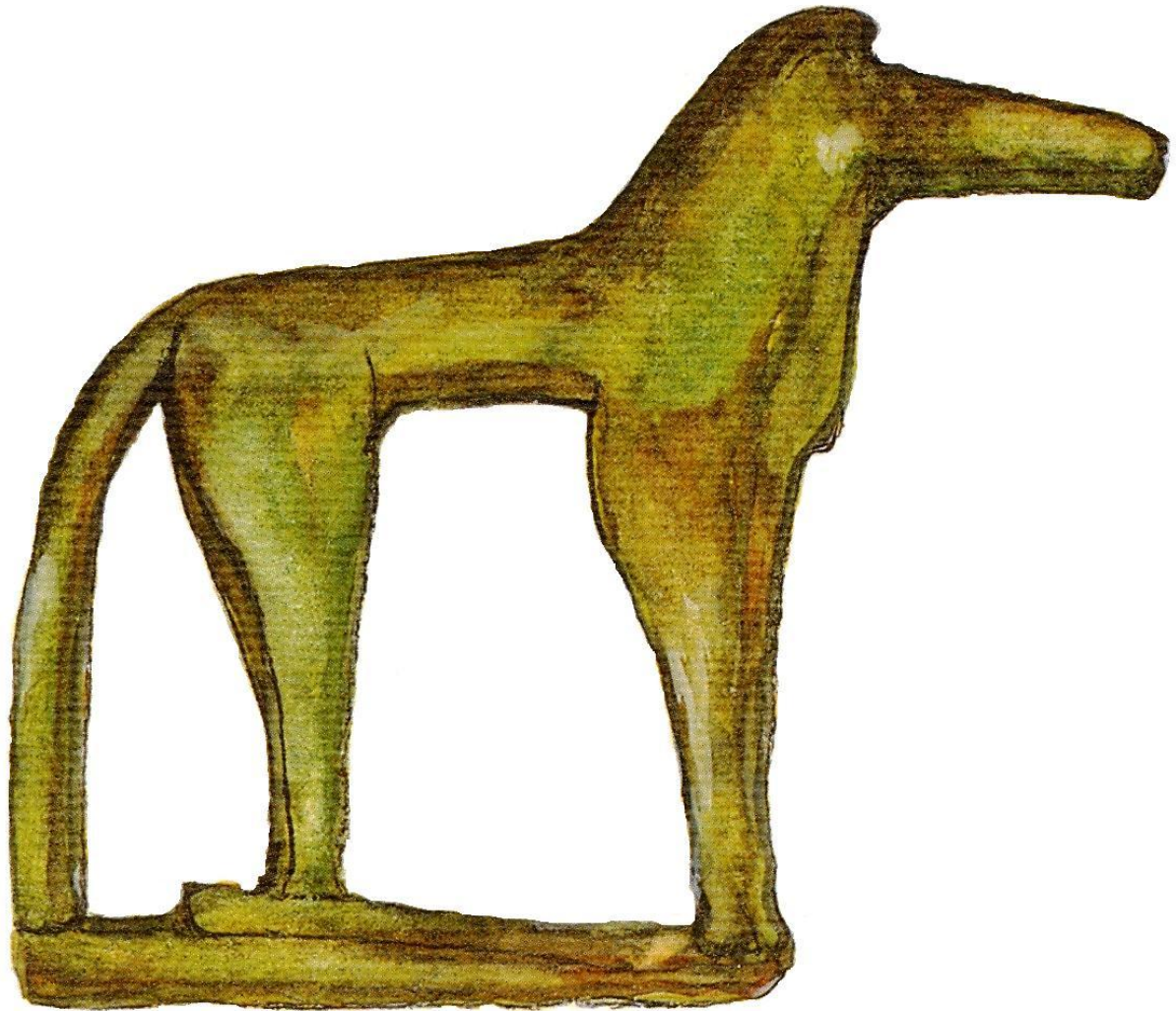


# SANCTUARIES AND VOTIVE OFFERINGS FROM THE EARLY IRON AGE

*- A comparative study of votive offerings from the eastern  
Peloponnese*



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Master`s Thesis in Archaeology

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Front page illustration: Painting by Kjørsti Aamdal of a horse figurine in bronze from the recent excavations at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. © The Norwegian Institute at Athens

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## II. Abstract in Norwegian / Sammendrag

I denne masteroppgaven har jeg undersøkt de tidligste fasene (ca 1050-700 f. Kr.) av tre greske helligdommer lokalisert på Peloponnes, Poseidon i Isthmia, Athena Alea i Tegea og det Argaviske Heraion. Ved å studere votivgavene i detalj, samt tolke deres mulige funksjoner og symboler. Helligdommene ser ut til å ha bli grunnlagt den protogeometriske fasen, og fungerte opprinnelig som møteplasser mellom lokale samfunn, eller i ett større regionalt nettverk. Beliggenheten til helligdommene er svært strategiske, langs hovedveier mellom de forskjellige regionene på Peloponnes. Arkeologiske bevis for møtene som fant sted på disse plassene, består av store mengder knust keramikk, gjerne av typene som normalt ble brukt til å spise og drikke. Mange ble funnet i jordlag beskrevet som "svarte", og som regel med rester etter brente bein som indikerer at ett eller flere dyr må ha blitt ofret under møtene.

Fra det 10. århundret f. Kr. og utover ble også andre gjenstander gitt til helligdommene. Disse består av smykker, gjerne i form av nåler eller *fibulae*, eller av figuriner av leire eller bronse. Ved å studere dette materialet kan man også tolke hva slags funksjon guddommen hadde, eller hva donoren ønsket tilbake fra guddommen. Smykker er ofte tolket som gaver gitt av kvinner som sto ovenfor en forandring, enten klare til å forlate barndommen til fordel for livet som gift, eller i spesielle hendelser i livet, som for eksempel fødsel eller fruktbarhet. Majoriteten smykker dedikert til guddommer er funnet i helligdommer som tilhørte kvinnelige guddommer, og de få funnet i mannlige guders helligdommer, er så få at de knapt kan regnes med i det store bildet.

Drastiske endringer oppsto under det 8. århundret f. Kr. Nye og dyrere gaver blir fra nå av gitt som votivgaver, og indikerer at en ny gruppe mennesker, nærmere bestemt aristokratiet, ønsket å markere sin rikdom og makt. Denne økningen i form av rikere gaver samtidig med at mindre prestisjefullt materiale ble gitt som gravgods for de avdøde. Spesielt bronse trefotene gjenspeiler endringene som skjer på denne tiden. Disse har spesielt innflytelse av de homerske diktene som trolig ble skrevet ned i det 8. århundret, blir en slags standard for den nye klassen av aristokrater. Det 8. århundret kan derfor tolkes som en renessanse i Mykensk tankegang og ideer. De storslåtte bronsealdergravene blir tilbudt som om en av heltene fra de homerske diktene skulle være gravlagt der. Denne bølgen av respekt for forfedrene og deres kultur er også gjenspeilet i votivmaterialet. Mykensk ikonografi som dobbeltøksen og granateplet er spesielt synlig i helligdommen i Tegea, og bidrar til diskusjonen om disse gjenstandene henviser til en mykensk kultur som aldri helt forsvant.

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## **V. Abbreviations - Terms in the text**

AD	Anno Domini
BA	Bronze Age
BC	before Christ
EBA	Early Bronze Age
EG	Early Geometric
EH	Early Helladic
EIA	Early Iron Age
EPG	Early Protogeometric
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LG	Late Geometric
LH	Late Helladic
LPG	Late Protogeometric
MG	Middle Geometric
MH	Middle Helladic
NE	North East
MPG	Middle Protogeometric
PG	Protogeometric
SPG	Subprotogeometric

# 1. INTRODUCTION

Many of the important sanctuaries of ancient Greece were established during the Early Iron Age (EIA), that is, between 1050 and 700 BC.<sup>1</sup> While Sourvinou-Inwood (1993:11-12) has argued that historical Greek religion was established during this period, both de Polignac (1984) and Morris (1987 and 1989) maintain that the historical Greek religion was established during the eighth century. In his article on the Ionian Geometric sanctuaries, Simon (1997:125) claims that it is the sanctuaries during this period that should be investigated to better understand the development of the later Greek religion. This is also argued by O. T. P. K. Dickinson (1986:21) who stresses that there were significant developments during the Dark Age that gave rise to many of the most characteristic features of Greek civilization. He continues by arguing that Greek religion went through fundamental changes during the Dark Age, but that the practice in the forms of worship, may have remained very much the same, though some of the deities might have changed their names and nature (*ibid.*:25). Furthermore, there are scholars who believe that what we consider ancient Greek religion was established as early as the Bronze Age or even earlier in the Neolithic period (Dietrich 1974 and Nilsson 1927). New excavations and re-examinations of previously excavated materials have resulted in a better understanding of cult and religious during the EIA. Scholars from the past have often attempted to reconstruct the religion of the period in light of Mycenaean, Minoan and historical Greek religion, and their theories were shaped after thoughts on how it must have been (Sourvinou-Inwood 1993:1).

Evidence of material culture from the EIA is less abundant than the preceding Mycenaean culture, as well as the succeeding Archaic and Classical periods. Due to the disappearance of literacy in the LBA, interpretations of material evidence are the only methods for better understanding the social and religious environment during these crucial centuries. As new evidence comes to light, it becomes ever more important to re-examine both the newly and the previous excavated material, and to ask questions regarding the religious practice of these "darker" centuries.

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<sup>1</sup>All subsequent dates provided are before the Christian era unless otherwise stated.



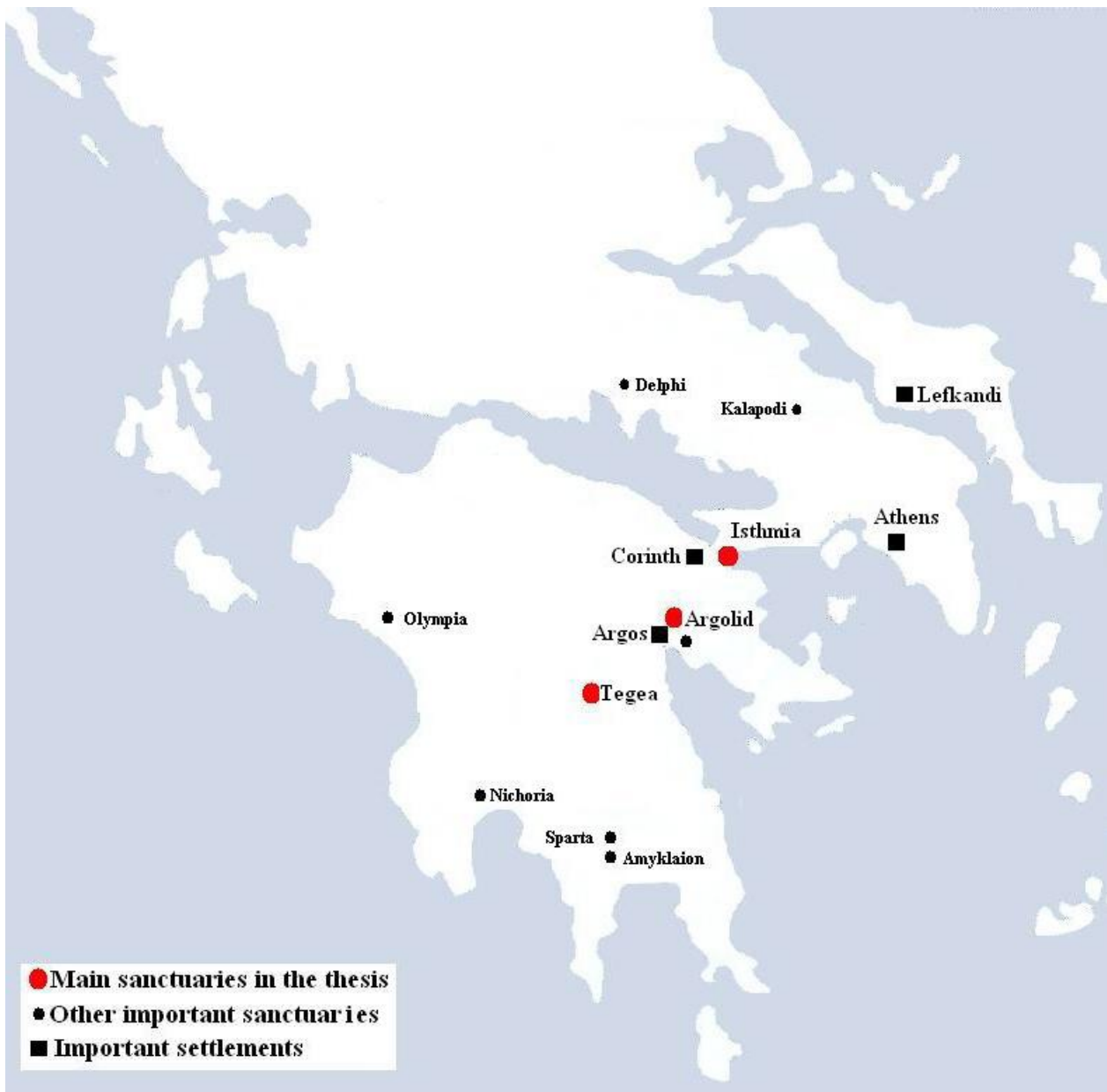


Figure 1 Map of central and southern Greece showing the main sanctuaries discussed, as well as other important sanctuaries and settlements.

## 1.2 Problems for discussion

The aim of this study is to better understand the religious development that occurred throughout the EIA in Greece (eleventh to eighth century). This will be done through a detailed survey of the votive material from three sanctuaries located on the eastern part of the Peloponnese: Poseidon at Isthmia, Athena Alea at Tegea, and the Argive Heraion (Fig. 1). These sanctuaries were chosen in accordance with the following criteria:

1. They were established during the EIA.
2. They are located in the vicinity of each other in the eastern Peloponnese
3. Different deities were worshipped at these sanctuaries (two female and one male),
4. They became important sanctuaries in the life of later *poleis* (i.e., Tegea, Corinth and Argos).
5. Their earliest functions were meeting places between local and regional communities.

This paper will be divided into two major parts. In part one the three sanctuaries will be discussed in details, first regarding their history and their excavations, and secondly a detailed survey of the votive material from the sanctuaries. By looking at the chronology of each category, I will shed light on the development of the cult throughout the EIA.

The second part consists of a detailed analysis of the different categories of votive offerings. Previous conclusions and theories about the different functions will be discussed and analyzed, and some new interpretations of the material will be made. The results of the study of the votives from the three sanctuaries will be compared with each other, and other important contemporary sanctuaries.

Based on the information obtained during the survey of the votive offerings, I have come up with the following problem statements:

*-How does the assortment of votive offerings provide insights into cultic, religious and social behavior during the EIA?*

*-Do the various categories of votives indicate the deity or the worshiper's interest?*

### 1.3 Spatial and Chronological Delimitations

The main geographical focus will be on the eastern part of the Peloponnese, specifically the regions of the Corinthia, the Argolid and Arcadia. Other sanctuaries outside of this area, however, will also be mentioned (Fig.1). As mentioned, the chronological focus of this paper is the Early Iron Age, *ca.* 1050 to 700 BC. This period can be subdivided into the Protogeometric (PG) (*ca.* 1050/1025 – 900 BC), and Geometric period (*ca.* 900-700 BC), which can be further subdivided into Early Geometric (EG) (*ca.* 900-850 BC), Middle Geometric (MG) (*ca.* 850-760 BC), and Late Geometric (LG) (*ca.* 760-700). Another period that should be mentioned is the Submycenaean period (LH IIIC) (*ca.* 1125 -1050), which marks the transitional period. These periods are named after their ceramic style, and can be subdivided into further categories (fig. 2 and table 1) (Dickinson 2006:23). As illustrated in table 1, there are substantial regional differences in the dates of these periods.

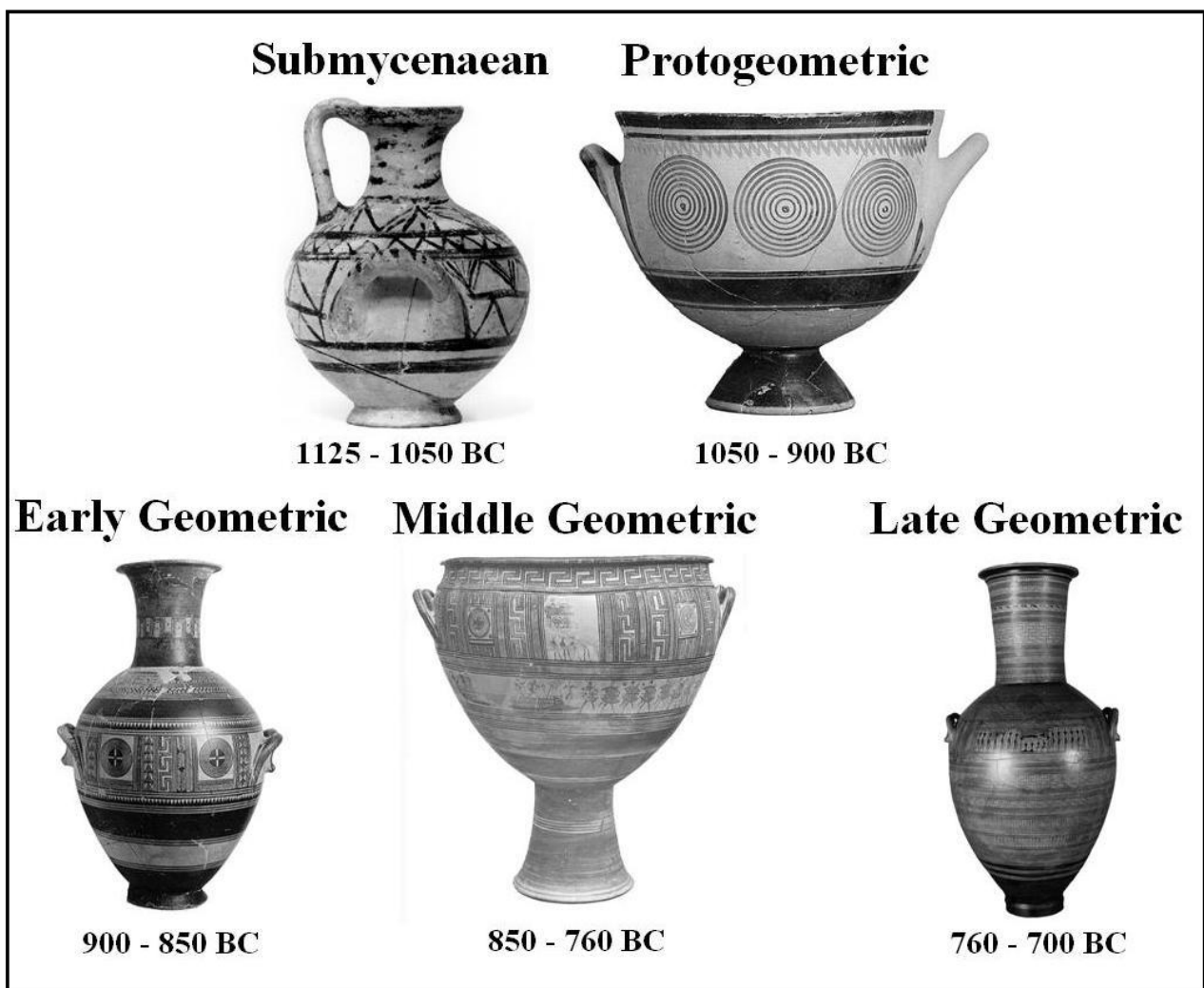


Figure 2: The chronological phases of the EIA

	<i>Attic</i>	<i>Corinthian</i>	<i>Argive</i>	<i>Thessalian</i>	<i>Cycladic &amp; Euboean</i>	<i>Boeotian</i>	<i>Laconian</i>	<i>W. Greek</i>	<i>Cretan</i>	<i>E. Greek</i>
900	EG I	LPG	EG I				LPG		MPG	
875	EG II	EG	EG II	Sub-PG	Sub PG	Sub-PG	EG		LPG	PG or Sub PG
850										
840				EG				PG		
825	MG I	MG I	MG I		MG (+Sub PG skyphoi)			PG	PGB	
800									EG	MG
	MG II	MG II	MG II	MG		MG				
760							MG?	MG?	MG	
750	LG Ia									
735	LG Ib		LG I							
730	LG IIa	LG			Naxian LG			LG I		
720					Parian LG				LG	
	LG IIb	EPC	LG II	LG	Melian LG					
700						Theban LG			Trans.	LG
690								LG II		
	EPA	MPC I		P	EO	EO				
675			Sub G				Sub G		EO	
670	MPA	MPC II						Sub G		Sub G

Table 1: Chronology of the Geometric period and its geographical subdivisions (from Morgan 1999:23).

## 1.4 An introduction to the Early Iron Age

A summary of the social and political development of Greece through the EIA is needed to put the change of religious behavior into context. Important changes occurred on mainland Greece during the 12<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> centuries, triggered by the collapse of the Mycenaean civilization. Whether the collapse was a result of migration, invasion by the Dorians, a natural catastrophe, a system collapse, or an internal disturbance (James 1991:71, Dickinson 2006:46-56), the result was a substantial breakdown. Although a small recovery appeared for a few generations after the destruction of the palaces, in the so-called Postpalatial (LH IIIC) period (Dickinson 2006:56), the knowledge of megalithic masonry, literacy, and redistribution systems disappeared (*ibid.*:77); consequently, the mainland witnessed a drastic population decrease as villages were abandoned, and life in general was harder (James 1991:72, Dickinson 2006:93). While the Late Helladic (LH IIIB) period has produced 462 Mycenaean sites, 238 have been identified from the LH IIIC period (James 1991:72). Most of the settlements from the Postpalatial period were abandoned during the transition period, with the exception of larger places like Argos, Corinth, Athens and Lefkandi. The surviving settlements with the exception of Lefkandi would later become important city states.

Owing to the paucity of evidence from the EIA, including a lack of written sources, scholars like Murray (1907:29) labeled the period as “a period of darkness”, or more commonly, the Dark Age of Greece (Snodgrass 1977:1). Many scholars in the early twentieth century seem to have found it easy to treat the period as an intermission when little happened, or changed. The concept of a Dark Age has since been debated considerably, especially as more evidence comes to light. Works by eminent scholars like Snodgrass (1971), Desborough (1972), and Coldstream (1977), and later by Whitley (1991 and 2001), Lemos (2002) and Dickinson (2006), have improved our knowledge of this period and the argument that it was exceptionally primitive (or ‘dark’) holds less weight than in earlier scholarship. While it is true that the EIA was still relatively poorer compared to the Mycenaean period and later Classical and Hellenistic Greece, new excavations and research has proved that the period was “brighter” than previously assumed.

Significant developments seem to have occurred during the tenth and ninth centuries, and there is strong evidence of social improvements across Greece, especially in the settlements of Argos, Athens and its northern neighbor Lefkandi (Coldstream 2003:55-57,63-64) (Fig. 1). Moreover, it appears that by the eighth century settlements had fully recovered. This was also a time when aristocracy was on the rise, and subsequently looking back to the heroic times for inspiration (Langdon 1987:110). Significantly, when the trading links with the east were formally resumed during the eighth century, the alphabet was (re)introduced, and the Greeks were once again a literate

people (Coldstream 2003:73-81). Furthermore, from the eighth century onwards show the earliest evidence of the *polis*.

As alluded to above, the EIA is a difficult period to examine since it has yielded significantly less material than the previous and later phases. As more evidence comes to light, however, it is fast becoming a more closely studied epoch. Some regions survived the decline better than others; Athens and Lefkandi managed to recover quickly, and they were leaders in spreading their culture to the neighboring regions. On the other hand, some regions remained fairly isolated and consequently their recovery was slower. Still others maintained contact with the East and continued the complex network of trading present during the Late Bronze Age. In particular at the settlement Lefkandi in Euboea, where many objects of eastern origin dating to the Protogeometric period and onwards were excavated in the rich tombs of the site, indicating strong connections with the east. Perhaps most noteworthy are the two graves in the Heroön, where a man was cremated and buried in a bronze amphora from Cyprus, and a woman was buried by inhumation, with a piece of Syrian jewelry made 700 years earlier (Lemos 2002:164-167).

## **1.5 The Material**

## **1.6 Methodological Approach**

This analysis of EIA sanctuaries is limited to three sanctuaries, those of Athena Alea at Tegea, Poseidon at Isthmia and the Argive Heraion (two female and one male deity). An examination of all the EIA sanctuaries in Greece is beyond the scope of this study. As mentioned above, the sanctuaries were chosen because of their close proximity to each other in the eastern part of the Peloponnese, as well as having important functions throughout the EIA. The methods of analysis consist of a comparative study of the votive offerings that were dedicated at the sanctuaries. As will be demonstrated, the materials from these three sites show important similarities as well as differences, which might suggest variant functions in the respective sanctuaries.

In the first part of this study, each of the three sanctuaries will be examined individually. This will include a brief introduction to the history of the site, a short history of the excavation and previous research of the sanctuary. Finally, a detailed description of the votive material will be given along with, the quantity of material and its chronological development throughout the EIA.

In the second part of the study, the votive offerings will be analyzed by type (pottery, figurines, jewelry, etc.). The material will then be compared with that from the other sanctuaries, as well as a short comparison with other important sanctuaries from the same period. Theories and discussions about the function of these categories will be examined further in this part of the study.

This study is based on publications of the material, and unfortunately, I was not able to study the material in person at this time.

## 1.7 Problems

Several problems might affect the analysis of the material, and should be considered before starting. First, the earliest excavations in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries had different priorities and methods than present excavations. Explorations of the sanctuaries largely aimed at uncovering the buildings, and consequently, stratigraphic methods were rarely employed<sup>2</sup>. Many votives from the early excavations, therefore, have no stratified context, which makes relative stylistic dating the only method available for determining the date of the object (Baumbach 2004:9). Because much of the material has been discovered in layers mixed with later material, absolute dates for many of the object are difficult. For example, a large amount of the votives retrieved from the area north of the temple at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea have been dated to the eighth or seventh century, but since their dates might include the eighth century they should be considered a part of the delimitations. Second, the publications from many excavations are inadequate, and the material needs to be re-examined in the light of new methodological approaches and an increased knowledge of the period in question. Furthermore, many publications have left out important material, which affects the interpretations of the site for later scholars (e.g. Strøm 1988:175-176). Moreover, none of the three sanctuaries has been fully excavated, and research carried out on the amounts of votives found is relative. As the sanctuaries are further excavated and as the previously excavated material is re-examined, it should be expected that some of information regarding the quantity and the date of foundation might change. It should also be stated that the evidence mentioned in this study is the catalogued material; the amount of excavated material is higher.

The last problem that should be discussed regarding studying the EIA is to what degree scholars can use the Homeric poems as a historical source. There are three general points regarding these poems. To begin with, the poems were oral compositions which were probably written down during the eighth century. In addition, they describe possible events that took place during the thirteenth century (Morris 1986:81). Furthermore, if the poems were passed down orally through these five centuries, their description of society might be from any of these, a mixture or perhaps some fantasy with little social reality (*ibid.*:82). It is also likely that the poems were changed through the centuries to validate social and political conditions of the present (O. T. P. K. Dickinson

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<sup>2</sup> With the exception of the German excavations at Olympia, where simple stratigraphic methods were used.

1986:21). Historians and archaeologists should, therefore, be careful while using the Homeric poems as a historical source describing the dark ages and the eighth century.

## 1.8 Votive offerings

To understand the nature of the religious practice during the EIA, we must study the numerous votive offerings which were dedicated in the sanctuaries. As many scholars agree, votives together with sacrificial offerings to a deity were the most important rituals that took place in Greek sanctuaries (Whitley 2001:134), and are sometimes the only remaining evidence from the earliest shrines or sanctuaries (Gebhard 1993:159). The sacrifice and consumption of an animal can be considered as an instant offering; while the dedication of votive offerings can be regarded as permanent gifts (van Straten 1981:65-66). Burkert (1987:43) defines the 'gifts to the gods' as “a token of respect for superior powers, an expression of thanks for the life and all the good things we receive every day”. Van Straten (1981:65-66) interprets votives as any object dedicated by a supplicant to a deity, to receive a favor in return (Latin phrase “*do ut des*”). The votives could be displayed in the sanctuary, either on special bases around the *temenos*, or in/on the temple itself (Rouse 1902:342). Many votives from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, for example, were located, and possibly buried, in the floor levels of the Geometric temples as well as in the pronaos or porch (Voyatzsis 2002:152). Several of the miniature vessels found there had suspension holes, suggesting that they were suspended from the beams, most probably from the roof beams or from trees (Hammond 1998:218-219). Smaller and less valuable dedications like terracottas and pottery could be placed on tables or altars. Such offerings were periodically removed and buried in pits or in a *bothros*, depending on the ritual or the type of object (Rouse 1902:343, Burkert 1985:94). An example of such a pit or *bothros* was uncovered under the *pronaos* of the later Classical temple at Tegea, and offers two-hundred years of long insight into deposition of votive offering, from roughly 950-750 (Østby unpublished:5). Any object that was brought within the limits of the *temenos* was considered sacred and, consequently, was left there; in other words, once an object was brought into the sanctuary and dedicated, it was forbidden to remove it from the sanctuary. Votives were often used by the dedicator to display his wealth and piety (Whitley 2004:140), a trend which is especially evident after the eighth century. This display was done by dedicating monumental or expensive offerings like bronze tripods, statues, or other valuable objects.

Nearly anything could be offered as a votive, and Whitley (2004:141-142) has divided them into three categories. However, it is worth noting that Whitley's categories are not exact, and certain votives can belong to more than one group. His categories are as follows:



1. Dedications of personal objects.
2. Purpose-made votives.
3. Gifts common in the aristocratic gift exchange.

Dedication of personal objects could consist of household objects like spindle whorls, jewelry, toys, or drinking/dining equipment like cups and plates. From the eighth century onwards, weapons and armor, usually captured during a battle, were also left as votive offerings and can be found under this category. In general this category includes votives that had a no cultic use before ending as a votive offering.

Purpose-made votives were objects that were specifically manufactured for dedicatory purposes. These could be terracotta figurines of animals, humans, or food, but also certain types of ceramics, like miniature vessels, that had no practical function outside a sanctuary. In addition, over-sized dress pins and *fibulae* that were typical in burials also made their way into sanctuaries; these could be placed in this category, since they probably could not be used. The production of such object must in certain cases have been a mass industry. Although the function of tripod cauldrons' was as equipment for cooking, it later turned into a purpose-made votive during the eighth century. Thus, to a certain extent, these could also be placed in the third category as gifts common in the aristocratic gift exchange. The third category also includes other objects that would have been considered appropriate gifts within the eastern Mediterranean group of elites, such as the Phoenician bronze bowls found at Olympia (Whitley 2004:141-144).

The study of the function and symbolism of the votive offerings found in sanctuaries contributes to the understanding of the practice of cult in Greek sanctuaries. This is especially important for the sanctuaries founded in the early years, and provides an insight to religious behavior through the EIA. Moreover, by examining the objects and their chronologically, it is possible to study the evolvement of sanctuaries.

## 2.1 THE SANCTUARY OF POSEIDON AT ISTHMIA



Figure 3: Map of Corinthia and the Isthmus, showing important sites and settlements from the EIA

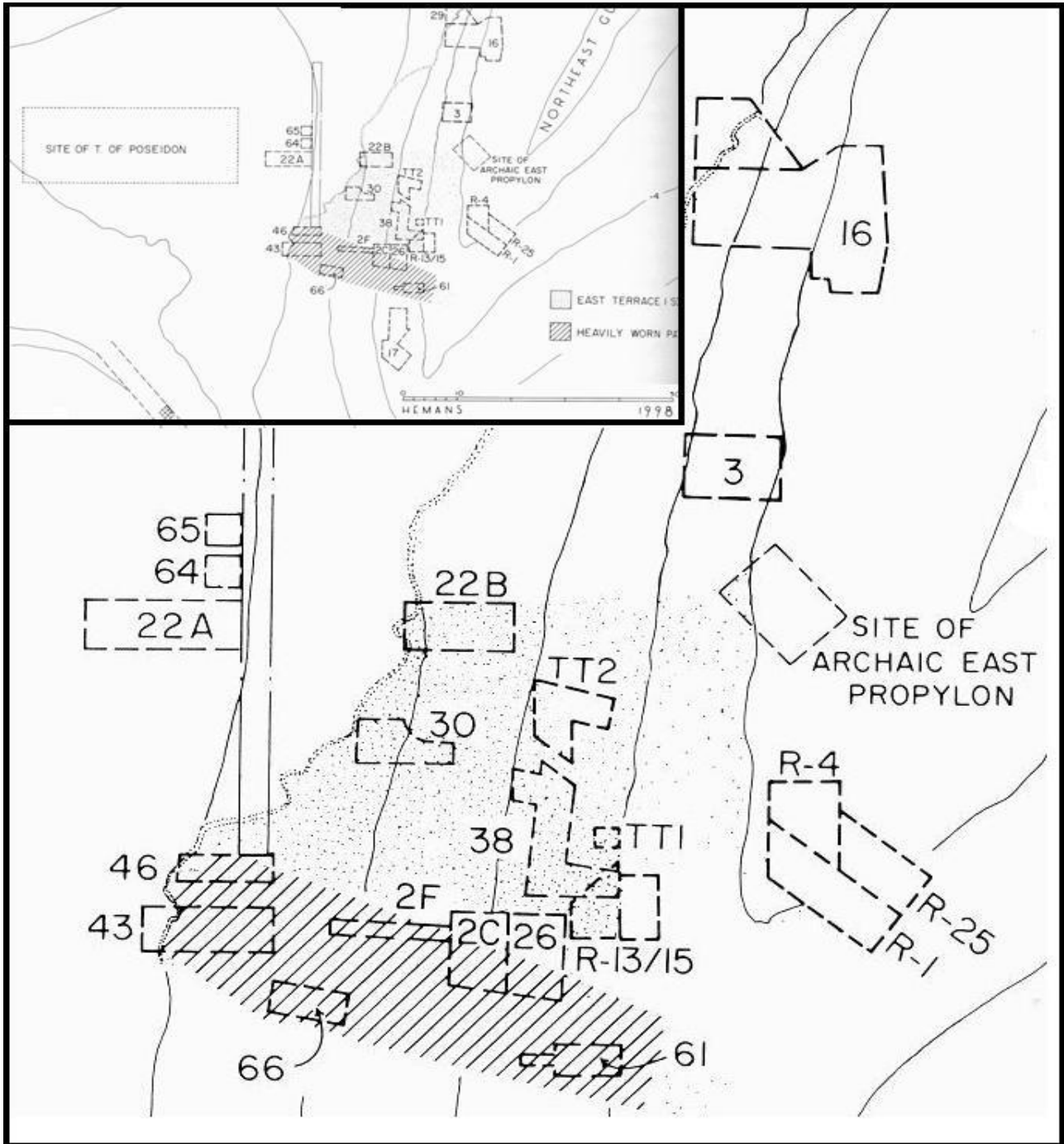
### **2.1.1 Location and History:**

The sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia is located on a small plateau on the Isthmus that links the Greek mainland with the Peloponnese, roughly 10 km east of ancient Corinth. The plateau is bordered with the Saronic gulf in the east, and the Corinthian gulf in the west. Situated on a well-traveled route between the southern and central Greece (fig. 3), the sanctuary was ideally located as a meeting place (Gebhard 1993:156). The sanctuary became the most important extramural sanctuary of the Corinthians from the Archaic period and onwards. Furthermore, Isthmia became one of the four pan-Hellenic sanctuaries where games were organized (*ibid.*:154).

Corinthia and the Isthmus were important regions during the BA and continued to be important through the EIA (Morgan 1999:347). Consequently, archaeological evidence reveals an unbroken sequence of graves and settlements in the area (Morgan 1999:73). During the sub-Mycenaean and EPG period, activity at Isthmia reoccurred, especially in ritual practice, making Isthmia one of the earliest post-Mycenaean sanctuaries in Greece (Gebhard 1993:165 and Morgan 1999:369).

The earliest rituals in the sanctuary seem to have been connected with sacrifices, dining, and drinking, which are suggested by the large quantity of animal bones found mixed with broken pottery (Gebhard 1993:156). Dining and drinking continued to be the dominant rituals in the sanctuary during the following centuries, but dedication of terracotta and metal artifacts also appears from the LPG period onwards (especially in the LG period). Votives continued to be deposited and cult activity increased at the end of the eight century (Morgan 1999:374). Furthermore, it appears that the first monumental temple was constructed at Isthmia during somewhere between 690 and 650. In turn, this temple was replaced by a classical Doric temple after a fire in 470 (Gebhard 1993:163), and the sanctuary remained in use throughout the Roman period (*ibid.*:154).

### 2.1.2 Excavations at Isthmia



*Figure 4 The Isthmian sanctuary during the eighth century, showing the trenches from the 1989 excavations. The scribed area marks the worn surface (Morgan 1999).*

The first systematic excavation of the site began in 1952 by Oscar Broneer and the University of Chicago, under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The remains of the classical temple, the buildings connected to the sanctuary, and the theatre were fully exposed between 1963 and 1967. Excavations were later undertaken by Paul Clement from between 1967 and 1976. Morgan from later re-examined material from Broneer's excavations, and argued that the

sanctuary was founded as early as in the transition between the Sub-Mycenaean and the EPG period (roughly 1050 BC). Finally, more evidence of the sanctuary's earliest phase, and a date of the construction of the first temple came to light during the 1989 excavations led by Gebhard from the University of Chicago (fig. 10) (Morgan 1999:vii). The excavations at Isthmia have been published in eight volumes, and in numerous articles. The first publication by Broneer appeared in 1971, and the latest in 1999 by Morgan, regarding the LBA settlements and the EIA sanctuary (*ibid.:i*).

### **2.1.3 The material**

The excavations at the Isthmian sanctuary have yielded numerous votive offerings from various phases. The material from the LBA/EIA has been carefully studied and published by Morgan in the eight volume published on the sanctuary (1999). The majority of the earliest votive offerings consisted of cups and bowls that were found mixed with ash and burnt animal bones. Most of these were found scattered around the sanctuary, mostly at the south-eastern part of the plateau (Gebhard 1993:156).

There is little evidence of organized deposition of vessels, although some votives were placed in a depression in the bedrock, mixed with dark soil (*ibid.:157*). Fortunately, the earliest votives were covered by earth when the central plateau was terraced starting from the middle of the eighth century. It was, therefore, relatively undisturbed from the later building activities.

Although the majority of the EIA votives consisted of pottery, terracotta figurines and some metal objects were also dedicated in the sanctuary. These categories will be discussed in details through the following chapter. The material recovered from the excavations provides an insight into the practice of rituals throughout the EIA at Isthmia.\

### **Pottery**

The most commonly dedicated object at the Isthmian sanctuary during the EIA was pottery. The earliest pottery that appears to function as a votive offering occurs during the transition period between the sub-Mycenaean and EPG period (roughly 1050 BC). These offerings predominantly consisted of open vessels, such as cups and bowls, which were commonly used for drinking and dining. The sherds of these votives were found in layers mixed with ash and animal bones, which suggests that the vessels were deposited together with remains of sacrificial dining (Gebhardt 1993:156, Morgan 1999:373). Moreover, the condition of the remains appears to indicate that the vessels were deliberately broken to prevent them from being used again, probably by a priest or someone with a priest's function (Coldstream 2003:332).

The evidence from this earliest phase is relatively scanty. Only nine catalogued vessels are

identified from the sub-Mycenaean and EPG transitional period. All of these vessels were locally produced in Corinth. Another forty-nine vessels appear to be from the later part of the EPG period, and five of these were probably produced in Attica. Vessels from the MPG period are harder to identify, and this period lasted for a shorter time than the previous further complicating matters; consequently, only two vessels can be securely dated to this phase. All together fifty-one open vessels are securely identified as belonging to the periods earlier than the LPG (Morgan 1999:373).

The open vessels from the PG period included flat-based (fig. 5 D) and high-footed skyphoi, flat-based cups, pyxides, kantharoi, and kraters. The majority of the drinking vessels throughout the PG period were skyphoi, and from the high-footed cup, which were introduced during the LPG period (fig.5) (Gebhardt 1999:79-91 and Morgan 1999:392). During the LPG period (ca. 1000-900 BC), a noticeable change occurred in the cult practice at Isthmia: the sacrificial dining continued to be the dominant ritual, but the amount of open vessels dedicated increase significantly, suggesting that more individuals were participating in the rituals. Seventy open vessels have been identified as belonging the LPG (*ibid.*:392). Taken together, the pottery from the whole PG period represents seven percent of the total ceramic assemblage from Isthmia. Roughly 90 percent of the sherds identified as belonging to the PG period consists of open vessels, and no closed vessels appeared before the LPG period (*ibid.*:373). Furthermore, almost all of the PG vessels found at Isthmia were located in the same redeposited layers of burnt bone and ash (*ibid.*:374).

EG vessels are fewer in numbers and are represented by seventy securely dated open vessels (*ibid.*:393). Morgan (*ibid.*), argues that one reason for the low amount of open vessels from this period can be explained by the LPG lasting through the EG period (see table 1 for the local chronology of Corinthia). These numbers indicate that there was a peak in cultic activity between roughly 900-875 (Morgan 1999:393). While only twelve open vessels can be securely dated specifically to the MG I period, another seven can be assigned to the MG period in general (Morgan 1999:394). A comparison between the total amounts of MG open vessels with those of the previous phase, suggests that there was a decline in cult activity at the end of the ninth century, or perhaps a change of location, which has not been excavated.

Pottery continued to be the foremost material dedicated at Isthmia and the amount of vessels increased during the eighth century. Ninety-three fine ware vessels have been found which date to the MG II period, and an additional twenty-nine vessels might be from either MG or LG. During the second half of the eighth century, some 169 fine ware vessels were dedicated, indicating that the possible decline in cult activity witnessed during the MG period was short-lived. The vessels

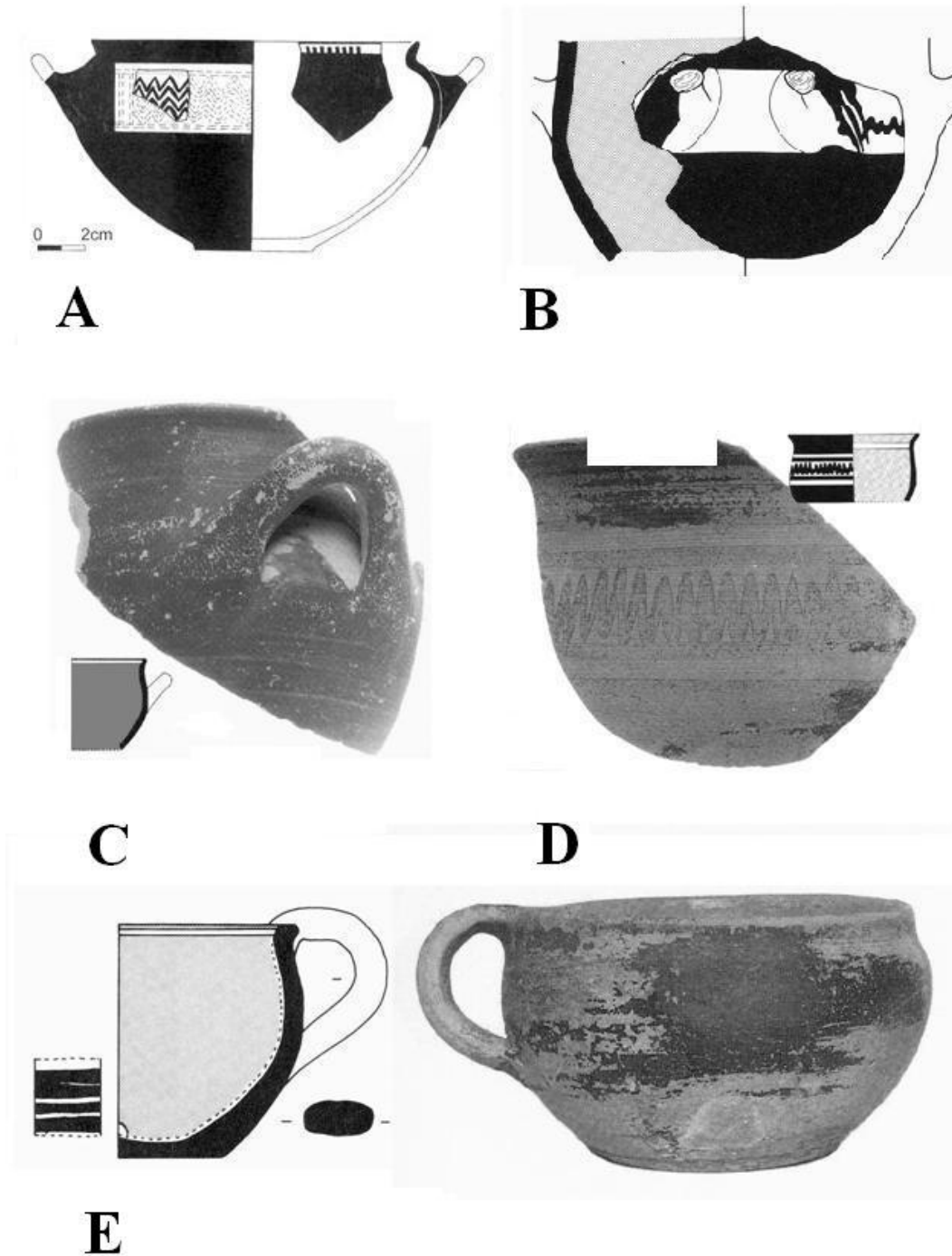


Figure 5: Protogeometric open vessels:

A) Protogeometric skyphos (Morgan 1999)

B) Body sherd from EPG skyphos, from the SE temenos (Morgan 1999).

C) Body sherd from EPG skyphos, from the SE temenos (Morgan 1999).

D) Rim and upper body of from MPG skyphos, from SE temenos (Morgan 1999).

E) Partly restored LPG-EG flat-based cup (Morgan 1999).

dedicated during the eighth century comprise thirty-eight percent of the total ceramics dedicated during the EIA (*ibid.*:402).

Open vessels continued to be the dominant shape during the eighth century. While the flat-based cup continued as the dominant shape during the first half of the century, it was replaced by new shapes in the second half. The simpler forms declined and were replaced by new, more lavish drinking vessels, like the early *kotylai* (fig. 12 A & B) and *kyathoi*, as well as an increasing amount of closed vessels, usually in the shape of jugs. Imported Attic and Argive *kraters* were introduced as votives during the LG period (*ibid.*:402). The ceramics from the eighth century became more elaborately decorated, but modestly decorated vessels also continued to be dedicated (*ibid.*:403), perhaps indicating a social stratification in the dedications. All together, 451 vessels founds at Isthmia can be dated to the EIA (table 3).



Open vessels	Per cent
EPG - MPG	100
General PG	91.7
EG-MGI	88.12
MGII - LGII	85.15

Table 2: Percent of cataloged open vessels during the EIA at Isthmia

	SM/EPG	9
	EPG	49
PROTOGEOMETRIC AND	MPG	2
EARLY GEOMETRIC VESSELS	LPG	70
	Only PG	41
	EG	70
	<hr/> Total	241
MIDDLE GEOMETRIC VESSELS	MG I	19
	<hr/> Total	19
MIDDEL GEOMETRIC II AND	MG II	93
LATE GEOMETRIC VESSELS	MGII/LG	29
	LGII	169
	<hr/> Total	291
TOTAL AMOUNT OF EIA VESSELS	Total	551

Table 3: Total amount of cataloged EIA pottery

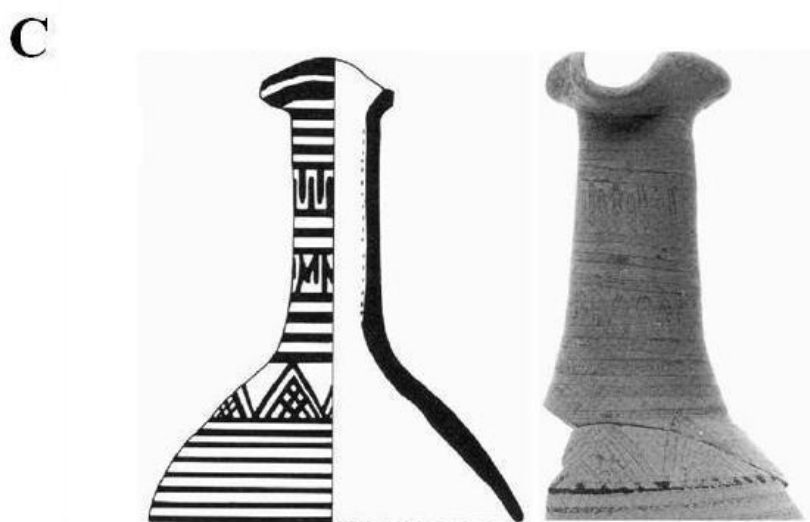


Figure 6 Pottery from the MG II and LG period:  
 A and B) Protokotyle, MG II, from SE Temenos (Morgan 1999).  
 C) Neck and shoulder of an oinochoe, LGII, from N Temenos (Morgan 1999)

## Terracotta figurines

Fragments of six LBA Phi figurines were found during excavations at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. However, these do not necessarily indicate continuous cult practice at the site, but are more indications of previous habitation.

Terracotta figurines related to the earliest practice of cult has been securely identified from the LPG period onwards. One fragment of a hand-made bull might be dated to the PG period, but is difficult to date securely (Morgan 1999:373). The earliest securely dated terracottas from the EIA appeared during the LPG period, and include three miniature model boots (fig. G-H), an Attic wheeled horse (LPG or EG), the earliest dateable figurine of a bull, and the leg of a hollow wheel-made figurine (Morgan 1999:393). Figurines of bulls are especially hard to date, and some of the terracottas that have been dated to the PG period might be from the eighth century (*ibid.*:404). Seventeen bulls are represented in the cataloged material from Isthmia.

During the eighth century, new types of terracotta votives appeared in the sanctuary (*ibid.*:404). For example, models of cart wheels appeared during the end of the century, as well as a human head that might be the first anthropomorphic depiction from the area around Corinth. The most noteworthy change that occurred during the eighth century was the increase in terracotta horses. Horse figurines from Isthmia were mostly produced in terracotta, in contrast to Olympia, where they were mostly made of bronze. Eight terracotta horses are dated to the eighth century, as well as a fragment of an amphora-carrying mule (*ibid.*:405). One terracotta figurine depicts a human with a bird's head, and can probably be dated to the last half of the eighth century. (*ibid.*:168). Furthermore, stylistic analysis indicates that the figurines found at Isthmia were produced in Corinth and Attica (Morgan 1999:404- 405).

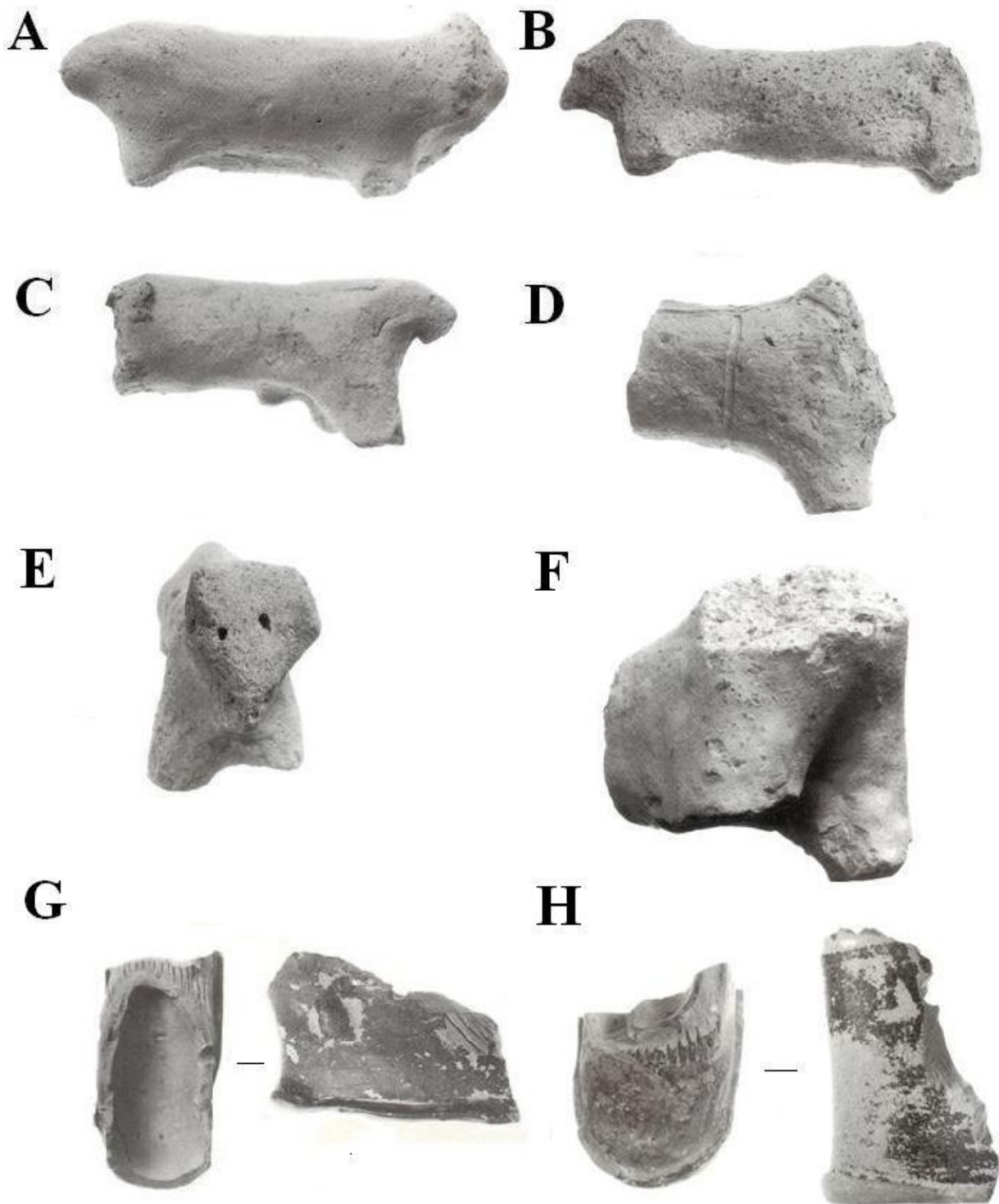


Figure 7: Various Terracotta figurines from Isthmia  
 Terracotta figurines from Isthmia (Morgan 1999) :  
 A) Bull figurine , M-LG,  
 B) Handmade bull figurine, M-LG.  
 C) Handmade bull figurine, M-LG  
 D) Handmade bull figurine, M-LG  
 E) Handmade bull figurine, LG-EPC  
 F) Handmade bull figurine, LG-EPC  
 G) Fragments of EG miniature boot  
 H) Fragments of EG miniature boot



Figure 8: Bronzes from Isthmia (Morgan 1999)

- A) PG pin
- B) Fragment of a PG Fibula
- C) Fibula, 8th century
- D) Gold earring, late 9th-8th century
- E) Bronze tripod leg, middle of the 8th century or earlier
- F) Leg of hammered bronze tripod, last quarter of the 8th century
- G) Example of complete tripod from Olympia
- H) Horse figurine from the LG, either missing base or attached to tripod
- I) Ring-handle, probably attached to a smaller cauldron

## Bronze objects

Dateable objects of metal first appear in the LPG period, but one bronze pin (fig. 8 A), and part of a bronze fibula (fig. 8 B) may possibly be from the EPG period (Fig. 7) (Morgan 1999:373). Votive offerings of metal are generally scarce through the EG and MG period, and the only object that can securely belong to this phase is a bronze ring. Another ring and earring in bronze could also belong to this period, but an eighth century date is more probable (*ibid.*:394).

During the eighth century, bronze objects became more common votive as offerings. The amount of jewelry increased, and nine objects have been dated to the eighth century. Of the nine pieces of jewelry, three were of more valuable material than bronze: one silver finger ring, one gold pin, and a gold earring (*ibid.*:404). Compared to other sanctuaries at the Peloponnese such as Tegea and the Argive Heraion, the amount of jewelry is relatively low.

The earliest examples of monumental metal objects at Isthmia appear around the middle of the eighth century, when tripods and cauldrons in bronze were now being dedicated. These were the first prestige artifacts of metal that were dedicated in the whole of Corinthia (*ibid.*:405). Six tripod legs and two cauldrons have been dated to the middle of the eighth century (Fig. 8 E-F), and such objects continued to be dedicated into the archaic period (*ibid.*:405).

Weapons and armor also began to be dedicated during the latest phase of the Geometric period and continued to be dedicated during the archaic period. Armor includes fragments of two eighth century bronze helmets of the so-called Kegelhelm type, probably of Peloponnesian origin. A spearhead, probably of Sicilian or South-Italian origin, also belong to the eighth century (*ibid.*:161-165).

## 2.2 THE SANCTUARY OF ATHENA ALEA AT TEGEA

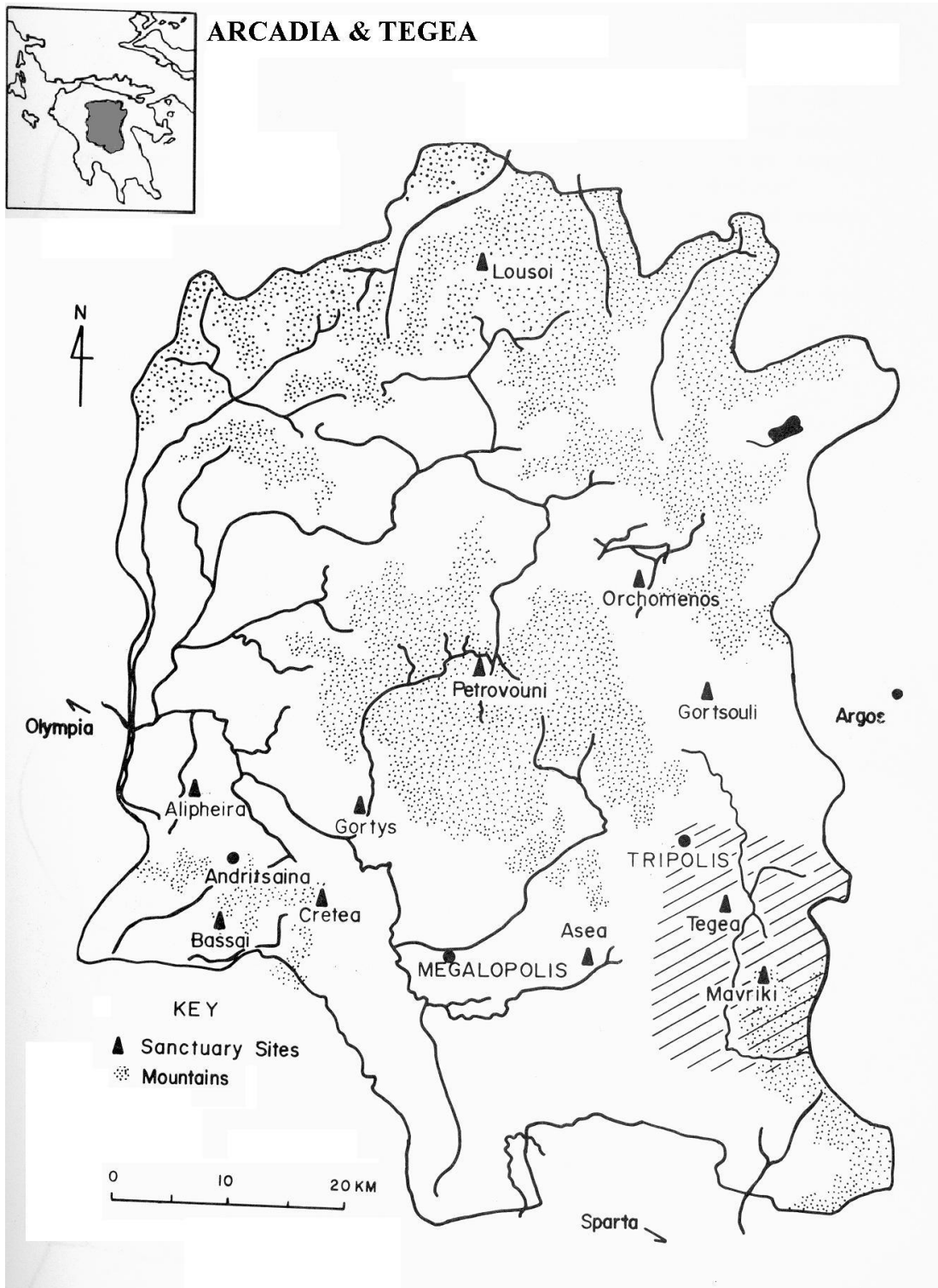


Figure 9: Map of Arcadia (From Voyatzis 1990:351)

## 2.2.1 Location and history

The sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea is located in on the fertile Tegean/Mantinean plain, in south-eastern Arcadia in the Peloponnese (Fig. 9). Placed on a strategic point where the main route between Laconia and Argos meets paths leading north towards Mantinea, and westwards towards Megalopolis and Messenia, the site must have functioned as a natural resting place for travelers going between these places (Østby unpublished:5). The sanctuary was originally devoted to the goddess Alea, who was later integrated with Athena. Tegea is mostly famous for its large Classical Doric temple constructed by the architect Skopas of Paros around 345 BC, and the sanctuary was probably in use until the late Roman period (Østby 1994:47). However, the history of the sanctuary extends further back.

Firstly, the settlement is mentioned in the list of ships who participated in Trojan war from the second book of the Homer`s *Iliad* (Il. 2.494-759), and might indicate that there already was an substantial settlement who used the name Tegea during the LBA and EIA. A question which arises, however, is whether these lists have historical credibility. Secondly, the Greek travel writer Pausanias visited the sanctuary in the middle of the second century AD, and described it in great detail. According to Pausanias, the sanctuary was established in the mythical period before the Trojan wars and the Dorian migration, (8.45.47-8.47.4). Pausanias also mentions that the Classical temple was rebuilt to replace an older Archaic temple, which had burned down in 395 BC<sup>3</sup>. Pausanias wrote:

*The ancient sanctuary of Athena Alea was made for the Tegeans by Aleus. Later on the Tegeans set up for the Goddess a large temple, worth seeing. The sanctuary was utterly destroyed by a fire which suddenly broke out when Diophantus was archon at Athens, in the second year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, at which Eupolemus of Elis won the foot-race (8.45.4).*

Furthermore, Pausanias claims that the sanctuary was much older than the first temple from the Archaic period, and votive offerings dated to the PG and Geometric period provides evidence that the sanctuary indeed has a much older history than the first temple (Voyatzis 1989:64-65).

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<sup>3</sup>The foundations of this earlier temple was discovered in the late 1980's (Østby 2005:493).



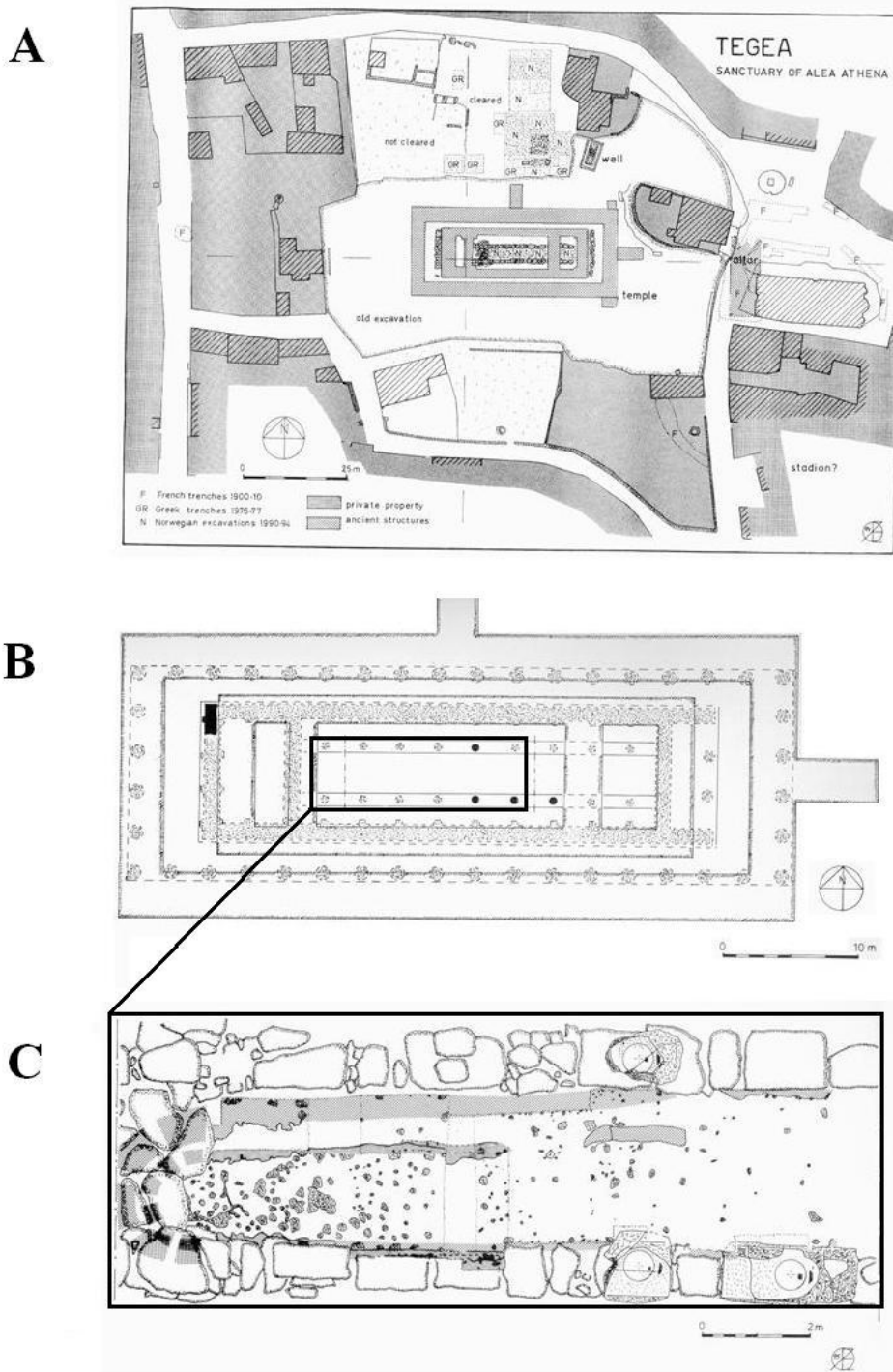


Figure 10: Plans of Tegea

A: Map of the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (from Ødegård 2008:213).

B: Map of the Archaic temple, and the outline of the Classical temple (from Biers 1996:20).

C: Archaic foundations, and remains of the two Geometric buildings (from Biers 1996:20).

## 2.2.2 Excavations at Tegea

The sanctuary of Athena Alea has been explored by many different archaeologists over the last two centuries. The site of the sanctuary was first located in 1806 by Dowell who recognized architectural elements reused in the nearby village. Excavations of the sanctuary first begun in 1879 by the German Archaeological Institute under the German archaeologist Milcchofer, and was continued three years later under Dörpfeld. Furthermore, it was the French School in Athens that carried on the excavations after the Germans, first directed by Mendel in 1900. He uncovered more of the foundation of the Classical temple, as well as a series of bronze votives. A Greek excavation led by K. Romaios in 1908, located the temple's southwest corner, and also yielded a large number of Geometric sherds and bronzes, found in "black earth" (Østby 1997:80).

The French campaigns continued two years later, led by Dugas, and the excavations between 1910 and 1913 yielded a series of votive offerings from the eighth and seventh centuries BC, and some, which according to Dugas, could be even earlier (Dugas 1921). Dugas uncovered the rest of the temple foundations, and he explored the area around the sanctuary, including the temple's altar. Smaller excavations and studies took place in the sanctuary after World War II, most notably by Steinhauer between 1976 and 1977, but it was never published. No further major excavations took place until the Norwegian campaigns between 1990-94, which were directed by Østby from the University of Bergen and the Norwegian Institute at Athens (Østby1994:45).

The Norwegian excavations exposed more evidence for the pre-Classical cult at the sanctuary. A *bothros* discovered directly underneath the *pronaos* of the Classical temple provides the oldest secure evidence of cult, and contained a series of votive offerings, mostly ceramics, but also some items of jewelry. These can be securely dated from around 950, and was sealed roughly around 750 by a metal workshop (Østby unpublished:7). The metalworking area was located only 6,5 meters from the contemporary cult building, and was probably in use from the LG to ca 675, but the dating is admittedly tentative. The production area was likely used to produce some of the votives that were dedicated in the sanctuary itself (Nordquist 2002:155-158).

More evidence for the earliest phase of the sanctuary was discovered directly underneath the Doric and Archaic temples, consisting of two apsidal buildings constructed by wattle and daub technique<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 2C). Building One, the most recent of the two buildings, was probably in use from the LG period, until the later part of the sixth century (*ibid.*:8). The older construction, Building Two, which was smaller in size, was probably in use between the MG to the LGI period (Nordquist 2002:150-155). During the field season of 1994, another surface was found beneath the two

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<sup>4</sup> Also one surface layer more was discovered, which might have belonged to a third temple

buildings, which might belong to an even earlier structure. Virgin soil has yet to be reached underneath the temples (Østby unpublished:11).

### 2.2.3 The Material

Numerous votives, and categories of offerings have been recovered throughout the many excavations of the sanctuary, and provided evidence of the earliest cultic function of Tegea. The objects were discovered throughout the sanctuary. While some were found in situ, such as in the *bothros* underneath the *pronaos* of the later temples, and on the floor levels of the Geometric cult buildings (Voyatzis unpublished a:1), others were found in layers mixed with later material, especially in the Northern Sector. The mixing probably occurred during the building of the Archaic and Classical temples, when earth was shifted to make room for the foundations (Fig. 10 A) (Voyatzis unpublished b:1).

Some of the categories are represented by large quantities of material, while others are fewer in numbers. The categories of votives from Tegea consist of: pottery, miniature vessels, figurines of terracotta and bronze, jewelry, and other types of bronze objects (Voyatzis 1990:1 and 2002:160). Some objects of lead and gold are also evident from Tegea, but due to the absence of published objects, these will not be included in the discussion.

To understand the process of development in cultic practice that occurred during the EIA, these categories will be discussed in details through the following chapter.

### Pottery

Pottery makes up the most extensive category of votive offerings from Tegea, and was recovered in all of the excavations that have taken place at the sanctuary. Milchhofer's excavations in 1880 yielded a vast amount of Geometric pottery, which was found in what he described as “a black layer”. Dugas too mentioned finding Geometric pottery mixed with black earth, especially at the NE corner of the Classical temple, as well as a vast amount of Geometric and Mycenaean sherds in the area north of the temple. More EIA pottery was discovered during the excavations directed by Steinhauer, mostly in the northern area of the sanctuary (Voyatzis 1990:62). Moreover, the most recent excavation also provided a vast amount of pottery (Voyatzis 2002:163). The pottery mostly consisted of open vessels, indicating that dining and drinking rituals also took place at Tegea.

Some examples of prehistoric pottery have been found at Tegea, though not in context, but they do, however, suggest that a settlement occupied the site during the LBA (Voyatzis unpublished c:1). Fragments of LH IIIC and Submycenaean pottery were found mixed with later sherds in the temple trench and the *bothros*, and there are also fragments of LH IIIC stirrup jar from the earlier

excavation. (Voyatzis 1989:65 and Voyatzis unpublished c:2).

At this point there seems to be a gap in securely datable pottery until the LPG period (Fig. 11 A & B), when numerous ceramics were deposited. The earliest excavations yielded eleven diagnostic examples found in mixed layers throughout the sanctuary (Voyatzis 1990:65), while one hundred examples were catalogued in the most recent excavations. Out of these, sixty-five were found in the lowest levels of the *bothros*, and are believed to be in situ (Voyatzis unpublished c:5). Open vessels are predominant, but some examples of closed vessels are also present (Voyatzis 1990:66 and Voyatzis unpublished c:5). The majority of these vessels seem to have been locally made, but several might also be imported from Laconia, Attica and the Argolid, or at the very least be influenced by their styles (Voyatzis 1990:65-69). Furthermore a large amount of so-called Laconian Dark Age (or Laconian Protogeometric) pottery has been found at Tegea (*ibid.*:65-69, 83). Outside of Laconia, this category has only been found at Asine and Tegea. Over eleven-hundred sherds were excavated in the recent excavations, and were found mixed with PG to MG pottery, mainly in the *bothros*, workshop, and in the temple trench (Voyatzis unpublished c:16). The so far lowest layer in the *bothros* contained local LPG pottery mixed with Laconian material, and might offer a relative chronology for the material (*ibid.*:23). Moreover, the Laconian material at Tegea indicates a strong connection with Laconia during the beginning of the EIA, which is logical since the main route between Laconia and the Argolid passed the sanctuary.

Deposition of pottery continued during the EG period and seventy vessels, predominantly open vessels (e.g. *skyphoi* and cups), can be dated to this period. Two-thirds of these were uncovered in the *bothros* (Voyatzis unpublished c:34-35). The EG pottery indicate that drinking and dining rituals remained the main activity at the shrine during the ninth century.

Evidence of MG pottery consists of one-hundred examples found at the recent excavations, as well as a “handful” found during the previous excavations. Two-thirds of these belonged to open vessels, mostly *skyphoi*, cups and *kantharoi*. Most of the MG pottery were located under the cella in the temple trench. This find location indicates a change in the area in which the rituals took place, or a result of shifting dirt from the construction of the first cult building (Voyatzis unpublished c:44-45). Many of the vessels from the MGII period were either imported from the Argolid, or have been directly influenced by workshops from the Argolid (Voyatzis 1990:69-70, 82-83).

Vessels from the LG period constitute the greatest percentage of EIA pottery found in the sanctuary of Athena Alea (Voyatzis unpublished c:1). Fragments of roughly 250-280 vessels can be ascribed to the LG period, and consist of both open and closed vessels (Voyatzis 1990:71, Voyatzis unpublished c:53). The majority of these vessels show influence from Argive workshops, but some



Figure 11: Pottery from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea  
 A) Fragment of rim and body of a LPG skyphos (from Voyatzis 1990)  
 B) Fragment of a LPG (probably skyphos) (Voyatzis 2002, photo by J. Bakke)  
 C) High-footed cup from MG II (Voyatzis 1990)  
 D) Cup with one handle from LG II (Voyatzis 1990)  
 E) MG-LG sherds from the 1990-1994 excavations (Voyatzis 2002, photo by J. Bakke)

examples might be Corinthian and Laconian (Voyatzis unpublished c:54). Hardly any LG vessels were found in the *bothros*, and a small amount was found in the workshop area, indicating that the *bothros* went out of use around 750, when the metal workshop was built directly over. Several of the LG vessels contain painted figural scenes, including horses, birds and dancing figures (Voyatzis 1990:71-77).

Furthermore, most of the sherds excavated between 1990 and 1994 appear to be between MG II and LG II periods, and were largely found in the temple trenches in connection with the two early cult buildings (Voyatzis 2002:163). Both the fact that Milchhofer and Dugas described finding sherds in “black soil”, might indicate that they were used in drinking and dining ritual and deposited together with the sacrificial remains. As the most plentiful evidence for activity in the sanctuary, the pottery from Tegea reflects not only the use of the site from the LPG period or earlier, but also the locations within the sanctuary for these activities at different periods in the use of the sanctuary. The vessels were found fragmented, indicating that they were, as in Isthmia, deliberately broken, perhaps by a priest, or an important person in the cult (Coldstream 2003:332).

Late Protogeometric	111
Laconian Dark Age*	1100
Early Geometric	70
Middle Geometric	115
Late Geometric	280
<b>Total</b>	<b>1676</b>

Table 4: EIA pottery from Tegea

\* It is not mentioned if these are vessels or sherds, also Laconian Dark Age might include both PG, EG and MG sherds.

## Miniature vessels

Another category of ceramics, which has to be treated separately from the pottery, is miniature vessels. Miniature vessels are known from funerary, domestic and religious contexts throughout Greece, and in most cases are indicators of religious activity at a site (Hammond 1998:14). Most miniatures resemble the typical shapes commonly used, except, as their name suggests, they were made in a scale that is too small for any practical use. (Hammond 2005:416).

At Tegea, miniature vessels have been discovered underneath the Classical temple, as well as in the area north of the temple, also referred to as the Northern Sector Area (Hammond 1998:27). Hammond has divided the use of miniature vessels at Tegea into three phases, only two of which are relevant for this study. Phase I is associated with the EIA materials recovered from the *bothros*

under the *pronaos* of the Classical Temple, generally dated to the PG/EG to LG II or roughly 900-770/750 BC (Hammond 1998:206-207). Phase II consist of material from LG II to MPC, roughly from 750-675 (*ibid.*:216). Furthermore, there are several examples of Mycenaean miniature vessels discovered in this same area (*ibid.*:41).

The majority of the miniature vessels found at the sanctuary at Tegea are open vessels, usually resembling the shapes used for drinking and dining. A variety of closed vessels are also present. The shapes include *kotylai*, *kantharoi*, mugs, *lakainai*, footed and non-footed cups, as well as mixing vessels such as *kraters*. Libation and serving dishes are also present in the miniature assortment, and it is possible that the bowls contained either solid or liquid perishable materials. Closed shapes are fewer in number, and consist of jugs, *hydrai*, and *oinochoai* (*ibid.*:27). Several of the miniatures recovered have parallels discovered in nearby sanctuaries, especially the two Hera sanctuaries at Perachora and in the Argolid respectively (Voyatzis 1990:84).

To date, 148 miniature vessels from phase I have been recovered; all of these were handmade, mostly all were unpainted and of the same material and fabric. The shapes are predominantly open vessels, although there are also examples of closed shapes. The typical shapes from the Phase I consist of footed cups, dishes, and bowls (Hammond 1998:212). The miniatures from Phase I, moreover, were simply produced and decorated, and all were handmade (*ibid.*:214). The majority of the vessels appear to have been produced locally in Tegea (*ibid.*:215). Hammond (1998:216) maintains that one explanation for the simpler look of the Phase I miniatures might be that they were used as containers for offerings, rather than functioning as dedications themselves.

Although the Phase II miniatures comprise only a small fraction of EIA material, some important aspects are visible. Phase II vessels from the eighth century were mostly discovered in the *pronaos* and cella trench, but a few were also recovered from the northern sector. (*ibid.*:216). A new series of shapes were introduced in miniature vessels during the second phase. These consist of *kotylai*, *kraters*, shallow bowls, and *philai*. Shallow bowls were the commonly used vessel during the LG period, and numerous examples were found in connection with the two geometric structures. The footed cups and dishes vanish almost completely from the repertoire, and the number of bowls too were dramatically reduced during this phase (*ibid.*:217). Wheel-made miniatures also appear at this time, mostly as *kotylai*, *kraters*, and a few bowls (*ibid.*:221). The shapes of the miniature vessels are mainly open, and are mainly the same varieties as the regular pottery at Tegea.

## Bronze objects

A wide range of metal objects has been uncovered during the many excavation campaigns carried out at the sanctuary. These objects include figurines of humans and animals, pendants, miniature weapons and armor, discs, fibulae, pins, and other types of jewelry (Voyatzis 1990:103, 127, 175 and 197). Although pottery was the most plentiful find at Tegea, votives in bronze were, perhaps, the most common dedication in Peloponnesian sanctuaries in general during the eighth century. The objects from Tegea are contemporary with objects found in other sanctuaries such as the Argive Heraion and Olympia, with the exception of bronze tripod cauldrons (Voyatzis 2002:161-162). The metal workshop found beneath the *pronaos* of the later temples indicates that many of the bronze objects were locally produced (Nordquist 2002:157), which had been suggested by Killian-Dirlmeier (1984) and Voyatzis (1990:263) before the workshop was located.

## Brone figurines of humans

Bronze human figurines have been discovered during the excavations at Tegea. Out of the many figurines, nine have been dated to before 600 (Voyatzis 1990:103). Most of these were uncovered in the NE corner of the later Classical temple (Voyatzis 2002:163-164). The majority of these figurines are dated to the eighth century, but there are also some examples of older figurines.

The oldest bronze figurine from Tegea is a nude female who presses her hands to her breasts (fig. 12 A). The figurine is complicated to date as no parallels have been found in Greece. The head, however, resembles head from certain LH IIIC clay idols from Mycenae. Furthermore, a Late Cypriot II C (LC IIC) bronze figurine appears to have striking similarities, and is the closest comparable object. Voyatzis (1990:123-124) has, therefore, dated this figurine to roughly 1200.

There remain eight other bronze human figurines from pre-600 Tegea. The first is a naked figure seated side-saddle on a horse (Fig. 12 B) dated to the first half of the eighth century (*ibid.*:303). Second, there was a figurine of a human flanked by two animals (Fig. 12 D) dated to the second half of the eighth century, Third is a seated figure (Fig. 12 C) dated to the ninth or eighth century (*ibid.*:303-304). In addition, a male wearing a conical helmet was also found dated to eighth century, and two similar figurines, one in fragments, depicting females carrying a pot on their head, possible *hydrai*, have been dated to the eighth century (*ibid.*:305). Lastly a figurine with the head of a bear is also present in the archaeological material from Tegea (*ibid.*:117).



## **Bronze animal figurines**

Many animal figurines have been found at the Tegea including horses, dogs, bulls, oxen, lions, birds usually as pendants, turtles, hares and deer (Voyatzis 1990:127-162, Voyatzis 2002:162). Horses are the most prominent animal; at this point eleven<sup>5</sup> bronze horse figurines have been uncovered, and all of these can roughly be dated to the eighth century (Voyatzis 1989:127, Voyatzis 2002:161). Out of the eleven horses, four are probably of Argive style, four of Laconian style (Fig. 6 E,F), and the last three are a mixture of these two influences. All of these were probably produced locally in the nearby workshop (Voyatzis 1989:132 and Voyatzis 2002:161).

Another type of animal figurine that has been found at Tegea is the Geometric deer, which are more plentiful at this site compared to other sanctuaries (*ibid.*:140). All together, seven bronze figurines of deer have been found (*ibid.*:142). Other types of quadruped figurines have also been unearthed at Tegea. These include a dog, two bulls, an reclining oxen and a lion (*ibid.*:143), and during the 1990-1994 excavations, a bronze figurine of a hare was found in the area north of the temple (Voyatzis 2002:162). In addition two pendants depict turtles have also been found during the excavations of Tegea (Voyatzis unpublished a:25).

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<sup>5</sup>Five from excavations, three unpublished found at the Tegea museum told to be from Tegea, and two said to come from the sanctuary, now housed in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Voyatzis 1989:127). Which ones are which?

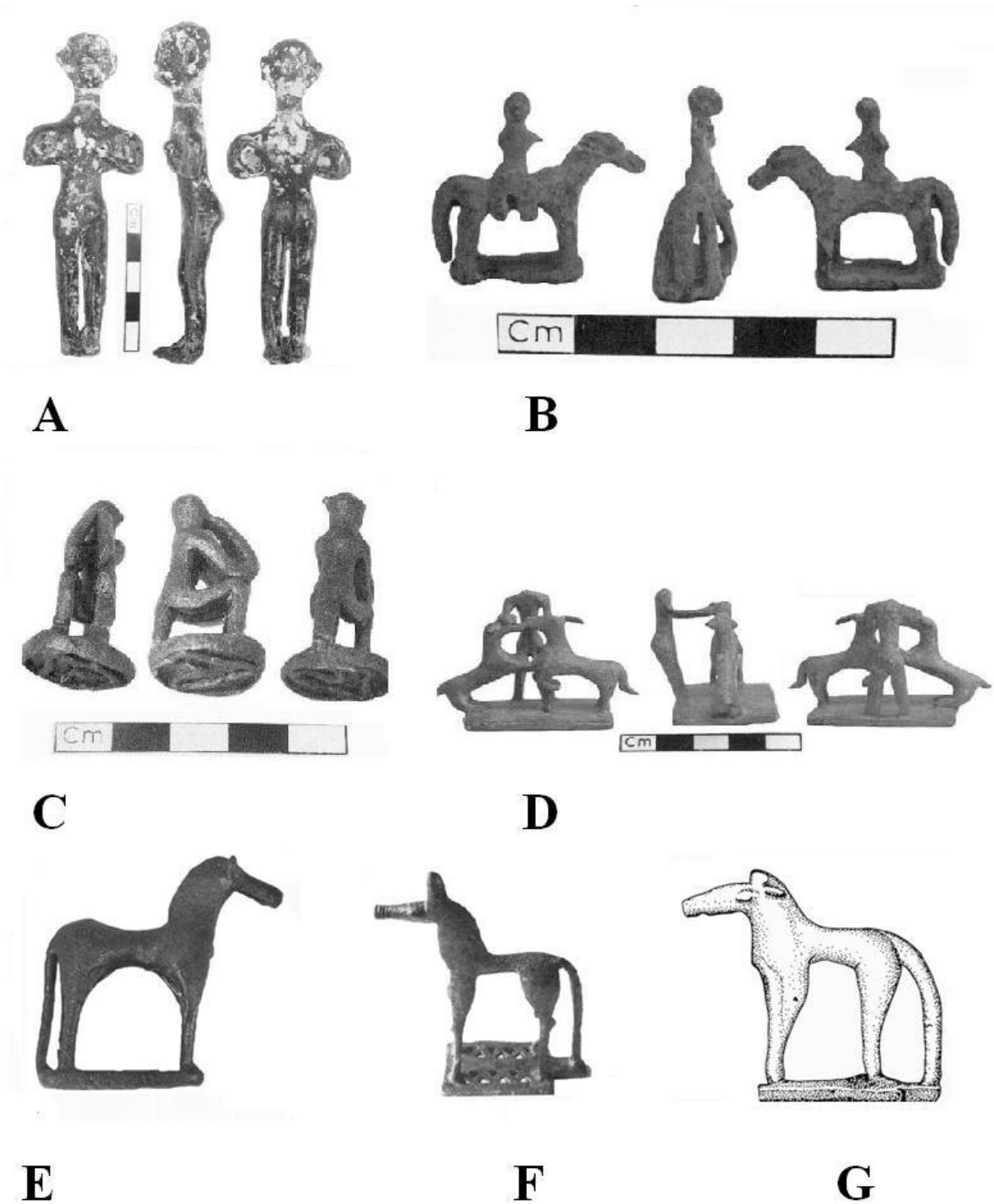


Figure 12: Bronze figurines from Tegea

- A) Nude female with hands on breasts possibly from LH IIC (13<sup>th</sup> century)(from Voyatzis 1989)
- B) Figure seated side-saddle on a horse from 8<sup>th</sup> century (from Voyatzis 1989).
- C) Seated male figure from 8<sup>th</sup> century (from Voyatzis 1989).
- D) Group of man between two animals from 8<sup>th</sup> century (from Voyatzis 1989).
- E) Horse with Laconian features possibly from 8<sup>th</sup> century (from Voyatzis 1989).
- F) Horse with Laconian features, probably locally made. 8<sup>th</sup> century (from Voyatzis 1989).
- G) Horse of Laconian features, probably locally made. 8<sup>th</sup> century (from Voyatzis unpublished b)

## Jewelry

Jewelry was a common dedication in sanctuaries from the EIA and the Archaic period, and many items have been uncovered at Tegea. They consist of many categories including dress pins, fibulae, pendants, finger rings and beads. The jewelry from Tegea was found throughout the sanctuary and mostly in mixed layers. Some pins were discovered on the floor surface of the two (or perhaps three) cult buildings located directly underneath the later temples (Voyatzis unpublished a:2).

## Pins

Pins and fibulae were common dedications in both graves and sanctuaries during the EIA. Pins were used to hold up cloth and, at the same time, also commonly used to display wealth and status in a community (Dickinson 2006:170). Dugas maintains that he located over one hundred pins from his excavations (1922:108-138), while 149 bronze pins were discovered during the recent excavations (Voyatzis 2002:161, Voyatzis unpublished a:2 ).

Geometric pins have been divided into two chronological phases. Originally Jacobsthal (1956:3-12) divided them into three categories: Geometric I (Fig. 13 H), II (Fig. 13 I), and III (Fig. 13 J) (*ibid*). Another reinterpretation was made by Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984), who divided the Geometric pins into twenty-three classes (1-22 and *Merkopf-Nadeln*). Kilian-Dirlmeier's examination follows Jacobsthal's chronology, but provides a more detailed analysis, as well as taking in account new discoveries. These can be compared with the Jacobsthal style the following way KD 1-11= JS 1, KD 12-22=JS 2, KD *Merkopf-Nadeln* = JS 3 (Voyatzis unpublished a:2). Since Voyatzis's first publication on votives from Tegea used Jacobsthal's chronology, this chapter will mainly use Jacobsthal's chronology on dress pins. Furthermore, Jacobsthal's chronology gives sufficient indication on the pattern of deposition, making it useful for this study.

One pin from the PG period has so far been discovered in the area north of the temple (Voyatzis 1990:204). Eighty-four pins belonging to the Geometric I type have so far been identified from Tegea (Voyatzis unpublished a:2-3). These pins have parallels with the sanctuary at Luisoi in Arcadia, as well as the Hera Akraia at Perachora, the Argive Heraion and Aegina. The pins of Geometric I type are datable to the EG II – MG II period (Voyatzis 1990:204). From the Geometric II type there are example of 157 pins (Voyatzis unpublished a:3 ). These too have parallels in the Heraion at Perachora, and the Argive Heraion, as well as at Olympia, Corinth, and the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. Furthermore, another 120 pins from Tegea might belong to the Geometric II style (Voyatzis 1990:205). From the Geometric III/*Merkopf-Nadeln* phase, 175 pins have been

found at Tegea (Voyatzis unpublished a:3). Pins of the same type have been found in other sanctuaries, such as the Argive Heraion, Perachora, Laconia, Olympia, and Delphi. The best represented sanctuary is the Argive Heraion, where over 200 pins of the Geometric III / *Merkopf-Nadeln* have been recovered (Voyatzis 1990:207). Type III pins can be dated to the second half of the eighth to the early seventh century (Voyatzis unpublished a:2). Of all the types found at Tegea, type II and type III are the best represented. Most of the pins were dedicated in the eighth century, peaking between 720-625. No pins were found in the *bothros*, indicating that the older pins might have been heirlooms (*ibid.*:4). The majority of the pins was found in a mixed layer north of the Classical temple, and was probably deposited there during the construction of the Archaic temple (*ibid.*:5). Many of the pins found in the temple trenches were left on the floor of the Geometric temples (Nordquist 2002:152).

The majority of the pins have parallels with the Argive Heraion material, suggesting a strong connection with the Argolid during the eighth century (*ibid.*:208). This can be further argued by looking at the distribution of the ceramics, as mentioned before. Furthermore, many of the pins were probably manufactured locally at Tegea, which became even more evident after the discovery of the metal workshop under the *pronaos* of the classical temple.

## **Fibulae**

At present, thirty-nine *fibulae* have been discovered at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. Most of these were discovered during the earliest excavations, and cannot be placed in a context, while the rest were uncovered in the temple trench and in the northern sector (Voyatzis unpublished a: 15). The range of fibulae are contemporary with types found at other Peloponnesian sanctuaries (Voyatzis 1990:209), and consist of simple Geometric, Boeotian, Thessalian, Island, Spectacle and Phrygian types (Voyatzis unpublished a:15). The oldest *fibulae* from Tegea are Late Mycenaean and one Sybmycenaean (Voyatzis 1990:209-210). However, the majority has been dated to the eighth century (Voyatzis unpublished a:16).

## **Rings**

Bronze rings were a popular votive offering at Tegea. Dugas (1921) mentions over one hundred rings from the earliest excavations, and 184 were discovered during the recent excavation. These can be divided into two categories, spiral and plain ring (Voyatzis unpublished a:9). The majority of the rings from Tegea were the plain ring type.

For the most part, the rings from Tegea have been dated to the eighth century, with a few exceptions (*ibid.*:10-15). Similar rings have been uncovered at Olympia, Sparta, the Argive

Heraion, Perachora, Lousio and many other sanctuaries (*ibid.*:10). Bronze rings seem to have been important votives in sanctuaries during the EIA.

## **Pendants**

Hundreds of pendants were found in the earliest excavations at Tegea, in addition to twenty-one found in the recent campaign (Voyatzis unpublished a:23). Pendants can be divided into several sub-groups including ring, bulls' heads, stamp, double axe, and pomegranate pendants. These objects typically had a hole on the top, by which they were hung (Voyatzis 1990:175). Pendants of similar shapes have also been found made of terracotta at Tegea (Voyatzis unpublished b:43-44). The pendants from Tegea consist of both imported and locally made, and have numerous parallels from the Argive Heraion.

## **Miniature votive arms and armor**

Miniature votive shields have also been recovered from Tegea. Many are similar to the shields that were portrayed on the eighth century and LG Attic vases, which are called "Dipylon shields" (Fig 13. E-G). Sixteen shields were found at Tegea, one of which from the latest excavation, as well as at Lousoi and Alipheira. The shields seem to be a specifically Arcadian dedication, since only two examples are found outside Arcadia; one at Olympia and one at the Kerameikos in Athens (Voyatzis 1989:198 and Voyatzis 2002:165). The shields can probably be dated to the eighth century since they resemble the shields painted on several LG vases (*ibid.*:166). The fact that they are mostly found at sanctuaries in Arcadia, and especially at Tegea indicates that they were manufactured locally. Sixteen miniature arrow or spearheads in bronze are also present at the sanctuary, as well as one in iron (Voyatzis 1990:201, Voyatzis unpublished a:26).

## **Other bronzes**

Another category of bronzes from Tegea can be labeled as "other bronzes". These consist of smaller bronze objects, which are too scarce compared to the other categories on their own. These include beads, miniature *phialai*/discs, votive lyres, a rim of a relatively small bronze vessel, votive tweezers, votive combs, bands and sheets, and rectangular plaques (Voyatzis 1990:195, 201-203, Voyatzis unpublished a:22). Many of the band, sheets and rectangular plaques have been located during excavations of the sanctuary, and are similar to objects found in other sanctuaries such as the Argive Heraion (de Cou 1905:Plate C). These objects are mostly dated to eighth century, and were probably manufactured locally.

## **Terracotta figurines**

Many terracotta figurines have been found at Tegea throughout all of the excavations, but the majority has been dated to the sixth and fifth centuries (Voyatzis 1990:239). There are, however, several examples of EIA terracotta figurines, which can be divided into two groups, namely animals and humans. Twenty-four possible horses (fig 14 A), including one example with a rider (fig 14 D), which have been dated to the eighth century, are present in the archaeological material (Voyatzis 1990:240-242, Voyatzis unpublished a:30, Voyatzis unpublished b:41 ). Other animals of terracotta include a Geometric bird, the fragments of a bird's head, and a ram (Voyatzis 1990:347, Voyatzis 2002:160).

As for human figurines, three Mycenaean psi-figurines have been discovered at Tegea (e.g. fig. 14 A). One was found during Dugas excavations (Voyatzis 1990:239-240), and another two in the recent excavation. Fragments of three possible Mycenaean figurines have also been recovered (Voyatzis unpublished a:31). For the Geometric period, two human figurines have been found at Tegea. One of these depicts a nude female, which resembles contemporary bronze figurines found in Greece (Voyatzis unpublished a:31). Fragments of a miniature tripod in terracotta were also uncovered during the most recent excavations at Tegea, dated to the eighth or seventh century. Though no bronze tripod have been discovered at this date (Voyatzis unpublished c:30).

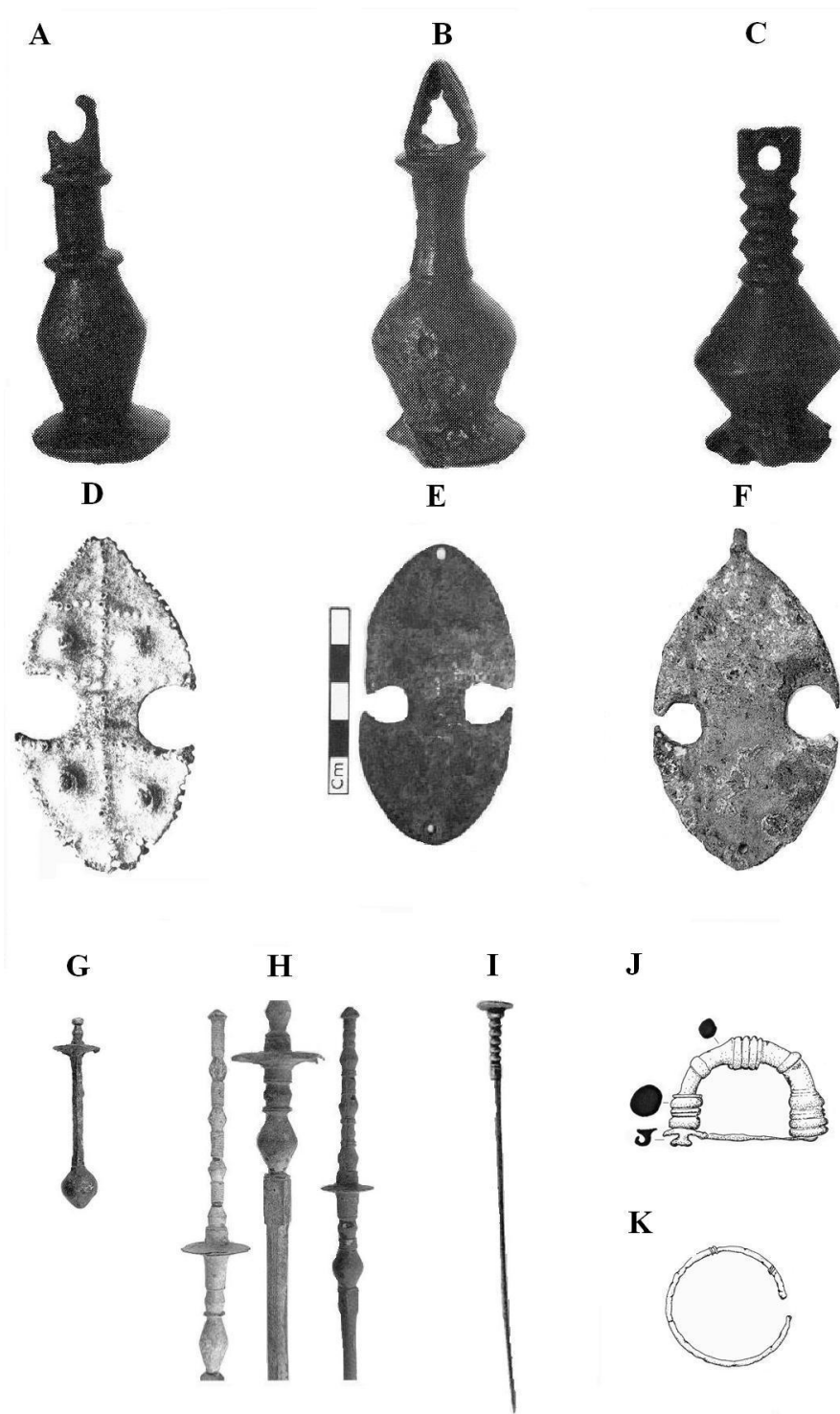


Figure 13: Various bronze objects from Tegea  
 A-C) Pomegranate pendants from 8<sup>th</sup> century (from Voyatzis 1989).  
 D) Miniature “Dipylon” shield from Lousoi, 8<sup>th</sup> century (from Voyatzis 1989).  
 E-F) Miniature “Dipylon” shield from Tegea, 8<sup>th</sup> century (from Voyatzis 1989).  
 G) Bronze pin of Geometric I type from Tegea (from Voyatzis 2002).  
 H) Bronze pins of Geometric II type from Tegea (from Voyatzis 2002).  
 I) Bronze pin of Geometric III type from Tegea (from Voyatzis 2002).  
 J) Fibula from Tegea (Voyatzis unpublished c)  
 K) Ring from Tegea (Voyatzis unpublished c)

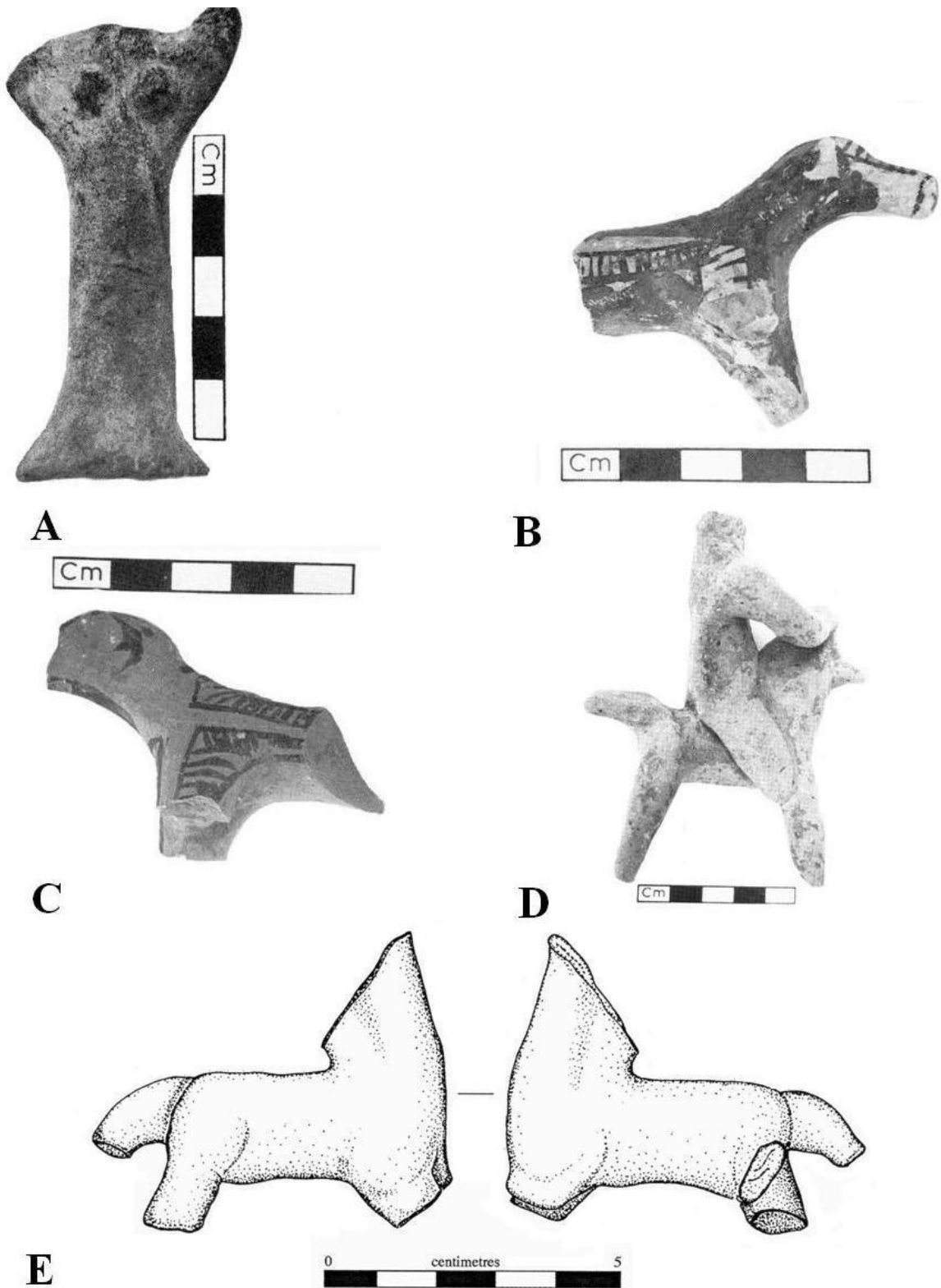


Figure 14: Various terracotta figurines from Tegea  
 A) Psi-figurine, possibly LH IIIIC (Voyatzis 1990)  
 B) & C) LG horse figurines (Voyatzis 1990)  
 D) Horse with rider, 8th century (Voyatzis 1990)  
 E) Horse from Tegea 8th century (Voyatzis unpublished b)



### 2.3 THE ARGIVE HERAION



Figure 15: The Argolid and important EIA settlements and the view from the Argive Heraion (photo Patrik Klingborg)

### 2.3.1 Location and History

The Argive Heraion is located on the west slope of Mt. Euboea on the east side of the Argive plain, approximately 8 km northeast of Argos, and 5,5 km south of Mycenae (fig 15 A). The sanctuary was built on top of three constructed terraces, and provides an exceptional view of the Argive plain (fig.15 B)

The earliest material from the site appeared during the EH Period (approximately 2800-2500), when a settlement occupied the area. Traces of the settlement were located underneath the South Stoa, and above the Old Temple Terrace (Blegen 1937:11-21). Traces of MH pottery and cist graves indicate that the sanctuary continued to be occupied during the succeeding phase. Traces of houses also occupied the area, and have been dated to the LH II period (Antonaccio 1992:89).

The most commonly accepted date for the establishment of the cult was during the MG II period (roughly 780-740), which is based on the earliest published ceramics (Baumbach 2004:76). This date has been widely debated. For instance, Strøm (1988:174-175) has suggested the possibility of the sanctuary being founded during the LH III or PG period. Her argument is based on two pins dated to the LH IIIC and PG period, as well as several pins from the EG period. Furthermore, Strøm has dated the earliest ceramic votives to the PG period (Strøm 2010:74), and maintains that the excavator noted ceramics with "variety of concentric circles, in either pairs or rows" (Hoppin 1905:107). Even though these sherds were published by Hoppin (1905), they were never thoroughly discussed. To validate this hypothesis, a re-examination of the pottery is much needed, especially since the majority of the ceramics has not yet been published (Strøm 1988:176). Polignac (1984:42), however agrees with the mid-eighth century date, and argues that the sanctuary was established as an extra-urban sanctuary on the eastern side of the Argive Plain, and functioned as a border for coming city-state of Argos.

The Argive Heraion is dominated by the Old Temple Terrace (fig.17), consisting of massive construction of conglomerate blocks (Antonaccio 1992:90), which resembles the masonry of the cyclopean walls from the nearby citadels of Mycenae and Tiryns (*ibid.*:91). The terrace was first thought to have been contemporary with the LH settlements. Scholars accepted this hypothesis until Blegen discovered Geometric sherds at so great a depth that they could not have been placed there after the construction. He concluded that the terrace must have been constructed during the LG Period (Blegen 1937:19-20). Later scholars such as Drerup, Kalapaxis, and Mallwitz (see Antonaccio 1992:91) disagreed with Blegen's interpretations and re-dated the terrace to the later part of the seventh century, contemporary with the construction of the Archaic temple. Furthermore, the terrace was covered by a pavement of slabs in limestone blocks (*ibid.*:90).

The earliest function of the Old Temple Terrace has been a subject of debate for over one

century. If we believe Blegen's eighth century date, there seem to be a 75-100 year hiatus between the construction of the terrace and the construction of the first temple in the Archaic period. Wright (1981:191) has suggested that an earlier shrine building had been present on the terrace. A gap is also supported by the fact that parts of the stylobate rests on the lime stone pavement. The lower part of the stylobate was left unfinished, indicating that it was not meant to be visible and, therefore, the pavement must have been covered with a now vanished fill. Wright thus concluded that the terrace must have been built for an earlier building (*ibid.*:189), perhaps the one represented by a terracotta model. The Archaic temple was probably built during the third quarter of the seventh century and was in use until 423 BC, at which time it burned down (Pfaff 2003:1). A new temple of the Doric order was subsequently built on a new and bigger terrace below the Old Temple Terrace, and it remained in use throughout the Roman Period (*ibid.*:8).

With a contrast to Mycenae, Tiryns and Asine, Argos during the eighth century was lacking visible remains of the Mycenaean culture, necessary for political claims. This was at the same time as the Greeks had begun to rediscover their heroic past (Wright 1981:192-193). The Heraion was, perhaps therefore, constructed in close proximity to the roughly sixty Mycenaean chamber tombs excavated at the Prosymna cemetery. Furthermore, the terrace wall, which imitated cyclopean masonry, was constructed underlining the importance of their political claim of the territory. The significance of these features for invoking the heroic past is further supported by the establishment of the heroic cults around the Mycenaean tombs at Prosymna (Antonaccio 1995:54).

It has also been suggested that the Argive Heraion was established by the nearby city of Argos, to establish domination over the Argive plain, as well as functioning as symbolic *chora* between the neighboring settlements of Mycenae and Tiryns (Polignac 1994:52-53). Hall (1995:579) on the other hand argues against Polignac's interpretations and claims that the sanctuary was founded with shared participation of the surrounding settlements of the Argolid. Strøm (1995:198-199) agrees with Hall's views, and argues that the building of the monumental Old Terrace Wall, does not match contemporary building programs in the city of Argos, since the city did not produce any monumental buildings before the fifth century. Hall (1995:611-613) continues by arguing that the sanctuary probably remained roughly independent from Argos, until 460, when the *poleis* of Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea were destroyed. The sanctuary was perhaps controlled and organized in a collaboration of all these surrounding settlements.

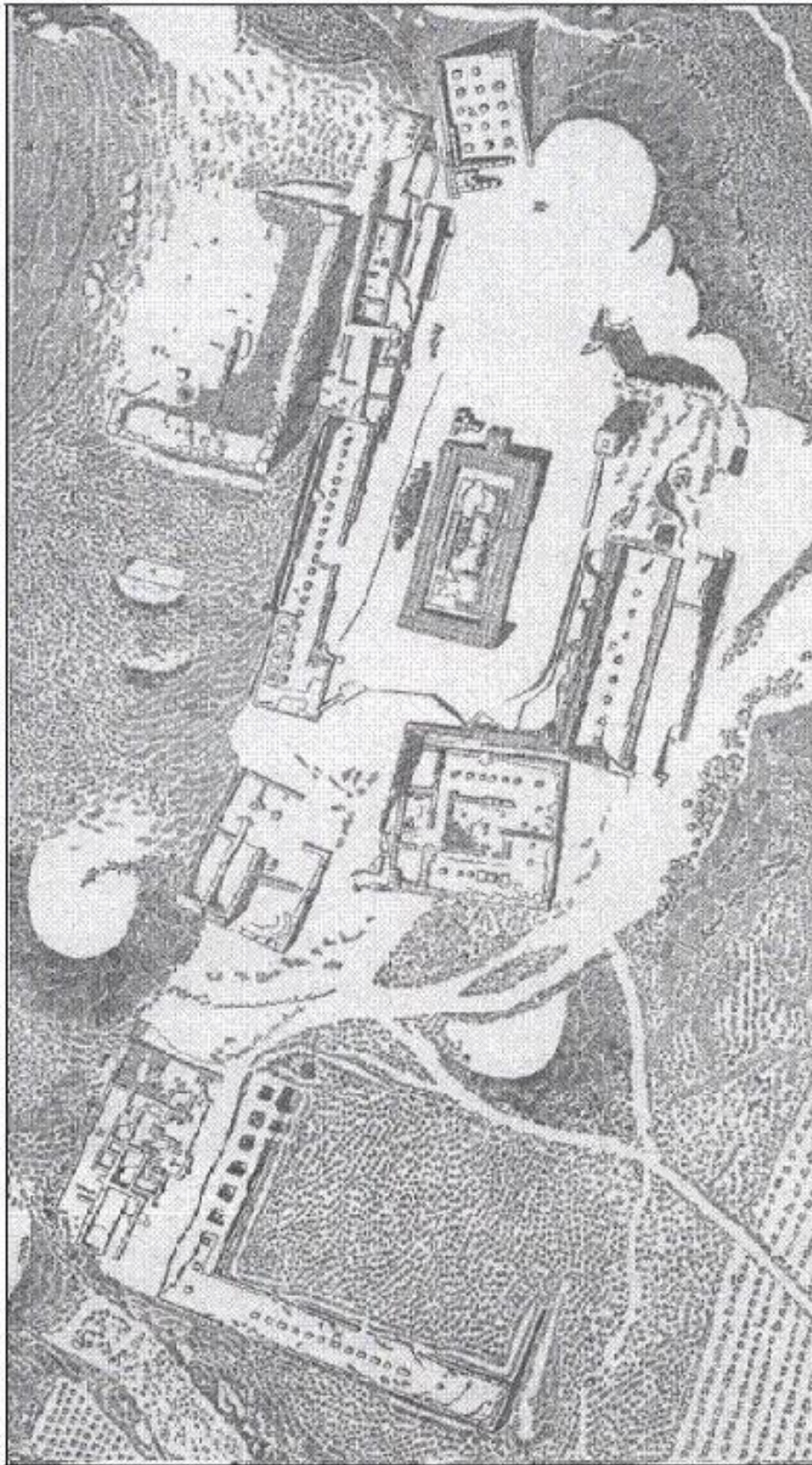


Figure 16: Plan of the Argive Heraion (from C. L. Brownson 1893)



Figure 17: The retaining wall of the Old Temple Terrace (Photo: Patrik Klingborg)

### **2.3.2 Excavations at the Argive Heraion**

The sanctuary was first discovered in by Colonel Thomas Gordon in 1831 and five years later he undertook some minor excavations. He identified the site as the sanctuary of Hera (Brownson 1893:206). Several other scholars conducted minor excavations during the following decades, including Heinrich Schliemann (Blegen 1937). The first systematic excavations began in 1892 by Waldstein, under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. Waldstein spent four seasons excavating at the Heraion, and managed to expose the sanctuary fully by 1895 (Brownson 1893:208). Consequently, his excavations also brought to light a wide range of votive offerings. Additional excavations took place between 1925 and 1928 by Blegen. The focus of Blegen's study was the BA settlements and burials in the area. In this regard, he found evidence for settlements from the EH Period until the LH III period, as well as several Mycenaean tombs (Blegen 1937). The most recent excavation at the Heraion took place in 1949 by Caskey and Amandry (1952). Their excavated took place on the foot of the retaining wall bellow the East Building (Baumbach 2004:74).

The results of the earliest excavations were published in two volumes by Brownson in 1905. Subsequently, a volume regarding the architecture of the Classical temple of Hera was published by Pfaff in 2003. Many articles regarding the material have also been published concerning the sanctuary, such as Strøm (1977 and 2010), Wright (1981) and Hall (1995).

### **2.3.3 The material**

The earliest excavations at the Argive Heraion focused on bringing to light the architectural remains of the sanctuary, and as a result little is known of the stratigraphy of the site. The location of the votive offerings can only be traced through several notes which the excavators made during their excavations. For example, Waldstein noted that the majority of the votives were discovered in

the fill of the second temple terrace, and that votives were also found in the Old temple terrace (Waldstein 1905 a:73-84). The only stratigraphic excavation at the sanctuary was done by Caskey and Amandry in 1949 (Caskey and Amandry 1952), but the majority of findings consisted of material from the seventh and sixth centuries (Baumbach 2003:79). The range of votives dedicated at the Argive Heraion through the EIA is vast, and consist of numerous categories including ceramics, terracotta figurines, seals, pins, rings pendants, bronze hydria, mounted horses and possibly a terracotta bovine (Baumbach 2004:83, 86, 92, 94, 96, 98), as well as monumental offerings like bronze tripod cauldrons (Strøm 2010:83, 93). The earliest possible votive objects can be dated to the LH IIIC and PG period (Strøm 1988:174-175 and Strøm 2010:74), but it is difficult to know if these belonged to the sanctuary, the earlier settlement, or graves connected to the settlement.

## Pottery

Pottery from the Argive Heraion has been published in *Argive Heraeum Volume II*. by Hoppins (1905). The publication does not refer to a secure quantity of pottery, and uses vague terms like "numerous" and "few". It is, therefore, difficult to produce statistics of the ceramics from the sanctuary. Moreover, much important material was also discarded or never published.

Large amounts of Mycenaean sherds were excavated at the Argive Heraion. These were probably contemporary with the LH settlements and graves excavated in the area, and should not be considered as votives in relation to the sanctuary. However, it is worth noting that the sanctuary was established in an area that must have been important during the Mycenaean period.

Geometric pottery from the Argive Heraion, remains as sherds, in large sizes, and was usually broken in many pieces (Hoppin 1905b:101). Most of the ceramics seem to be of Argive type. Fragments of PG pottery are also present in the sanctuary, but are not very numerous in comparison with the previous and later periods (*ibid.*:104). The majority of the ceramics from the Argive Heraion date to the MG II and LG periods, and the increased amount from the eighth century has been considered to be evidence for the date of the establishment of the sanctuary (Baumbach 2004:76).

The LG vessels were decorated with images of humans and animals. The preferred animals depicted were birds and horses (Hoppins 1905:107-108), which are also typical images in the iconography of contemporary votive offerings. The publication does not specify the amount of open vessels discovered, but *kalathoi* and *skyphoi*, as well as plates are especially well represented in the archaeological material. Closed vessels are also present in the form of *oinochoai* and *lekythoi*. (*ibid.*:124-141). Caskey and Amandry (1952:174) notes that the majority of the Geometric vessels

found during their excavations consisted of karaters, bowls, skyphoi and amphorae.

## Figurines

Many Mycenaean figurines in terracotta have been found at the Argive Heraion, including many human figurines of the phi and psi type, as well as one human with a bird`s face and the head of a bull (Waldstein 1905:19-23). These were perhaps traces of the LH settlements in the area, and can not be associated with the later cult activity at the sanctuary.

Only two terracotta figurines can be ascribed to the Geometric period. These include a human figurine with Geometric decoration, and a horse with painted straight lines. The horse is relatively similar as the contemporary horses found attached to the lids of *pixides*, usually in Attica (*ibid.*:23). Furthermore, one possible terracotta figurine of cattle can also be dated to the Geometric period (Baumbach 2004:96).

Figurines in bronze are much better represented in the Argive Heraion. DeCou (1905) has catalogued forty-three possible bronze animal figurines from the Geometric period. No figurines depicting humans have been uncovered. The most represented animal figurine, with fifteen examples, is birds (DeCou 1905:204-207). Next is ten horse figurines (fig 18 A-B), eight cattle, four serpents, three deer (fig 18 C), one frog, one ram, one lion, and one rodent (*ibid.*:197-204). Several horse figurines in bronze were also uncovered in Blegen`s trial trenches (Blegen 1937).

## Jewelry

Jewelry was commonly dedicated at the Argive Heraion during the EIA, and comprises pins, fibulae, rings and bracelets (DeCou 1905). The most favored type of jewelry from the Argive Heraion is dress pins. Between seven and eight hundred bronze pins were found at the sanctuary. All of these show signs of usage indicating that they were worn before being dedicated. In addition, about two thousand enlarged bronze pins, ranging in size from 30-80 cm, have also been discovered. All pins have been stylistically dated to the eighth and seventh centuries (Baumbach 2004:92). Moreover, 140 fibulae, some pendants<sup>6</sup>, usually in the form of birds, and hundreds of various types of rings are also present in the archaeological material.

Several of these dress pins and fibulae belong to a PG date (Strøm 1988:174-175). According to Hall (1995:593), the jewelry, together with the PG ceramics mentioned earlier suggest three possibilities. First, they may have belonged to a non-cultic context, such as burials or habitation. Second, they are heirlooms, dedicated roughly three centuries after being manufactured.

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<sup>6</sup> Publication does not specify an exact number of pendants.

And third, they provide tentative evidence that the sanctuary was established as early as the PG period. More excavations are needed to determine whether these objects can be related to the earliest cult at the Argive Heraion.

### **Other bronzes**

Twenty-nine examples of fragmented bronze tripod cauldrons have also been found at the Argive Heraion (DeCou 1904:245-450). Furthermore, smaller objects such as spits (*ibid.*:301), disks (fig. 18 D) and rectangular sheets are also evident at the Argive Heraion. These objects are parallels to bronzes found in other contemporary sanctuaries, especially the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea.



**A**



**B**



**C**



**D**



Figure 18: Various bronze votives from the Argive Heraion:  
A-B) Bronze horse figurine, eighth century (from DeCou 1905)  
C) Bronze deer, eighth century (from DeCou 1905)  
D) Bronze disk (from DeCou 1905)

## 2.4 Summary of the sanctuaries

In this chapter I have discussed the votive materials from the chosen sanctuaries and their quantity throughout the EIA. The sanctuaries at Tegea and Isthmia both provide substantial archaeological data, while the Argive Heraion is in need of a re-examination of the previously excavated material. Even if the sanctuaries have not been fully excavated, the information provided from the votive offerings, provides valuable information about cultic practice through the EIA.

The sanctuaries have several common features. With the exception of the Argive Heraion, where the date of foundation is controversial, they seem to be established no later than the PG period, or possibly earlier. All three sanctuaries were positioned at strategic locations such as major crossroads, preferably between regional and inter-regional communities. The presence of large quantities of open vessels in the sanctuaries, suggest that one of their functions consisted of a sacrifice in conjunction with dining and drinking. The strategic position of Tegea between Laconia and the Argolid also indicates interesting patterns in the dedication of votive offerings, and shows a change in influence between Laconia during the earliest phase, and the Argive during the later part of the EIA.

Moreover, there are many similarities in the votive materials from the three sanctuaries. Jewelry was deposited in all three sanctuaries, though the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia only received a handful, while the Argive Heraion and the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea received hundreds or thousands. An explanation for this is that the Hera and Alea Athena were both female deities, as well as being associated with typically female concerns, such as fertility and marriage.

Certain types of animal figurines are found in all three sanctuaries, as well as in the majority of contemporary sanctuaries. Horse figurines in bronze and terracotta are found in large numbers at Tegea and the Argive Heraion, while at Isthmia the only examples are in terracotta, with the exception of one which might have been a cauldron attachment. Figurines of bovine animals are also highly present in all the three sanctuaries, perhaps giving an indication of important ideas and desires of EIA communities.

Lastly, monumental offerings, such as bronze tripod cauldrons occur at the Argive Heraion and Isthmia. Fragments of arms and armor dedicated as votives are also found at Isthmia. During the late eighth century these votives, as well as the increasing amount of jewelry and figurines in bronze, show a substantial pattern of change, not only in the mentioned sanctuaries, but all over Greece.

### 3.THE VOTIVE MATERIAL - DISCUSSION

A discussion regarding the symbolism and function of the various votive offerings is needed. The great variety of votive offerings in the sanctuaries is yet another indication that most objects could be regarded as a votive offering (Van Straten 1981:80). In certain cases votive offerings provide an insight into cult characteristics while in other cases votives illustrate the interest of the worshiper (Baumbach 2004:3). However, certain categories of votives are self-explanatory, such as jewelry and certain types of figurines, while others are more debatable such as horse figurines. Another aspect of votive offerings relates to the gender of the dedicator. Some groups are considered to be dedicated by men, such as weapons, tools, horse figurines, bronze tripods, cauldrons, etc. Others are clearly dedications made by women. Jewelry was presumably dedicated by women, and evidence from contemporary graves indicates that women wore such jewelry. A problem regarding this view is whether the votive reflects the dedicator or the goddess (Baumbach 2004:5), and why typical male deities such as Poseidon at Isthmia and Apollo Amyklae also received a small amount of jewelry.

Previous scholars working on votive offerings have tended to categorize votive offerings after their possible function. To look at the material from a different angle this study will discuss the materials by the categories, and not function. This way, more interpretations and a wider debate of their functions can be made possible.

The following table illustrates the types of votives found in the sanctuaries:

Category:	Tegea:	Isthmia:	Argive Heraion:
Pottery related to dining / drinking	yes	yes	yes
Miniatures	yes	no	yes
Human figurines	yes	no	yes
Horse figurines	yes	yes	yes
Bovine figurines	yes one reclining oxn	yes	yes
Other animals	yes	no	yes
Jewelry	yes	yes* relatively few	yes
Pendants	yes	no	yes
Weapons and armor (including miniatures)	yes	yes	no
Bronze Tripod Cauldrons	no	yes	yes

Table 5: Categories of votive offerings from Tegea, Isthmia and the Argive Heraion

### 3.1 Pottery - ritual dining and drinking

Traces of sacrifices with ritual dining and drinking have been located at several of the earliest sanctuaries in Greece including the three examined in this study, and can be dated back as far as the transition period between the LBA and EIA (ca. 1100 BC) (Morgan 1993:18). The material evidence of such rituals consists of fragments of broken pottery, which are almost exclusively open vessels commonly used for dining and drinking. The sherds were usually found in a dark ashy soil, mixed with a high quantity of burnt animal bones (Morgan 1999:373). Antonaccio (1994:79-104) and Sourvinou-Inwood (1993:1-17) have both argued that these rituals were not a revival of forgotten practices, but a continuous development from the LBA.

Dining and drinking rituals had already taken place in numerous LBA sanctuaries, and were not an invention of the EIA (Marakas 2007:9). Sanctuaries where great numbers of open vessels have been found in conjunction with burnt bones include Olympia, Isthmia, Aphaia at Aegina, Asine, Kalapodi and the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (*ibid.:11*), but possible sherds of PG *skyphoi* have been located at the Argive Heraion (Strøm 1988:104). Before the eighth century the rituals were most likely practiced in the open air (Morgan 1999:374). In the *Odyssey*, Homer describes a similar occasion, where a sacrifice to Poseidon takes place at a beach close to Pylos. The participants sacrificed nine bulls, and spent the day feasting and drinking before returning to the city (Od. 31.384). In the poem, Homer does not describe any temple, altar or votive offerings being dedicated, and, as Gebhard remarks, if the site ever existed and were excavated, the material found would be burnt animal bones and terracotta cups mixed with ash, similar to that at Isthmia and other PG contemporary sanctuaries (Gebhard 1993:159). Furthermore, Louis Gernet (1982:21) has suggested that the majority of the early shrines that were scattered around the countryside must have functioned as rally points for frequent meetings.

Several early Greek sanctuaries which contain traces of early dining and drinking rituals were located on strategic locations, such as the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. As mentioned earlier, the sanctuary was located at the Isthmus linking the Peloponnese with mainland Greece (fig. 19 A) (Gebhard 1993:154, Morgan 1996:47), and must have been a landmark for anyone traveling in the area (Gebhard 1993:165). The sanctuary was easily accessible by the nearby roads, as well as the sea, which made the location ideal for assemblies or meetings where sacrifice and consumption of a common meal took place (Morgan 1996:57). The earliest traces of such meetings come from a series of open vessels that were dedicated during the end of the Submycenaean and beginning of the PG period (Gebhard 1993:156), and continued throughout the EIA. During the second half of the eighth century, a terrace was constructed to support a growing number of people participating in these rituals (Morgan 1994:126).

The Argive Heraion was located on a strategic hill overlooking the Argive plain (fig. 19 C) . Francois de Polignac (1994:4-5) has argued that the Argive Heraion functioned as a meeting point for the surrounding communities during its earliest phase. The possible PG sherds described in Blegen's notebooks (Strøm 1988:104) also supports this argument.

Evidence of PG open vessels was also discovered in at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (fig. 19 B), Milchhofer and Dugas both described Geometric sherds and other materials as found in layers of dark soil and ash (Voyatzis 1990:63). The majority of the PG pottery was discovered in the *Bothros* underneath the *pronaos* of the Classical temple (Østby unpublished:6). These vessels indicate that similar dining and drinking rituals probably took place at the sanctuary from an early phase. The sanctuary of Athena Alea was also located on a strategic place on the Tegean/Mantinean plain in the south-eastern corner of Arcadia, on a crossroad where the main route between the region of Laconia and the Argolid connects with paths northwards towards Mantinea (Voyatzis 1990:10, Østby unpublished:5).

Other important sanctuaries were founded during the same period, and had similar functions. The sanctuary at Kalapodi (fig. 19 D), located in the south-western district of Phokis was established in the early stages LH IIIC period (Morgan 1996:47), or earlier (Niemeyer lecture at the American School of Classical Studies Athens November 2009). Kalapodi's location between the Corinthian Gulf, Lokris and Thessaly, made it ideal as a meeting point for both local and regional communities. The earliest votives of Kalapodi consisted also of open vessels related to drinking and dining rituals (Morgan 1996:47-48). The sanctuary of Zeus and Hera at Olympia was established by the end of the eleventh century, and its earliest function was perhaps a meeting place for the petty chiefs of the west, where they displayed their wealth and status by dedicating rich object to the sanctuary, and perhaps by exchanging prestige goods (Morgan 1993:21). The locations of these sanctuaries were probably chosen for their position and accessibility for the participants (Morgan 1996:55).

It is clear that one of the earliest functions of these sanctuaries was a meeting place for a social group, where animals were sacrificed, and the members participated in the consumption of a meal with wine (Morgan 1999:374). The location of these sanctuaries suggests that the members of the groups came from different parts of the surrounding area to participate in the rituals, (Morgan 1996:55). The EIA was a time where most people lived in small settlements, perhaps ruled by petty chiefs, and was in need of local meeting places where leaders, aristocrats, and common men could assemble (Morgan 1993:21). De Polignac (1994:3-4) has argued that the majority of these sanctuaries would in the Archaic period be marking the borders of the city states, which de Polignac call *sanctuaries of territorial sovereignty*.

Especially at the Isthmian sanctuary, the emphasis was on communal dining, rather than displaying wealth (Morgan 1994:113), which seems to be the case until the second half of the eighth century, when new and more elaborate items were being dedicated (*ibid.*:127-128).

Furthermore, de Polignac (1994:10), has argued that these types of sanctuaries appeared in tenth century or earlier, were established in a period of stabilization, when people needed to communicate after years of instability. The purpose of the consumption of a meal and drinking of wine would be to create bonds between the neighboring communities, and could have provided opportunities for the participants to shape alliances, arrange marriages or exchanging goods (Morgan 1999:374). Such meetings and feasts would have been necessary to bring together people from a wider area for communication and to make important decisions regarding the communities (Morgan 1994:121).

I would suggest that many different activities occurred on these locations. The presence of jewelry from the LPG period onwards (Morgan 1999:373), indicates that activities besides dining and drinking occurred at these sanctuaries during the tenth century. During the Classical period such items were common dedication by women during weddings (Oakley and Sinos 1993:14, Gernet 1982:22); this would suggest that different activities, such as the arranging of weddings, took place at these sacred places. I would, therefore, suggest the possibility of weddings taking place at these sanctuaries.

Seeing that the majority of terracotta figurines that were dedicated at the Isthmian shrine, were representations of bulls, Morgan (1994:120) has suggested that the meeting at the Isthmian sanctuary could be a celebration of agriculture or pastoral festival, perhaps a celebration of “the first fruits”. It has been suggested that the festival at Olympia originated as an agricultural thanksgiving, though as Morgan (1993:23) points out, there was no single harvest season in the Mediterranean, and that the festival was deliberately organized to avoid periods of agricultural activity, so people could take time to participate.

The participants of the meetings and feasting were almost certain male adults (Morgan 1994:115). Gebhard (1993:166) argues that the simplicity of the pottery from Isthmia’s earliest phase indicates that the participants were not aristocrats, but common men who came together to celebrate the festival (Gebhard 1993:166). This was the case until the eighth century, when more lavish dedications appear (*ibid.*:159), perhaps indicating a greater social stratification in the society. Evidence of women participating in the rituals occurred during the LPG period, when items associated with women, such as jewelry and terracotta boots (fig. 7 G&H), first appeared (Morgan 1994:121). Whether these dedications took place at the same time as the dining and drinking rituals or not is uncertain (*ibid.*). They may have taken place at more specific events when needed.

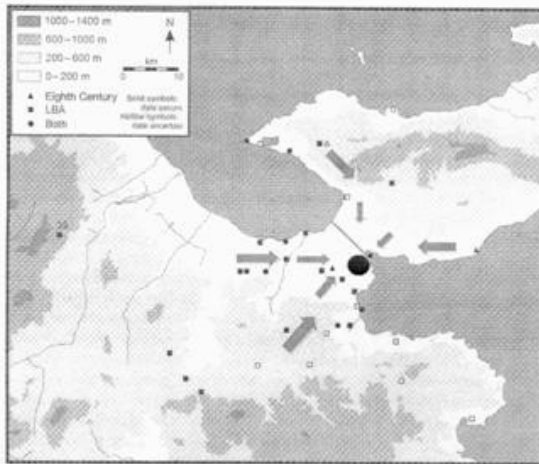
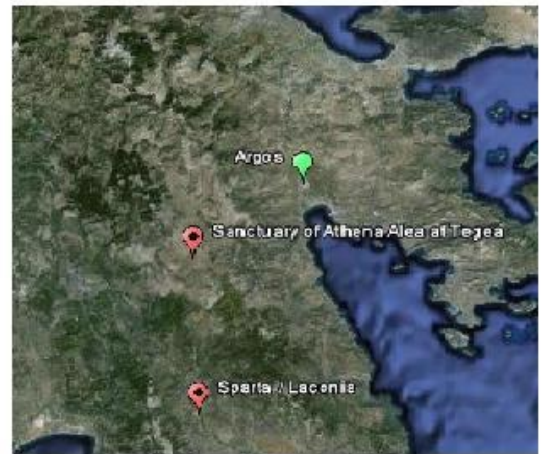
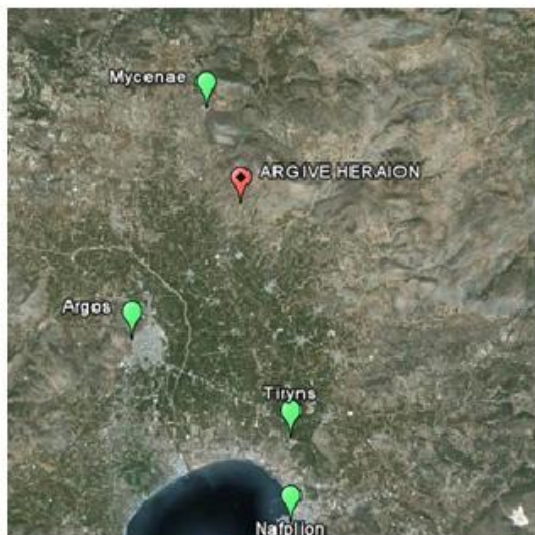
**A****B****C****D**

Figure 19: Maps showing the strategic location of the sanctuaries:

A) Corinthia and Isthmia (From Morgan 2003)

B) Tegea's location between Sparta/Laconia and Argos (map from Google)

C) The Argive Heraion's location between EIA settlements at the Argive Plain (map from Google)

D) Kalapodi's location in Phocis (from Morgan 193).

### 3.2 Miniature vessels

Miniature vessels are known from various contexts, including domestic, funerary, and cultic (Hammond 2005:415). Numerous miniature vessels have been discovered in Greek sanctuaries, and those in the region of Arcadia have provided many examples, such as the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (*ibid.*:417), the sanctuary of Hera Akraria at Perachora, and the Argive Heraion (*ibid.*:416). As Hammond (1998:15 and 2005:416) has remarked, to define a miniature vessel is difficult since they appear in many different contexts and in different varieties. Nonetheless, miniatures appear to have been copies of normal shapes, but reduced in size (Hammond 1998:18). The function of the normal sized vessel may not be the same function as its miniaturized version (Hammond 2005:416).

As mentioned above, miniatures have been found in the excavations at the sanctuary at Tegea, and these demonstrate an unbroken sequence, starting from the PG period, throughout the EIA (Hammond 1998:206-207). Additionally, five or six Mycenaean miniature vessels were also discovered in the *bothros* underneath the *pronaos* of the Classical temple (*ibid.*:41). These vessels might indicate that cult practice had taken place at Tegea during the LBA.

The use of miniature vessels as votive offerings has been debated. As Hammond (2005:420-421) has suggested, the simple character of the earliest miniatures found at Tegea, indicates that they might have been used as small containers for perishable offerings. These vessels were mostly open vessels, imitating those used for drinking, and dining. Closed vessels were also present, but fewer in numbers. They include jugs, *hydrai*, and *oinochoai* (Hammond 1998:27).

Miniatures found in grave and cultic contexts have often been interpreted as cheap substitutes for normal sized pots (Hammond 2005:427), and some scholars have assumed that they were associated with poor women who could not afford rich gifts (Hammond 1998:20). A change in practice seems to have occurred during the middle of the eighth century, when the *bothros* was closed and the metal workshop was built over. Several miniature vessels from the LGII and early Archaic period contained suspension holes, which indicates that they were likely hung, perhaps from the roof, or some kind of pole. Many of these were also painted on both sides, illustrates that they were meant to be seen from all angles. (*ibid.*:218). The LG miniature vessels were discovered close to numerous bronze and iron pins and nails, especially associated with the two Geometric cult buildings, which strengthens the argument that they were used as votives, and not only containers of offerings (*ibid.*:119). The fact that some LG miniature vessels from the Tegea had suspension holes indicates this further.

Unfortunately, the miniature vessels cannot explain the nature of the early deity at Tegea (*ibid.*:237), which might reinforce that they were given by poorer people, who could not afford to dedicate more valuable objects. Similar object occurred at the Argive Heraion and at Perachora,



showing similarities between the practices of rituals in the mentioned rituals.

### 3.3 Figurines

The degree to which certain types of figurines may indicate the nature or the deity of a sanctuary is controversial. Some scholars believe that the objects indicate the function of the deity (Rouse 1902:373-374), while others believe that the object represents the dedicator's interests or circumstances (Voyatzis 2002:164). Some figurines commonly found in sanctuaries, such as horses, might indicate the interests of the worshiper, while other figurines are only found in special sanctuaries to particular deities, and might represent the interests of the deity. Figurines such as nursing females might indicate both the worshiper and the deity's interests.

Figurines dated to the EIA can be categorized into numerous groups, including horses, bovine figures, wild animals and humans. These were usually produced in either terracotta or bronze, but also in some cases lead (Voyatzis 2002: 159, 162).

Terracottas can be subdivided into statuettes, figurines and reliefs, and could have had different functions including toys for kids, grave goods, domestic uses and, more importantly, as votives in sanctuaries or shrines (Higgins 1967:xlix). Terracotta figurines were often placed on shelves in sanctuaries, and were later often broken into pieces to prevent them from being reused. When the sanctuary got too crowded with votives, they were buried in nearby pits to make more space for new dedications (Higgins 1967:1 and Burkert 1985:94). Such pits have been discovered in several sanctuaries, such as the *bothros* found underneath the *pronaos* of the later Classical temple at Tegea (Østby unpublished:5).

Terracotta figurines were commonly used as votive offerings throughout the BA (Higgins 1967:9-11), and almost completely disappeared from the archaeological record of the eleventh and tenth century, with the exception of Crete. Occasional examples of wheel-made figurines, such as the Centaur figurine from Lefkandi, continued to be produced throughout the PG period, but they remain few in numbers (Dickinson 2006:229-230). Production and dedications of terracotta figurines increase during the ninth and eighth century, and were from that point produced on a mass-scale (Higgins 1967:17).

Figurines made of bronze seem to be created exclusively for votive offerings dedicated at sanctuaries, and few have been found in secular contexts (Langdon 1987:108). Bronze figurines were almost completely unknown on mainland Greece during the BA, and the few found were no doubt of Near Eastern origin (Dickinson 2006:153). Human figurines produced in bronze were first produced as votive offerings during the PG and Geometric periods, and have no predecessors (Langdon 1987:108). One exception is the nude female from Tegea which possibly dates to the

thirteenth century (Voyatzis:123-124). Bronze figurines are often harder to date, and are often found in locations lacking stratified contexts. At Olympia the earliest bronze figurines appear to belong to the eleventh and tenth century (Dickinson 2006:153). Bronze figurines remain relatively few throughout the earliest phase of the EIA, but seem to increase dramatically during the second half of the eighth century (Langdon 1987:108).

### **3.3.2 Human figurines**

Human figurines of terracotta were already highly represented throughout the LBA, and mostly consisted of females, such as the phi-figurine (Langdon 1987:108). Such figurines have been found at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (Voyatzis 1990:240), the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia (Morgan 1999:167), the Argive Heraion, and many other sanctuaries. During the start of the EIA, human figurines became less visible in the archaeological record (Langdon 1987:198), with some exceptions, such as the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, where most of the figurines seem to be female (Voyatzis 1990:304). Male figurines were rarely present in the LBA, but became the main type of human figurines throughout the Geometric period (Langdon 1987:108). Figurines of males might represent the dedicator of the votive. If representing the dedicator they give evidence of the growing aristocratic union which rose up during the eighth century.

Human figurines were dedicated at most sanctuaries throughout the EIA (Voyatzis 1989:126), and were more popular at certain regions and sites, such as the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and Arcadia. A commonly asked question is whether these figurines represented the dedicator or the deity of the sanctuary. Certain figurines can be interpreted as certain deities, such as the bearded Zeus, or Apollo with his arms raised (Rouse 1902:308 and Byrne 1991:13), while other figurines depict humans holding their hands up in the attitude of worship, which might represent the dedicator (Rouse 1902:286). Figurines of warriors might have been given as a request of keeping the military safe in battle, which would be in the interest of the dedicator (Byrne 1991:18). Both types are highly present in the votive material. In certain cases, figurines of other gods could be dedicated in sanctuaries (Burkert 1985:93, Alroth 1987:9-10). Most of the human bronze figurines found at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea depicted females, except for one sexless individual (Voyatzis unpublished:31), and one male figure wearing a conical helmet (Voyatzis 1990:304)

Another category of human figurines found at certain sanctuaries dated to the EIA is a nude woman seated side-ways in saddle (Fig 6 B). These types of figurines have been found at Tegea, Lousoi, Olympia, and the Samian Heraion (Voyatzis 1989:106), as well as some examples found on Cyprus (Voyatzis 1992:260). According to Schweitzer (1971:156-159), the figurines might be remains of a Mycenaean religious system that continued into the EIA, especially in Arcadia.

Scholars have interpreted these figurines in contrasting ways. As argued by Voyatzis (1992:274-275), these types of figurines are mainly found in sanctuaries to female deities, usually associated with a mistress of animals, such as Artemis, Hera, Athena Alea, and at the Menelaion. Baumbach (2004:157) suggests that figurines of female rider might represent the deities concerned with motherhood, and that the horse provides a link with aristocracy and the military force. He continues by arguing that they could have represented a symbol of health and continuity of offspring, especially regarding continuity in the military force. However, as Crouwel (1981:51) has argued, riding sideways was a common way for women to travel in antiquity, and one might wonder if these figurines could have represented ordinary women, or if they represented a goddess associated with horses or aristocracy (Voyatzis 1992:260)?

More evidence that points to Athena Alea at Tegea being a Mistress of Animal is illustrated in the figurine of a human separating two animals, which can be dated to the second half of the eighth century (fig. 6 D) (Voyatzis 1990:108, 2002:164). It has been suggested by Voyatzis that this figurine is influenced by contemporary pottery representations like the so-called Argive “Horse-tamer between Two Horses” (Voyatzis 1990:109), though it is certain that the animals did not represent horses (*ibid.*:108). The iconography of humans separating animals is well known from Mesopotamia, as the so-called master of animals. It first originated during the prehistoric times, and has been passed down through many different cultures in that region as well as spreading out to other areas surrounding Mesopotamia, including Greece (Moorey 1971:154). Another similar motive from early Greece which perhaps represents a divinity separating two animals, is the relief over the Lion Gate at Mycenae (Østby 2008:185), and similar reliefs from a gold rings and seals, also found at Mycenae (Marinatos 1986:60, Nilsson 1950:250-254). Another argument for these representing divinities comes from a LG or Early Archaic vase painting from Boeotia, which display the same scene with the exception of the column being replaced by a divinity (Østby 2008:186). It has been suggested that the goddess Artemis first appear in Linear B tablets, and that she was most possibly related to the Near Eastern Great Goddess, where she was often depicted with lions. Artemis is often depicted with wings standing between symmetrically arranged wild animals (Burkert 1985:149). The figurine from Tegea therefore provides additional evidence that the nature of the earliest deity worshiped at the sanctuary was a mistress of animals, as suggested by (Voyatzis 1990:109).

Furthermore, several human figurines including a water carrier, and several figurines of naked females, usually holding their hands on the breasts suggest the deity's interest in fertility (Voyatzis 2002:164). One of these figurines could, according to Voyatzis (1990:124), be LH IIIC in date, but has no parallels with any Mycenaean example. Voyatzis sees certain parallels in Cypriot

examples. The two figurines of the woman carrying a vase, probably a *hydrai* or *oinochoe* (fig. 20 C&D), have been interpreted by Voyatzis (1990:116) as a prayer or wish for rain the area. Receiving enough rain would have been, and still is consequential for the inhabitants of the Tegean-Mantinean plain. Camp (1982:9 and 1986:34) has interpreted the simultaneous abandonment of wells in the Athenian Agora during the last quarter of the eighth century as a severe, prolonged drought in Athens. This potential drought could have been contemporary with the two figurines from Tegea, indicating that it had also affected Arcadia. Another explanation for these figurines might be that they represented the dedicator, a female whose job was to acquire water from the spring connected to the sanctuary, or perhaps they represent a dedicator`s gratitude for the water in the spring.

Arcadian sanctuaries, such as Tegea, in particular received a high amount of human figurines, and it has been suggested that the high amount represents a memory of Mycenaean traditions. This can especially be illustrated by the female rider seated sideways found in the earlier excavations, a typical LBA iconography, as well as the bronze figurine of a female holding breasts, which is dated to the twelfth century (Voyatzis 1990:126).

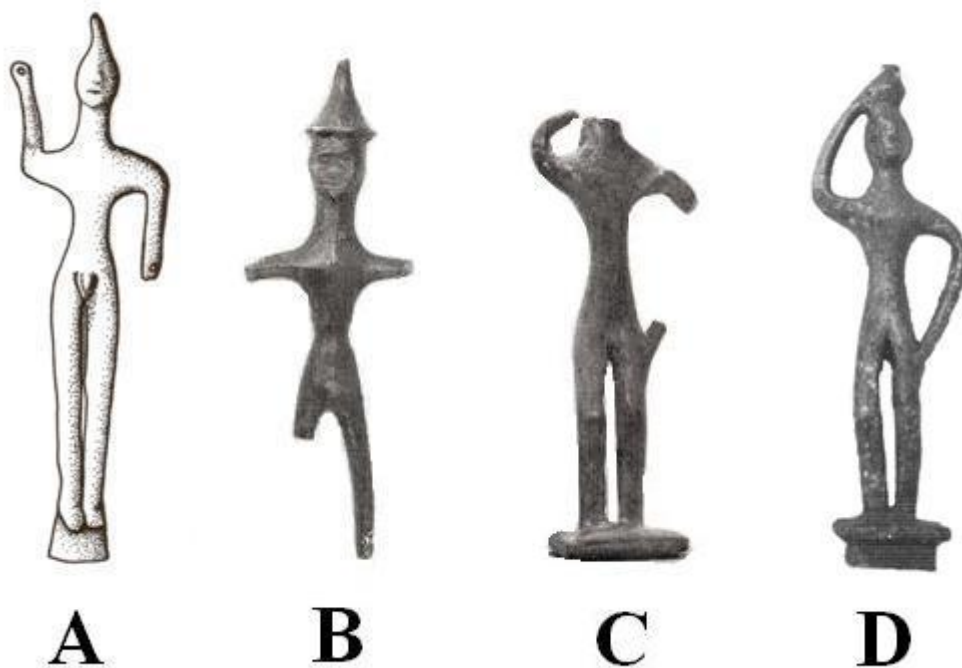


Figure 20: Various EIA human figurines in bronze:

A) Corinthian warrior/horse-leader from Olympia. Late Geometric (from Dickinson 2006:154)

B) Male figure wearing a conical helmet from Tegea. Eighth century (From Voyatzis 1990:304)

C) Figure carrying vase on head from Tegea. Eighth century (From Voyatzis 1990:306)

D) Figure carrying vase on head from Tegea. Eighth century. Presumably almost identically C (From Voyatzis 1990:304)

At least three terracotta psi-figurines dated to the LH IIIC period, along with some uncertain fragments, have been found at Tegea and they either represented an earlier phase of activity at the site or were dedicated later as heirlooms (*ibid.*:240). During the seventh century, warrior figurines became present in the votive material at Tegea (Voyatzis unpublished (b):34), which is a further indication that Athena's more usual aspects: a goddess of war or protection, from now on was worshiped.

### 3.3.3 Horse figurines

Figurines of horses have been located in the majority of major sanctuaries dating back to the EIA (Voyatzis 2002:164), and were especially popular from the ninth century onwards. The horses were produced in either terracotta or in bronze. Horses played an important role in the ancient Greek civilization. Although first domesticated around 4000 BC they were not introduced to Greece until around 2000 BC, during the start of the MBA (Camp 1998:4). The earliest depictions of horses in Greek art occurred on the grave markers of the shaft graves of Mycenae between 1650 and 1550 (Anderson 1961:2). A double horse burial was found in the *dromos* of a Mycenaean tomb at Marathon dated to around 1400 (Camp 2001:13), connecting them with the deceased. The importance of horses is further emphasized in a Linear B tablet found at Pylos, referring to a "Mistress of the horse", indicating the importance of horses during the LBA (Voyatzis 1992:268).

Furthermore, Athena and Poseidon were closely connected as being patrons of horses, horsemanship and other equestrian activities. Poseidon had a close association to horses in war, while Athena was credited with the invention of the bridle and the use of chariots (Camp 1998:5-9). It is, therefore, no surprise that figurines of horses in bronze and terracotta were dedicated in the sanctuaries of Athena Alea at Tegea and Poseidon at Isthmia. Since horses symbolize both a high social status and wealth, they also represent the aristocracy (Baumbach 2004:164). Horses played an important role in ancient Greece, having a significant role in warfare, transportation, and later, in athletic competition; perhaps most of all as a symbol of wealth and aristocracy (Camp 1998:3). Owning and maintaining horses was expensive, and became a privilege reserved for the wealthiest people in the society. This can be demonstrated in several of the richest burials from the ninth and eighth centuries. At the Athenian Agora, a rich ninth century burial included bits of a bridle from a horse (Camp 1986:32), and during the eighth century, graves from both the Kerameikos and the later Athenian Agora included *pyxides* (fig. 21 B), bearing lids with attached horse figurines (Camp 1998:10). Furthermore, a grave from the PG period found in the Kerameikos included an amphora with a depiction of a horse (fig. 21 A) (Lemmos 2002). Depictions of horses on vases too became more common throughout the course of the eighth century (fig. 1 C, D, E), and are well represented

on the LG ceramics from the Argive Heraion and the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea.

Taking this idea a step further, the dedication of horse figurines has also been considered as a symbol of military prowess, especially the cavalry. Several horse figurines with mounted warriors have been found at the Argive Heraion and one from Tegea (fig 8 D). According to Baumbach (2004:98,165) the figurines from the Argive Heraion represent Hera's concerns with the military forces and were dedicated in the hopes of gaining protection from the deity during battle. Isager and Skydsgaard (1992:85-86) agree with Baumbach, and emphasize that horse figurines represent both a symbol of high status and wealth, as well as a symbol of protection of the military. The rider from Tegea might represent the same symbol as the Argive ones (Voyatzis 1990:198).

At later periods in history, namely the Archaic through the Roman, serving as the cavalry was itself a symbol of status and wealth due to the expense. According to Gaebel (2004:20), the price of a cavalry horse during the Classical period was between 200-1200 drachmas. Around 400 BC, a drachma was a normal day's salary for a worker (*ibid.*:21). The price of horses during the EIA is impossible to know, but I would suspect that the price would be even more expensive.

Voyatzis (2002:164) has argued that horse figurines are found in most sanctuaries from the ninth and eighth century, and, therefore, they are unlikely to shed light on the identity or aspects of the deity. The mounted warriors from the Argive Heraion and Tegea might argue the opposite, since they have been interpreted as dedications needed before battle to protect the cavalry of the military.

The fact that these figurines were found in sanctuaries where the deities were especially associated with the protection of the military indicates that they could represent the deities aspects (Baumbach 2004:68). However, it is difficult to identify who the dedicators were. They could be members of the cavalry hoping for safety in battle, or members of their family. Baumbach (2004:164) has argued that the image of horses represented a symbol of wealth, aristocracy, and the military, and we can, therefore, assume that horse figurines were dedicated by people of the higher strata, presumably aristocrats (Osborne 2006:174). Furthermore, keeping horses would have been costly, and dedicating a horse figurine would have been an appropriate dedication from someone who owned and wished for the deity to protect his horse. During the eighth century, bronze horse figurine would have been an ideal way for someone who wished to show the community that he was important. Lastly from the Archaic period, or perhaps earlier, competing with horses and chariots in the newly established pan-Hellenic games was regarded a sport for the aristocracy (Nicholson 2005:3). Raising horses could have been events during the eighth century, and dedication of horse figurines can perhaps illustrate a gift from the worshiper to the deity as a wish for luck, or a thank you offering for victory.

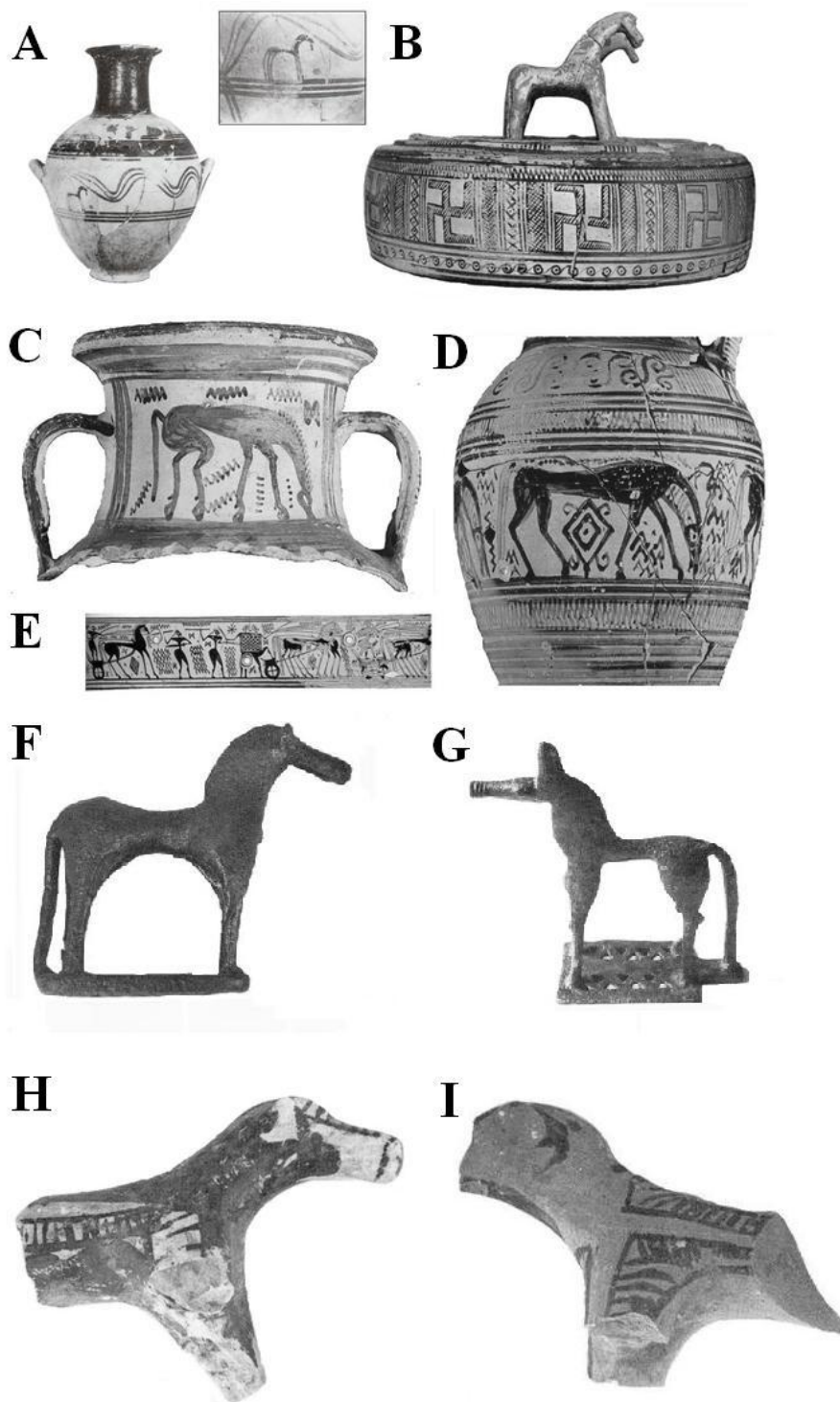


Figure 21: Horses and iconography

- A Protogeometric belly-handled amphora from the Kerameikos, depicting a horse (Lemos 2002)
- B) Pyxides with horse figurine handles, from Kerameikos, Athens (Heilmeyer 1972:129)
- C) Neck of an amphora with a gazing horse from LGII (Camp 1998:15)
- D) Oinochoe with grazing horses, from ca. 700 BC (Camp 1998:15)
- E) A scene from the Trojan War, on a 8<sup>th</sup> century oinochoe (Camp 1998:9)
- F) Bronze horse figurine from Tegea (Voyatzis 1989:307)
- G) Bronze horse figurine from Tegea (Voyatzis 1989:308)
- H) Fragment of terracotta horse from Tegea (Voyatzis 1989:346)
- I) Fragment of terracotta horse from Tegea (Voyatzis 1989:346)

Another important discussion regarding horse figurines is whether the material of the figurine reflects the social status of the worshipers. Baumbach (2004:165) argues that the material of the votive offering does not necessarily reflect the social status of the worshiper, but it is obvious that terracotta figurines must have been cheaper and easier to produce than figurines of bronze. According to Camp (1998:21), terracotta horses were available for sale at many places around the Athenian Agora during the eighth century, which might suggest that the price of these could not have been too high. Similar examples have been found in wells and burials and could originally have functioned as toys, only to be dedicated in a later ritual (Morgan 1999:404-405), possibly during celebration in a transitional period, such as the change between childhood and adulthood.

Finally, the important symbol of the horse can be illustrated in Homer's *Iliad*, where a large wooden horse is used to siege the city of Troy (*Od.* 8.487). There is not coincidence that a horse was the preferred animal when the aristocratic Achaeans were smuggled into the defenseless Troy.

### 3.3.4 Bovine Figurines

Another animal often represented in EIA sanctuaries are bovine figurines, such as bulls, cattle and oxen. The sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia has so far yielded seventeen examples of terracotta bulls, possibly starting from the LPG period onwards (fig. 22 B-D) (Morgan 1994:119). Eight bronze figurines of cattle from the Argive Heraion were catalogued by DeCou (1905:204-207) as Geometric, but according to Baumbach (2004:96) they are Late Archaic in date. Furthermore, Baumbach mentions several bovine figurines from the Argive Heraion, which he is uncertain of the dating, as well as several that might be unpublished (*ibid.*). Six examples of reclining oxen are also present in the archaeological record from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (Voyatzis 1990:144-145), as well as of two bull figurines of bronze which are dated to the late eighth, or early seventh century (*ibid.*:143). Moreover, EIA bovine figurines are also present at Samos and Olympia (fig 1 F) (Higgins 1967:22 and 24). Bulls were also an important iconographical feature during the BA, and were especially depicted in religious contexts in Minoan religion (Marinatos 1993:199).

The bull figurines from the Isthmian sanctuary give a great contrast to other sanctuaries from the EIA, like Olympia, the Samian Heraion and Artemis Orthia, where other animal figurines, such as, horses and oxen dominate (Morgan 1994:119). Most of the figurines from Isthmia were crude, handmade, and undecorated, which make them hard to date stylistically (fig. 22 B, C and D). Three figurines found in the fill of East Terrace I (fig. 4), indicate that they were dedicated prior to the mid-eighth century (*ibid.*:119), but several of the figurines might be from earlier periods, perhaps as early as the PG period (Morgan 1994:120, Morgan 1999:372). One fragment consists of the leg of a



hollowed wheel-made bull dated to the tenth century, which show great similarities to Laconian and Attic bulls, as well as the centaur from Lefkandi (fig 22 E). The complexity of these figurines indicates that they cannot be considered a "poor mans bronze" (Morgan 1994:119).

The name of Poseidon as a god first appears Linear B tablets from Knossos and Pylos, dated to the LH IIIB period (1300 -1190). There is no epigraphic evidence of Poseidon being the deity at the Isthmian sanctuary before the sixth century. However, since bulls were closely connected to his worship and a high percentage of the figurines found at the sanctuary consist of bulls (Burkert 1985:136 and 138), this suggests that Poseidon was already the deity being worshiped at Isthmia from the PG period (Morgan 1994:112-113). Another explanation for the popularity of bull figurines at Isthmia is their symbol of economic wealth (Morgan 1994:120). Bulls were important animals for both agriculture and transport purposes, which made them fairly expensive and costly maintain (Baumbach 2004:96). It is, therefore, plausible that the figurines were dedicated for the protection of the dedicators animals.

Another common theory is that they could represent a long-lasting reminder of sacrifice. However, Morgan (1994:120) argues that bulls are poorly represented in the earliest bone deposits from Isthmia, indicating that few bulls were actually sacrificed at the time. As discussed above, the earliest function of the Isthmian shrine was as a meeting place between nearby communities, who came together to sacrifice and participate in a dining and drinking ritual (Gebhard 1993:166). The figurines might, therefore, have been dedicated during the dining and drinking ritual and might illustrate a pastoral and agricultural festival, perhaps a "first fruits" (Morgan 1994:120). Baumbach (2004:96) has also suggested that the bovine figurines could have been dedicated by farmers to put their most valuable livestock under protection. If figurines of horses symbolized aristocrats putting their horses under the deities protection, bovine figurines might have been dedicated by peasants or farm owners wanting the deity to protect their livestock (*ibid.*:165).

Cattle were especially important animals at the Argive Heraion. As Baumbach (2004:96) mention, the festivals celebrated at the sanctuary were called *Hecatombaia*, indicates this further. Also, the hill behind the sanctuary was called Euboea, meaning a good area for cattle.

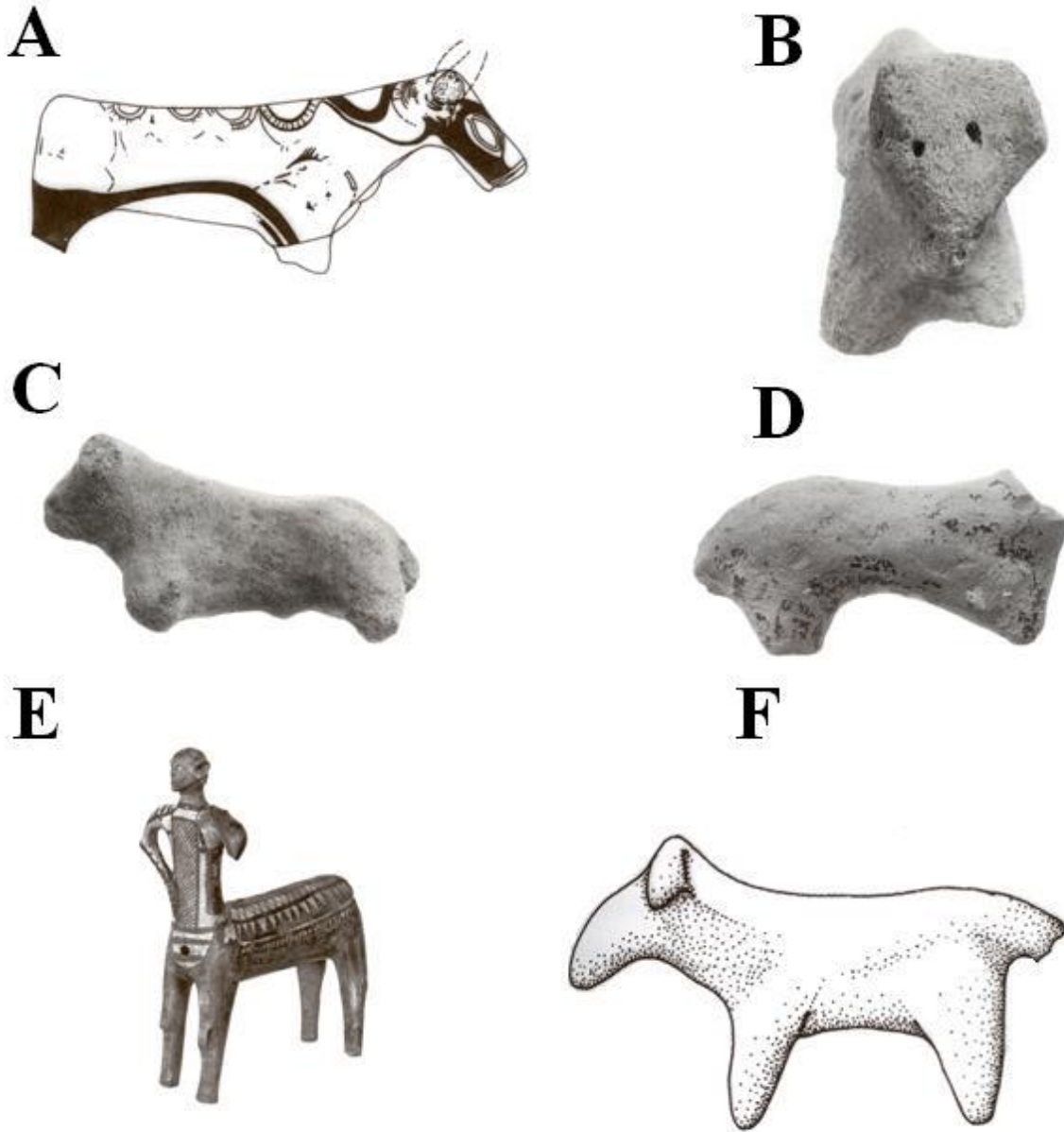


Figure 22: Bovine figurines:

A) Drawing of a LH IIIC bull (from Dickinson 2006:227)

B) Terracotta bull from Isthmia (from Morgan 1999:171)

C) Terracotta bull from Isthmia (from Morgan 1999:171)

D) Terracotta bull from Isthmia, perhaps Protogeometric period (from Morgan 1999:169)

E) Wheel-made Kentaur from Lefkandi, Protogeometric period (from Dickinson 2006:230)

F) Terracotta cattle from Olympia, Protogeometric period (from Dickinson 2006:229)

### 3.3.5 Other Animal Figurines

Other types of animals were also dedicated in sanctuaries during the EIA, which can help identifying the aspects of the deities. Deer are found in certain sanctuaries, and are often associated with goddesses who protect animals and wildlife, such as Artemis. Bronze figurines of deer have so far been discovered at the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia near Sparta, the Argive Heraion, Perachora, near Corinth, Olympia, Samos, in Thebes and at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (fig. 23 A). Furthermore, several contemporary deer figurines which are strikingly similar to the ones found in Greece have been discovered in a sanctuary near the town of Sevlievo, in central northern Bulgaria (email correspondence with Phd student Ivalo Karadzhinov from the University of Sofia, Bulgaria).

The largest amount of bronze deer figurines found in Greece has been found at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. So far seven figurines have been found at the sanctuary. Rouse (1902:67-69) argues that such animals represented models of a hunter's prey, and were dedicated as a thank offering to the deity for a successful hunt. Voyatzis (1990:269-270), on the other hand, maintains that the deer figurines from Tegea represent the deity as a mistress of animals, attributes usually ascribed to Artemis. The high amount of such figurines is another argument which connects the deity at Tegea as a goddess of fertility or a mistress of animals.

Furthermore, another animal which has often been interpreted as a symbol of fertility is the turtle (fig. 22 B). To date, two pendants depicting turtles have been found at Tegea, as well as one from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary near Sparta and one from Mavriki (Voyatzis unpublished a:25). Bevan (1988-1-6) has suggested that turtles could represent personification of moisture and earth, and reflects the goddess power over the earth and fertility.

Rabbits and hares have also been found in certain Greek sanctuaries, such as Olympia, Priene, and Tegea (fig 23 E) (Rouse 1902:69 and Voyatzis 2002:161). Rouse (1902:67-69) also considered the figurines of hares to be models of a hunter's prey. Another suggestion for the interpretation of the hare figurines is as a symbol of fertility. First of all, hares and rabbits are known for reproducing quickly, and would be an important symbol of humans wishing to reproduce, or perhaps farmers wishing for their live stock to reproduce safely. Secondly, during the classical period, hares were often used as a traditional love gift brought by an older admirer to a youth. An example of this is illustrated on a painting of a 4th century lekythos (fig. 23 C), where Eros is chasing a hare, from the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design (Friedman 1987:10). Hares are also associated with the goddess Artemis, the mistress of animals, and are often found in iconography related to her (Burkert 1985:149).

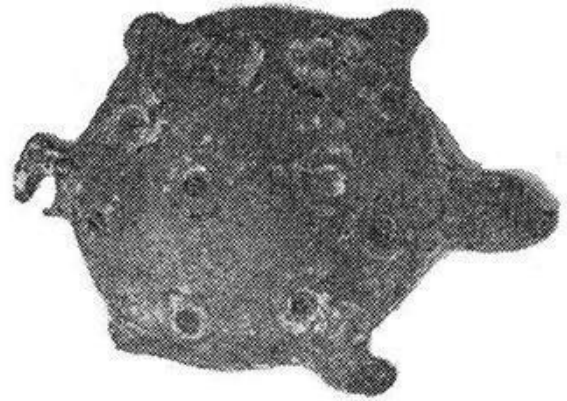
**A****B****C****D****E**

Figure 23: Figurines of other animals found at sanctuaries:

A) Bronze deer from Tegea, eighth century (from Voyatzis 1990:140)

B) Bronze turtle pendant from Tegea (from Voyatzis 1990:161)

C) Lekykos depicting a scene where Eros chases a hare (photograph by Brooke Hammerle, courtesy of Museum of Art, RISD, Providence, RI, 1990)

D) Fragment of a bird figurine from Tegea, eighth century (from Voyatzis 1990:240)

E) Bronze hare figurine from Tegea, eighth century (from Voyatzis 2002:161)

Lastly, figurines of birds are both present in the form of two terracotta figurines from Tegea (fig. 23 D), and in pendants from Tegea and the Argive Heraion (Voyatzis 1990:147 and 240). Birds appear in many different roles in the Greek Mythology, including the creation, and they often appear as messengers for the deities. Furthermore, birds are also associated with the dead and the journey to the underworld. Conversely, Baumbach (2004:18) argues that bird figurines symbolize fertility. In addition, Hera and Aphrodite were worshiped in Sparta as protectresses of birds (*ibid.*)

### 3.4.1 Jewelry

The dedication of jewelry at sanctuaries marks an important change in ritual behaviour between the LBA and EIA. They first emerge as votive offerings during the LPG period, but remain few in numbers until the eighth century (Morgan 1990:34, 1999:374). Jewelry can be subdivided into many categories, and include dress pins (fig.24 A, C and D), fibulae, finger rings (fig. 23 F, 23 G), and earrings (Voyatzis 2002:165). The majority of the sanctuaries that received jewelry belonged to female deities, usually Hera, Artemis and Athena (Baumbach 2004:36, Morgan 1990:35), but also Aphaia (Kron 1996:159). Some items have been found at sanctuaries to Apollo, but these remain few in numbers. Jewelry is also present at Olympia, but it is uncertain if Zeus or Hera was the recipient (Voyatzis 2002:166).

The fibulae and rings were already in use during the LBA, but it is believed that pins were first manufactured from the LH IIIC period and onwards, and were introduced by a new ethnic group, presumably the Dorians. Kilian-Dirlmeier (1984:31-65) has argued against the Dorian theory, and claims that they were made continuously from the MH period and onwards. The original function of pins was fasteners for a woman's *peplos* (fig. 1) (Baumbach 2004:35, Dickinson 2006:159), and they were personal objects of the dedicator before they were used as a votive offering (Whitley 2004:141).

Jewelry was probably dedicated in sanctuaries by women, presumably during a ritual for a special period of crisis, or during a specific change in their life (Morgan 1990:34). These occasions could be marriage, childbirth, fertility, or the passage from childhood to adulthood (Baumbach 2004:38). During the Classical period in Greece, as a ritual to bid farewell to childhood before getting married, young women would dedicate special objects such as toys or special items of clothing from their childhood. These objects were given to a wedding goddess, or a goddess that could be associated with marriage and fertility (Oakley and Sinos 1993:14), such as Artemis, Athena or Hera. It is possible to assume that this also was the case throughout the EIA. Whether the jewelry was dedicated still attached to the clothing, or separately is unknown, since textiles rarely survive in the archaeological record (Jacobsthal 1956:96, Baumbach 2004:35, Kron 1996:159).

However, some literary sources tell us that Artemis sometimes received clothing as an offering of thanks for assistance at birth (Baumbach 2004:37). Furthermore, pins found in funeral contexts were often located on the shoulders of the dead at the position where they were attached, which indicates that they were still connected to the clothing when given as grave goods (Jacobstahl 1956:95). In some sanctuaries, pins have been found in pairs, which might demonstrate that they could have been connected to garments when dedicated (*ibid.*:96). It should therefore be suggested that clothing were also dedicated at the sanctuaries together with the pins, but did not survive in the archaeological record.

Dress pins were the most commonly found item of jewelry dedicated in sanctuaries, and are found in most sanctuaries throughout Greece, mostly belonging to female deities (Whitley 2003:144 and Baumbach 2004:36). From the Geometric to the Archaic period, roughly 700 pins were dedicated at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, approximately 1500 at Artemis Orthia in Sparta, and roughly 3000 at the Argive Heraion (Voyatzis 2004:165). But there is also evidence of jewelry being dedicated at other sanctuaries associated with male deities. The sanctuary of Apollo Amyklaios received a total of 22 pins, while 300 have been found at Olympia (*ibid.*:166). Various items of jewelry were uncovered at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, including a few pins, fibulae, and finger rings (figs. 24F and G) (Morgan 1999:157-158). Pins have largely been found in religious contexts, but some were also discovered in burials (Jacobsthal 1956:96) and in domestic contexts (Voyatzis 2002:166). Pins found in grave contexts decrease greatly during the eighth century, and increase as dedications in sanctuaries, indicating a shift in displaying wealth from graves to sanctuaries (Whitley 2004:144). Furthermore, only a few examples come from domestic contexts (Jacobsthal 1956:96). It is worth noticing the similarity in the dedication of jewelry from the Argive Heraion and the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. Dedications of jewelry continued to be dedicated at many sanctuaries through the seventh century (Voyatzis unpublished a:46). Table 4 shows the percentage of pins found at sanctuaries dated to the EIA at the Peloponnese.

As mentioned above, the earliest phase of the Isthmian sanctuary may have functioned as a meeting place for local communities to participate in shared dining and drinking. The earliest pieces of jewelry appeared from the LPG period, but it is uncertain if these dedications took place at the same time the drinking and dining ritual. Voyatzis (unpublished a:4) has suggested that pins were dedicated at Tegea from the second half of the eighth century, and suggests that the older ones were heirlooms. The sacrificial meetings were probably only attended by the aristocratic males. I would, therefore, suggest that perhaps important communal events like marriages or festivities connected to marriage could have also taken place at the sanctuaries.

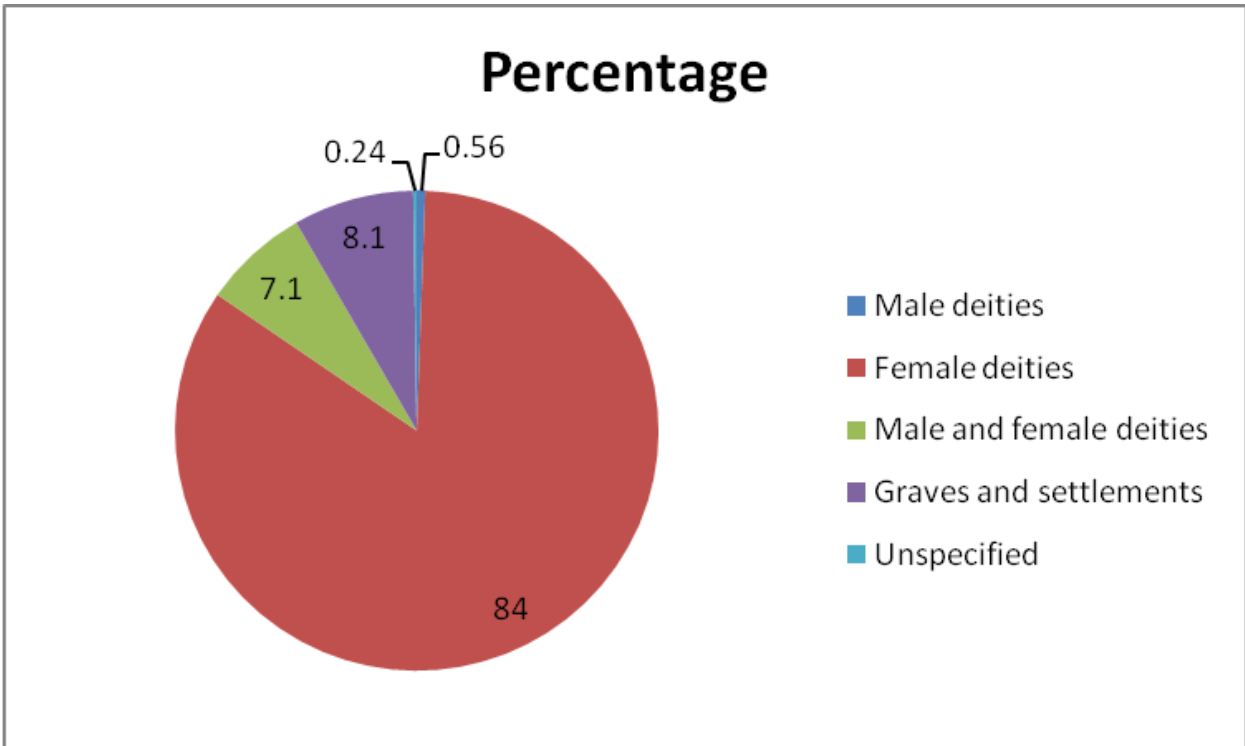


Table 6: The find context of EIA pins found at the Peloponnese (based on information from Voyatzis 2002:166)

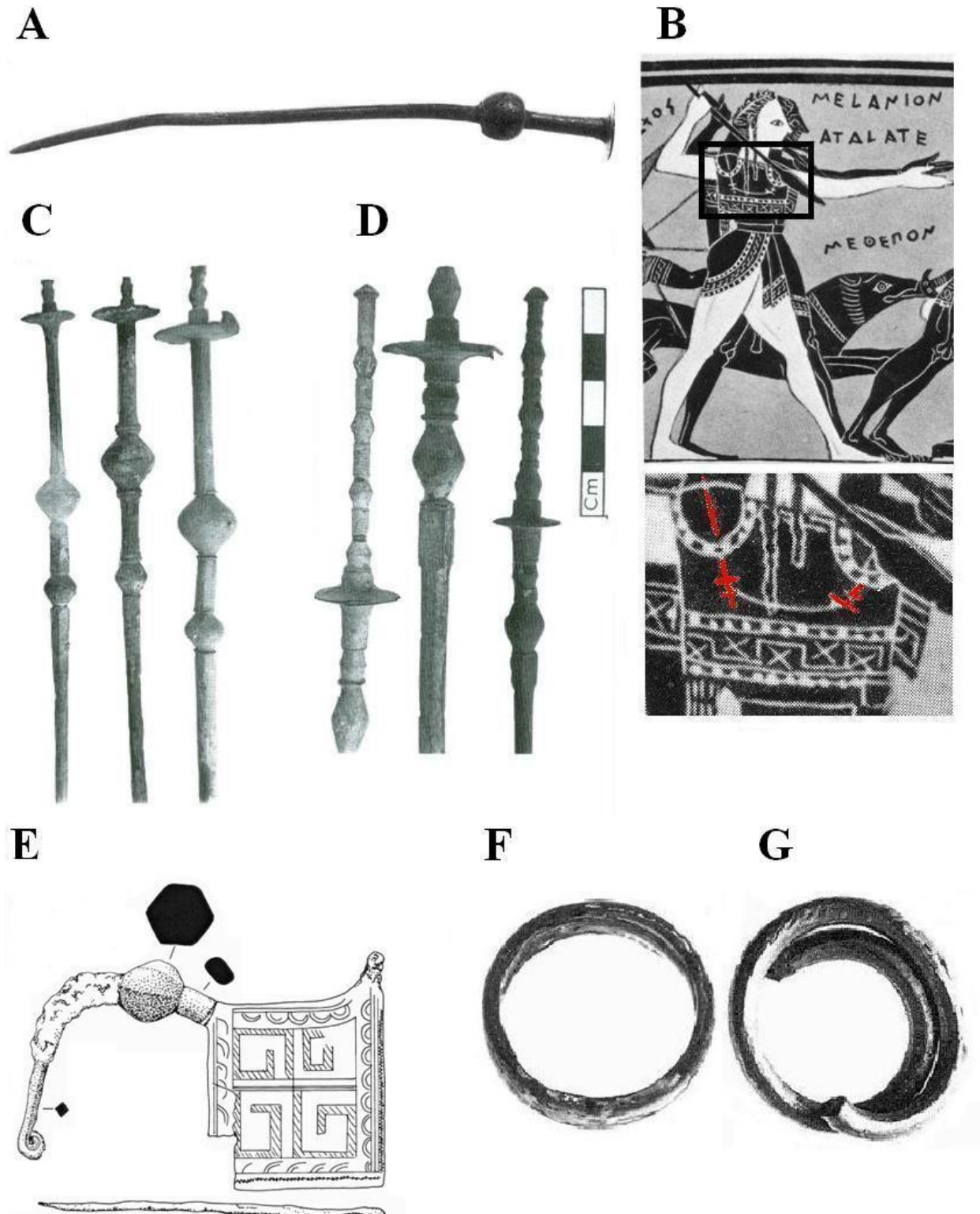


Figure 24: Various jewelry:  
 A) Protogeometric pin from the East Temenos, Isthmia (Morgan 1999:157)  
 B) Depiction of pins in use (Jacobsthal 1956)  
 C) Geometric II pins from Tegea (Voyatzis 1989)  
 D) Geometric II pins from Tegea (Voyatzis 1989)  
 E) Geometric filibula from Tegea (Voyatzis unpublished:a)  
 F) Silver ring from the East Temenos Isthmia (Morgan 1999:158)  
 G) Gold earring from the 9<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century Isthmia (Morgan 1999:158)



### 3.4.2 Pendants

Pendants have been discovered in several sanctuaries in Greece, as well as in the Balkans. They usually are composed of a figure or an object with a suspension hole, and were hung either individually or as a chain in a necklace. Pendants were first manufactured during the Mycenaean period, and usually depicted double axes or pomegranates. Pendants were dedicated throughout the EIA, but the majority was offered during the LG period (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979:259). Furthermore, pendants can be subdivided into over a dozen sub-groups (Voyatzis 1990:175), with *bommelni*, bird figurines, and containers (e.g., miniature pots), representing the most dominating groups in Greece and Macedonia (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979:260).

Pendants have been found at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and at the Argive Heraion, as well as other important sanctuaries such as Olympia, Artemis Orthia (Voyatzis 1990:195), and Kalapodi (Felsch 2007:61). So far 170 bronze pendants have been found at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, consisting of fifteen different sub-groups. The most represented categories found are: stamps (66), double axes (24), pomegranate (20) and bird pendants (18) (Voyatzis 1990:175-194 and Voyatzis unpublished A:23-25). Sixty-eight pendants have been discovered at Kalapodi (Felsch 2007:61).

Certain types of pendants might have functioned as a purely ornamental. According to Kilian-Dirlmeier (1979:261), this can be supported by evidence from graves where pendants have been found in situ either as a necklace, chest jewelry, or attached to a belt. Furthermore, based on grave evidence, pendants were almost exclusively worn by women, with one exception found in a warrior grave (*ibid.*:261).

Pendants found in sanctuaries represent dedication of personal objects, as they were used for a purpose before being turned into a votive offering (Whitley 2004:141), but their original function is uncertain and debatable. Kilian-Dirlmeier's (1979:44) study of pendants has concluded that in most cases, the suspension holes were worn, indicating that they were used over a period before ending up as a votive offering, or that they were suspended in a sanctuary. Since there are over a dozen categories of pendants, perhaps some of the groups served different functions. While some clearly seem to have an ornamental function, such as birds and pomegranates, others might have served special functions, such as seals or stamps.

Four categories of pendants should be discussed in details: Double protomes (fig. 25 B), stamps (fig. 25 A), pomegranates (fig. 25 C) and double axes (fig. 25 D). These were especially evident in the archaeological record from Tegea. Milchhöfer and Dugas both suggested that the double protome pendants found at Tegea functioned as loom-weights (see Voyatzis 1990:176), while Gerigh (1964:34) has looked at similar pendants from the Samian Heraion and suggests that

they were used as spindle-whorls.

Another important category of pendants is the so-called stamp pendants, which can be further subdivided into nine categories depending on their shape (Voyatzis 1990:177). Their shared element is a patterned base plate which made Droop and de Cou assume that their function was as seals. Michhlofer and Dugas also interpret these pendants as loom-weights (see Voyatzis 1990:177). Kilian-Dirlmeier (1979:41) suggest that they could have functioned as amulets or suspended seals, but adds that if they were seals, as the pattern rarely differs between them, they could not likely function to identify different owners. A possibility is that they could represent a specific group of people or were for identifying specific items. According to Baumbach (2004:26-27), certain seals could be worn as amulets, which were later dedicated to female deities who were concerned with childbirth and infancy. Voyatzis (1990:178) supports Killian-Dirlmeier's suggestions and discovered traces of red color underneath several of the stamp pendants, as well as signs of wear around the suspension loops, indicating that they might have been used as stamps, and that they had been used over a long period of time.

Another important category is the pomegranate pendants, which were especially popular at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. Out of the 40 pomegranate pendants know from Greece, 30 were from Tegea, as well as 5 from Sparta and 5 from northern Greece (Voyatzis 1990:184). Pomegranates generally represent life after death and fertility, and they are usually common in Demeter sanctuaries (*ibid.*:187). The high amount of such pendants at Tegea demonstrates that they may also be an important offering related to the cult there (*ibid.*:188). Other votives from Tegea, such as certain animal figurines and human figurines support the evidence that Athena Alea was a deity of fertility and vegetation (*ibid.*:187). Pomegranates were considered to be luxury items throughout the LBA and were presumably consumed by the elite of the society (Ward 2003:530). During the Mycenaean period they became depicted as pendants, but disappeared through the Submycenaean, PG, EG and MG period, before reappearing in the LG period (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979:159). Depictions of pomegranates in other media are typical throughout the Geometric period, and were made in clay, bronze and ivory (Voyatzis 1990:185). Voyatzis maintains there is a possibility that the Mycenaean pomegranate was the source of copies from the eighth century onward (*ibid.*).

Six pendants depicting double-axes have also been found at Tegea. Double-axes were also like pomegranates, a common symbol in Minoan and Mycenaean religion, and might have represented a sacrificial axe used in rituals. The double-axe has been attributed to female goddesses in Minoan religion (Marinatos 1993:5), but it is uncertain what their symbolism was in EIA sanctuaries. The double-axe pendants, like pomegranate pendants, are almost invisible in the

archaeological record between the Mycenaean and LG period (Kilian-Dirlmeier 1979:159). The LG period was a time when there seems to have been a renaissance of Mycenaean culture, which may explain the sudden popularity of pomegranate and double-axe pendants at Tegea. Moreover, it seems that certain elements of Mycenaean culture and religion, such as the females rider (Voyatzis 1990:103), survived in Arcadia through the 'Dark Ages', and perhaps also pomegranate and double-axe pendants may have represented a survival of Mycenaean identity in Arcadia.

The great variety of stamp and pomegranate pendants from Tegea illustrates that the local bronze production worked creatively and independently from other contemporary workshops in Greece. Furthermore since pendants produced at Tegea have been discovered in other sanctuaries, such as the Argive Heraion, it highlights the Tegean workshop as an importing production centre in the Peloponnese (Voyatzis 1990:264)

### **3.4.3 Various bronze objects**

Various bronze objects such as beads, miniature phialai or discs, votive lyres, a rim of a relatively small bronze vessel, votive tweezers, votive combs, bands and sheets, and rectangular plaques. These objects are mostly found at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, and at the Argive Heraion. Forty-two beads have been cataloged from the recent excavations at Tegea, as well roughly seventy-four catalogued from the French excavations during the 20th century. They were mostly rolled bands and sheets of bronze (Voyatzis unpublished a:16). Their function was probably the same as the other items of jewelry dedicated in the sanctuaries.

Bronze bands and sheets were commonly found at the Argive Heraion, Artemis Orthia near Sparta, Perachora, Olympia, Tegea and a few other minor Arcadian sanctuaries. Usually they have punched decoration of various patterns (*ibid.*:18). Their functions have been widely debated, but they were probably used as ornamental decorations, such as bracelets or diadems (Voyatzis unpublished a:19 Voyatzis 1990:203).

Other smaller objects in bronze from Tegea consist of three votive lyres. Similar objects have been found at the Amyklaion and at Mavriki. Their function and symbolism are unknown (Voyatzis 1990:202). A possible miniature votive comb from Tegea shows similarities to bone and ivory combs from the Artemis Orthia sanctuary (*ibid.*:203). Baumbach (2004:94), has interpreted toiletries found in sanctuaries as dedication related to women in transition periods, such as marriage or pregnancy. The large amount of various bronze object found at Tegea can be explained by the bronze workshop that was found underneath the *pronaos* of the later temples, and indicates that Tegea played an important role in the production of bronze votive objects during the eighth century (Voyatzis unpublished a:26).

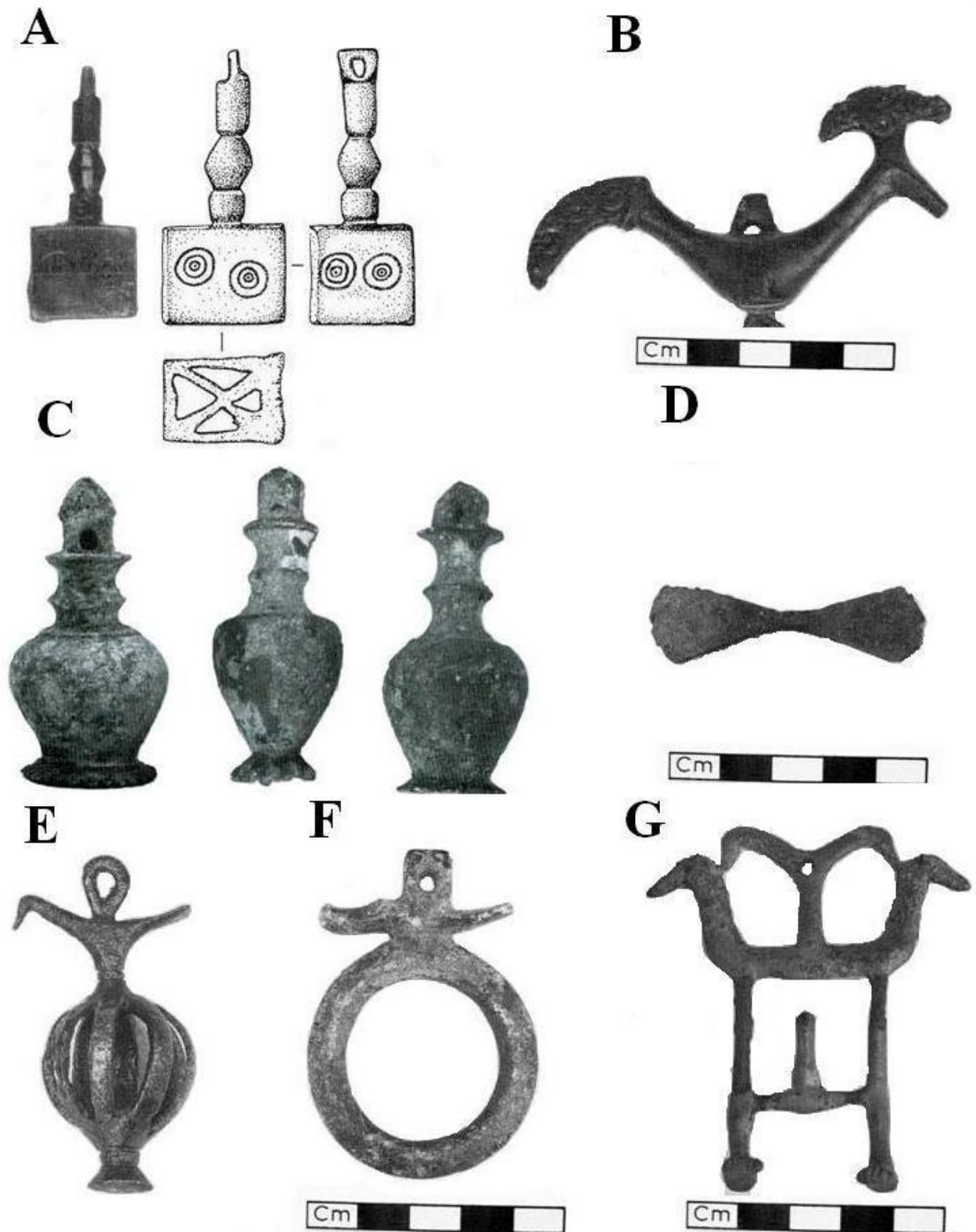


Figure 25: Various categories of pendants:  
 A) Stamp pendant from Tegea (from Voyatzis unpublished a)  
 B) Bird pendant from Tegea (from Voyatzis 1990)  
 C) Pomegranate pendant from Tegea (from Voyatzis 1990)  
 D) Double-axe pendant from Tegea (from Voyatzis 1990)  
 E) *Bommel* pendant from Tegea (from Voyatzis 1990)  
 F) Ring pendant from Tegea (from Voyatzis 1990)  
 G) Double protomes from Tegea (from Voyatzis 1990)

### 3.5 Bronze tripods cauldrons

One interesting category of votive offerings that appeared during the EIA was the bronze tripod cauldron. These vessels appear in sanctuaries of greater social and political importance, such as the great pan-Hellenic sanctuaries of Olympia, Delphi and Isthmia, or in important regional sanctuaries like the Athenian Acropolis and at the Argive Heraion (Baumbach 2004:102). Fragments of miniature terracotta tripods have also been found at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (Voyatzis unpublished c:30). Functional versions of these vessels originated during the LBA, and as most of these early examples have been found largely in domestic contexts, they were almost certainly used for cooking. Functional tripod cauldrons seem to have disappeared completely during the transition period between the LBA and EIA, except for a few twelfth century examples found in Cyprus.

Furthermore, fragments of a tenth century mould that might have been used to cast legs for a tripod has been uncovered at Lefkandi, but no fragments of bronze have yet been dated to this period (Whitley 2004:143). The lack of evidence is most likely the result of the bronze shortage during the twelfth and eleventh century. More solid evidence for tripods from the Greek mainland comes from the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens, where two miniature terracotta tripods dated to the PG period were dedicated as grave goods (fig. 26 A & B). These suggest that the knowledge of tripods was still present, but it remains uncertain whether these represented models of metal vessels, or simple terracotta cooking vessels (*ibid.*:143). A ninth century tripod from the sanctuary at Olympia (fig. 26 C) marks the start of monumental bronze tripod cauldrons being used as votive offerings in sanctuaries; by the eighth century, many tripods appear in sanctuaries across Greece, especially at Olympia, Delphi, the Athenian Acropolis, Isthmia, and at the temple hill at Corinth (Langdon 1987:111). Fragments of a miniature terracotta tripod cauldron have also been found during excavations at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea (Voyatzis unpublished c:30).

James Whitley (2004:142,144) has classified bronze tripod cauldrons as one of the gifts commonly used in aristocratic gift-exchange, which from the eighth century onward, apparently included the gods.

Literary evidence can help to explain the function and symbolism of the bronze tripod cauldrons from the EIA. They are also frequently mentioned as important aristocratic gifts in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. For example, when Odysseus leaves the island of Skheria, he receives a tripod from each member of the Phaiacian council (*Od.* 13.5-13), and when trying to make peace with Achilles, King Agamemnon offers the hero a range of precious gifts, including seven tripods and cauldrons (*Il.* 9.115).

Another function described by the author in the *Odyssey* is the use of tripods to heat water.

This occur in book 8, (*Od.* 8.433-36) when a tripod is used to heat up bath water when Odysseys receives a warm bath from king Alkinös. Finally, a similar function for this type of vessel is mentioned in Book 22 of the *Iliad*, where a tripod is used to heat up water to clean Patroklos' corpse (*Il.* 22.443-44).

Bronze tripod cauldrons could also have been prizes in certain competitions. In the *Iliad*, for example, a tripod is offered as the first prize in Patroklos' funeral games (*Il.* 23.262-68). Hesiod (*Op.* 654-657) describes receiving a tripod with handles after winning a song contest in King Amphidimas of Chalkis' funeral games. Hesiod also writes that he later dedicated it to the Muses of Helicon for teaching him to sing. Many scholars (Benton 1935, Morgan 1990, Coldstream 2003) have argued whether the dedicated tripod cauldrons found in sanctuaries from the eighth century onwards, were originally prizes in competitions. They do, however, first appear at sanctuaries where games took place, beginning in the eighth century (Morgan 1990:44). Coldstream (2003:181 and 335) argues that the monumental tripod cauldrons dedicated at Olympia during the eighth century were in fact dedicated as votives by winning athletes participating in the early Olympic games. Benton (1935:114) also argues for this opinion, and states that as one of the original functions of the tripods was as cooking-pots used for feasts, often after athletic games, it followed that they were eventually given as a prize to victorious athletes. He further indicates that the athletes may have dedicated the prize at the local shrine or sanctuary afterwards. Morgan (1990:46), however, has argued against Coldstream and Benton's views, though accepting their arguments that they were closely connected to the games. She maintains that we should consider a wider social group for the dedication of tripods. The amount of eighth century tripods are drastically higher than the amount of actual winners the competitions would permit, therefore, other aristocrats would presumably have also dedicated tripods in sanctuaries.

Thus, another argument for tripods as aristocratic dedication is value of the vessels. If one believes that the tripods were dedicated by single people, and not as a communal gift, the cost of tripods must have been incredibly high, and it is likely that only the wealthiest would have been able to afford to purchase and dedicate them. The *Iliad* provides some information concerning the possible value of a tripod cauldron. The winner of a competition in Patroklos' funeral games received a tripod that the Achaeans had valued at twelve oxen (*Il.* 23.369). The expensive value of the vessels further suggests that tripods could only be dedicated by wealthy aristocrats (Morgan 1990:45). The increasing number of prestigious objects being dedicated in sanctuaries during the eighth century suggests a society with a growing social competition and a greater social differentiation. It was important for a dedicator to give a bronze tripod or another high value object in one of the major sanctuaries, since it would have been prestigious for the donor to display his

wealth and piety (Morgan 1990:45).

As has been demonstrated, considerable changes in cult practice occurred during the eighth century. Personal objects of wealth that had been dedicated in graves increased drastically, and there was a shift in focus from displaying wealth in the form of funeral practice to displaying the wealth in sanctuaries (Morgan 1999:405-406). Furthermore, the dedication of prestige objects like the monumental tripod cauldrons supports the interpretation that there was an increasing difference in social stratification during the eighth century.

An explanation for the sudden appearance of bronze tripod cauldrons as votives in sanctuary might be due to the "renaissance" and focus on Mycenaean culture, which I have argued occurred during the eighth century. LBA tombs across Greece were sought, venerated, received votive offerings, and were imitated (Antonaccio 1995:5). For example, a terrace wall that imitated BA cyclopean masonry so closely that it was believed by scholars to be Mycenaean, was constructed at the Argive Heraion (Baumbach 2004:77). These phenomena occur at the same time as the introduction of the alphabet and the Homeric poems were written down for the first time. One wonders whether the increasing amount of tripod dedications in Greek sanctuaries was a result of the increasing popularity of the Homeric poems. Another argument is that tripods had been a part of the elite gift exchange, and from the eighth century onward they included the gods in the exchange. In the later periods, Pythia of the oracle of Delphi received the words of Apollo while sitting on a tripod, and fig 26 E is an example of a red figure depiction of a tripod in a religious setting. Tripods continued to be dedicated in sanctuaries during the Archaic and Classical periods, especially as monuments in memory of situation or happening.

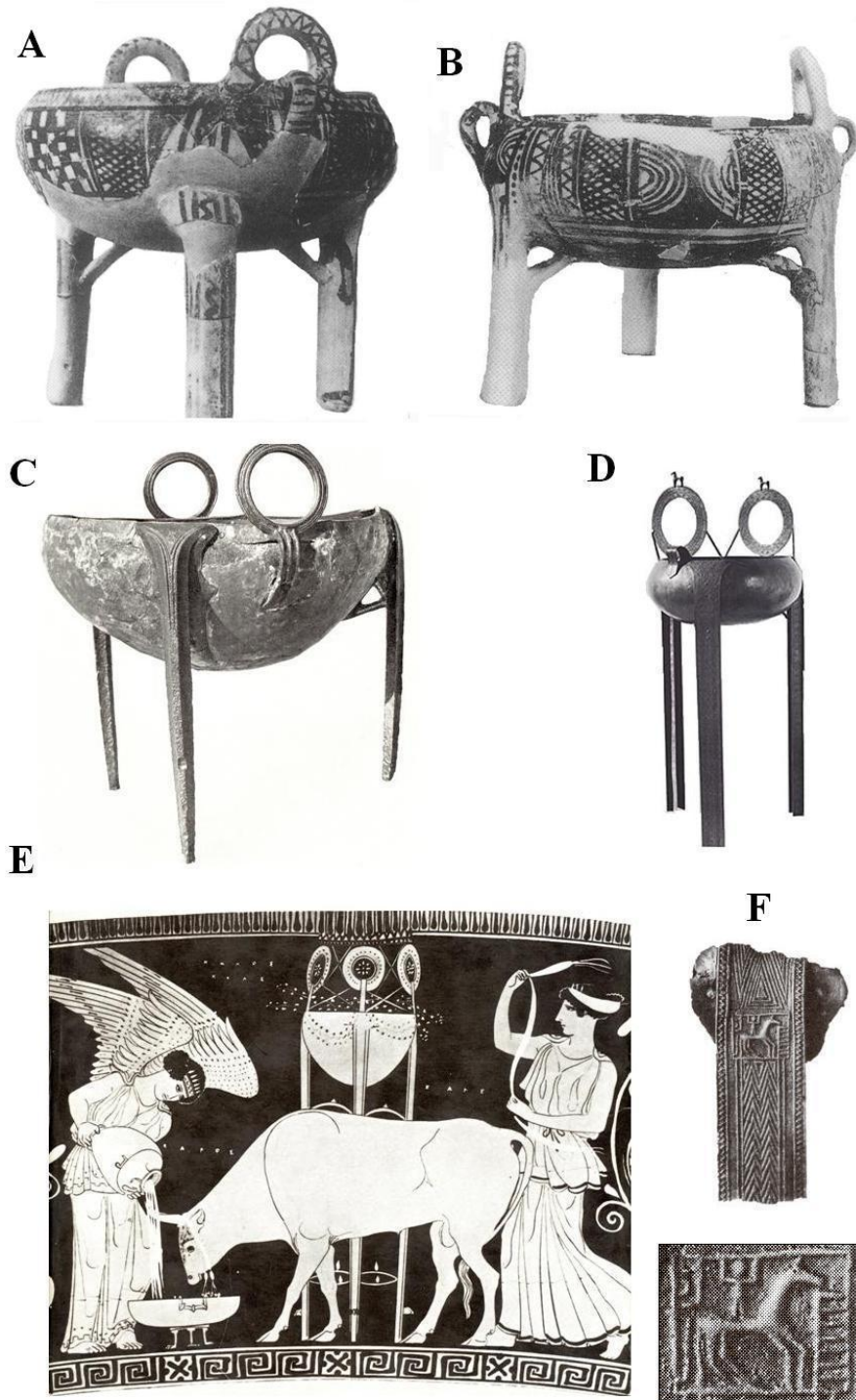


Figure 26: Tripod cauldrons:

A-B) Protogeometric terracotta tripods, from Kerameikos (Lemos 2002: pg#, plate 7).

C) A 9<sup>th</sup> century bronze cauldron from Olympia (Maass 1978: pg#, Tafel 1).

D) A reconstruction of an 8<sup>th</sup> century bronze tripod cauldron from Olympia (Whitley 2004:145).

E) A red figure vase painting of a sacrificial ritual, with a tripod cauldron in the background (Front cover of Burkert 1885)

F) A horse with a rider depicted on the leg of tripod cauldron from Olympia (Maass 1978: Tafel 33).



### 3.6 Arms and armor

Arms and armor can be categorized into two parts, miniatures and regular. Quite a few miniature arms and armor have been found in sanctuaries, including shields, swords, and arrowheads. This category of votives seem to have been especially popular in Arcadian sanctuaries, such as at Tegea, Lousoi and Alipheira. The shields from Tegea were oval in shape, with two circles cut out on the edges, making it to the similar to the so-called Dipylon shields portrayed on LG pottery (fig. 13 D-F) (Voyatzis 1990:198). Moreover, one was found in Olympia and one in the Kerameikos cemetery in Athens. One question which arises is whether these shields, both the artistic representations on pottery and the miniature shields themselves, represent copies of Mycenaean shields, or a type of shield in continuous use from the BA throughout the EIA in Arcadia (*ibid.*:199). The shields have been stylistically dated to the eighth century, owing to their similarity to the shields depicted in late eighth century pottery (*ibid.*:200)

A miniature bronze sword of tiny dimensions was found at Tegea, as well as a similar but larger type at the Artemis Orthia sanctuary in Sparta. Roughly sixteen miniature bronze arrowheads or spearheads, as well as two in iron were also recovered from the sanctuary at Tegea. Comparable objects have also been discovered at other sanctuaries, especially in Arcadia (Voyatzis 1990:200-201, and Voyatzis unpublished C). The arms and armor suggest that from the eighth century onward, the goddess was worshiped as a protectress of the city or as a goddess of war, which is appropriate for the later worship of Athena (Voyatzis 1990:270 and Voyatzis 2002:165).

Arms and armor was dedicated at Isthmia during the end of the eighth century and into the early seventh century (Morgan 1999:406). These consist of three very fragmented pieces of bronze objects: one bronze helmet of the *Kegelhelm* type, one Early Illyrian helmet, and one bronze spear head (Jackson 1999:161-165). This category of votives appeared at the same time as other objects of personal wealth, such as bronze tripod cauldrons, were dedicated. In Corinthia, arms and armor were usually given as grave goods, but none have been found in grave contexts after the end of the EIA, when they were dedicated in sanctuaries (Morgan 1999:406). Arms and Armor represents dedications of personal objects, and are believed to be dedicated by adult males.

## 4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The first aim of this study is to better understand the cult practices at the sanctuaries of Poseidon at Isthmia, Athena Alea at Tegea, and the Argive Heraion in the EIA, and their development from their founding to the end of the eighth century. I have sought to accomplish this by examining the votive offerings found at these three sites. By comparing the votive offerings from the three chosen sanctuaries, as well as other important sanctuaries, it is possible to draw certain conclusions regarding their function and symbols. The second aim is to determine whether the various categories can indicate the deity or worshipers interests. While some categories of votives are found in most sanctuaries, such as bronze horses, other findings are more limited and are found in connection with particular deities. The votive offerings from the three sanctuaries show many differences and similarities, but, more importantly, they display a similar pattern of evolution. Recent excavations and reexamination of materials from Isthmia and Tegea have produced valuable evidence of cult practice during the earliest phases of the sanctuaries, while more reexaminations and preferably more excavations at the Argive Heraion is much needed.

The earliest phase of cult practice at Tegea and Isthmia is illustrated by the presence of open vessel votives from the PG period onwards. Found together with burned animal bones, these dedications suggest that drinking and dining rituals took place at these sanctuaries. Moreover, their strategic positioning along important routes of communication, indicate they might have functioned as important meeting places between neighboring communities. Isthmia's position between the Peloponnese and central Greece, and Tegea's location along the main road connecting Laconia and the Argolid, suggest that the two sanctuaries might have hosted meetings between the different regions. The participants of these dining and drinking rituals during its earliest phase were presumably male adults of all classes. Evidence of a social stratification becomes more evident during the eighth century. Similar evidence is also apparent from contemporary sanctuaries, such as Kalapodi, the Amyklaion and Olympia. Evidence from Olympia from the ninth century suggests that the participants of the rituals included a more restricted group, as the votive offerings show a more aristocratic character of the cult (De Polignac 1994:5).

As mentioned above, the date of foundation of the Argive Heraion is much disputed, and the material evidence points to two suggestions. The conventional founding is based on MG pottery found scattered around the sanctuary, implying that by roughly 780 the sanctuary must have been established. Secondly, earlier material, such as the examples of PG ceramics, dress pins and fibulae indicates activity in the area during the eleventh and tenth centuries. Dress pins and fibulae are rarely found in domestic contexts, and usually show up as grave goods, or as dedications in sanctuaries and shrines. At present, no graves dated to the PG period have been discovered in the

Area. However, this does not necessarily prove that the sanctuary was established at this date. Many of the settlements of the Argolid, and especially Argos continued to be occupied during the transition period between the LBA and the EIA. As suggested above, the sanctuaries at Isthmia, Tegea, Kalapodi and Olympia, functioned as meeting places for the local communities. This must also have been the case for the Argive Heraion, where great amounts of ceramic evidence, also in the form of open vessels, suggest that it too functioned as gathering spot between local communities on and around the Argive plain. Since a handful of LBA settlements, such as Argos, Mycenae, Tiryns, and Asine continued to be occupied through the transition period, they were in need of a place to meet, sacrifice and feast. De Polignac (1994:4-5) also argues for this, and suggests that the sanctuary must have had a special connection to Mycenae, due to the proximity of the Prosymna cemetery. More excavations of the sanctuary and re-examinations of the previously excavated material are needed to provide secure knowledge of the date of foundation.

In addition to open vessels, new categories of votives were introduced from the LPG period onward. These consist of figurines, other types of ceramics, and jewelry. The jewelry especially indicates that a new group of participants, presumably females, were now participating in rituals at the sites. Whether these rituals took place at the same time as the dining and drinking is uncertain. Jewelry is generally found in sanctuaries where female deities were worshiped, and was in all likelihood dedicated by women who were in a period of crisis or change, such as giving birth, or getting married. The jewelry was personal objects that were in use over a long period of time, before ending up as votive offerings. Other evidence which has been interpreted as gifts from females are the three miniature terracotta boots found at Isthmia, which have been interpreted as a symbol of change, as "a walk from one stage to another" (Morgan 1999:394). Only a small amount of jewelry can be dated to earliest phase, and they remain relatively few until the eighth century.

During the eighth century another range of new types of votives can be seen in the sanctuaries, namely bronze tripod cauldrons and bronze horses. There is also an increase in the dedication of jewelry. These changes are likely linked to social and cultural changes occurring at this time related to the establishment of city states, and the rise of the aristocratic class. Figurines of horses, produced in both terracotta and bronze are often interpreted as symbols of wealth and aristocracy, and although first being dedicated in the tenth century, they increase rapidly during the eighth century. Numerous bronze tripod cauldrons have been found at Olympia and Delphi, but also at Isthmia and the Argive Heraion. These were probably dedicated by wealthier people, presumably aristocrats, who desired to display their wealth and piety. These vessels are frequently mentioned as important aristocratic gifts in the Homeric poems of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and were perhaps dedicated by members of the growing aristocracy, who desired to assimilate themselves with the

heroes from the Trojan War. The increase in lavishly produced objects, mostly in metal occurred at the same time as less objects were given as grave goods, indicating a shift in displaying wealth from graves to sanctuaries.

Furthermore, a terrace wall reminiscent of the cyclopean masonry of Mycenae and Tiryns, was constructed at the Argive Heraion, presumably during the middle of the eighth century or later. The terrace wall can be interpreted as more evidence for a renaissance in Mycenaean practices. At the same time, Mycenaean graves near the sanctuary were honored with hero cults. Mycenaean iconography was also reintroduced in other sorts of votives, especially pendants bearing the shape of pomegranates and double-axes, which were common symbols in Mycenaean and Minoan cults. These are especially present at the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea. It has been suggested by Voyatzis (1990:109) that the figurine of a human separating two animals represents a mistress of animals, especially evident in Minoan and Mycenaean religion. The figurine therefore provides more evidence for a revival of the Mycenaean ideas and iconography, that occurred during the eighth century. Susan Langdon (1987:110) has argued strongly that we should look more into the Homeric poems to explain the change and growth that occurred during the eighth century. This phase should be studied more to interpret the religions of the subsequent historical period.

The second question addressed by this study is to what degree votive offerings demonstrate the nature of the recipient, the circumstances and interest of the dedicator, or both. By examining and discussing the individual aspects of the numerous of categories found in the three chosen sanctuaries, I have discussed their possible function and symbolism as gifts to the gods. Some offerings, such as jewelry, or figurines of naked females are mostly found in sanctuaries devoted to female deities and were presumably dedicated by women. Other categories are more generic, such as horse figurines, and are represented at most early sanctuaries, both to female and male deities. The sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea and the Argive Heraion received various types of jewelry, as well as certain sorts of figurines which indicate that fertility was worshiped in the two sanctuaries. A small amount of jewelry was also deposited at the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia, even if the recipient was not associated with any aspect of fertility. In this case, I believe the jewelry represents entirely the dedicator's circumstances and interests, such as fertility or coming of age. Another possibility is that sanctuary at that point did not have a special recipient, but functioned more as meeting place, where sacrifices took place followed by dining and drinking rituals, regardless of the deity.

As mentioned earlier, horse figurines are found in all the three discussed sanctuaries, as well as in most contemporary sanctuaries in Greece. The earliest in terracotta are probably from the tenth and ninth century, but became more common and appear in bronze during the eighth century. This

category of votives is often interpreted as a symbol of aristocracy, and was perhaps dedicated by the higher strata in society. It has been argued that horse figurines could also represent warfare, and the protection of the cavalry, which might explain why they were dedicated at most sanctuaries, and not to specific deities. The exception might be the mounted horses, such as the ones from the Argive Heraion and Tegea, that probably represented Hera's and Athena's concern with the military and protection of Argos and Tegea. I would, therefore, suggest that dedications of horse figurines can be interpreted as representing both the interest of the dedicator and the deity.

By studying the earliest votive material from the sanctuary of Athena Alea at Tegea, it is possible to assume that the deity's first function was as a fertility goddess and a mistress of animals, and later as a protectress of the settlement. Fewer categories of votives have been found at Isthmia, though some bovine figurines might have represented memories of sacrifices, or protection of agricultural animals. Moreover, the bulls indicate that the deity worshiped might have been Poseidon from the beginning. Evidence in the form of jewelry and terracotta figurines from the Argive Heraion also point to aspects such as female fertility, marriage, etc, but also to attributes ascribed to the protectress of wild animals and military concerns.

By looking at these three sanctuaries and at their votive offerings, I have interpreted the function of the sanctuaries as meeting places where members of nearby communities met to sacrifice, drink and participate in community events, such as weddings and rituals marking transitions in life. These functions continued from the Protogeometric and through the Geometric period and developed into famous Archaic and Classical sanctuaries. Evidence of similar developments occur across Greece and is evident from other major Archaic and Classical sanctuaries such as Kalapodi, Amyklaion, and Olympia. I would like continue this study by looking at further Peloponnesian sanctuaries and their votive offerings.

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