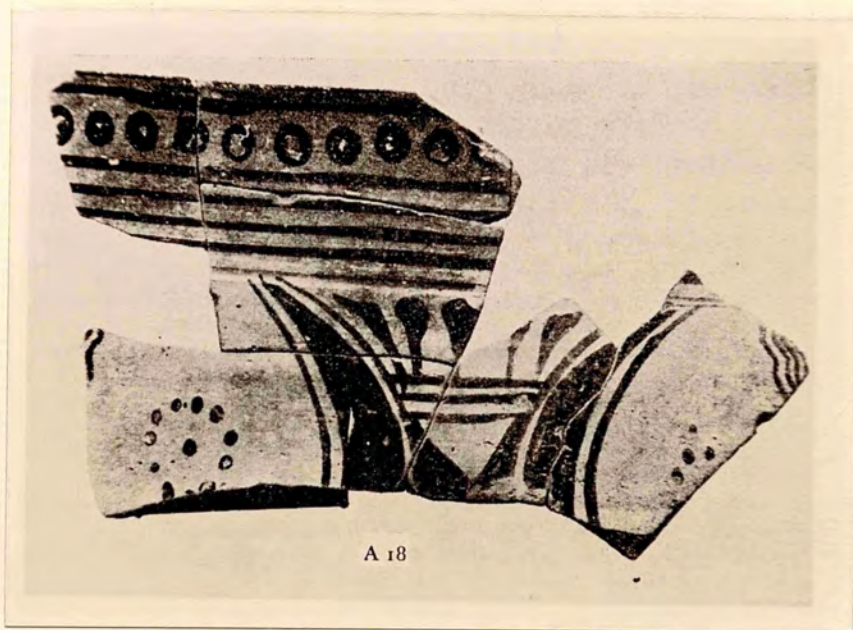


Naup. Myk. ABa

b. Mykenai, Subgeometric fragment from the Agamemnoneion.



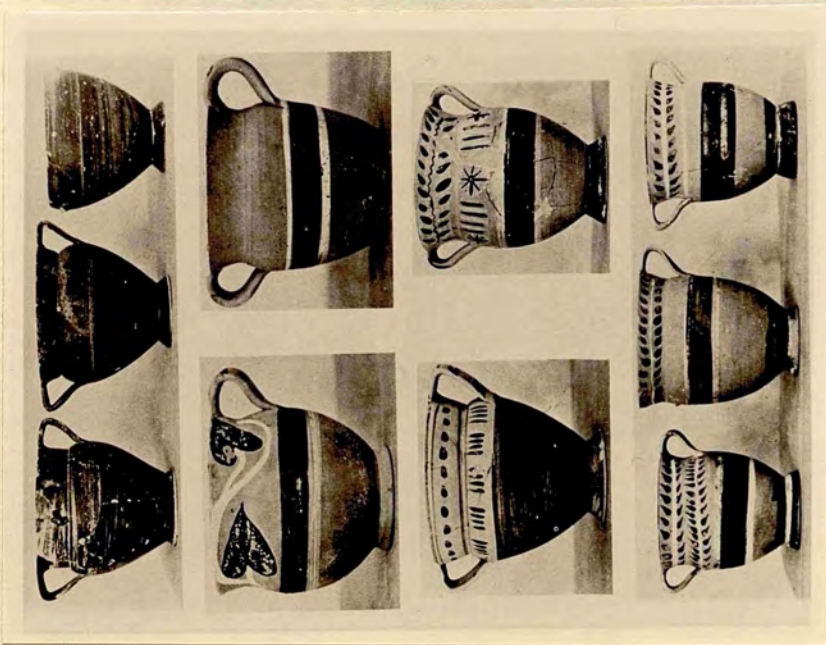
a. Mykenai, krater of Fusco type. (A.J.B. Wace, Archaeologia LXXXII (1932), pl. LVI, H1)



a. Mykenai, orientalizing krater fragment from the Agamemnoneion.  
(Cook, BSA XLVIII (1953), 39 fig. 12)



b. Hydriai from the Argive Heraion. (J.L. Caskey, Hesperia XXI  
(1952), pl. 55, 220, 221)



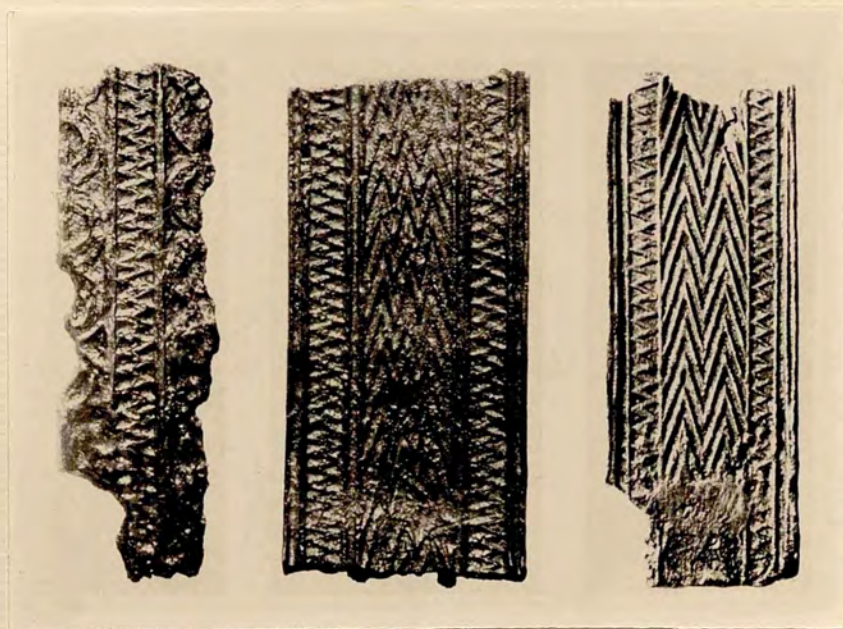
a. Votive pottery from Kourtaki of the late seventh-sixth centuries. (I. Papachristodoulou, ADelt. XXX B1 (1968), pl. 76)



b. Pedestal krater, Kourtaki. (E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, ADelt. XXV B1 (1970), pl. 120, e)



a. Argive helmet from Theodoropoulou grave. (E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, *ADelt.* XXVIII B1 (1973), pl. 95, e)

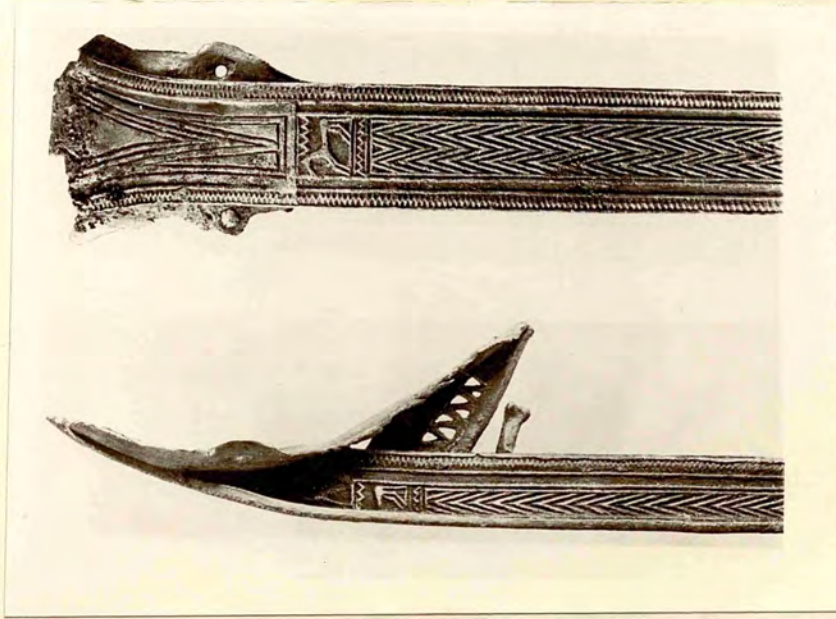


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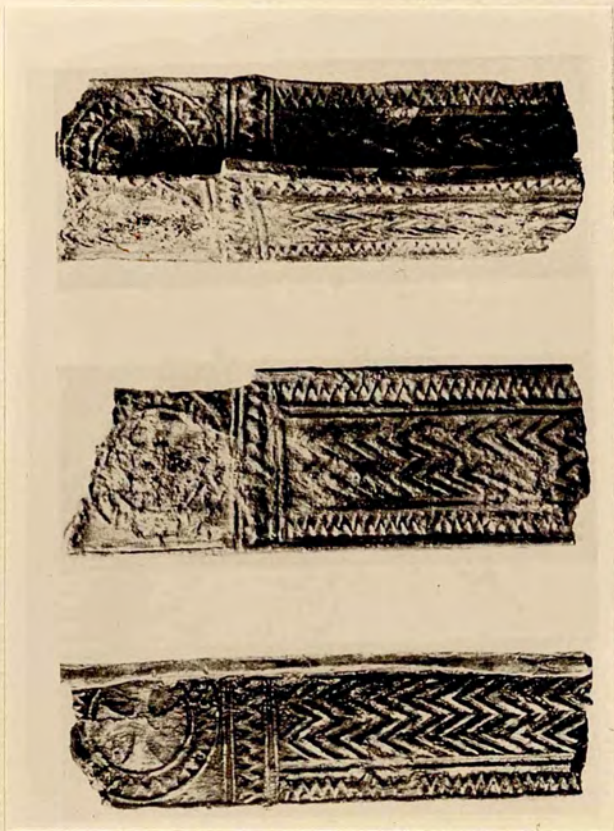
no no.

B2408

b. Tripod cauldron legs. (F. Willemsen, *OlFor* III (1957), pl. 49)



b. Tripod cauldron leg with moulded decoration.  
(M. Maas, OlFor X (1978), pl. 32, 116a)



B2585

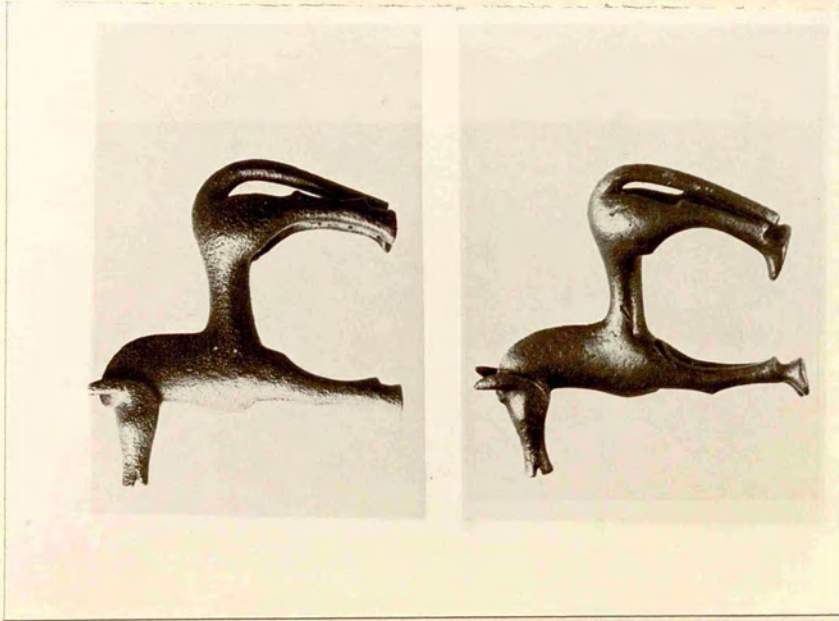
a. Tripod cauldron legs. (F. Willemssen, OlFor III (1957), pl. 49)



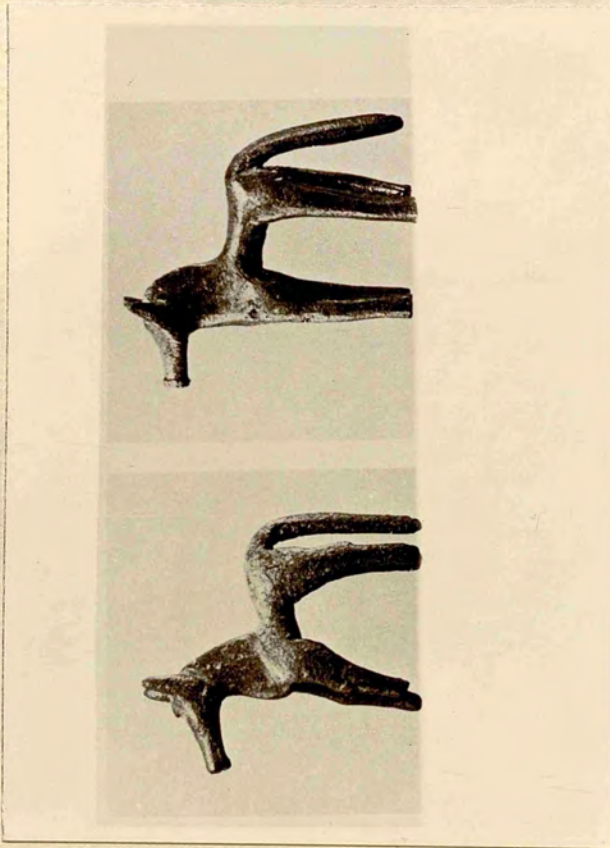
b. Bronze horses, Argive Heraion. (de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, pl. LXXIII, 11, 12)



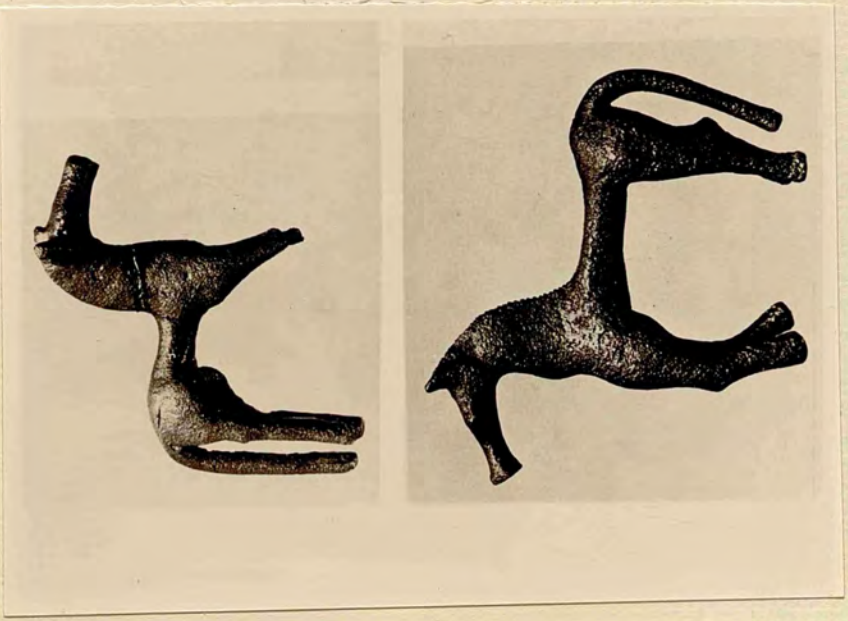
a. Bronze horse, Argive Heraion. (de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, pl. LXXIII, 13)



b. 'Argolic' horses from Olympia. (W.-D. Heilmeyer, OlFor XII (1979), pl. 21)



a. 'Argolic' horses from Olympia. (W.-D. Heilmeyer, OlFor XII (1979), pl. 21)

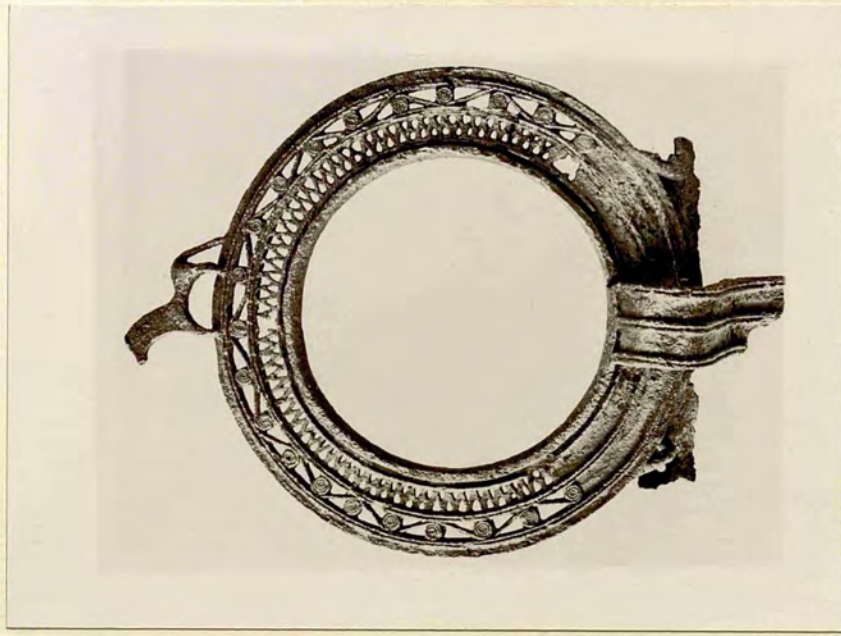


a. 'Argolic' horses from Olympia. (W.-D. Heilmeyer, OLFOI XII (1979), pl. 21, 146, 149)

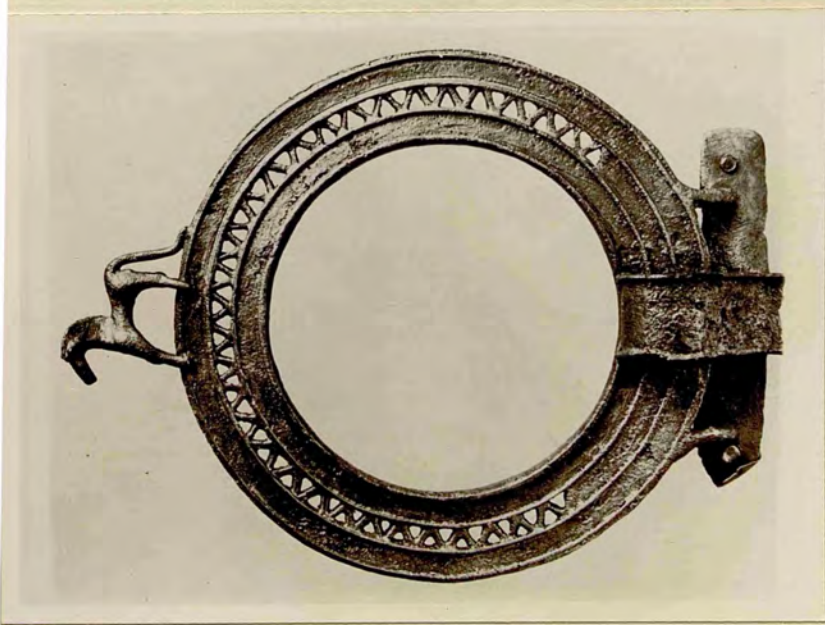


b. Bronze horse, Argive Heraion. (de Cou in Waldstein, AH II, pl. LXXIV, 18)

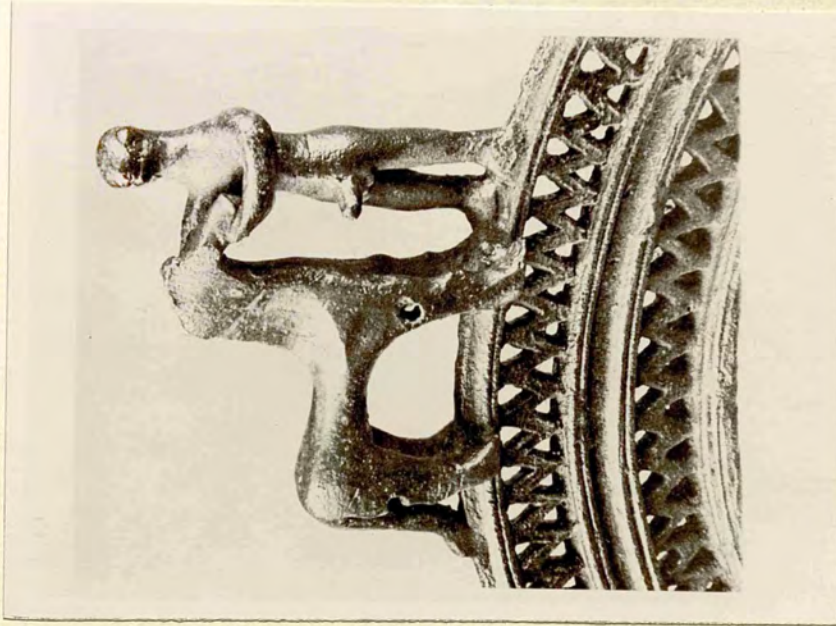




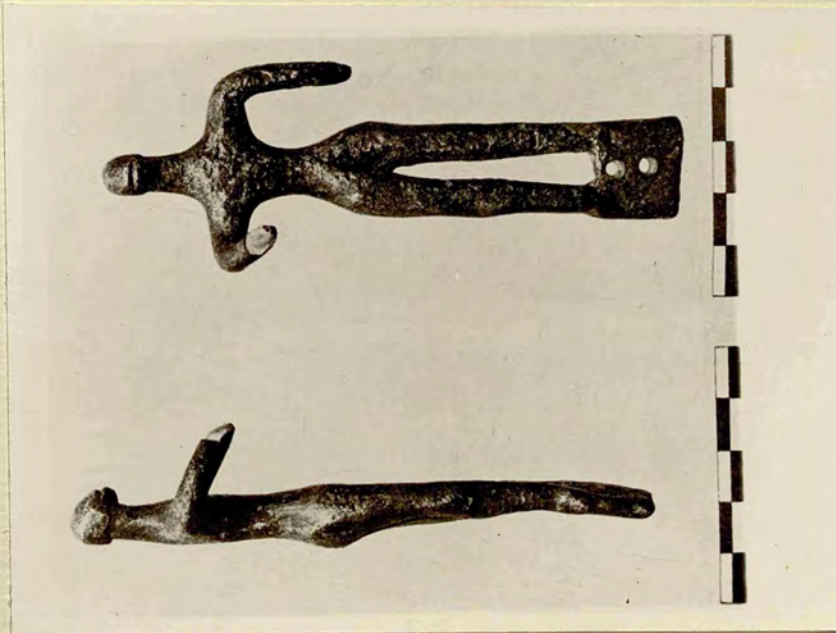
b. Horse on handle of tripod cauldron, Olympia.  
(M. Maas, OJFor X (1978), pl. 35, 152a)



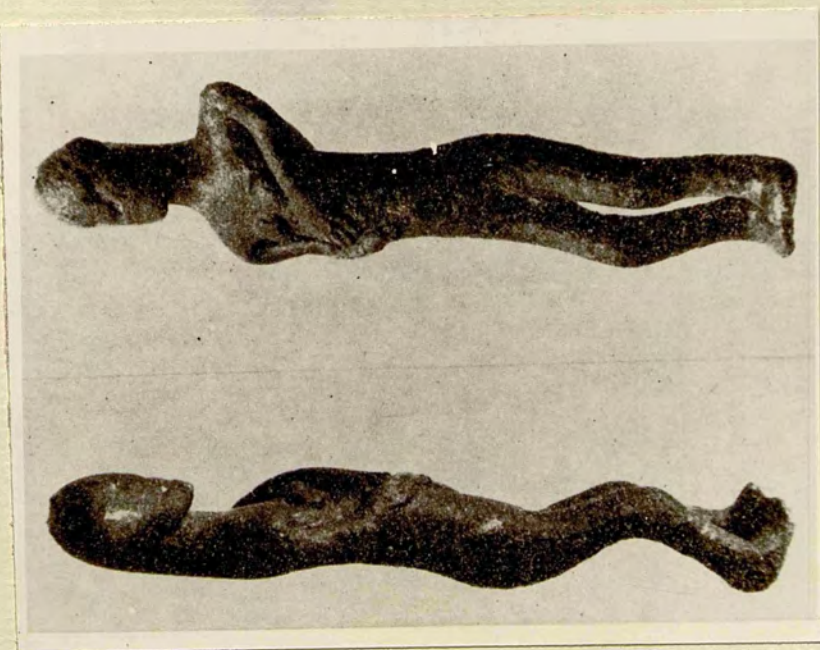
a. Horse on handle of tripod cauldron, Olympia.  
(M. Maas, OJFor X (1978), pl. 43, 175)



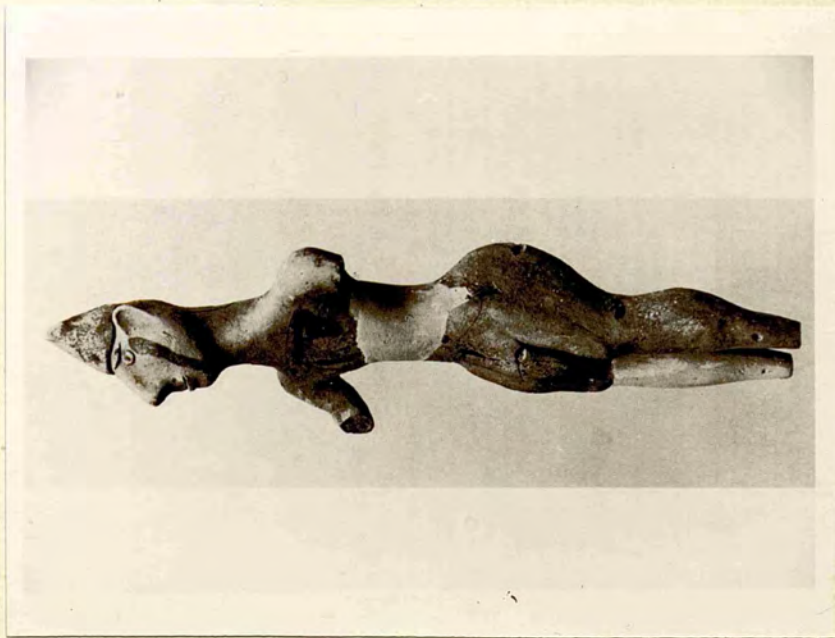
b. Horse-tamer on handle of tripod cauldron, Olympia.  
(M. Maas, OLFOI X (1978), pl. 40, 154)



a. Bronze male figurine, Argive Heraion. (C.W.  
Blegen, AJA XLIII (1939), 431 fig. 17)



a. Bronze female figurine from Asine. ( E. Protonotariou-Deilaki, AE (1953-54), 320)



b. Terracotta warrior from Argos. (H. Sarian, BCH XCIII (1969), 652)



a. Archaic standing terracotta figurines, Argos.



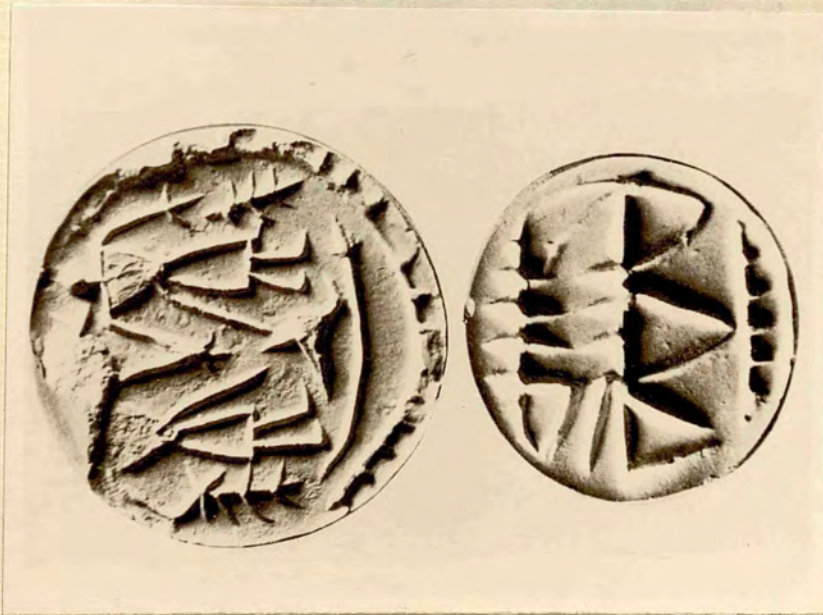
b. Archaic seated terracotta figurine, Argos. (cf. Deshayes, Argos, pl. LIX, 4 (left), DM26)



a. Moulded terracotta figurines, Argos. (D. Daux, BCH XCIII (1969), 938 fig. 19-23)



b. Terracotta mounted warrior, Argos.



a. Disc seal, Argive Heraion. (Boardman, *GrG*, 125 pl. 209. Also Norton in *Waldestein*, *AH II*, pl. CXXXVIII, 22)



b. Disc seal from Megara. (Boardman, *GrG*, 125 pl. 210)



Peloponnesian ivory seals. (Boardman, *IsIG*, pl. XVIII.  
Also Norton in Waldstein, *AH* II, pl. CXXXIX)

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