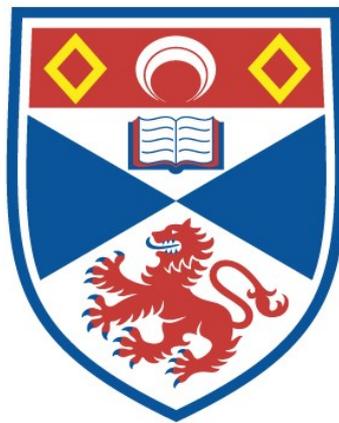


THE ROLE PLAYED BY THE SANCTUARY AT ISTHMIA  
IN THE RISE OF THE CORINTHIAN POLIS FROM THE  
EIGHTH TO THE SIXTH CENTURY BC

Richard Mark Toley

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil  
at the  
University of St Andrews



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Richard Mark Toley

University of St.Andrews, 1996.



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## ABSTRACT

**Author:** Richard Toley

**Thesis Title:** The Role Played by the Sanctuary at Isthmia in the Rise of the Corinthian Polis from the Eighth to the Sixth Century B.C.

**Thesis Advisor:** Dr.C.Smith

Bringing together selected evidence from sanctuaries and burials outside and within the Corinthia, the present study discusses the material in five chapters. Each is devoted to providing an insight into a particular aspect of overall sanctuary development.

Chapter One considers all the available literary evidence relevant to the relationship between Corinth and Isthmia. This is then complemented by Chapter Two which is concerned with the archaeological evidence of Isthmia and two other contemporary Corinthian sanctuary sites at Perachora and Temple Hill. The nature and location of burial sites within the Corinthia are then discussed in Chapter Three to bring attention to the change in dedicatory habits. Chapter Four uses the evidence of the previous chapters to chart the development and influence of Isthmia socially and politically within the Corinthia and in a Panhellenic situation. Chapter Five uses comparative material to place these developments in a truly Greek context.

This Thesis gives weight to recent theories about the rise of sanctuaries and the polis. It combines archaeological evidence from sanctuary and burial sites to give a broader and deeper picture of the socio-political development of Corinth.

## Acknowledgements.

This thesis came about as a result of a tutorial essay submitted to Dr Christopher Smith in the first year of my M.Phil. It is to him that I owe my greatest debt of thanks for guiding this thesis through all its stages and for an enormous amount of patience and sound advice.

I am especially grateful to Dr Catherine Morgan who gave me permission to look at some of her unpublished articles on Isthmia, and Dr Michel Austin and Dr Tom Harrison for advice and guidance at various stages of thesis completion.

Finally, I would like to thank my girlfriend, Miss Iggy Bhoyrub, because she asked me to do so and has a sharp left hook. picture of the socio-political development of Corinth.

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Table 1.

Corinthian Chronological Sequence (After Dickey 1992, 6).

Submycenaean (SM)	1100-1050 B.C.
Protogeometric (PG)	1050-875 (LPG=900-875)
Early Geometric (EG)	875-835/25
Middle Geometric I (MG I)	835/25-800
Middle Geometric II (MG II)	800-750
Late Geometric (LG)	750-720
Early Protocorinthian (EPC)	720-690
Middle Protocorinthian (MPC)	690-650
Late Protocorinthian (LPC)	650-620/15
Early Corinthian (EC)	620/15-595/90
Middle Corinthian (MC)	595/90-570
Late Corinthian (LC)	570-50

**Table 2.**  
**List of Abbreviations.**

EC	Early Corinthian
EG	Early Geometric
EPC	Early Protocorinthian
EPG	Early Protogeometric
LC	Late Corinthian
LG	Late Geometric
LH	Late Helladic
LPG	Late Protogeometric
MC	Middle Corinthian
MG	Middle Geometric
MPG	Middle Protogeometric
PC	Protocorinthian
PG	Protogeometric
SM	Submycenaean

## Introduction.

The eighth through to the sixth century B.C. was a time of great structural change in Greek society. Religion and the fledgling polis were intrinsically linked <sup>(1)</sup> and so changes in the nature of religious practices were bound to influence, or derive from, the emergence of the city state. I intend to study the role played by the sanctuary at Isthmia and its influences and uses for Corinthian polis development (see Fig.1, p184).

Changes and developments in the use of Isthmia will be linked to Corinthian political requirements throughout the thesis. In fact the establishment of the temple itself will be represented as an affirmation of the power of Kypselus and as a focus for Corinthian power in that locality.<sup>(2)</sup> However, the construction of the temple also had important cultural implications in that it facilitated a change in dedicatory habits and allowed competitive display to take place. By this I mean the shift of goods from grave to temple and the subsequent spiralling magnificence of dedications, mostly tripods, to outdo one's social equal in a more permanent public manner (see chapters 3 and 4). This combined effectively with other aspects of life that were fostered by "aristocrats" such as games and gift exchange. Instances of these sorts of activities are seen throughout the work of Homer (by this I mean *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*) and typify the heroic qualities that many hoped to achieve.<sup>(3)</sup>

As such, Homer is particularly useful when it comes to explaining or putting events like the Isthmian games into context. The competitive ethos of the aristocratic participants had an obvious forerunner in Patroklos' Funeral Games, *II.XXIII*. Homer and myth history also serve other socio-political purposes at Corinth and elsewhere in Greece <sup>(4)</sup> and will thus be examined, along with other related areas, in order to put Corinth and Isthmia in a Pan-Hellenic context. I also intend to use Homer as a historical source as I believe that a lot of descriptive material can be attributed to the eighth century B.C. once checked against archaeological evidence. However it will not be forgotten that Homeric poetry contains "a mixture of practices, derived from a diversity of historical sources".<sup>(5)</sup>

The aforementioned themes that run through the thesis will be dealt with through firstly establishing which literary traditions can be relied upon and then what they tell us about Corinthian society. The poet (and Bacchiad) Eumelos is our main contemporary source for Corinth and Isthmia. His deliberate elaboration upon established mythology is of particular importance as it acts as a clue to the role of politics in legend. The archaeological evidence from the sanctuaries at Perachora, Temple Hill and Isthmia will then be discussed. This will provide us with the bulk of information on which to base our idea of the role Isthmia played both externally, and within the Corinthia. Chapter 3 deals with the evidence and reasons for a shift from burial to sanctuary dedications. The value of this chapter is that it shows implicitly that this change does not

have to have been politically motivated (it may simply have become unfashionable to bury gifts with the deceased and more fashionable to dedicate them to the gods) even if the subsequent competitive nature of dedicatory practice was politically motivated. Chapter 4 then draws on all the previously established evidence to examine the socio-political implications that the development of Isthmia had for the rest of the Corinthia and Greece as a whole. Chapter 5 compares the rise and nature of activities at Isthmia with a variety of sites throughout Greece. It will be noted that although religious customs are similar, they have a multitude of different meanings because of changing environmental and political necessities. The role performed by one polis sanctuary cannot be superimposed upon another. It can, however, be used as a point of comparison.

To understand our material it is important to establish what we are referring to when we talk about the rise of the polis. I believe that a polis only came into being when the individuals of a particular area thought of themselves as members of that polis. Although this is hard to measure and identify, there are a variety of trappings that can help us to identify the beginnings of this process. The constitution is perhaps the most important as it provides legitimacy to rule and the right to legal redress. The development of the agora as a centre for formal legal and commercial activity can be traced through archaeological evidence combined with references from Homer, to at least the eighth century B.C.. For example, The Shield of

Achilles in *The Iliad*, XVIII.478-607, depicts a quarrel over blood price being settled in the public arena of the agora by arbitration. Fortifications, a common pottery style throughout the region and similarities in burial type, also begin to add to a sense of local identity at this time.<sup>(6)</sup>

The polis also appears to have been a community of place then. This fact is emphasized through the establishment of definite state boundaries and, as we shall see at Corinth, these were often symbolized in marginal shrines. The gradual change from individual to classical hoplite warfare also reflects this and will be touched upon later in the text.<sup>(7)</sup> It highlights a common aim, the protection of territory, and acceptance of a regime that calls for a wider body of men to take up arms.

What triggered these changes and eventually led to the formation of the classical Greek polis, is a highly contentious issue. Theory is often used to justify the claims of historians that synoecism (the coming together of people in a central location) took place at this time.<sup>(8)</sup> Cavanagh presents us with a different approach. He suggests that there is no archaeological evidence to support synoecism in its traditional form in the proto-geometric or geometric periods (see Table 1, p5). From 1050 to 950 B.C. in Athens, he charts a reverse explosion - from Athens to her countryside. Increases in the sizes of territories were already being made by Sparta and Argos and thus a new political order was being established. He finally notes that an influx of population often takes place at a time of great upheaval and

political reform and so change may be linked to this.<sup>(9)</sup> Snodgrass (1980), 19-25, champions the role played by a population explosion in the eighth century B.C. in the formation of poleis such as Athens. However, one has to first believe that an explosion of this size took place - Morris has recently thrown considerable doubt on this theory but does not deny that there was a population shift.<sup>(10)</sup>

A period when a colonizing programme is undertaken (the earliest of which date to the mid eighth century B.C.) can also be considered to be a time of upheaval and is most commonly the result of changes in population. The mass movement of people would have required considerable planning and organization especially on arrival. Plots would have to be allocated and some form of coordinating government established as soon as possible. Such a degree of organization does not appear to have existed in the mother cities when the first colonies were sent out. The colony may well have reflected back styles of government that were not yet established on the mainland. For example, Megara Hyblaia, a colony on Sicily, represents the first planned Greek city centre. I follow Malkin in suggesting that the colonizing process acted as a trigger for further state development.<sup>(11)</sup> However, before these issues can be considered further, we need to first establish exactly what the surviving literature and archaeology tell us about Isthmia and Corinth.

## Early Corinthian and Isthmian myth history.

### Introduction.

In this chapter I hope to identify the surviving relevant literature on Corinthian myth history, the presentation of which allows it to be put into the immediate contexts of date and motive as well as offering a starting point for later discussion (see chapter 4) on Corinthian societal development. This is particularly well reflected in the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia with its rich myth history. Corinthian literary tradition begins with the shadowy figure of Eumelos whose works (or those of a contemporary) survive to us only in fragmentary form. Eumelos, according to Pausanias (IV.4.1), wrote a processional hymn for the Messenians - this is the only work Pausanias attributes to him. Combining this with two later datable references from Pausanias (IV.4.4, 13.7), we get a date of ca770 B.C.. However, if Eumelos was associated with Archias the oikist of Syracuse (Clem. Alex. *Strom.*1.131.8), a later date overlapping with that of the foundation of Syracuse (734 B.C.) looks more attractive. (Either way he would have been writing in the middle of the eighth century B.C. when much of the re-writing of Corinthian myth history took place).<sup>(1)</sup> This association is not surprising if we consider that Archias was thought to be a Heraclid (Thuc.VI.3.1) and Eumelos a Bacchiad (Paus.II.1.1). Both Heraclids and Bacchiads were descendants of Heracles (Diod.VII.9.4) and thus regarded as being from the same

clan. The "history" of early Corinth (The *Corinthiaca*) was sympathetic to the Bacchiad needs of Eumelos' day. For example, at a time of great social pressure the prestigious position of the Bacchiads in the past was emphasized. Since Eumelos was a Bacchiad, he has to be considered a very likely candidate for authorship. If this is true, Eumelos would have had a free hand in telling history as he wanted it. Huxley suggests that he was so successful at this that he "...killed local originality in verse".<sup>(2)</sup>

The Bacchiads claimed descent from the alleged "Dorian" monarchy, from King Bacchis, and so the gloriousness of this pedigree was naturally emphasized by Eumelos. Corinth was originally inhabited by the mythical Aeolians but according to Thucydides (IV.42.2) they were ousted by Dorian invaders after a battle on the Solygeian ridge or, alternatively, Aletes was let into the city by a daughter of Creon.

"Aletes at the bidding of Zeus of Dodona went to Corinth and asked a peasant to give him a clod of earth for he had been promised rule if someone gave this to him. Aletes found the daughters of Creon worshipping with the rest of the city in the necropolis and persuaded the youngest by a promise of power to marry him and betray the city to him."

(Schol.Pin.Nem.VII.155a)

The site of Solygeia became important as a shrine after being established there after Eumelos' reshaping of history. As Morgan

rightly suggests, if the shrine at Solygeia represents the refounding of Corinth it is linked to the discontinuity and renewal in Eumelos (his artificial history) rather than continuity and tradition which we will see later at the sanctuary at Isthmia.<sup>(3)</sup>

Diodorus (VII.fr.9,2-4) presents a Corinthian king list consisting of Aletes, Ixion, Agelas, Pryminus and Bacchis with the kingship ending in 747 B.C.. In Aristotle's *Constitution of Corinth* Bacchis is the third king (fr.611.19 Rose) and not the fifth as in Diodorus' account. Eumelos is a possible source for Aristotle but he might have added names to the list in order to make the pedigree comparable to those of Argos and Sparta's.<sup>(4)</sup> The comparative aspect is of great relevance here as it hints at "political mythology" - the manipulation of myth for political purposes.<sup>(5)</sup> Similarly, Parker shows how new kings were added to the Athenian king list in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. for a better chronological match with that of Greece as a whole.<sup>(6)</sup>

## The Bacchiads.

The Bacchiads probably came to power in the mid eighth century B.C. (Diod.VII.9.6) and ruled for ninety years down to the early 650s B.C.. Their rule took on an oligarchic form, or, as Herodotus states, "The few ruled; these few, called Bacchiadae, held sway in the city, marrying and giving in marriage among themselves" (V.92). Diodorus (VII.9.6) and Pausanias (II.4.4), suggest that there were two hundred Bacchiads and that one from this number was elected to be *Prytanis* for a year. This probably meant that he acted as a sort of chief executive, coordinating day to day business for his term of office rather than being "king" for a year.

It is possible that there were two different entities called the Bacchiads. Salmon <sup>(7)</sup> says that the name Bacchiad was important as it indicates a common ancestry going back generations to a King Bacchis. He goes on to say that the Bacchiads had enjoyed unity despite being geographically spread out but he has no evidence for the scattering of the Bacchiads and does not make it clear whether the claim is true or invented history. This group may have had a family connection with the later Bacchiads. However, the endogamy and size of this later group makes a link unlikely. It is closer to the fictitious unity and long descent lines created by groups in the eighth century B.C. searching for an identity that they do not have.<sup>(8)</sup>

## Perachora.

The Perachora peninsula was seized by the Bacchiads between 770-750 B.C.. I now intend to consider the literary traditions associated with the sanctuary because of their relevance to the development of Corinth as a polis. By this I mean the fact that the restoration work carried out there at this time, ca735 B.C., may have made it the first public work of the Bacchiads. Strabo says,

"In the interval between Lechaeum and Pagae there used to be, in early times, the oracle of Acraean Hera..."

(VIII.6.22)

Despite Dunbabin's championing <sup>(9)</sup> of Strabo's account, he might not have been referring to the eighth century B.C. temple but a later one so the case should not be pushed too far. Similarly, not a lot should be read into Xenophon's statement that the inhabitants of Perachora took refuge in the sanctuary when Agesilaos advanced on Corinth in 390 B.C. (*Hell.*IV.55). The evidence is both late and isolated and does not refer to the sanctuary's foundation and so only shows that a sanctuary existed in Xenophon's day.

The Corinthian part of the Medea myth in Euripides (*Medea* 1378-83) sees her children being buried in the temenos of Hera Acraia.

This information is reproduced in Pausanias (II.3.6,11) but does not hint at Perachora. Indeed, according to Pausanias the tombs were near the Odeion (II.3.6) and this leads Morgan to conclude that the site of the Greek cult was there. Bearing this in mind she goes on to comment with regards to Perachora, that "There is thus a strong case to be made for the utility of a new, truly marginal shrine" <sup>(10)</sup>, i.e., created outside of the city centre.

#### Bacchiads - External Contacts.

The Bacchiad period also saw a rise in external contacts. Eumelos' Messenian sympathies have been linked by Bowra a little simplistically to Corinth's "alliance" with the Chalcidians during the Lelantine War <sup>(11)</sup> (Clem.Alex.*Strom.*1.151). At this time the Bacchiads are supposed to have ejected the Eretrians from Corcyra and so helped the Chalcidians in the war. However, this action could well be regarded as self-interest, involvement by Corinth to further/protect her investments. In fact any "alliance" probably consisted of poleis with common goals such as the Bacchiads' successful use of the Delphic Oracle, another "ally" of Chalcis <sup>(12)</sup>, where rich dedications gained positive colonizing oracles. However, it cannot be denied that, "The interrelations of Greek states at this date are beyond our grasp..." <sup>(13)</sup> - a factor that is not helped by our lack of extant sources.

Briefly, one reason for involvement with Delphi would have been due to the need to procure favourable oracles for colonial

expeditions such as Archias' to Syracuse. It appears as if the upheavals of colonization had a varied effect in the Corinthia. Using the case of Syracuse again, we learn from Strabo that many of the colonists came from Tenea, one specific area within the Corinthia which had very limited land resources.

The implication here is that of land hunger, a topic which will be looked at in conjunction with the land reforms of Pheidon (see below p21). The rapidly expanding colonizing movement does not automatically indicate a commercial policy on the part of the Bacchiads <sup>(14)</sup> but, according to Roebuck <sup>(15)</sup>, more of a change in market conditions - commerce was more profitable because of the limited land resources. This is not to say the Bacchiads were not involved though. The mythical figure of Demaratos acts as a case in point. After the fall of the Bacchiads in the early 650s B.C., it is alleged that he settled at Tarquinia, Etruria and married locally. Demaratos, apparently, brought the art of writing with him and three skilled artists. His son Lucumo was later to become King of Rome (Livy 1.32.2, Dion. Hal III. 46, Strabo V.2.2 and VIII.6.20) and take the name Tarquinius Priscus. Although Demaratos cannot be represented as a real person, contact, probably in the form of trade or gift exchange, existed before immigration.<sup>(16)</sup> For instance, one of the earliest recorded Greek settlements in Italy was on the island of Ischia. Lack of substantial finds of weapons in any context has led Ridgway (1990), 107-8, to suggest that the occupation of the island came about through peaceful means. The new trading settlers were not feared as an invader

as they had already been encountered by the native population.

Salmon has to be right when he says "Many of the foundations for the subsequent development of Corinth were laid during the period of Bacchiad rule."<sup>(17)</sup> As colonization and trading abroad suggest, the use of the sea was very important and so it is not surprising to find Thucydides in the *Archaeology* (I.13,25) mentioning Corinth twice in the context of the use of the trireme. We see Ameinocles, a Corinthian shipwright, remembered by the Samians (I.13) c.700 B.C. and, forty years later using Thucydides' chronology, we hear of the first recorded sea battle between Corinth and Corcyra (I.25).

#### The Forging of History.

It is now essential that we consider the impact of Eumelos' *Argonautica*. I have already mentioned how Eumelos appears to have had a free hand when creating his stories and thus it is only natural that a lot of emphasis was put on seafaring. Also, because Corinth had little Homeric history of note, Eumelos could elaborate on any points of reference available. For example, Corinth is not mentioned once in the *Odyssey* and only briefly in the *Iliad* (II.570) as part of Agamemnon's kingdom. Solon (Plu.*Sol*.10) and Peisistratus were both accused of corrupting a couple of lines of the *Iliad* (II.557-8) to gain authority for seizing Salamis from the Megarians.<sup>(18)</sup> Eumelos did not do this but he did use the *Iliad* as a starting point, and by so doing, forged a link with a mythical tale broadly believed to be

grounded in hard fact. The Bacchiads would have wanted this to emphasize their own links with the past, increasing Corinth's importance in legend and possibly their right to rule during this transitional period of the polis' history.<sup>(19)</sup> Identification was achieved by joining local Corinthian cult with the popular Argonautic tales.

Genealogy was used (Paus.II.1.1=*F.Gr.Hist.*451F1a) to explain how Ephyraia became known as Korinthos. (Marathon split the Peloponnese between his two sons, one part was named after his son Sicyon and the land of Ephyra, daughter of Oceanos, after his son Korinthos). Our interest begins with Aietes who leaves Ephyraia to Bounus to look after when he goes to Colchis. Huxley comments, "...here is an ingenious claim to Corinthian prehistoric interest in far eastern Black Sea coasts, whose promise of riches was already, it seems, being bruited in Corinth in the time of Eumelos..."<sup>(20)</sup> After Bounus' death the rule of Ephyraia reverted to Epopeus and then Korinthos. Having no heirs, Medea (daughter of Aietes) was sent for and thus ruled at Corinth (*Paus.II.3.10*). Subsequently (*Paus.II.3.11*), the myth concerning Medea's children is related (see above p16) bringing about her abdication and Sisyphos' succession. This cleverly brings us back to Homer who has Sisyphos as king of Ephyre (*II.VI.152*) and the Corinthians as the head of the Lacedaimonian dynasty.

## Pheidon.

Before we finish with the Bacchiads, it is worth considering the role of Pheidon the lawgiver. Oost believes him to be a Bacchiad operating before the Cypselids, his legislation concerning land tenure as, "...the result of tension in the matter of right to land and citizenship".<sup>(21)</sup> It appears as if the intended purpose of the reform was to match the number of citizens to the number of plots - the size of which was originally unequal,

"The Corinthian Pheidon in fact, one of the most ancient lawgivers, thought that the households and the citizen population ought to remain at the same number, even though at the outset the estates of all were unequal in size..."

(Ar. *PoI*.12656.12-16)

As a result of Pheidon's legislation the number of plots available for citizens would have been kept constant <sup>(22)</sup> or according to Salmon, equal.<sup>(23)</sup> One has to presume that unrest and dissatisfaction were most prominent among non-Bacchiad classes which may also be detected in the move to tyranny.

## Cypselus, The Hoplites and Succession.

The Bacchiads were expelled by Cypselus, who belonged to the clan on his mother's side, in the early 650s B.C. (Hdt.V.92). How he actually achieved this is unclear. Murray states that "...the tyrants clearly emerged at the point of transition from aristocracy to hoplite constitution".<sup>(24)</sup> Aristotle (*Po1.5.1310b*), believed Cypselus was a tyrant (as do all our sources) and as we have just seen there was unrest at Corinth so it is reasonable for Forrest to presume support of a physical nature - "...the hoplites of Corinth backed Cypselus".<sup>(25)</sup> However, there are a number of factors that do not support this, not least of which is that the theory draws on general probability rather than actual evidence. It could be argued that Cypselus abused his office when polemarch to gain the support from the people and the hoplites.<sup>(26)</sup>

"And having held the office of polemarch [Cypselos] was even more loved... Of the many things he did rightly, there was this in particular; the custom was at Corinth that those connected in the courts were brought before the polemarch and he imprisoned them for the bail, of which he took a part. But he neither imprisoned anyone or bound them, but freed some having received pledges, gave pledges himself, stood surety himself for others, and to all let pass his share; as a result he was much loved of the people."

(Nic.Dam.Fr.57.5)

However, the reference to the office of polemarch and his handing out of justice is generally regarded as a fourth century B.C. anachronism (from Nicolaos' source) as this is the earliest date we find the office mentioned in such an early context.<sup>(27)</sup> Also, there is no suggestion of abuse of office - just the opposite in fact. There does not appear to have been any form of classical political awareness at this date but the demos was involved as a tyrant was dependant on popular support. A tyranny does not necessarily involve a large number of people at the top end of the administration. However, Cypselus probably used some of those already in the administration and the fact that there was a smooth transition of power tends to suggest this.

Herodotus clearly states that the Bacchiads were driven out of office and that Cypselus never used a bodyguard (V.92). If either of these statements is correct, some form of military clout was necessary. A hoplite force probably did exist at this time but its composition is unlikely to have consisted entirely of Bacchiads, Cypselus would have required armed non-Bacchiad support to "drive" the Bacchiads out. Snodgrass (1965), 115-7, argues against this on archaeological grounds believing the phalanx form to be a later innovation which played no role in Cypselus' rise. However, Cartledge (1977), 11-27, and Salmon (1977), 84-101, also use archaeological evidence to entertain the possibility that a mixed hoplite force existed by the 650's B.C.. For instance, Salmon refers to an *aryballos* from Perachora dated to c675 B.C.. Two sets of warriors (not a phalanx) are fighting on it but a flautist is also depicted - an important player in

phalanx warfare.<sup>(28)</sup> If the scene is contemporary, a stage of hoplite development is represented twenty years before Cypselus' rise.

It seems likely then that a newly assertive class without political representation, turned to Cypselus; a man who may already have proved himself militarily.<sup>(29)</sup> If the non-Bacchiad arms-holders gave support to Cypselus it would have been for personal reasons. It is also possible that many of these men would not have had enough time for politics even if they could afford their own panoply. What made them favour Cypselus may have been a change in warfare tactics. Fighting with Megara appears to have occurred if we look at this Megarian funerary inscription,

"They put me up here as a far-seen memorial to Orsippus of Megara of the divine mind, obeying the word of Delphi, Orsippus who freed much land for his fatherland when evil men were taking much for themselves; and he was the first of the Greeks who was wreathed in the Olympics running naked, those previously having run in loincloths."

(G.Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca* no.843)

The evil ones referred to are the Bacchiads of Corinth if considered in conjunction with the following from the Pindaric Scholion, the date suggested being the 15th Olympiad, 716 B.C. (cf.Paus.I.44.1;Thuc.I.6).

"The Megarians were said to be colonists of Corinth, and they had to yield much of their state to them and in addition to other wrongs the Corinthians insisted that the Megarians must come and mourn with the Corinthians should any of the Bacchiads die. As the Megarians grew stronger, they decided to revolt, and so the Corinthians sent ambassadors accusing the Megarians and saying that Corinth of Zeus would wail if they did not take vengeance... The Megarians stoned them, and later routed Corinth in battle and those who had come to help her chasing and killing those who were fleeing."

(Sch.Pind.*Nem.*7.155)

Cypselus may have promised to end these border skirmishes and conduct them at a more agreeable time for the new hoplite soldier - in line with the sailing and farming year.

#### **Tribal Reform.**

For the reorganization of the tribal system we only have fragmented evidence. Cypselus was the probable initiator of this making a qualitative break with the past and its dependence on birth. Any form of change here would not have benefited the Bacchiads as they already had power. Stroud says the Corinthia "...may have been divided geographically into 24 trittyes which were equally distributed among the 8 tribes".<sup>(30)</sup> Unfortunately the abbreviated tribal names and subdivisions do not help our understanding, nor does the difficulty of reconciling this with a tripartite division of Corinth.<sup>(31)</sup> One thing that is fairly

certain is that the 3 tribe system was not introduced by Aletes (as suggested by the *Suda Lexicon*) because he was an early mythical figure. A later date, possibly under the Cypselids, seems more suitable.

The reason for the reorganization may well have been because of the changing administrative needs of a larger population with a central focus, Corinth. The change may also have served another purpose by binding the populace of the periphery and core in polis-orientated tribal groupings. We shall see later that a similar function can also be attributed to the temple of Poseidon (see below p118ff).

If we compare this tripartite division and dependence on birth to the later tribal reforms of Cleisthenes, the tyrant of Sicyon, (ca600-570 BC) a racial element is also identifiable. The three traditional Dorian tribes which carried the same names as Argive Dorian ones were changed to Piggites, Swinites and Assites. Cleisthenes' own tribe was composed of non-Dorians which he named *Archelaioi* or Rulers. This information is contained in Herodotus (V.67-8) and he believes this hatred was due to war with Argos. Andrewes (1956), 59, points out that this is suggestive of internal rather than external conflict. The Dorian tribes would not have rallied to the support of a tyrant who asserted superiority of his own non-Dorian tribe in no uncertain terms. Also, work by Bicknell (1982), 193-201, throws some doubt on Herodotus because he believes that only three tribes were reformed. If a fourth non Dorian tribe was added he thinks it

would have been after the fall of the tyrant and was thus not an anti-Argive act by Cleisthenes.

### The Sanctuary at Isthmia.

Tribal associations do not appear to have been important at Isthmia <sup>(30)</sup> but the site had strong mythological associations - a necessity for a sanctuary that was to take on Pan-Hellenic significance. The literary tradition for Isthmia is comparatively sparse compared to the rest of the Corinthia though. As a whole the Corinthia had strong associations with both the Sun and Poseidon. The Sun (a son of the Titan Hyperion) as a favoured divinity at Corinth appears in a fragmentary work ascribed to Eumelos (Sch.Pin 01.13.74). Favorinos in his Corinthian oration talks of Poseidon and the Sun quarrelling over the city.

"... the city [Corinth] for which they say the two gods, Poseidon and Helios vied with one another ... [They] entrusted the decision to a third god who was their elder..."

(Dion. *Chr.* 37.11)

This older god who was appointed to arbitrate was Briareos-Aigaion whose early existence is also attested by Homer (*Il.* 1.403-4). We have no evidence of Eumelos referring to this but, if he did, it would probably have been contained within the *Corinthiaca*. Disputes of this nature are by no means uncommon. For example, the west pediment of the Parthenon depicts Athena fighting Poseidon over Attica. However, in the case of Corinth,

the Sun was awarded the city as it peaks over it and "So they say the Isthmus belongs to Poseidon". (Paus.II.1.6).

Poseidon's entry into Isthmia does not have to be at a later date (the mid eighth century B.C.) as we know through linear B tablets from Pylos that deities comparable to the Olympian Pantheon were being worshipped there and at other Mycenaean sites. For example, the feminine form of Poseidon appears on a gold goblet, Tn316 po-si-da-e-ja(r.4), and in the context of a shrine to Poseidon as the principal god.<sup>(33)</sup> Moving back to Isthmia, and in particularly its sanctuary, Morgan says that from its early Iron Age origins "...there is no evidence with which to identify the deity worshipped at Isthmia, although Poseidon may be a safe assumption, not least for the sake of continuity since there is nothing to suggest a change in cult".<sup>(34)</sup> The phrase "for the sake of continuity" refers to Poseidon's later acknowledged presence archaeologically through the rise in percentage of early terracotta bulls - a traditional dedicatory gift to the god.<sup>(35)</sup> The importance of bulls and the worship of Poseidon are also seen in a "Mycenaean" context at Pylos in *Odyssey* Bk.III and interestingly in the context of Nestor's legendary grandfather. The link with Isthmia is that Neleus allegedly died at Corinth from illness and was buried at the Isthmus by Sisyphos, in Poseidon's domain. Pausanias is our source (II.2.2), and his source was Eumelos who claimed that Nestor was refused a showing of the tomb by Sisyphos, who was later buried there himself in secret. The beauty of the account is that nobody could then

check Eumelos' authority.

Huxley says of this passage "There is no particular reason to link it with the founding of the Isthmian games".<sup>(36)</sup> This may well be the case but as a recent article by Gebhard points out<sup>(37)</sup>, Sisyphos himself does have a mythical association with the founding of the Games among the Corinthians who controlled them. A fragment from Pindar reads,

"They command Sisyphos, son of Aeolos, to raise up a far-famed prize for the child Melikertes, who has perished."

(Quoted in Ap.Dy. *Synt.*2,114;Fr.6.5(1),Snell)

Melikertes' <sup>(38)</sup> spirit was supposed to protect sailors at sea as the account of his death (Paus.IV.4.11) has him drowned at sea with his mother where he was buried by Sisyphos and renamed Palaimon with the Isthmian games being contested in his honour. He also apparently had an altar erected to him on the point of the shore where he was discovered (Paus.II.1.3).

This was not the only foundation myth though. Theseus as a founder (Plu.*Thes.*25.4) of the games was popular but held little clout as it can be discounted on political grounds (his immediate association with Athens) and the previously mentioned Corinthian rather than Athenian mythology.<sup>(39)</sup> Poseidon has to come into the equation somewhere now owing to the Archaic temple of ca650 B.C. which was almost definitely dedicated to him. It could be that the first games of 582 B.C. were dedicated to the festival of

Poseidon basing itself on the games of Olympia, or, that they were an extension of funeral games to Melikertes. These options are proposed by Gebhard (1992, 74) and, to conclude, I am in agreement with her explanation. Firstly, the founding myth was based on the funeral games to Melikertes and secondly, Poseidon was the perfect patron for the games as brother to Zeus patron of the Olympic games.

### Conclusion.

The intention of this chapter was to bring out some key ideas and events from our extant sources to assist in the setting of a context for the following chapters. One of the most important points that surfaced was the massaging of "history" to the benefit of interest groups. In our Corinthian context this was the ruling Bacchiad clan and for the mythical past of Isthmia, Corinth itself. A more concrete link with the divine has also become apparent through the beginnings of investment on the part of rulers in sanctuaries and where the sources of some of this prosperity came from, commerce and colonization. I feel that this latter type of evidence is particularly important to have had established as it sets out other stages of Corinthian social development in tandem with the rise of activity at Isthmia and Perachora. For example, tribal reforms can be placed with some degree of confidence at the feet of Cypselus along with the start of major activity at Isthmia.

## Chapter 2

# The Archaeology of the Perachora, Temple Hill and Isthmian Sanctuaries in the Corinthia.

This chapter's aim is to present the individual character of the three key sanctuary sites as well as the similarities between them from the eighth to the sixth century B.C.. They will each be considered in chronological order dating from the earliest temple construction at Perachora, to those of Temple Hill and Isthmia respectively. The same study areas will be covered at each, they are :- site location and history, dynamics and details of structures such as the temples themselves, and votives. The importance and context of the results will become apparent through discussion in later chapters.

However, as for any presentation of archaeological material, it is important to point out the limitations of our evidence which more often than not, is the result of human interference. For example, looting and reoccupation often distort results. At Perachora this does not appear to be the case. A lot of the gaps in our material record for the temple to Hera Akraia there are probably due to its collapse from flooding during the middle of the LG <sup>(1)</sup> and the resultant removal or relocation of material that this would have caused. The building of the Triglyph Altar and the Church of St. John on the site as well as the fourth century B.C. extensions to the harbour would similarly have been

of little help to the excavators.

Our temple in Corinth itself (on Temple Hill) also suffers from the erection of later buildings on it with its destruction by fire adding to our problems.<sup>(2)</sup> The result of this was that little was left *in situ* with much material being reused elsewhere. This does not assist the identification of structure outline. Apart from its destruction, the urban location of the site would not have enhanced its votives' chances of survival. This fact is represented in the small number published in comparison to those of our other sites.

Although a lot more has been published in this context for the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia, there is still a problem in that the publication of the series is not complete yet.<sup>(3)</sup> As at the other two sites, Isthmia suffers from the construction of later buildings, in this case the classical Temple of Poseidon and the later stadium alterations. The first temple, as at Temple Hill, was destroyed by fire but this does not appear to have affected excavation discoveries to such a significant extent.

## Perachora

### Location and Early History.

The sanctuary is situated on the Perachora peninsula, the western part of Corinthian territory north of the Isthmus (see Fig.1, p184). To be more precise, it is located on the southwestern part of this mountainous district which in turn affects its accessibility (see Fig.2, p185). On the landward side it could be reached by a series of little gullies leading down from the ridge top to the harbour. This approach would have been steep even with the terracing, the best example of which is the area surrounding the so-called Temple of Hera "Limenia".<sup>(4)</sup> The use of the harbour in the light of this evidence must have been of some importance. It was only 7 miles from Corinth by sea and so could theoretically have been used as a stop-off point or harbour in its own right.

However, this seems unlikely as the harbour was too small and shallow to attract shipping in any great body. Much of early Corinthian trade was with Phokis and such a reflection cannot be seen in the sanctuary's material remains, a port closer to home would have been used. What is more, the peninsula was a notoriously difficult area of the Gulf. Morgan suggests that it is more attractive to see the harbour as an occasional shelter for boats.<sup>(5)</sup> The position of the sanctuary also made it a useful

asset to Corinth as it probably acted as a watchtower over the middle of the Corinthian Gulf and for parts of the Boiotian coast that were not visible from Corinth.

When and from whom Corinth gained control of the area is unclear. There was early activity in and around the site but this does not appear to be connected with the cult.<sup>(6)</sup> Payne, from the possible EH remains of 1 or 2 houses by the shore, a few items from the town of Perachora and some MH and Mycenaean remains near the lake, proposes a small fishing village spread out along the coast. This seems to be a reasonable enough assumption as does his suggestion that the peninsula came under Corinthian control, formerly that of Megara, in the early Geometric.<sup>(7)</sup> (He readily admits he has no proof of this). Payne goes on to identify some Geometric deposits from Hera Akraia as Argive in origin and this is interpreted as Argos having a central role in the cult (1940, 21f) along with its founder - Corinth.

Salmon, however, does not agree with this assumption believing neither Megara nor Argos played a significant role at the sanctuary after the early eighth century B.C. - the date of the first votives.<sup>(8)</sup> He points out that many of the Geometric deposits are of Corinthian type fabric (see *koulouria* below, p44f) although examples from the Argive Heraion do provide parallels. Salmon does not exclude the possibility that the cult was derived from Argos or Payne's suggestion that Megarians occupied the peninsula (Salmon in fact proposes the *Heraeis* as the tribal group who resided at Perachora).<sup>(9)</sup> The simplest date

for a Corinthian take-over of the area has to be by early MGII - the opening of the Geometric deposit. If a "conquest" took place after this date it would be too late for the evidence and so Corinth must have had control of the sanctuary from its inception.

#### The Temple of Hera Akraia.

The remains of the Temple are located on the eastern part of the narrow shore line of the harbour near a ravine inlet. Our main piece of structural evidence is a wall (identified as Geometric from associated datable vases) whose preserved length is 6.8m. 1.8m from its west end, it being aligned east-west, the walls curved distinctively to the south leading Payne to the conclusion that it was an apsidal building (1940, 28). The wall suggests that the building was primitive - the stone was not dressed which, as we shall see, stands in contrast to Hera "Limenia's" wall construction technique.

Payne goes on to say (1940, 29), that the building would have been 8m in length by 5-6m in width. He could not identify the extent of the curve of the apse but does not believe it to have been a semicircle. The strip of shore it was on is only 5.5m wide so some of the surface of the north slope would have had to have been cut away. However, Payne's account has left us with a problem due to an error in his report between text and diagram. <sup>(10)</sup> The text restores the size to 8 by 5-6m whereas his plan, pl.116, gives a length of ca7.5m and a width of ca3.5m.

The text is the more likely of the two assumptions to be correct as we have seen that Payne in the text goes on to suggest a widening of the strip was necessary. This would not have been the case with a building of a width of ca3.5m. Some white coloured lumps of clay have also been identified and associated with the building. It could be that these are remains of the floor but I agree with Fagerstrom (1988, 40), who proposes that they are pieces of clay plaster from the upper walls or bits of decayed brick, stone only being used for the foundations.

The discovery of votives on the site has a two-fold importance. It provides datable evidence and thus an approximate date for the structure's foundation and secondly, the votives show that the building is the temple of Hera Akraia. Construction can be placed between early MGII and mid LG because of the Geometric nature of the deposits. Possibly due to the steepness of the terrain,<sup>(11)</sup> much of the deposit is unstratified and so one could argue that the deposit's earliest evidence does not necessarily correlate to the time of building, but, as Salmon points out "...that is the natural assumption",<sup>(12)</sup> The first half of the eighth century B.C. appears the most likely date then for the erection of this temple with a not inconsiderable amount of deposits.<sup>(13)</sup>

### The so-called Temple of Hera "Limenia".

The temenos here is defined by Payne as 750m<sup>2</sup> with the south wall of the building 2m from the south temenos boundary. The building was situated higher up the hill side than the Akraia temple on a terrace. From the remains Payne suggests a size of 9.5m by 5.6m with no ante or exterior columns. It was aligned north to south (this has to have been deliberate as there was room for the more usual east-west alignment on the terrace) with doors in the north and west walls.

The foundation stones appear to have been roughly dressed. Two courses of medium and small-sized stone of hard local limestone were then jointed in mud - this signalled an advance in technique from Akraia and thus a later construction date. Payne proposes ca750 B.C. from early accumulations of pottery.<sup>(14)</sup> Tomlinson links the tiles found scattered on the terrace with the building as does Payne who suggests that it was thatched in the mid eighth century B.C. with the tiles (made of light green clay) being added in the second quarter of the seventh century B.C.. However, Tomlinson rightly argues that this date has to be too early due to the nature of the tiles. (There are sophisticated and central pan tiles with attached cover sections which are all made into one piece and placed in series by a decorated antefix). He therefore suggests the early sixth century B.C. as an alternative date.<sup>(16)</sup>

Within the Temple to Hera Limenia a "hearth" type altar has been identified. Both Tomlinson and Salmon believe it had "cult significance".<sup>(17)</sup> Salmon does have a problem with this in that it would mean two separate cults within the sanctuary (1972, 159f) which he perceives as being unlikely. Tomlinson appears to have the answer by identifying the building not as a Temple but as a dining room (1977, 197-202). He draws on sanctuaries to Herakles for comparison - the major differences being that the altars were outside and the buildings bigger. The entrance on the north side of "Limenia" was off centre, 1.8m from the east and 1.3m from the west wall and thus being 1.2m wide. He believes dining rooms to have been off-centre and temples centrally aligned. Here, he proposes the main room would have held 11 couches of 1.8 by 0.8m from fifth century B.C. models and the fact that 11 was a common number for dining.

This claim appears more justifiable if we consider that excavation work on this terrace has been fairly intense with no other features supporting a temple structure, such as a normal altar, being identified. The use of the building as a dining room is further indicated by the hearth. One of the stone inscriptions on it records a dedication of spits to Hera. Spits are most usually associated with the roasting of meat and thus dining by implication. Jeffery dates this to ca650 B.C. at the earliest and ca550 B.C. at the latest.<sup>(18)</sup> Tomlinson sees the hearth as an original part of the structure which at the least places it in the seventh century B.C.<sup>(19)</sup> although Salmon believes it to be undatable because of its irregular composition.<sup>(20)</sup> It

should also be pointed out here, as indeed Morgan has done, that the material evidence signifies ritual dining by way of burnt debris and a high concentration of drinking vessels in the ceramic assembly along with fragments of amphora and cooking vessels.<sup>(21)</sup>

This does not solve the problem of Hera Limenia entirely as dedications to her have been found.<sup>(22)</sup> The easiest way to solve this puzzle is to see just one cult to Hera at the sanctuary rather than two. Limenia was probably just a descriptive title, god of the harbour, with the whole Heraion staying sacred to Hera Akraia to whom the majority of dedications were made.<sup>(23)</sup> The harbour would have been the main focus for cult as it had the Temple, the Temple of Hera Akraia. The "Limenia" dining complex was probably a sort of annex holding an overspill of votives from Akraia (see later discussion on votives, p41).

#### The so-called "Sacred" Pool.

The pool is also located on the terrace that houses Tomlinson's Dining Room. Payne (1940, 121), connected it with what he believed to be the Temple of Hera Limenia as did Dunbabin ten years later. Payne suggested that the 200 plus bronze *phialai* (vases mainly of the sixth century B.C.) were sacred acting as a ritual libation possibly before entry to the "temple". Dunbabin (1951, 61f), talks of the pool in terms of a water oracle - if the *phialai* floated it was bad, if they sunk it was

a good omen. Salmon says, "There is not enough evidence to enable a definite conclusion about the nature of the oracle to be drawn" and indeed points out that an oracle of the eighth century B.C. would be more likely to be attached to the main cult centre of Akraia by the harbour.<sup>(24)</sup>

Tomlinson provides us with an alternative explanation for the location of the *phialai* and the nature of the pool.<sup>(25)</sup> Both Dunbabin and Payne thought that the *phialai* were thrown in but this, Tomlinson argues, would have been unlikely - the throwing away of an expensive object never to be seen again. The relatively few number of objects in the pool is not suggestive of worship, at least on any scale, and their lack of stratification does not tie in well with the idea of them being thrown away. However, it should be pointed out that if the objects were thrown in they would probably not be stratified and we do have plenty of examples of objects dedicated never to be seen again in a funerary context.

The terrace walls built on this level were probably intended to prevent heavy rainfall damage. Tomlinson thinks the *phialai* were set up near the pool but washed in by one uncontrolled flood which would also explain the stratification problem. It is probable that the pool was linked to purification rites when entering the sanctuary by land but Tomlinson does go on to tell us that the water would have been undrinkable and so a general purpose, possibly dedicatory, acts as the best explanation for its use.

## Votives.

The isolation of the Perachora sanctuary has made it an excellent site for the study of stylistic development despite the steepness of the land causing trouble with stratification. What is also clear is that it is the overlap between the Akraia and Limenia deposits that produces this chronology.<sup>(26)</sup> The correlated results show Akraia material as generally earlier c800-720 B.C. and Limenia dating from c740 B.C. down to the archaic period. Morgan <sup>(27)</sup> makes the important point that we should not concentrate on spatial differences due to loss of material at Akraia (see earlier,p36). Limenia acted as an overspill for votives from Akraia and so location is again unimportant. What is of significance is that the quality and quantity of votives increases dramatically in the last quarter of the eighth century B.C..<sup>(28)</sup> In fact Perachora, during the seventh century B.C. appears to be one of the richest mainland sanctuaries. If we compare it to Zeus at Olympia, we see Perachora to be far the superior in non-functional dedications such as ivory.

## Pottery and Terracottas.

The following list of votives all pertain to the earlier period of the site's history from the mid eighth century B.C. up to and including much of the Archaic period. Payne (1940) now reads as "I" and Dunbabin (1962) now reads as "II" in the text.

*Aryballoi.* There are about 70 complete or near complete objects as well as many fragments but they are not as common as other closed vases. The examples found are some of the oldest from the Corinthia, datable to the mid eighth century B.C. (II,p8-25; also see Fig.5,p188).

*Oinochoai.* There are very few of this particular form with cups being the commonest form in the rubbish dumps. Our first examples here date to the LG (II,p26-34).

*Conical Oinochoai.* Almost 200 PC reasonably preserved examples have been found with fragments of thousands more. They are mostly linear vases, similar amongst themselves, and most numerous in the eighth century, dying out around the mid seventh century B.C. (II,p35-50; also see Fig.5,p188).

*Kotylai.* These provided the greatest number of sherds on the site with very few being complete or near complete enough to be reconstructed. This might symbolize either deliberate breakage or just a reflection of the thin shape generally (some walls are less than 1mm thick). The need for heavier drinking vessels is realized by cups and other shapes (II,p51-74; also see Fig.5,p188).

*Cups.* They are less common than *kotylai* but still numerous. Few are preserved well and are mostly heavy with little variety in decoration. In the last quarter of the seventh century B.C., we find more than half of the cups' decoration consisting of stripes on the lip and sigmas on the handle zone (II,p75-9).

*Phialai.* About two dozen are of LPC and Transitional date. All are of fine fabric with a scale pattern (II,p80).

*Plates and Dishes.* These are numerous in number, the best preserved examples are eighth or early seventh century B.C.. Only here and at the Argive Heraion are they seen in such numbers (I,p62f; II,p81-2,725-67).

*Kalathoi.* c500 are complete or in profile with the rim preserved from the Limenia temenos, there is an equally large number from that of Akraia. They are mostly in simple linear designs (lines inside and out) which can also be seen in types from the Argive Heraion (II,p87-98).

*Kotyle-Pyxides.* Only one (no.923) is good enough to be restored, but they are more numerous than they appear at first sight. Decoration is similar to *the cup* and *kotyle*. It was lidded, thus serving as a receptacle and its fabric and decoration was more common than the cup (II,p99-102).

*Pyxides.* A very common shape on the site. By the MPC it had gone from being a straight sided to a concave and fine walled vessel (II,p103-10; nos.940-77 are reconstructions, 978-1045 being fragments; also see Fig.5,p188).

*Tall Pyxides.* A fairly common shape. Most are coarse sub-geometric but there are some delicate linear vases as well (nos.1048-1112). We are able to trace its development from the

mid eight century B.C. *globular pyxides* (fg.nos.1046-7) of convex shape through to the straight sidedness of the seventh century B.C. (II,p111-25).

*Miniature Vases.* In some sanctuaries it constitutes the main body of offerings either due to its cheap cost or the need to offer symbolically. This is not the case at Perachora although a reasonable number ranging from *aryballoi* to concave *pyxides* have been found (II,p290-313).

*Monochrome Pottery.* The vast majority of shapes produced in this style are of Corinthian origin. The most common shape in the style is the *conical oinochoai* which is rare outside the Corinthia. They were prevalent from ca725 to ca650 B.C.(II,p316-8). We also find examples of *cups*, *bowls*, *aryballoi* and fragments of either *amphorai* or *hydriai* (II,p314-27).

*Attic Black Figure.* Pre 550 B.C. drinking vessels, *cups* and *kotylai* were of Corinthian origin but II,nos.369-79 are Attic and pre 550 B.C..

*Non-Corinthian Pottery.* From the early sixth century B.C. Attic pottery was the dominant foreign influence but we also see East Greek wares (II,nos.4052-89). In the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. we again find an East Greek presence (II,nos.4035-51) with the bulk of the imported material coming from Argos (II,nos.4001-19). Etruscan *bucchero* (II,nos.4118-30) are the only other variety of any amount worth mentioning here (II,p368-9).

*Koulouria.* These votive cakes are found at both Akraia and Limenia. They are basically large (36cm diameter) or small (half the size), flat clay rings - a fact which makes dating them

difficult. However, triangular nicks which form a series of irregular zig-zags, have enabled Dunbabin to identify some of the designs as being seventh century B.C. (II, nos. 3444, 46, 47, 51, 58, 60, 67). He thinks a few other cakes date from the sixth century B.C. because of their moulding (II, p328-30; I, p67f). Coldstream makes the point that these dedications could be linked specifically to Hera Akraia by citing other examples from sanctuaries at Solygeia and Corcyra dedicated to her.<sup>(29)</sup>

*Model Buildings.*<sup>(30)</sup> "A" is the most complete group. The clay is pinkish with added particles of black and red grit to provide extra strength. A slip is used and the meander on the surface is similar to hooks at Corinth from MG I as is the fabric (I, 34f). Group B is of a pale greyish-green clay with grey grit (there are no comparative examples within the Corinthia). There are cable twists on the ridge, group C has similar fabric twists so it is possible that they are of the same piece (I, p35). Group D is of pinkish clay with a thin yellowish slip over the whole surface of the model. Group E is similar to some *koulouria* due to its grit content. The clay is reddish but unfortunately the group only consists of fragments (I, p36; also see Fig. 6, p189 for an artists reconstruction).

The first certain models of this type come from the Argive Heraion. As such, it is easy to see why Payne believed them to be of Argive manufacture (I, p36ff). However, as we have seen, fabric and style make manufacture within the Corinthia a more likely proposition as well as giving us a Geometric date. It is possible that one of the models represents the Temple of Hera

Akraia as it was an apsidal building. Fagerstrom points to differences in the shape between the three of them (rectangular, apsidal and oval) to prove this.<sup>(31)</sup> Presumably some of the buildings were representations of houses rather than temples then. This fact is underlined by Hera being the deity most commonly associated with the home and models also being found at her sanctuaries of the Argive and Samian Heraia.<sup>(32)</sup>

#### Ivories.

"The ivory and bone carvings from the Limenia sanctuary are one of the richest collections of the kind for Archaic Greece".<sup>(33)</sup>

*Seals.* These are all votive with the majority being PC in style and probably made in Corinth. Examples from the number have figurines, heads and reliefs depicted on them. There are over 100 ivory and bone seals from the Limenia deposit but only one from Akraia. The majority are circular and stepped with carved intaglio design on both sides. These seals are, according to Stubbings, better than their Spartan counterparts in their careful finish and freshness of character (II,p403-11; I,p108).

*Spectacle fibulae.* There are about 60 from PC strata in the Limenia deposit. It is composed of thin plate bone or ivory and shaped into two disks and separated by a "bridge" with small disks on either side. Facings are from 50 to 160mm in size and decorated by incisions on the inlay (II,p441; nos.A124-94).

*Bone Fibulae.* These are decorated in amber in the Limenia deposit and associated with PC pottery in the lowest stratum

(II,p439-40; nos.A239-64).

*Bone Rings.* 20 are of 16-20mm diameter, 4-8mm thick (II,p441; nos.265-84).

*Pendants.* These have a globular or an egg-shaped body and a gable on the rounded side. They date from the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. (II,p441; nos.A288-318).

#### **Egyptian Type objects.**

Pendlebury cites over 900 objects for this section the majority of which are scarabs (II,p461ff). From the glaze he believes many of these are not actually Egyptian and the lack of steatite scarabs affirms this conclusion.

*Scarabs.* These are composed of five types, fine - 668 (identifiable by its green glaze), coarse - 28 (similar to those of contemporary Egypt by the glaze being incorporated in the core), compact composition - 10 (tinged sparingly with glaze), blue - 30 (not common in Egypt but could possibly be traced to Naukratis) and steatite - 11. We are dependent to a large extent on other material for the dating of the scarabs when no names have been inscribed or they cannot be cross-referenced. The majority come from the north-east deposit on the Limenia temenos and can be dated to the PC in this way; many others are unstratified but could have been from here. Some of the scarabs are inscribed with royal Egyptian names (nos.D1-65), royal titles (D66-84), divine names (D89-146), combinations of common symbols (D163-421), animals (D461-596) with bird, divine, royal and human figurines (D697-750) constituting the remainder (II,p461-

75;I,p118).

*Figurines.* Are of divine, human and animal compositions. The glaze is similar to the Egyptian late period material of Naukratis but this does not prove its origin (nos.D751-91). The same non-Egyptian origins are attributable to beads (D792-874) and spindle whorls - D875-94, (II,p476ff).

#### Other Votives.

*Engraved and semi-precious stones.* Examples of engraved stones dating back to the Bronze, Late and Sub-Geometric ages have been found (B1-19) but far fewer of significance (B20-25) have come from the late seventh to sixth centuries B.C. (II,p452f).

*Amber.* 54 pieces have been recovered. 53 of these are from the Limenia temenos and probably datable to the seventh century B.C.. Dunbabin does not think this number remarkable as similar amounts have been found at Sparta and Aetos in Ithaka (it probably originates from Vetulonia, Etruria). However, it should also be noted that none has been found at the contemporary Argive Heraion and very little at Olympia (II,p520f).

*Coral.* J1-12 belong to the Archaic period. They have no parallels elsewhere and their forms are the same as those used at Corinth.

*Gold.* 30 objects were found, 20 are rings or disks and all bar one are strips of beaten gold folded into each other. Payne identifies this type with those found at Ephesos and Crete. Again the amount is considered unremarkable (I,p32,73-4,184).

*Bronze.* There are a number of dedications made of bronze in the

geometric period - the animal figurines have an affinity with those of Olympia according to Payne. The statuettes are of remarkable quality, i.e., the Griffin Protome of pl.38 with its Olympian parallels (*Ol.iv*; pl.45,794 and 96). 39 items of reasonable distinction were recorded (I,p125ff).

*Tripods.* A lion's leg (I,p171,2-4) is from the lower part of a tripod. Examples of similar stature can be seen at Olympia and Dodona.

*Bronze Pins.* These are noted as "very considerable" in number.<sup>(34)</sup> They are large (too big to wear) with a new Corinthian type developing in MGII witnessed both at Akraia and Limenia (II,p168f).<sup>(35)</sup>

*Other personal ornaments and sundries.* They are :- bracelets, some of which have no parallels in Greece and are suspected of being Italian, earrings and necklace pendants - 178, and rings 500+ in complete and fragmentary form. The majority are from the archaic period rather than being of classical date (I,p175-83).

*Arms.* Various objects, 11, are described as "nothing out of the ordinary". They range from a sword to a spear-head point. There are also arrowheads and a javelin which were possibly designed to be votives (I,p1.81;pl.82,14,15,16;p190).

## Temple Hill.

### Location and Early History.

The Temple, which is often regarded as Apollo's - he was the deity of the succeeding sixth century B.C. temple, is of an urban nature. The hillock is on the north-east/south-west ridge that lies between the Lechaion road valley and the archaic Glauke fountain and north of the Roman forum (see Fig.3, p186). The upper part of the Lechaion road valley was not settled to any real extent until the seventh century B.C. with the sixth witnessing the development of numerous small cults along the roadside. The valley was the principle residential area of the archaic period.<sup>(36)</sup>

The temple site has no pre-historic remains but the hillock itself does. Travelling to the north of the temple, we find a fill of 2m depth which begins with EHII material and continues as a dump throughout much of the site's history.<sup>(37)</sup> We also know of a fifth century B.C. well containing EH deposits which must have been deliberately dumped here.<sup>(38)</sup> If this does not represent early activity on the site it must have been fairly local as the "rubbish" would have had to have been carried to the point of deposition. In fact the existence of the seventh century B.C. temple was not known until the excavations of Weinberg (1938-9) even though work had been done on the hill

earlier.<sup>(39)</sup> He discovered remains of a temple (building blocks and terracotta tiles for instance) dating to ca625 B.C. at the latest making it one of the oldest in the Corinthia and the first to receive any form of large scale investment.

Due to the uneven nature of the hillock, terracing took place to even up the temenos before any construction work was carried out. After the LG had been over for 75 years the northern limit of the terrace was marked out by the road coming across the north slope and connecting up with the Glauke fountain in the south-west. The only other identifiable physical limit is the south wall of the southerly shrine. These two boundaries on their own are of little help for a definition of the whole temenos but debris found over the road near the shrine has indicated a destruction date of ca570-60 B.C. for the temple.

#### Temple Structure.<sup>(40)</sup>

Unfortunately we lack any traces of structure *in situ*. The remains of building blocks tend to indicate destruction by fire because of the "buff" colour of the porous limestone. Many of these and the terracotta tiles are found over and to the south of the seventh century road on the north slope of the hill. This, according to Robinson, probably took place when the hill-top was being cleaned in readiness for the construction of the sixth century B.C. temple (1976, 224). Logic dictates that both temples would have been of the same alignment and this, indeed, does seem to have been the case. The difficulty lay with the

clearing of bedrock by the sixth century B.C. builders. However, the Roebucks suggest that the irregularities in these builders' foundation trenches are a reflection of those dug for the older temple.<sup>(41)</sup>

This does not allow us to make a fair estimate of the building's size. Similarly the building blocks are not helpful in this context owing to their damaged nature (417 large fragments have been numbered). Their length varies from 0.7 to 0.78m in length to a height varying between 0.21 and 0.24m. The best preserved of these blocks reveal two parallel V-shaped grooves which were chiselled into the undersurface along the length and up one end to provide a hold for lifting ropes. The positioning of these in each block allows the grooves to join up and thus let the rope be easily removed when the block was in position. Robinson perceives these dressed limestone blocks (1976,p212) as representative of masonry from foundation to eaves.<sup>(42)</sup> 21 of the blocks have cuttings from wooden members transversing the longitudinal axis of the stone. The transverse timbers were in pairs with two members to each pair set 0.18 to 0.20m apart and ranging from 0.08m to 0.10m thick/high. The timbers were tied to the masonry to strengthen it (1976,p227).

There was probably a cella although no stylobate has been recognised. The interior faces were stuccoed and painted in solid colours (black and red) separated by horizontal and vertical bands. Blocks A946 and 7 act as examples of this. Coldstream says that these decorations are not the earliest in

form but they are nevertheless geometric in pattern.<sup>(43)</sup> Two small fragments of painted mouldings of porous stone are also possibly associated with the temple (A-69-8,A-79-9).

The terracotta roof patterns appear to be slightly more archaic than geometric in period according to Robinson (1976,p231). They are spread out over the site and many appear to be reused. The eave pan tiles' lower edge has a shallow concave profile. The cover is convex (the pan concave in a single piece) terminating at the eaves in two shallow concave surfaces rising to a peak at the centre.

Regular tiles measure 0.67 by 0.67m and, if complete, weigh 29.5kg in left and right hand varieties. A left would join another one by having two pan elements each side covered by simple pan tiles and held in place by iron spikes. The notches created make the system perfect for an interlocking roof. The termination of these tiles (representative of the temple's long side) is problematic. Two corner tiles have been found which allow us to presume a hip at one end but because two more have not been discovered eaves and a hip cannot be presumed. Five sixths of the tiles found are of a fine to creamy yellow colour, the other sixth is intentionally glazed black (some of these include eave tiles).

All tiles are datable to the PC with the following statistics representing a minimum number found:- right-hand yellow tiles 64, black 16, left-hand yellow tiles 56 and black 9. Calculating

five rows of yellow tiles to each row of black, Robinson proposes five horizontal rows containing 16 tiles per side which means 160 tiles for the two larger sections of the roof. By then adding a lower row of 16 eave tiles he proposes an area of 9.1 by 3.5m (63.7m<sup>2</sup>) per side. However, comparative material makes such a size too narrow <sup>(44)</sup> so it should therefore be presumed that these tiles represent only a fragment of the actual roof.

Dating the Temple is hard. We have seen the terracotta tiles related to the PC but the best evidence appears to be chippings of fine, buff, porous limestone from the dressed stone blocks. Construction from this evidence is placed at ca700 B.C..<sup>(45)</sup> The fact that the stone was dressed suggests a degree of care in presentation as well as it being of monumental stature. Rhodes believes this style of structure, such as the masonry and carpentry cross-over in the walls, to be representative of pre-Doric monumental architecture, in other words elements of it later helped in the foundation of the order.<sup>(46)</sup>

## Votives.

Unfortunately, the first temple has very few votives associated with it because of the nature of its location and destruction. This combined with the lack of published material in this area, means that the following acts only as a general and poor comparison for Perachora and Isthmia.

*Aryballos.* 1 fine example of the MC, C-54-1, was found. The scene depicted on it represents a dancing contest. 1 was also preserved with a warrior scene depicted, C-54-7 (Roebuck 1955,p151-2; also see Fig.5,p188).

*Jug.* 1 EPC and complete example was found standing upright in the lower levels of a chip fill. It was probably already chipped, Robinson believed it belonged to a workman and was buried by accident thus making it non-dedicatory (1976,p234-5).

*Vases.* A number of LPC examples were found. Small and suitable for votive offering, a greater number are decorated with linear designs (1955,p150).

*Skyphos.* 1 EC example was found in the tile fill.

*Conical Oinochoe.* This was found in the lower part of a chip fill. Of black polychrome style, C-54-2 also has a black glaze burned to a metallic tone, the stripes around the body are purplish red (see Fig.5,p188).

*Plastic Vases.* C-54-3 is MC and is the upper part of a female figurine wearing a *polos*. Her hands are clasped in front and her

arms bent. The body is covered in purplish brown/black spots - a style normally reserved for animal representations.

*Mesomphalic bowls.* Two, C-54-2 and C-54-9, are from LCI and so possibly old enough to be associated with the first temple.

*Terracotta Horses.* Several were found dating from the EC through to the MC. One, MF9688 from a block and tile fill, has red lines on the front of its neck and mane, black lines above the tail and red on the tail.

*Tripods.* Representations of several types of tripod have been found in fragmentary form in the fill area of Robinson's trench XI, (1976,p217;pl.56). Other "bronze vessels and ornaments" were found in this fill but not discussed further by Robinson.

## Isthmia.

### Location and Early History.

The site is 1.5km from the Saronic Gulf and 16km from Corinth. To the south-west lies the Rachi (a group of valleys at the foot of a ridge) and immediately to the north-west, a gully containing the Archaic road which went west from the Isthmus to Corinth. The sanctuary itself is on a small plateau on the narrowest part of the Isthmus - the section was originally triangular in shape.

Terracing was employed to create a larger flat surface, for example, this is found to the north and east of the temple because of the steepness of the surrounding slopes. The stadium made for the Isthmian Games filled the natural hollow of a stream bed (this also required levelling) and had a similar orientation to the Rachi (see Fig.4, p187). All around the sanctuary to the north and south, pine tree groves can still be found.<sup>(47)</sup>

Excavation at Isthmia has led to partial identification of sanctuary size through the location of sections of temenos wall (see Fig.4, p184). The existence of a wall to the north of the temple is proved by the exposure of bedding for a stretch of 20m. North terrace 1 and 2 were laid after it (they abutted the wall) which leaves its construction date as either contemporary or soon after that of the Archaic Temple. In total the north wall can

be traced for 45m. To the east side the course of a wall is marked by a foundation block with a trench of 2.5m long towards the south end of the Long Altar. The proposal by Gebhard and Hemans is that it linked up with the north wall and that of the south. The main exposed portion of the south wall runs for c30m and is only 3.5m away from the south flank of the Archaic Temple apart from at the east end where the wall turns to the south. The blocks are 0.38m wide by 0.29m high (one of which reveals rope grooves) and were smoothly finished on the outside. This suggests that it was built at the same time as the Archaic Temple although Broneer believes it to be of Classical origin.<sup>(48)</sup>

Moving back in time we see that the sanctuary of Poseidon did not exist in the thirteenth to twelfth centuries B.C. because a Cyclopean wall of this period has been found to cut across the west end of the temenos. However, right from the earliest excavations at the site, it was clear that there was an EH presence.<sup>(49)</sup> Today this is believed to be more than just a presence being an early cult-place or shrine - in fact one of the earliest post-Mycenean shrines according to Morgan (1994,p109). The only means we have for identifying this is by pottery.

*LHI - LHIIIC.* Although this large time period is represented in the ceramic evidence with a wide range of open shapes (especially in LHIIIA2/B), Morgan is unable to find a convincing link with ritual yet.<sup>(50)</sup> The settlement at Isthmia would have been roughly the same size as those on the Rachi and on the Perachora

peninsula.

*Early Iron Age; ca1050-700 B.C.* Trench 89-61 was dug down to the bedrock of the east terrace revealing PG and mid to late eighth century B.C. material. The first layers of the terrace were laid down in the mid eighth century B.C. with activity concentrated to the south in a 28 by 8m strip. 75% of the sherds were open vessels and were often found in combination with burnt animal bone and ash (ET3.dep.II.1). 398 bones were discovered from this deposit, 94% of which were burnt - an indication of sacrifice rather than consumption. In the EPG 80% of the ceramic assemblage were open forms, 50% comprising of the standard range of drinking cups. The sequence of style popularity appears to be EPG high-footed *skyphoi* followed by MPG and LPG high footed cups. At the start of EG flat bottomed one handled cups were replaced by *kotyle* forms ca725 B.C.. Although these "dining" objects are the most popular, vessels of an unrelated nature such as *pyxides* and Corinthian plain ware are also found (Gebhard and Hemans, 1992,p9-20). 10 items of bronze jewellery have also been found and date from the PG to the eighth century B.C.. They are believed to be personal dedications and of local origin (Morgan,1994,p118).

## The Archaic Temple of Poseidon.

We are fortunate in that the 1989 excavations led by Gebhard and Hemans, firmly establish a *terminus post quem*. Three trenches, 89-51a, 51b and 60, located to the east side of the west stylobate,<sup>(52)</sup> provide their latest ceramics in the form of MPC material thus giving us 690-50 B.C. for our date.<sup>(51)</sup> The 1989 excavation's main value is that its findings allow us an extension and revision of the conclusions reached by Broneer in the first two volumes of the Isthmia series. A main criticism of Broneer by Gebhard and Hemans was that he used very few points of the building in its original position and their related features to plot temple size. The stylobate dimensions are fixed by Broneer as 40.05m by 14.018m (7 by 19 columns), but these dimensions are not fixed by the remains.<sup>(53)</sup> Several floors and construction layers, as well as the use of foundation trenches, are used to present a more accurate picture. (1992 in the text now refers to the reports of Gebhard and Hemans, Broneer (1971) now reads as "I" and Broneer (1973) now reads as "II").

The west stylobate trench can be traced for almost its full length along the western edge of the Classical temple's foundation cutting. The preserved width of the trench is 0.96m - approximately the same as the footing trenches for the north and east stylobate. This leads to the minimum width being 13.35m and the length at 39.29m (1992,p25-8). The interior colonnade has

its size identified by "pier" foundations against the south wall of the cella at intervals of 2.26m. They are related to a series of round holes in the bedrock (0.3-0.35m in diameter) and spaced ca4.52m apart - double the inter-axial distance between the piers. Broneer used these to help calculate structure size, believing them to be used for scaffolding. The central of these five rows had different spacings and hole diameters so it would only have been this row that was in the centre of the cella. Also, from the centre axis of the cella's relationship with the piers, the excavators assume the use of wooden columns to support ridge poles for the roof (1992,p30-1;I,p7-9).

Later excavation has also added to our understanding of the cella. The east cella wall has two doors leading into it from the *pronaos*. This area, 5m deep, served as the Archaic period depository - a fact authenticated by the high number of votives found here. As pointed out in the previous paragraph, the cella had a central single row of columns. Broneer presents these cutting holes as 4.5m apart, with the two middle ones 4.7m apart. From here he admits his assumptions are very conjectural. He proposes 9 columns with 10 spacings, 8 of 2.278m and the end two columns with 2.89m spacings if his cella length is correct - 24m by 5.8m (I,p10-12).

Gebhard and Hemans have shown this as a good but wrong estimate. At the east end of the central row of holes a sixth was discovered 5.05m from the fifth (0.53m more than their other calculated hole spacings). They propose an intervening wall

(cella/pronaos) between these last two holes and note the position of the west cella wall by the north-south cuttings in the bedrock - 2.93m from the east face of the west stylobate. Cella dimensions are thus larger, 7.9m wide with only 5 cella central columns the length along them being 32.28m. They then go on to suggest a peripteral temple of 7 by 18 columns, 39.25m by 14.1-14.4m wide (1992,p31-4).

A large collection of porous blocks was found by Broneer in the north gully and adjacent areas of the north-west corner of the temenos (I,p12;pl.8,d). They are white in colour but go grey when cut and exposed to the air. Owing to their fragile disposition few are found complete and nearly all have shallow and rough grooves for lifting ropes. The grooves ran parallel to the line of the wall and thus, from the regularity, allowing an approximation of block size. Generally the exposed face was smoothed with a broad straight edged tool. These blocks come in 13 groups of which Broneer believes he can place all but 3 in the structure for certain. They range from 0.51 to 0.87m long with a lot of variation in width.

*Groups 1 and 2.* Stylobate blocks. Gp.1 formed a continuous sill in the peristyle.<sup>(54)</sup> Gp.2 has 4 rope channels which are dissimilar to Gp.1 in this and the trimmed back of the upper edge and the lower point projecting slightly. Broneer suggests that they could not have been part of the wall or uninterrupted stylobate and so their position must have been that of the interior colonnade set down in a row below the earth floor of the

temple (I,p34).

*Groups 3 to 9.* From the cella walls. Some of these groups can be placed at various heights in the wall. Gp.3 and 5 have vertical bands to protect them from fire damage. Similarly, so does Gp.4 except the bands are on the outside. Gp.6 have cuttings on the top that run through the full thickness of the wall and at right angles to it. They are from the highest point of the wall because they are protected by a horizontal rather than a vertical band. The cuttings are also very close together which suggests a usage for ceiling beams. Moulding from the top wall below the ceiling beams were nailed to transverse pieces of wood and held in place by the aforementioned cuttings. Gps.7-9 probably had a similar purpose or held brackets, a fact which would explain the curved ends of the blocks (I,p35-6;pl.11,c).

*Group 10.* Size and shape suggest that they were the cornices. The roughness of the stone probably meant that it was not in a position exposed to view (I,p36).

*Groups 11-13.* These groups are few in number and what remains we do have are very fragmented making their position uncertain (although Broneer identifies Gp.11 as wall blocks). Lines on block Ar.88 and 9 (Gp.13), form an angle of 14 degrees which could be related to the slope of the roof 1:4 but this is probably too steep (I,p37-8).

Many of the Archaic temple's roof tiles are to be found in the gully north of the temple and the area to its east (I,pl.12,c). Some of these are well preserved in length and width but out of a total of 16199 fragments, it has been impossible to sort 13529.

They are made of hard yellow fabric, have a careful smooth surface known as "yellow glazed" and were made in the early decades of the sixth century B.C.. 4 out of the 6 Corinthian types have been identified at Isthmia and they are pan/cover, eave, ridge and hip tiles. The hip tile is the most important as it joined the two sloping sides at the end of the building. Broneer thinks both ends were hipped because no ranking cornice has been found although it is conceivable that one end was gabled (I,p50). Left and right hand tiles were employed approximately equally, although more right hand tiles have been retrieved, meeting in the centre of the flank.

As the temple was destroyed by fire the remains of the roof are at best a random sample of the original. Statistics can be used to provide a useful guide to the actual size of the roof and thus the temple itself. So, for example if 25% of the pan/cover tiles are thought to have survived, approximately 25% of the eave tiles will have survived as well.<sup>(55)</sup> As the roof was probably hipped at both ends, each side would have had the same number of interlocking horizontal rows. From this premise, the number of each type of tile can be given for a roof of a given size. Each row would need 4 hip and eight eave tiles (plus one to each flank). From the proportions of the tiles, 11 horizontal rows probably existed consisting of 1560 pan/cover, 240 eave and 44 hip tiles (this gives dimensions of 12.5 by 47m). This, Hemans says, has to be unlikely considering the small number of hip tiles actually found (16); any change in numbers naturally affect calculations but 20 more hip tiles would be required to change

it from 11 to 12 rows. What is more, if one end did have a gable like later Doric structures, the sample would indicate 10 rows but this would mean 78% of the roof tiles had been recovered when many Archaic deposits on the site have yet to be excavated.

Broneer controversially suggested that Isthmia was the earliest "Doric temple on the mainland of Greece".<sup>(56)</sup> The evidence is not as clear cut as this statement would have us suppose. Broneer thinks *triglyphs* and *metopes* were used - a Doric feature. However, whilst identifying them he himself notes the 3 units of 0.5m needed per axial spacing contradicts the evidence (I,p9). In fact both Gebhard and Rhodes confidently state that *triglyphs* and *metopes* did not exist at Isthmia at this time.<sup>(57)</sup> Coulton may well be right when he places the Archaic Temple in a "...brief transition period between vernacular and monumental architecture in Greece".<sup>(58)</sup> He points out that Broneer has no evidence for his claim that the walls were almost certainly peripteral - half dressed with cornice stones. The unusual lifting grooves could also be symbolic of an innovation in building technique. I agree with Rhodes who advocates the "half-way" house approach but takes it further by suggesting that it was non-peripteral and just rectangular with a hipped roof.<sup>(59)</sup> He also notes the use of "notching" and "dovetailing" to prevent timbers pulling out the wall (see I,p26-8). These techniques, according to Rhodes, were normally used to harness wood to stone. Rhodes believes the roofing to be a logical but not Doric development with the Gp.10 cornice stones used to cope with the extra weight. The only element Rhodes says could be linked to

the Doric order is the use of geison blocks with stone overhang.<sup>(60)</sup>

### The Long Altar.

Its length, running parallel to the east facade of the Archaic Temple, at the lowest course of foundation is 40m and thus similar to the one at the Temple of Zeus at Nemea (40.58m by 2.42m). The construction is not uniform in width (1.88 to 1.76m), or, according to Broneer, in date of blocks (I,p1.28,a). To justify the second part of this argument he identifies some blocks as from the Archaic Temple thus pushing the Altar's construction forward to a Classical date.<sup>(61)</sup> This has to be wrong. Firstly, the orientation of the Altar is the same as the Archaic Temple and so links it to this rather than the Classical Temple.<sup>(62)</sup> Trenches sunk in 1989 suggest a similar conclusion. Trenches 89-22 and 89-65 provided material contemporary with the Archaic Temple. None of this was later than the first half of the seventh century B.C.. The Altar blocks were finished in the same way also - the outer edges of joints fitted closely to the adjacent block but the inner surfaces did not touch. This does not look like re-use and trenches 89-22a and 65 confirm an Archaic date by providing 110 sherds, 65 are PG/G, 24 are Archaic amphora and coarse ware. There were 592 bones found in these trenches and all of them were in some way burnt. This also indicates large scale sacrifice.<sup>(63)</sup> This is confirmed by ETI remains of pebbles mixed with bone and ash (I,p55-6).

## Early Stadium I.

By general consent it (ESI) is Archaic in age although Broneer is cautious about this saying "How far back we should date the Earliest Stadium at Isthmia is largely a matter of conjecture".<sup>(64)</sup> This conclusion is reached due to the later stadium constructions on the same site (see fig.4,p187 for a general indication of size). The north-west end, in fact, has been totally removed by its successors meaning that we cannot be certain where the original start line was or if the stadium was long enough further east as was its Phase IV position (1992,p58-9). As has been noted earlier (see above p57), the terrain was not suitable for building as it stood; so we again find terracing - in this context to provide a level running-track. From electro-magnetic readings, the track sloped to the east and north and so this levelling process would have been an enormous undertaking, 5000 cubic metres were needed to raise the east side to the same height as the west.

Scale also made infilling a gradual process and it is this that allows us to link the track to the construction of east terrace II and thus date the Stadium to the first half of the sixth century B.C..<sup>(65)</sup> Maintenance would have been an ongoing process due to the size of the terrace and the sanctuaries need to cater

for more visitors. This last factor is highlighted in the creation of a uniform slope on the east side of the stadium for the convenience of spectators - the north-east end of the Cyclopean wall would have formed the outer limit for the spectators on the other side. Broneer has managed to trace parts of the outer edge of the racecourse which, for a 20m distance, shows that the Cyclopean wall does not run parallel with it but converges by as much as 4m in the north (II,p47). This again points to a gradual development and incorporation the style of which was probably based on the earlier stadium at Olympia.<sup>(66)</sup>

#### Votives.

Pre-Temple votives have already been discussed (see above p55-6) with their perceived emphasis on dedication rather than sacralization. Later votives, unfortunately, are not as well published but they can be taken as indicative of general trends. Most of the pottery from the site was found in two dumps the one to the north containing the majority of these. Both represent continuity of use from earlier through to later periods.

*Early Corinthian Ware.* Four of these (II, nos.IP 1037, 1140, 775, 868) were found in fragmented form in the north temenos dump. They portray animal figurines and filling patterns.

*Early Corinthian Aryballos.* Only one has been found, IP 776, the handle and top of which are missing. There is a shoulder tongue pattern on the body and a long-eared animal portrayed.

*Amphiskos.* 994 have been identified, the main zones have vertical

rows with dots in squares. They are made of buff clay, have a dark brown glaze and are EC in date.

*Conical Oinochoi.* 6 fragmented pieces (IP 1069, 1114, 842, 1023, 845, 1126) are of PC date and all but two are from the north temenos dump. Bands are located on the body, bar patterns on the neck and shoulder. It is composed of a fine yellow reddish clay (See Fig.5,p188).

*Plastic Vase.* JP 1708 is of a comic figure found in the large circular pit - the figure is probably that of a dancing satyr. A two wheeled style is followed which allows Broneer to place it in the first quarter of the sixth century B.C. because of its similarity to other Corinthian models.<sup>(67)</sup>

*Terracotta Objects.* Examples here comprise a model house (IM 2140), terracotta horses such as IM 2202 and a fragmented male figurine (IM 2426).<sup>(68)</sup> Boots were also found but are out of their normal funerary context - they may have had associations with travel or marriage considering the nature of this sanctuary (II,IM 1102, 1128, 3508).

*Lions Foot.* Probably a piece of furniture that sat directly on the ground supporting a chest or throne - it was sculptured in stone.<sup>(69)</sup>

*Metallic Objects.*

IM2310. A gold ornament of the rear part of a griffon in repousse.<sup>(70)</sup>

IM2089 and 2360. Bronze figurines of males that are early sixth century B.C. in date.

IM2356. Male bronze figurine probably of Poseidon. A trident would originally have been in the right hand and he was

apparently bearded.

IM2343. Mini Dolphin of bronze.

IM2091 and 2359. Bronze bulls from the circular pit and early temenos dump.

IM2284. A bronze trident that would originally have come from a statuette of Poseidon - early sixth century B.C..

IM2480-1. Bronze Medusas, the backs are flat and unfinished; the faces have three curls of hair on either side.

IM2302-3. A horse's heads from early temenos dump.

IM2301. Almost identical to the bronze goat from Dodona - early temenos dump.

IM2485. Bronze protome of a sphinx - early temenos dump.

*Tripods.* 6 of bronze recovered (IM5080, 2308, 2826, 1656, 234, 1795a and b). A pair of figure attachments (IM2224 and 1334) have also been found. IM2826 is a leg which matches one found at Olympia.<sup>(71)</sup>

*Arms and Armour.* By ca470 B.C. the sanctuary had received a minimum of 200 helmets. Few were of eighth century B.C. design (this period is best represented by the left cheek guard of a kegelhelm - IM2450), 45 designs began in the seventh century B.C. with roughly 130 from the middle of the sixth century B.C.. Swords tend to be early rather than late Archaic with some shields and leg guards dating to the sixth century B.C.. There are too many spear and javelin heads to date them all but the earliest are datable to the early seventh century B.C..<sup>(72)</sup> There seems to have been a 100m<sup>2</sup> wall space for the display of the armour from the remains of nails and holes found in this area. It is also possible that some of the armour could have belonged

to the dedicator rather than being spoils from battle.<sup>(73)</sup>

*Ivory.* Does not appear in abundance but a number of examples exist such as nos.2A and B.<sup>(74)</sup>

*The Perrirhanterion.* Although not a votive (Broneer believed it was used for ritual ablutions when entering the Temple)<sup>(75)</sup> it is worthy of discussion as it is the earliest sculpture from the site, ca660-50 B.C.. It consisted of a large shallow bowl and an elaborate open work stand. Four rams heads project from the basin and female figures stood crosswise on the backs of recumbent lions. It probably stood on a porous base originally with the Perrirhanterion being composed of marble.<sup>(76)</sup>

## Conclusion.

*Unique Features of Perachora.* Initially, the most striking observation has to be the sheer volume of votives especially those of great value. Others, such as the model buildings, votive cakes and Egyptian-type objects appear in such small numbers at the other two sites that they can be considered as exclusive to Perachora. Naturally, the identification of Hera Limenia as a dining room sets it apart from the other Corinthian sanctuaries. However, even if this is not the case the alternative is that the Limenia was indeed a temple and none of the other two have a second temple on their sites. The Akraia structure was not monumental with only the foundations being made of stone.

*Unique Features of Temple Hill.* The site is the first to show a different level of investment in structure but due to the level of its destruction, it is hard to elaborate further. The temple appears to be the first sign of any significant activity here. Our lack of votive evidence presents a similar problem but is perhaps more indicative of similarity, especially with Isthmia, in its types.

*Unique Features of Isthmia.* Structurally the Temple to Poseidon

is a development upon Temple Hill in areas such as the central row of columns in the cella. The Long Altar and the first Stadium are two sizeably individual features which go unmatched. It is different to the other sites in that it appears to have been a place of worship or sacrifice long before the Temple was built. The concentration of bull figurines (17) and those of Poseidon should only be considered unique in that this is the only one of our sites where Poseidon is the patron deity. This is not the case with regards to arms and armour which go unparalleled in volume, early date and quality.<sup>(77)</sup>

#### *Site Similarities.*

Both Temple Hill and Isthmia use the same construction technique for their Temple walls. This is seen in the parallel V-shaped grooves in the blocks.<sup>(78)</sup> These two structures were also similar in material and structure in general. Rhodes comments that they "...are transitional between earlier rubble and cut stone construction and a fully developed tradition of ashlar masonry".<sup>(79)</sup> He points to the technique used for anchoring rafters and their use of "dovetailing" in the walls as other indicators of similarity.<sup>(80)</sup> The same tile types were also used at these two sites. Firstly, the systems employed at both were the same.<sup>(81)</sup> The yellow glazed effect (from early sixth century Corinth) is present in both as was the use of cover tiles.<sup>(82)</sup> Coldstream thinks both were originally decorated in the interior with geometric patterns painted on stucco.<sup>(83)</sup>

#### *Votive Similarities.*

Morgan points out that a lot of the ceramic evidence from Perachora and Isthmia is very similar with their concentration on dining objects such as drinking vessels.<sup>(84)</sup> Plastic vases have been identified at all sites with especial similarity between Temple Hill's C-54-3 and Perachora I, pl. 104, no. 199 of the MC. The jewellery from Perachora and Isthmia early on in their respective histories correspond in that both appear to take the form of personal dedications.

### Chapter 3

## Corinthian Burials, 1100 to 500 B.C. and Hero Cults.\*

#### Introduction.

In this chapter I will consider the changes in burial type from pit and cist graves to stone sarcophagus and pot burials in combination with the variety and amount of funerary dedications. The burial sites are divided into seven categories. They are :-  
a) The Lechaion road valley, b) The Potter's Quarter, c) The North cemetery, d) Miscellaneous graves from Corinth, e) Aghioi Theodoroi (east of the Isthmus), f) The West cemetery, Isthmia, g) Miscellaneous graves from the Greater Corinthia. Table 3, overleaf, depicts roughly their chronological spread and amount.

\* Much of the material evidence and analysis that follows is based on the findings of Dickey (1992).

PERIOD	BURIALS
Sub-Mycenaean	4
Proto-Geometric	5
Early Geometric	6
Middle Geometric	29
Late Geometric	4
Not precisely datable	77
Geometric	
Early Proto-Corinthian	5
Middle Proto-Corinthian	6
Late Proto-Corinthian	2
and Transitional	
Early Corinthian	10
Middle Corinthian	33
Late Corinthian I	44
Not precisely datable	168
Archaic	—
Total	393

Table.2. Corinthian burials by period.

(After Dickey 1992, 6).

I hope then to chart the rise to prominence of hero cults at a time (the second half of the eighth century B.C.) which witnessed a profound switch in the direction of Corinthian funerary and sanctuary dedications. It is argued that this change was a conscious redirection of wealth with the community sanctuary (Isthmia) becoming the new focus of dedicatory attention along with the socio-politically motivated hero cults whilst burial evidence stops and then starts again.

## Burial Type.

Burials do not represent a random sample of material items. In fact "They represent the products of human choice, mediated by and responsive to the needs of the culture and society".<sup>(1)</sup> The "New Archaeology" that was first advocated by Binford and Clarke in the 1960s looked at issues of culture. Burials provide the best source of evidence. As with all human activity, burial type can be different even within a close knit community and this was a concept that Binford (1972, p264f) placed a lot of emphasis on - variability. Clarke (1978, p89f) concentrated on the move from artefact to culture; an important view that is most effective when considered with the ideas of Shanks and Tilley (1987, p244). They looked at attitudes to the artefacts as products of social relations of both the living and the dead. Smith (1996, 26) points out that one should be careful in using such approaches as there is always a certain degree of cross over between cultures. Another way of looking at our evidence is through the eyes of the Processual archaeologist. Here change is studied as a process within a social context rather than just that of invasion and immigration. This can be seen later in the switch from pit to sarcophagus burials (see below, p79). A common factor appears to be that "Non-burial was a total denial of status".<sup>(2)</sup> Also, the number of graves available to us is small, 393, which makes for difficulties in mortuary variability analysis.<sup>(3)</sup> All this must be considered when looking at the disposal of the dead.

### **Pit graves.**

This is when the remains of the dead were placed directly into the ground usually with a stone slab covering the grave shaft. There was variety in size and some were lined with stone. 86 out of 386 identifiable burials or 23% are of this form, which makes it the second most popular form of burial for our period. There was a rise in numbers during MGII but much of this can be linked to the restart of burial activity at the North cemetery in the same period (from which a disproportionate amount of our evidence is drawn). Dickey does not believe this to be a demographic trend but more a reflection of major changes occurring within the Corinthia.<sup>(4)</sup>

### **Cist graves.**

These were slab built - upright slabs of stone lined the sides of the grave pit with one or more slabs covering it. Cist graves are small in surviving numbers (only 13 examples have been found) with the grave form itself being abandoned by 700 B.C..<sup>(5)</sup>

## Sarcophagus burials.

This was the most popular form of burial accounting for 251 out of 386 or 65% of all burials. They came in two varieties, the first of which was *composite*. In this form the sarcophagus was constructed out of one or more pieces of stone and was comparatively rare. The *monolithic* sarcophagus was hollowed out of a single piece of stone with the majority belonging to the archaic (only 4 are pre-EPC whereas 146 are not precisely datable within the archaic period).

The switch from pit to sarcophagus burial probably involved a transitional period but was a definite progression as the location of the pit graves in the central core and of the sarcophagi located outside them in the North cemetery tends to indicate.<sup>(6)</sup> We cannot be certain why this change took place or why it did so at this time. Salmon says that the North cemetery possibly indicates widespread poverty from ca720 - 640 B.C. due to lack of offerings. However, he goes on to point out that the ascendancy of sarcophagus burials at this time does not bear this out as they were not cheap receptacles - their use, he believes, was the fashion of the period not a reflection of wealth.<sup>(7)</sup> Dickey takes the explanation a step further by presenting the change as a need to seal in the dead (away from the world of the living) and possibly the sarcophagus as a by product of the new technique of quarrying limestone.<sup>(8)</sup>

### Pot burials.

This refers to inhumations in ceramic or metallic vessels. There are difficulties in distinguishing these from containers and so certain criteria have to be fulfilled. Skeletal remains have to have been found in the pot, a cover slab for the mouth piece has to have been found and associated grave goods inside or close to the pot. Dickey identifies 27 as having fulfilled these requirements but notes that the sporadic nature of 23 of these finds means that little emphasis can be put on date especially as there is a lot more evidence for them after 550 B.C..<sup>(9)</sup> 26 of the containers are ceramic with only one made of bronze. From 750 - 550 B.C. the ceramic burials are less well furnished so there could be a connection economically and socially between this and children being buried in this form, i.e., they were not as yet considered full members of the community, and as such were not given full burial rites.

### Single and Multiple burials.

The biggest change in funerary practice probably occurred between the late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age with the near complete abandonment of multiple burials. Dickey has only been able to identify 9 instances where the graves can be thought of as non-singular.<sup>(10)</sup> Only one grave (LV 9), which contains two child burials can be termed *successive* as one of the burials was a later addition. NC 149 is possibly a mother and child burial

from the size but for the remaining seven, it is unclear whether they are *simultaneous* or *successive* with IS 43 being a certain double adult burial. Organization within a community or polis set-up does not have to exclude multiple burials as those at Pithecusae have shown (Ridgway 1992, p47).

According to Morgan, this does not rule out some form of kin consciousness in mortuary remains because of the alignment of burials in the North Cemetery. In the centre is the Middle Helladic tumulus which may well have become a focus for community identity. If a relationship with this could be forged (on a family level), it would bring with it an increase in status and thus the reason for the resumption of burials at the site in the early eighth century B.C..<sup>(11)</sup> Although this is plausible, it is dependent on position and, if kin groupings were more important, it is likely that Dickey would have identified more than 9 burials as multiple. This does not mean that absence of multiple burials entails absence of a ruling class as the hereditary rule of the Bacchiads, I believe, goes some way to prove.<sup>(12)</sup>

## Cremation and Inhumation.

Snodgrass thought that in the Peloponnese there was more acceptance of cremation in Corinth than elsewhere but there is no conclusive evidence for this before the fourth century B.C..<sup>(13)</sup> There are a few ambiguous cases (for cremations) but these are viewed as inhumations by Dickey. Their most likely place of occurrence would be in pot burials but in the two instances where bones show possible signs of burning (NC 17; NC 25), the NC 17 grave has a skeleton that appears to be articulated. What is more, the majority of pot burials are those of children whose disposal by means of inhumation is well documented for the Corinthia.<sup>(14)</sup>

## Grave Goods.

### Bronze Vessels.

These are found in a small number of graves which are mostly well furnished. In fact 9 graves have them; 4 are from MGII and are placed in the same position - they were *skyphoi* that capped the mouths of *hydriai*. The *skyphos* is generally regarded as a drinking vessel and this function, according to Dickey, should be linked to that of the *hydriai* (a thin-necked pouring vessel) and its associated deposits. He presents its use as part of the funerary ritual (thus the reason for its discovery in this context), a wine service in life or a need to use them in the afterlife.<sup>(15)</sup>

### Pottery.<sup>(16)</sup>

The vessels in all periods in this category are of a similar disposition in that the predominant forms are to do with pouring and drinking and many are narrow necked. This again suggests associations with funerary ritual. The dead needed drink offerings (*choai*) and so not only drinking vessels but those for pouring and storage would have been required also. This factor is emphasized by the large quantities of charcoal with fragments of animal bone at a number of graves that appear to have been thrown in at the point of burial. Young says that it "...implies some sort of rite at the grave side, a sacrifice or a funeral

banquet at the conclusion of which the remains were swept into the grave".<sup>(17)</sup>

What is clear is that these objects were included as funerary goods because of their use - they were not intended as gifts. This means that shapes such as vases are found very infrequently. Dickey identifies 720 pieces of pottery from the PG to LCI his results being as follows.<sup>(18)</sup> Pouring vessels make up nearly 20% of the assemblage in a total or partly recovered state over 78 burials. Drinking vessels represented 31% of the total and are drawn from over 114 burials with the *skyphos* being dominant in the Geometric period (the *kotyle* first appears in the LG). Narrow necked vessels represented 22% of the total finds in 59 burials with variety in all periods. Similarly, *pyxides* had variety in all periods, the majority of which were of Corinthian date. They represent 11% of the assembly and were found in 33 graves.

#### Dress Ornaments and Jewellery.

Here again I follow the findings of Dickey who emphasizes their limited variety and the fact that most of the materials used appear to have been imported.<sup>(19)</sup> Dress pins were the most common (found in 61 graves over the complete time span) of which bronze ones were found in 11 graves but those made of iron were more numerous appearing in at least 49 graves. Dickey comments that "Most of the time a grave contains pins because they were worn by the deceased, either fastened to the clothes or perhaps

attached to a burial shroud in which the corpse was wrapped".<sup>(20)</sup> Where extra sets of pins have been found, such as LV 28 (MG), Herodotus may provide us with an explanation. In V.92 he reports an anecdote concerning Melissa the wife of the tyrant Periander. Here, he portrays the dead (in this case Melissa) as being susceptible to the cold and thus in need of extra sets of clothes. It may well be that Herodotus' story was born out of a strange Corinthian burial rite that needed some form of explanation. Some pins have been found outside the pit or sarcophagus which could mean that protection from the cold was not its only function. However, of the 7 graves where gender can be determined, 2 are those of males which is especially surprising as only women were thought to have worn them from the PG onwards. Burial custom probably meant that this was not so in death as the corpse had to be "kept warm".

10 fibulae were found in 8 graves and hair spirals were also located in a similar amount of burials. 28 finger rings came from 18 graves of which 5 of gold and silver came from LV 28's occupants right hand. Scarabs are also interesting to note as only 4 were found compared to the hundreds at Perachora.

## **Weapons.**

Although this warrants a section in its own right, our lack of evidence makes it a small one. From a variety of graves we have a sword, 3 spearheads and two possible arrowheads from all the graves in the Corinthia for this period. The position of the spearheads in LV 1 (see Fig.7, p190) and 24 meant that the shaft could only have been an unfeasibly short 90cm. Dickey suggests that this was because they were deliberately broken - a symbolic killing of the weapon and its owner's power on death.<sup>(21)</sup> This has important implications as it appears to be a highly individualistic act, representing their personas. The lack of these types of burials could also suggest that it was a ceremony reserved for certain people, possibly for a clan chief or the warrior with the glorious death in battle.

## **Craft Implements and Miscellaneous Objects.**

As with weapons, tools symbolic of an individual's dominance or occupation in life are scarce. Those that are clearly attested are spinning and weaving through terracotta spindle whorls and loom weights. Giving these objects owners and contexts is not easy as we will see from drawing on evidence from other related cultures. For example Bietti-Sestieri (1992, p173) says that at the Iron Age settlement of Osteria dell'Osa in Latium just outside Rome, spindle whorls and food kits were found in a variety of graves representing different statuses and

occupations. Some of the food sets are concentrated in the graves of elderly females but this does not mean that we should refer to them as the head of their households because others also possess the utensils for food distribution. Other objects which were found include rails and spikes, lead artifacts (in GC 27 and LC 1), seashells - which would have been children's toys and a pair of bronze tweezers.

#### Variability in Grave Good Numbers.

This was certainly not constant. From the Sub-Mycenaean through to the end of the Geometric period, 22 child burials yielded 2.2 objects on average with 72 adult ones producing 3.7 per grave. However, in the Archaic period the 87 child burials rose to an average of 2.7 objects per grave and the 149 adult graves produced a fall to 1.9 objects on average. The rise for infants, Dickey claims, was linked to the rise of the Corinthian polis. With a citizen population becoming identifiable, children (if of the right parentage) could rise to this status with age and thus could hold a position in society which they did not possess before.<sup>(22)</sup> Grief would naturally rise when both the individual and polis lost someone who had a definable role. This point is alluded to most markedly in Perikles' Funeral Oration (Thuk.II.46); "children represent our hopes and ambitions". The sharp drop in adult grave goods in the Archaic period is harder to explain.

## Lack of Grave Goods.

"Following the MG period when grave furnishings were increasingly more numerous and extravagant, grave goods then almost completely disappear for the duration of the LG and PC periods, reappearing in the graves only in the EC period".<sup>(23)</sup>

This is not to say that the residents of the Corinthia at this time were any poorer than those of their immediate ancestors. For instance, it has already been mentioned that stone sarcophagi continued to be made <sup>(24)</sup> and a lot of expenditure at funerals may well have been taken up in archaeologically invisible forms.<sup>(25)</sup> This might include activities such as sacrifices and feasting at home. Also, no doubt, some of the graves would have belonged to richer members of the community. The remains of these graves have led Sourvinou-Inwood to conclude that they (especially if they can be put in the context of a family plot) became "a symbolic focus for aristocratic self-definition".<sup>(26)</sup>

This does not necessarily refer to the objects buried with an individual either. For example, the over or under play of grief is dependent to a certain extent on what is acceptable in a given society. The tone of this will obviously be heightened if a larger group is involved in public mourning.<sup>(27)</sup> Dickey, in his work on Corinthian burials, advocates a theory which has this as a central focus for the fall in adult grave goods between 750 and 600 B.C..<sup>(28)</sup> He thinks that there was probably some form of funerary legislation introduced that prevented differentiation

in burial format. We read in Plutarch (*Solon* 21.5-7) that the Athenian lawgiver Solon, in the early sixth century B.C., limited the amount of food and drink the deceased's family were allowed to bring to the grave-side. Plutarch (*Lykourgos* 27.1-2) is also referred to by Dickey, as it mentions the forbidding of funerary goods by the mythical Lykourgos except for a purple robe to be buried in.

Dickey postulates that something similar to this may have occurred in Corinth. However, he readily admits that an eighth century B.C. date is an early one for legislation and that the restart of funerary deposits in the reign of Periander, who appears to have forbade luxury, is inconvenient.<sup>(29)</sup> The Bacchiad clan appear to have risen to power ca750 B.C. which conveniently fits in with the beginning of the drop in grave goods. As they now held power, they could conceivably prevent other aristocratic kin groups enhancing their status in a funerary context as may well have been the norm. It should also be noted that legislation is not always necessary in a community to affect patterns in the use of wealth.

At the same time we know that the death of a Bacchiad perpetuated a very public burial. We know from the Scholiast on Pindar (*Nemea* 7.155; see before, p25) that Megarian men and women had to participate in these funerals. Perhaps one of the most important aspects here is the visual one as it meant everyone in the area would know or hear about it if they did not actually see it. A similar form of compulsion is recognizable in Tyrtaeus of Sparta

from the mid seventh century B.C. when he mentions that helots were forced to mourn at the death of their master or mistress (West 1972, fr.7). If this was the case at Corinth, it would have enhanced the status of the Bacchiads at the expense of rival aristocrats and explain why no evidence of them has been found - the invisible part of the ritual was the most important.<sup>(30)</sup>

As we have seen there are problems with this hypothesis not least of which is that the fall in grave goods "coincides with a vast increase in the use of many of the same objects as sanctuary dedications which strongly suggests that the two processes are connected".<sup>(31)</sup> This shift is all the more striking as Seaford believes that there was less metal being used in everyday activities of the time.<sup>(32)</sup> So, rather than funerary legislation we have the redirection of disposable wealth from the individual (in burial) to the community as all can see and benefit from the dedications at sanctuaries. The dedications are also important to the individual though, as they are an expression of his status that is no longer seen by others in burials.<sup>(33)</sup>

Dickey says "Surely increased attention to the gods does not preclude paying attention to the needs of the dead". He also points out that the rise in sanctuary dedications does not explain the reappearance of grave goods ca600 B.C..<sup>(34)</sup> This is true, but by supporting the idea of funerary legislation Dickey is hinting at the fact that apart from the Bacchiads, attention to the dead was indeed very limited. This was not because people necessarily wanted to then - if there was funerary legislation

it could fit into the redirection of wealth motif as it forced goods out of the graves and possibly into the sanctuaries. The reappearance of grave goods may have been due to a change in ritual, fashion or the fact that people were getting richer ca600 B.C. <sup>(35)</sup> but either way sanctuaries had become too important both socially and politically for a complete reversal to have occurred.

## Grave Location.

A brief description of our sites is now required as the shifts in their locations (generally) may well have been influenced by changing attitudes to death and the gods.<sup>(36)</sup> It is also noticed that none of the sites can be considered as complete due to later human activity. The North Cemetery is considered to be the most intact.

### The Lechaion Road Valley.

The area owes its name to the ancient harbour of that name to the east of the site. Its 49 graves and 52 burials are in the area later occupied by the Roman Forum and the majority of these are in a stretch at the upper end of the ravine.<sup>(37)</sup> After a possible lapse in burials (SM - PG) we have graves in significant quantities down until the end of MG II. 10 have been identified in and around this date (750 B.C.) which has to be regarded as significantly less than the preceding period. From 750 B.C. onwards the archaeology of the area shows that there was a sharp rise in habitation. All burial plots are at the edge of this settlement from this date.<sup>(38)</sup>

### **The Potters' Quarter.**

This is found in the west of Corinth in a tongue between two ravines that run down from Acrocorinth. It has 6 Geometric graves (5 of which are in a cluster whose longevity probably goes against it being a family plot) and one archaic grave. The settlement in this area was probably located further north in the eighth century B.C. but was inhabited later in the seventh century B.C..

### **The North Cemetery.**

This is situated to the north-west of central Corinth on a plain below the natural terraces of the city and 250m to the north-east of a hill called Cheliotomylos. There are 13 Middle Helladic graves that made up the tumulus at the centre of the cemetery with later burials located on its perimeter. (These began again in MG II - the first half of the eighth century B.C.). There does appear to have been some sort of activity in the intervening years at the site which suggests that its original purpose, that of a burial site, was never forgotten. Dickey identifies 218 graves from MG II to LC II for his study.<sup>(39)</sup> It appears to have had all the characteristics of a formal extra-mural cemetery, being removed, well laid out and permanent. Young believes that burials began again there because space was at a premium so that people were probably encouraged to bury their dead at this isolated spot.<sup>(40)</sup> However, the cemetery was re-established when

the Lechaion road intra-mural burials were at their peak and when there was no sign of population expansion at Corinth.

#### **Miscellaneous Graves from Corinth.**

These are the 21 graves that have been found randomly from the urban centre and the western half of the area that later encompassed the city.

#### **Aghioi Theodoroi.**

The 15 graves are located in an area called Moulki 500m to the north of Aghioi Theodoroi east of the Isthmus. On its north side is also the national highway from Athens to Corinth. It contains one sarcophagus burial but those with furnishings date to the geometric period.

#### **The West Cemetery, Isthmia.**

Previously called the Lambrou Cemetery, it is 800m west to southwest of the Temple of Poseidon and at the west edge of the modern village of Kyras Vrysi. There are 50 graves that we are interested in and they range from the late seventh to the first half of the sixth century B.C., (EC-LC I/II). Even when put into the context of the later burials on the site, no apparent organization of burials can be seen.<sup>(41)</sup>

### Miscellaneous Graves from the Greater Corinthia.

These are other graves that do not fit into any of the other sections and are generally of a sporadic nature. There are 32 graves of which 15 are Archaic and from two spots near Hexamilia. Wiseman thinks that these may have been associated with Kromna.<sup>(42)</sup>

### Changes in Burial Location.

This definitely happened and has to be tied in with the rise of the polis over a considerable period of time even if changes in type and funerary goods were more sudden. The reasons for the rise of extra-mural cemeteries, in particular that of the North Cemetery, are unclear though. It has already been noted that this was almost definitely not linked to urbanization and lack of space.<sup>(43)</sup> So other factors must have come into play. Dickey follows Rutter in believing that the tumulus was the attraction for burial there at this time as burying "their own dead in the same place as a way of claiming or legitimizing ancestral ties with the occupants of the tumulus".<sup>(44)</sup> As we shall see later, this became important in terms of hero cult and to a certain extent the location of marginal sanctuaries.<sup>(45)</sup> However, it cannot be considered the norm for all extra-urban cemeteries and so another explanation has to be sought.

Dickey notes that with the appearance of these new formal

cemeteries came a rise in the wealth of grave goods until their temporary disappearance ca750 B.C..<sup>(46)</sup> Although the small numbers make it difficult to judge, it is possible that they were some sort of arena for aristocratic competition in death, setting themselves apart from the rest of the population. The most credible general explanation has to be that "the boundaries between the spaces reserved for the living and the dead were hardening".<sup>(47)</sup> By 700 B.C. formal areas for burial were normal rather than abnormal because the living and the dead were thought of as two distinct communities. The dead needed to be enclosed to avoid pollution and so the best way of doing this was to keep them all together. In fact this idea of allocation of space was also, widely speaking, a major change in the religious set up of a community. The gods were receiving houses in the form of temples with temenos walls and so set apart from the world of man.<sup>(48)</sup>

## Attitudes to Death.

### The Effect of Change.

Sourvinou-Inwood thinks that the rise of the polis affected the mentality of the intellectual elite of the eighth century B.C. and as a result, death was feared more after 700 B.C.. People were more aware of their own mortality and their discontinuity as an individual in death. It was an attitude that she believes was perpetuated by insecurity and fear of upheaval that expansions of economic horizons and unrest in the city brought.<sup>(49)</sup>

One of the most important changes was that of the individual in battle. Citizens were now not just fighting for themselves but their polis first and foremost. Death in battle was probably considered glorious even if it was in a very elementary hoplite form. An equality of expression in death would still have been unlikely if the differences between hoplites on the Chigi Vase and the possible reasons for the use of the broken spear in burial are considered.<sup>(50)</sup>

## Homer.

The nature of *The Iliad* makes death in battle an inevitable event in fact "*The Iliad* is a poem of death".<sup>(51)</sup> The status that the poem achieved in a very short space of time means that the attitudes to death were either very influential and/or a reflection of those attitudes of contemporary society. The two options offered to Achilles at *II.IX.410ff* probably represent best the heroic ideal in death as well as that of eighth century B.C. aristocrats. If he stays he will die but his "glory will be everlasting". If he goes home he will live to an old age but his glory will be lost. The Homeric hero feeds off glory, a glory that comes from the death of a foe (reflected) or one's own.

However, death in old age should not be viewed as dishonourable. The old should die peacefully but death in battle defiles this (*II.XXII.71-6* presents the violent death of Hector as being beautiful except for the fact that it will defile Priam as Hector will not be there to defend him). The point is that old age does not have the same glory and especially not in battle. We have seen that this was also the case in the world of the polis.<sup>(52)</sup> The Homeric hero viewed death as inevitable and only thought of as acceptable at an early age owing to the glory it brought on earth. Griffin perhaps puts this situation best when he says: "...as there is no posthumous reward for the brave man in the other world, so the consolation of glory is a chilly one".<sup>(53)</sup>

Such an explanation shows us why we see many of the heroes fearing conflict and death. For example, with regards to Achilles: "And the shivers took hold of Hector when he saw him, and he could no longer stand his ground" (*II.XXII.136-7*). Achilles' willingness to swap places with a lowly peasant in the land of the living (*Od.11.465ff*) emphasizes this point. Death provided "hateful darkness" but the Homeric style covers this to such an extent that the fall of Patroklos' helmet from his head proves more moving than the death of its owner (*II.XVI.793-800*).

As we noted earlier in this chapter,<sup>(54)</sup> an individual's importance could have been emphasized through the size of his funerary celebrations. This is also seen in Homer. The two most obvious examples are the honours paid to Hector at his funeral by the whole of Troy (*II.24.704ff*) and those paid to Patroklos such as the Myrmidons mourning and lamenting over his corpse (*II.18.355*).<sup>(55)</sup> Hadzisteliou-Price says that "there is no evidence that funeral games were performed for common mortals, even kingly ones".<sup>(56)</sup> Those for Patroklos in *The Iliad* are probably the most well-known but are of course fictitious in this case. However, Hesiod writing in the eighth century B.C. tells us that he went to the funeral games of Amphidamas of Chalcis (a mortal) and won the poetry competition (*Works and Days*, 657). It is conceivable that such events did have their origins in human deaths but it is also probable that the work of Homer was very influential.

Homer should not be considered as a creator or rediscovery of

funeral or other games as those to Pelops predate the work of Homer. Hiller suggests that "the Olympic games for Pelops may have acted as a catalyst for the spread of hero cults which is well documented from different parts of what had been Mycenaean Greece".<sup>(57)</sup> With regards to hero cult, epic oral tradition could be regarded as a stimulant as this practice begins before *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey* were written down.<sup>(58)</sup>

## Hero Cult.

### Mortals.

The heroes of epic were not the only people to receive heroic status. With the rise of the polis, as we have just seen, came recognition for valour in battle. The seventh century B.C. Heroon at the later West Gate of Eretria, has evidence that suggests those that were buried there received heroic status presumably for their military service to the state. This is deduced from the six adult burials (cremations in bronze cauldrons) and nine inhumations of children/adolescents. The deposits such as broken weapons (see before, p86) and the accumulation of ash, bones and pottery over the next century suggests veneration or worship in some form. The earliest of the adult burials has a central location with the other five adult graves in a semi-circle around it. Coldstream believes that the central burial was that of a prince as he was buried with four iron swords, five iron spearheads, a Phoenician double scarab and one spearhead of bronze, a Mycenaean heirloom that could have served as a sceptre.<sup>(59)</sup> Or, alternatively, it may have been buried with the occupant as a show of thanks for services rendered to the community. In other words, they were worthy receivers of attention because of their direct service to the community in which they had lived or "guardians of the city" as Coldstream puts it.

The Toumba at Lefkandi offers a similar link between the veneration of a hero and that of ancestor. The mound upon which it was placed would be a conspicuous monument and so the later rich offerings found at the site may have been appropriate dedications for the family or descendants of a warrior king. Probably built no later than 950 B.C., it cannot be considered a deliberate Homeric imitation on chronological grounds, although the excavators do say that "the similarities can hardly be accidental".<sup>(60)</sup> It is possible that it was a place of community cult at the time. However, it seems more likely that its real strength came later as a point to identify with for society after the original settlement had been abandoned.

Again we should mention the tumulus in the North Cemetery in Corinth. It was, as Young says, possibly considered "famous or sacred".<sup>(61)</sup> This was due to its size, the fact that burials started again there and the position of the graves with respect to the tumulus. Corinthians choose "to bury their own dead in the same place as a way of claiming or legitimizing ancestral ties with the occupants of the tumulus".<sup>(62)</sup> If local non-Bacchiad or indeed Bacchiads wanted to emphasize their heritage, the occupants of the tumulus (who could not refute the claims) offered a perfect opportunity.

Seaford says that "paying visits to the tombs of famous ancestors was not a pious duty, but a way of reminding contemporaries of the glory of one's own family".<sup>(63)</sup> Although family graves are difficult to identify at the North Cemetery (their existence is

not doubted by the original excavators) Hagg has found evidence of considerably later feasting at the graveside at the Geometric necropolis at Asine which suggests ancestor cult. Aristocratic families are thought to have been attempting to reaffirm ties with ancestors, a fact Hagg also links with the rise of use for the family grave in the area.<sup>(64)</sup> The reason aristocrats are mentioned so much with regards to ancestor cult is that they had the most to lose through the weakening of traditional ties that the rise of the state was bringing about. Fictive kinships associated aristocrats with the past which, in the latter part of the eighth century B.C., was the heroic one described by Homer. Association with such a past may have helped to perpetuate the previous social and economic inequalities.<sup>(65)</sup>

#### **Mycenaean Tombs and Hero Cult.**

We know that the placing of gifts in Mycenaean tombs started before Homer although many believe the rise of hero cult to be a later eighth century B.C. phenomenon.<sup>(66)</sup> I now follow Antonnacio who says that hero cult "finds formal expression in scheduled ritual action at specific locations...". The recipient would be identified by name - the Menelaion is the earliest clear example of this. Veneration of Mycenaean tombs was dissimilar firstly in that the name of the occupant was not known and so could not be used and secondly, in nearly all cases, deposits appear to have been limited to a single visit.<sup>(67)</sup>

The objects found at cult sites are often hard to differentiate

from those found at sanctuaries or ordinary burials. For instance, 15 out of the 50 Mycenaean tombs at Prosymna in the Argolid had later offerings such as drinking cups and finger rings; objects which are easily identifiable in Corinthian burials. The Agamemnoneion in Mycenae was not connected with any tomb so its dedications have to be associated with Homeric influence and political necessity.<sup>(68)</sup> Another valuable similarity has been observed by Coldstream between the burial rites of Patroklos (*Il.*108-261) and tomb 2 from Salamis on Cyprus.<sup>(69)</sup> There is the burial of large cattle bones, the slaughter of chariot horses, the 12 Trojan prisoners for Patroklos and an inhumed male with his hands bound in tomb 2.

Homer is only a partial reason for the influences behind hero and to a certain extent, tomb cult. Claims to land are offered as a likely explanation for a lot of tomb cult. Snodgrass believes that fictive kinships and consequent veneration of old tombs provided people settling in a new area with a link with the past.<sup>(70)</sup> Whitley agrees with the idea but rightly turns it around the other way.<sup>(71)</sup> For instance, if newcomers are trying to establish themselves in an area they are most probably going to settle in younger and smaller sites. Obviously, ancient tombs are less likely to occur in these sites, and so the veneration found may well have been by the more established residents in reaction to a wave of incomers.

As with sanctuaries <sup>(72)</sup>, politics was an important factor for both the establishment and location of a hero cult. For

instance, we have the removal of Adrastos as a hero at Sikyon because of Cleisthenes' differences with the Argives <sup>(73)</sup> or the Spartans acquiring the bones of Orestes to give them success in battle when the family mythically had no connection with the Lacedaimonians.<sup>(74)</sup> The dedications at some of the Mycenaean tombs at Prosymna have already been mentioned but the relevance of their location has not. They are very close to the Argive Heraion and the differences between the two in cult assemblage is very small. The sanctuary and the tombs are in a marginal location which suggests that Argos and its free peasantry were laying claim to the land - "if not directed at least encouraged by the state".<sup>(75)</sup> The cult of Agamemnon in Mycenae has been seen as a direct response to this action, the present occupants are the real heirs of Agamemnon, not potential Argive invaders.<sup>(76)</sup>

The re-use of these Mycenaean tombs was fairly widespread, almost a Pan-Hellenic phenomenon. However, some areas like Laconia and Crete do not provide us with such evidence even though they had the tombs. Although by the late eighth century B.C. Homer may have captured the imagination in these areas, people were still being buried in a similar manner to the Mycenaean tombs. As such, they may not have stood out as a place that could be readily associated with a heroic past.<sup>(77)</sup>

As with burials and sanctuaries: "tomb cults may well have cemented the community, they could also act as a proclamation of the superiority of those privileged beings".<sup>(78)</sup> Hero cults had the power to unite groups not united by kin and thus were an

asset to state formation. At the same time, aristocratic clans may have claimed to be descendants of the hero in question, such as the previously mentioned use of the North Cemetery, and so were united with others in worship but still a cut above the rest through ancestry. (Fictive kinship was of course not just restricted to ancestral cults as the work of Eumelos referred to in Chapter 1 shows, see before, p12-14). The same could be argued for the development of the sanctuary at Perachora (the Bacchiads) and the possible involvement of the Cypselids at Isthmia.

## Conclusion.

I believe that this chapter has provided evidence for changes in burial location, type and volume of grave goods (being concentrated) in the second half of the eighth century B.C.. We cannot be entirely sure why this was the case but we can be certain that similar dedications in sanctuaries rose at a time when they were falling sharply in graves.<sup>(79)</sup> Morgan says that with the institution of cult at Isthmia it is as if the uncertainties of individuals' personal futures were balanced by a perceived need to reinforce regional identity.<sup>(80)</sup> Religion also often becomes a focus for a community at a time of instability. In this case, it takes the form of sanctuary and hero cult dedications at a time of state formation.

## The Development of the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia in a Socio-Political Context.

### Greek Temple Origins.

Marinatos has said that "The history of Greek sanctuaries reflects the development of Greek society".<sup>(1)</sup> She goes on to say that the early rectangular hearth buildings of the "elite" at Dreros represent such a development. These would have been used for ritual dining and the housing of cult images in a religious context. The advent of the Temple was not a dramatic cultural change but, as will be seen later, a social one over a number of years.<sup>(2)</sup>

In the Greek Dark Age it appears as if the rulers' dwelling (like those at Dreros) were of cultic importance. Sacrifice could well have taken place in the open air in front of the house <sup>(3)</sup> allowing participation on a wide scale followed by restricted membership to the dining which would have taken place in the ruler's house.<sup>(4)</sup> The early Greek temples appear to have developed from here and Mazarakis Ainian (1988), 106-14, offers three possible routes :

1. The ruler's dwelling along with the rest of the settlement is abandoned before the erection of the temple. One example would be Nichoria in Messenia (Unit IV-1 erected in the tenth century and abandoned at the end of the ninth century B.C.), which through its altar, animal bones, benches and hearth implies

sacred and/or political banquets. Unit IV-5 then replaces the original building ca800 B.C..

2.The ruler's house with communal religious purposes is replaced by a temple usually in the immediate vicinity. Mazarakis Ainian cites the acropolis of Aigina with its tenth to eighth century B.C. buildings. The site excavators see them as the predecessor of the seventh century temple which was partly built over it. Other examples cited are the area of the sanctuary of Apollo Daphnephoros in Eretria and a low hill near Vari in Attica.

3.The ruler's house, serving communal cult purposes, is subsequently transformed into a temple. At Tiryns a LH IIIC building was erected inside the Great Megaron. The IIIC dwelling was that of a ruler. It was transformed into a temple c750 B.C. but there is no proof that the transition was smooth - it may have been abandoned before re-occupation.

The fact that domestic housing marked the point of departure is also highlighted in the votive evidence from Perachora and the architecture of its first Temple.<sup>(5)</sup> The first cult building of Aegina also has similarities with the Argive Heraion models and thus emphasizes the point. However, as Mazarakis Ainian's suggested routes make clear, there was not necessarily any continuity of cult. We have few sites showing ritual activity in the Bronze Age and even then sherds do not always mean cultic usage. Often, the sanctuaries were probably unrelated to any prior cult but the significance of the location or cult remains may well have been realized. For example, Mycenaean images of the gods were used in the Dark Age but no reproductions have been

found.<sup>(6)</sup>

The Heroon at Toumba Lefkandi is now considered as it also has cultic significance but is not dependant on Mycenaean remains.<sup>(7)</sup> Built no later than 950 B.C., it is located on a prominent hillock overlooking the sea to the west and the Lelantine Plain to the north and is in the centre of the richest of Lefkandi's five burial grounds. The building is 10m by 45m on a levelled rock platform and internally is divided into three inter-connecting sectors. The central chamber is the largest and a shaft in it reveals a two-compartment tomb beneath. The north one contained the skeletons of three to four horses, the south compartment a skeleton of a woman with rich burial goods and the cremated remains of the "hero of Lefkandi". Popham said in his preliminary report that the Heroon, "will revolutionize theories about the dating and development in Greece of temple architecture".<sup>(8)</sup> The deposits associated with the cremation (an iron sword, razor, spearhead and whetstone) as well as the horse burials, have led the excavators to believe that it is that of a warrior. They also consider the building to have been constructed after the burials, as evidence for a cremation has been found on the surface - an activity that would have set fire to the roofing.<sup>(9)</sup> This then leaves us with a monument dedicated to the hero rather than an Olympian god but also discredits Calligas' theory that the burial was that of a chief in his domicile residence.<sup>(10)</sup> So far Lefkandi has failed to provide a shrine before the mid eighth century B.C.. The prominence of the Heroon and construction after the burials means it may have

played the part of community symbol taken by sanctuaries elsewhere.<sup>(11)</sup> As such, it emphasizes the growing importance of a religious focus for the community in a physical form at an early stage of societal development.

### Isthmian Origins.

From our archaeological evidence we know that there was early activity at Isthmia and that it occurred well before the construction of the Temple of Poseidon. Morgan dates the start of ritual involvement to the Early Iron Age, ca1050 B.C..<sup>(12)</sup> Originally though, the site probably rose to prominence as a meeting point for the LH IIIC sites in the Corinthia (it being the most central of Perachora-Skaloma, Kato Alymri, Corinth and itself) and thus an obvious choice for a fixed shrine.<sup>(13)</sup> The idea of group identity is underlined by similarities in the ceramic assemblage and burial types.<sup>(14)</sup>

The pottery sherds are particularly important as they reveal what is the dominant aspect of activity here and its continuity from the mid eleventh down to the sixth century B.C.. The vessels found, combined with the remains of animal bones, suggest dining or feasting. This has to carry with it some form of political implication - even at its inception organization of some kind would have been required. This may in turn have meant restricted access to the feast - at some temples sacred dining appears to be the same as at the ruler's house before monumentalization. At the so-called Temple of Hera Limenia, Perachora, restricted ritual dining appears to have taken place <sup>(15)</sup>, the material evidence from which is comparable to that of Isthmia. As we

shall see later <sup>(16)</sup>, dining is an important aristocratic activity with traceable Homeric links with politics. For example, Odysseus tells Achilles when attempting to reunite him with Agamemnon, that he will get his equal portion in Agamemnon's tent and that "he has good things in abundance" (*II.IX.255-8*).<sup>(17)</sup> However, Isthmia seems to be more open in terms of numbers.

This is possibly because of its traditional countryside/group identity. There is ample evidence of early sacrifice at Isthmia (see p58-9), the combination of which hints at some form of agricultural or pastoral celebration. Morgan argues for a First Fruits Festival as the most likely event.<sup>(18)</sup> Burkert, when considering rural religion, makes a broad link between feasting and drinking (which we have identified at Isthmia) and animal sacrifice.<sup>(19)</sup>

It is interesting to note the role, or the absence, of the sacrificial bull here. It is a popular figurine in the votive deposits but sacrificial bone finds have been rare.<sup>(20)</sup> Perhaps the bull was popular locally. Or, alternatively, the bull acted as a symbol of the pastoral economy but if this was the case some would presumably have been sacrificed and there is no evidence of this. If the worship of Poseidon is seen as starting before the construction of his temple, the bull motif again takes on another meaning. Nestor's feast to Poseidon in *Odyssey* Bk.III could be a model for ritual sacrifice at Isthmia - the rural setting, the sea, the slaughter of bulls and ritual meal are all comparable features. Poseidon was associated with bulls, at

Isthmia they were perhaps unavailable or too expensive and so had to take on a symbolic form.<sup>(21)</sup>

The actual form that the sacrifice took is unclear although it would have taken place before the feast and had a consistent format "the ritual pattern was so strong and inflexible that a festival meal without the preliminary horror of death would have been no festival at all".<sup>(22)</sup> Burkert has stated that sacrifice in the community is a model of social divisions according to occupation and rank - position in society is reflected by one's role in the ceremony.<sup>(23)</sup> This was no doubt the case even in a festival which emphasized the role of the community - someone would have to perform the sacrifice. Indeed, the long altar at the sanctuary may have its origins here. The size could be related to different social groups requiring separate areas to sacrifice or, alternatively, it may have been used for a mass display of slaughter as was prevalent at Syracuse.<sup>(24)</sup> So the altar was probably used for showing off social position, which, in turn, would make it most popular with an elite. (See below, p119). Either way, this is all we can say that happened with any certainty with regards to ritual contemporary to our temple although later discussion will identify the participation of women through votives.<sup>(25)</sup>

### Monumentalization.

Isthmia is peculiar in that worship appears to have occurred here continuously from the Sub-Mycenaean period despite Dark Age and Homeric cult being for the most part spatially indeterminate - of no fixed abode.<sup>(26)</sup> Its continuous position within the festival calendar of local communities may well be one explanation as to why it became one of the first truly monumental temples in the seventh century B.C.. Coulton says that "Between about 1100 and 700 B.C. there was no truly monumental architecture in Greece".<sup>(27)</sup> However this changed in the eighth century B.C. with the adaptation of rulers' residences and the nature of the Samian Heraion.<sup>(28)</sup>

The first structure at the Samian Heraion dates to the first half of the eighth century B.C.. Within it was found the base for a cult statue, probably that of Hera. The immediate significance of the statue is the need to house it - the cult figure now required its own residence. Coldstream's analysis bears this out. In the ninth century B.C. there is only evidence of twelve sanctuaries through votive evidence but by 700 B.C., at least seventy places of worship are identifiable, nearly half of which

had temples.<sup>(29)</sup> This period also saw the setting apart of the sanctuary from the profane by the use of temenos walls.<sup>(30)</sup> Demarcation of space, along with the construction of a temple (even if it differed very slightly from regular dwellings at this stage) and the housing of the cult image within was a significant step towards monumentality as was the construction of sanctuary altars. As we have seen, the Long Altar at Isthmia is identified as contemporary to the Temple by the excavators but speaking of other areas, Rupp insists that "The time lag between temple and altar architecture is significant...".<sup>(31)</sup> Both ideas can be reconciled if we remember that Poseidon's temple was an early seventh century B.C. construction whereas the first buildings thought of as temples date to the previous century. The permanent altar is a departure but not a copy from the Mycenaean period.<sup>(32)</sup>

The widening distribution of the Homeric tales in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. as reported by such scholars as Finley (1978<sup>2</sup>) and Snodgrass (1974) may well have acted as a source of inspiration or equally a reflection of contemporary society put in a heroic context.<sup>(33)</sup> For instance, we read of "your holy ground and your smoking altars" (*Il.VII.48*; *XXIII.148*; *Od.VIII.363*). This suggests demarcation of space and permanence of altar although, as Sourvinou-Inwood points out, this is by no means a consistent feature throughout the texts.<sup>(34)</sup>

The growth in contact between Greece and the communities of the Near East and Egypt (through the media of trade and mercenary

service), probably provided the Greeks with the most important innovative impetus. The field of technology is where the Greeks appear to have borrowed the most. Coulton points to quarrying of ashlar masonry, measuring rods, the levering of blocks, the use of "dovetail" clamps and the finishing of vertical joints as the adoptions which had the greatest impact.<sup>(35)</sup> The Greek temples were not reproductions of other cultures' monumental works but an elaboration on it as their own decorative elements produced an original building which slowly evolved into the Doric form. This came to basic fruition in the sixth century B.C.. As we saw in chapter 2, Isthmia showed early elements of this Doric order.<sup>(36)</sup> In other words Isthmia was an early representative of the developing contacts of the Greeks with the outside world and the subsequent manipulation of it to form a unique style.

## Location.

De Polignac, in his hugely influential book *La Naissance de la Cite Grecque*, presents us with three areas of spatial and administrative identification for Greek Sanctuaries.<sup>(37)</sup> They are :-

1. Urban, meaning the "city", the centre of power and wealth.
2. Extra-Urban. These sanctuaries are presented as those outside the urban space and are marked by territorial influence as well as being regional cult centres in many cases. This often brings with it later unification under a national cult. In a later paper, de Polignac considers the pattern of incorporation/rejection of pre-existing religious organizations and the influence of traditions on later centralized development.<sup>(38)</sup> The State involvement is reflected in the way that new cult composition and development becomes a central issue.<sup>(39)</sup>
3. Inter-Urban, this category really only includes those of Pan-Hellenic status (Olympia, Delphi and Nemea) apart from Isthmia. The defining quality is neutrality although administration was performed by one city or an amphictiony. De Polignac also suggests that these sanctuaries were not as rich in a cultic

context and then uses this as another source of identification. The definitions set Isthmia apart from the other Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries and identify it as an extra-urban site due to Corinth's close involvement.<sup>(40)</sup>

The sanctuaries were also defined by their more immediate boundaries such as temenos walls and possessing an actual structure. Morris believes this physical expression of identity, that which belongs to men and that which belongs to the gods (the sanctuary), was a purely eighth century phenomenon.<sup>(41)</sup> Sourvinou-Inwood does not agree. She perceives it as a lengthy process that developed from the Dark Age through to the Archaic period. I agree with this because she points out that Morris' theory is flawed by ignoring the vital role played by private oikos altars such as those at Dreros.

Isthmia was situated in the countryside in "splendid isolation"<sup>(43)</sup> so in a sense its boundaries with the world of man were readily identifiable. This remoteness could have led to selective participation as is thought to have happened at the Hera Limenia "sanctuary", Perachora<sup>(44)</sup>, but this was not the case at Isthmia since it had strong community links and relatively easy access owing to the close proximity of the main road from Corinth leading out of the Peloponnese. As travellers on land would have to pass by it, it meant that the site was a good place for display as it would have been seen by many. Some votives, such as a pair of Attic boots (IM 1102; 1128), could be linked to the idea of travel and thus an early role for

travellers in Isthmia's rising popularity should not be discounted (see above, p69 where it is noted that they could be associated with marriage).

Isthmia really owed much of its rise to the Cypselids for whom the erection of the temple and control of the sanctuary were very important both in terms of location and symbolism. In fact Morgan says "It was an ideal location for a symbol of the overall achievements of the Corinthian state" and would thus also have acted as an expression "of civic identity within state boundaries".<sup>(45)</sup> This is something that the Cypselids would have been keen to promote - a sense of belonging to the state in which they were tyrants. If we refer back to de Polignac and our discussion on extra-urban sanctuaries, we can now begin to see how Isthmia fitted in here.<sup>(46)</sup> Worship, after the building of the temple by local and also Corinthian city residents, justifies Starr's observation that "...temples were vital signs of political unity".<sup>(47)</sup> It meant that the whole territory was linked to one administration through religion - "a monumental symbol of Corinthian control of the area around the Corinthia".<sup>(48)</sup> Monumentality in itself was of importance as it acted as an improvement upon and a counter-balance to the Bacchiad achievements on Temple Hill, Corinth.<sup>(49)</sup> The theme of counter-balance also comes across (see Fig.1,p181) with regards to its proximity to the other Corinthian sanctuaries such as Perachora on its remote peninsula to the north of Corinth. Isthmia's position on the edge of the Corinthia, presents it as a visual definition as to the extent of central control. Morgan

rightly identifies the use of sanctuary cults as "...largely a matter of defining boundaries and encouraging interaction between the centre and periphery by concentrating the attention of the entire population, however remote, upon the city centre".<sup>(50)</sup>

### Political.

Sanctuary location as we have seen and as is set out by de Polignac, was political.<sup>(51)</sup> They should not be considered in isolation only, as some, like Isthmia, were already part of a smaller scale tradition of community worship. The systems of the eighth/seventh centuries B.C., were not "new" creations but rather an integration with the existing cults. As we have seen earlier (p24-25) this is perhaps echoed in Corinthian mythological tradition concerning the arbitration settlement over Corinth where the Sun received Acrocorinth and Poseidon the Isthmus (Sch.Pin.01.13.74). Morgan presents this as, "...a mythological accommodation of the growing divisions between the old meeting place at Isthmia and new political centre at Corinth".<sup>(52)</sup> The sanctuary network can thus be viewed as a response to the socio-political needs of the emergent polis with the city at its centre. Isthmia probably continued its traditional dining/"First Fruits" activities, Perachora appears to have links with colonization and trade while the early temple on Temple Hill would have serviced the immediate needs of the city's population.

Investment in extra-urban sanctuaries was, in terms of both buildings and votives, successful in marking points of marginal and border stress. The cementing of city and countryside relations was of course vital for territorial unity. Seaford follows De Polignac <sup>(53)</sup> on the role played by the formalization of state boundaries which resulted in a new organization of space and community. The city was in these early stages of development, dependent to a certain extent on the countryside for food. The countryside was also starting to rely on the city for income and so they were both beginning to be "...united in a solidarity needed to defend its agricultural land and expressed in the cults that define its possession of this land".<sup>(54)</sup> Osborne also believes border sanctuaries to be important politically and cites the fact that they were often the focus for major religious festivals. It may well have been that another link between town and country was a procession out of the town to the sanctuary.<sup>(55)</sup> Unfortunately, we have no firm evidence for this having been the case at Isthmia although its later Pan-Hellenic status meant that it would have encouraged pilgrimage - the journey to the site was of religious significance.

The establishment of a shrine on the Solygeia ridge at the end of the eighth century, again shows the wealth of importance placed in the countryside rather than the city at this early stage. Morgan remarks "I find no reason to doubt that the political motivation for this was Corinthian".<sup>(56)</sup> She says this because of the apparently deliberate archaizing in its structure. It has also been pointed out that construction took place at or

around the time when Eumelos was actively "creating" Corinthian history of a disposition similar to that of the shrine.<sup>(57)</sup>

So, temples were often an expression of polis identity achieved through political motivation. This in turn made its cult particularly relevant as it represented the public figurehead of the state. It is probable that at Isthmia Periander attempted to make political gain from manipulating the cult ceremony but he appears to have been unsuccessful in his attempt to dispose of Theseus as the memory continued.<sup>(58)</sup> Theseus was associated with Athens and so Melikertes had to rise to prominence to underline Corinth's control of the Games.

Similarities can be found here with the Nemean Games. The role of Heracles is pushed back while Opheltes, according to Adshead, comes to the fore for political reasons related to Argive chauvinism. Opheltes died as a child (as did Melikertes) because he was bitten by a snake while his nurse collected water for the seven Argive heroes who were to fight against Thebes. The first Nemean was thus Opheltes' funeral games, celery making up the crown as it represented death. However, celery was also associated with Heracles and so the Argive alleged foundation was by no means certain.<sup>(59)</sup> Another legend presents the first Nemean Games as being celebrated in honour of Pronax, the Argive hero Adrastus' brother. Not only was this an "assertion of that uncompromising exclusiveness of Argos"<sup>(60)</sup> but it could also suggest that the Games were set up in defiance of Cleisthenes of Sicyon<sup>(61)</sup> - another action that was politically motivated. In

this case Cleisthenes had replaced cult practices associated with Adrastus by introducing the worship of his traditional enemy Melanippos of Thebes and Dionysos.<sup>(62)</sup> From all this it is possible to deduce that a lot of inter-city strife was related to rival claims of protection of a shared god. By introducing the notion that a local hero was responsible for the founding of games, one particular polis could claim exclusive rights to foundation.

Evjen believes that the real and effective founders of such games were the shadowy tyrant figures of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C..<sup>(63)</sup> As we have already seen from Adshead though, Corinthian tyrants were not effective in this field and the festival at Isthmia itself was probably too religious to be "a viable vehicle of secular politics"<sup>(64)</sup> if we remember its traditional agrarian origins. Gebhard proposes that the Bacchiads were responsible for the start of the systemization of ritual practices as the nature of the change does indicate the necessity of a hierarchical privileged authority.<sup>(65)</sup>

## Aristocrats.

Aristocrats, outside of the governing elite, also played a vital role in the development of sanctuaries. The key to their involvement appears to be their obsession with personal status and thus the creation of a competitive society.<sup>(66)</sup> This, for the most part, took place between and with the help of those of similar social standing in the form of gift exchange and guest friendship. Traders were looked down upon in Homer (*Od.*VIII.159-64) but the acceptance of gifts was perfectly proper then and later if we read Solon correctly when he says, "Happy is he...who has a [guest] friend in foreign lands" (Fg.23). Or in *The Odyssey*:

"But come now, stay with me, eager though you are for your journey, so that you may first bathe and take your ease, well rested and happy in your heart, then go back to your ship with a present, something prized, altogether fine, which will be your keep sake from me, what loving guests and hosts bestow on each other."

(Lines 309-13)

Although the gifts are no doubt welcome, the expectation is of a return gift of similar or greater value. This obligation

appears to be enrooted in pre-capitalist or debt-economy societies. The observations of Mauss confirm this through his study of North American Indians and their custom which he calls "potlatch". Here, one is obliged to give and receive competitively with the return gift being of greater value. For the most part, this took on no practical purpose. Mauss says "...They even go as far as the purely sumptuary destruction of wealth that has been accumulated in order to outdo the rival chief".<sup>(67)</sup> This has some parallels with Isthmia and the Corinthia in that dedications by their very nature are of no practical use to their giver in both sanctuaries and graves and are thus effectively out of circulation. On a hierarchical level, Morris (1986a,p4f) believes that there could have been relationships within clans through the use of the gift as a protection payment. It may, however, have led to people living hand-to-mouth getting into debt bondage through the inevitable failure of crops. This would have increased the social division between themselves and the "aristocrats". An example of this may have been pre-Solonian Athens where people secured loans or gifts on the security of the person (*Ath.Pol.*6.1).

Seaford believes that votives were unlike human gifts as they represented "a depersonalization and communalization of the gift".<sup>(68)</sup> This is true in that it is now in a public rather than private arena, but a return on these often huge investments was expected and so could still be considered personal, especially if the dedicator has inscribed his name on the dedication. By projecting Greek religion as "impersonal", Seaford has to be

wrong. Dedications would not have taken place unless there was a perceived reward in this life or in the next. Reciprocity operates on two levels then, firstly preserving the glory of the dedicator amongst his peers and secondly, for the gods to present the individual with another reason to set up a votive.

This brings into play the importance of Homeric epics as a role model for aristocratic circles from the late eighth to sixth centuries B.C.. The heroes represented the ideal, what a man could aspire to, and thus formed the active base for aristocratic social behaviour. Although, *xenia* (guest friendship) was a ritual aspect of polis life (Herman 1987), its presentation in Homer does not fit in well with the real world of the emergent city states and their communal priorities. At *Il.VI.215ff* the meeting of Diomedes and Glaukos highlights this as they choose not to fight each other even though they are on opposing sides because of their fathers' guest friendship. The individuals' needs were of more direct relevance than the state's but, even so, it did not interfere with their overall duties to their respective armies. It can be argued that in an attempt to differentiate themselves from the majority, aristocrats adopted a separate code of manners which had Homeric heroic undertones. Guest friendship with individuals of similar standing elsewhere might help to solidify this position.<sup>(69)</sup> This might come to fruition in the arena of display, for instance a guest friend may be able to secure a position of dominance for your dedication at a Pan-Hellenic shrine such as Isthmia, thus enhancing your social position.

The society described by Homer was a competitive one which, if not expressed in prowess in war, found success in athletic competition a worthy second. The aristocrats of our period appear to have also followed this latter tradition as the advent of a form of hoplite warfare begins to stifle individual acts of heroism in battle.<sup>(70)</sup> The focus for competition became sanctuaries and especially those such as Isthmia which went on to give games and hold Pan-Hellenic status. The main reasons for this was that the rise of the city meant rural or marginal sanctuaries were a convenient place where regional pre-eminence of one group or another could be displayed in front of all.<sup>(71)</sup>

The aristocrats wanted to associate themselves with tradition and their place in that tradition (preferably as a ruling elite). Isthmia was a well established traditional place of worship with an emphasis on feasting which is also seen in Homer.<sup>(72)</sup> Feasting (and later the symposium) was also a central feature of aristocratic life. So it is possible that they took a lead role in a First Fruits festival.<sup>(73)</sup> According to tradition, some form of aristocracy or monarchy held power before the eighth century B.C.. With a rise in basic political awareness, this stranglehold was being challenged often in the popular form of an aristocratic tyrant. Homer's mythical world of heroic honour was being confronted with Hesiod's eighth century B.C. world of justice. For example, at *Works and Days* 262ff, the basileus acts as an arbitrator in disputes between residents - a judge. Associations with old sanctuaries like Isthmia may have been emphasized by aristocrats because of its age and like Homer add

authenticity to their rule. Morris proposes the idea that the dedicating of Homer to the written word was the work of aristocrats. They sought to use Homer as a justification for their rule and thus act as a powerful weapon against the rise of the polis.<sup>(74)</sup> He believes the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* to have been written from an aristocratic viewpoint which co-incided with a time when religious approval of rule would have been advantageous.

## Dedications.

The more prestigious the gift to the gods was, the higher the standing of the dedicator was compared to his rival aristocrats. As we have seen <sup>(75)</sup>, this was rare before the eighth century as the type of dedications offered did not have the same skills or materials available to create them. The creation of monumental tombs or re-use of Mycenaean ones, would have been much easier and probably the aristocrats best option for dedication before the temples were erected.

The setting up of tripods in important sanctuaries became the most obvious sign of change in display and was performed by the aristocrats. We know they had early origins from Cypriot rod tripods of the twelfth century B.C. and tenth century moulds from Lefkandi. As Coldstream suggests, the bronze tripods of the eighth century on probably had their origins in clay models from the Dark Age.<sup>(76)</sup> At Olympia too tripods date back to the tenth century B.C.. However, there is no guarantee that this early find was a dedication to a hero, as Olympia was to become the site of the most prestigious of the Greek athletic games.<sup>(77)</sup> Here and at other early games (the Olympics began in the eighth century, although their origins can be pushed further back)<sup>(78)</sup> tripods were offered as prizes to the victors of various events.

Many of these winners would have been of noble birth if we consider the economics of the situation and their competitive outlook which was formed or stimulated by Homer. Indeed, the tripods themselves acted as prizes most significantly at the funeral games given in honour of Patroklos. The prize was a valuable gift being placed in the hands of great individuals. The eighth century aristocrats saw themselves as successors of these individuals. Tripods were also used within the context of gift exchange in Homer, for instance Agamemnon's offer to Achilles if he rejoins the Greek forces (*Il.IX.264*). As we have seen earlier <sup>(79)</sup>, this formed the basis of aristocratic social interaction and spilled over into the sanctuaries through the dedication of these prizes to the gods in thanks for their victory.

However, there are too many tripods for this to be the only reason for dedication. Ritualized social competition in prestige objects is the answer. As de Polignac observes the rise in tripod dedications after 800 B.C. "...does not mean that the games were becoming more common but rather that the sanctuaries were becoming the theatres for a more and more ostentatious rivalry in expressions of power and authority which the tripod symbolized".<sup>(80)</sup> These power struggles expressed here appear to be within the aristocracy rather than for control of cities. For Isthmia, a Pan-Hellenic site, rivalry would have not been just within the Corinthian aristocracy as others of similar standing from other cities would have dedicated here and, hence, the Long Altar.

For Morgan the most striking innovation amongst the early votives were the monumental tripods (they were of no practical use).<sup>(81)</sup> Ritual competition stimulated art as aristocrats had to spend more to uphold their social standing. It would have increased regional stylistic differences and individuality as well as the value of the object as it had been taken out of circulation. Isthmia appears to be the main destination within the Corinthia for these objects<sup>(82)</sup> that emphasize status, proof of class and legitimacy.<sup>(83)</sup>

Dedication of arms and armour came from the wealthier classes but was not necessarily only of personal value. Snodgrass points out that "the rise in [arms and armour] dedications roughly coincided with a falling off in metallic and other grave goods in Greek burials".<sup>(84)</sup> This shift took place at roughly the turn of the eighth/seventh centuries B.C. but in terms of numbers of dedications, did not reach a peak until 550-470 B.C.. There were two factors that appear to have been instrumental in the initiation of change at this time - Homeric influence and the rise of hoplite warfare.

In Homer the dedication of armour to a god is normally that of an opponent in thanks for victory. Hector dedicates the armour of an opponent to Apollo, Odysseus, the cap, bow and spear of Dolon to Athena (*II.VII.81; X.458-64; 570ff*). Hoplite warfare increased the numbers of people required for battle and, owing to the tactics employed, the numbers of deaths.<sup>(85)</sup> It also meant that the hoplites began fighting for a territory or polis which

carries with it community rather than individual identity. The majority of the earlier conflicts would have been over marginal or border areas. Extra-mural sanctuaries were thus an ideal symbol of control both by their very existence and the dedication of arms won in battle locally. Isthmia was a perfect location because of this and the wider than normal audience it could expect. It was firstly situated next to a busy road (although the rock terracing may not have allowed outside display) and secondly, it was a Pan-Hellenic sanctuary. Jackson says that "Offerings would have been made at Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries, both to please the gods and to impress other Greeks".<sup>(86)</sup>

Snodgrass suggests that the wealth of dedications were so great that some could be described as "war museums".<sup>(87)</sup> Jackson reports that over 200 helmets and innumerable shields have been found at Isthmia with the original number being much larger than this.<sup>(88)</sup> The sheer numbers may also have been useful to the city by injecting pride in pre-battle ceremonies and inspiring young hoplites to win new spoils for dedication. There was still scope for the individual within the state orientated act though. Armour was expensive and so the hoplite was giving a valuable gift in return for acknowledgement of glory and valour in battle and protection in future ones. It should also be noted here that men past fighting age may have dedicated their own armour to the collection won in battle.

## The Role of Priests.

The subheading here is somewhat misleading in that it gives the impression that there was a priestly profession when in fact this does not appear to have been the case. Someone would have had to have performed the functions that we would associate with a priest and thus I give it this title. If we refer back to the first section of this chapter, the role of the ruler or chief was deemed to be of singular importance concerning the rise of the monumental temple.<sup>(89)</sup> Dougherty suggests that ritual events were similarly more likely to be staged by those with power and so the ruling class may well have interpreted them differently to the politically and economically disempowered.<sup>(90)</sup>

This was not the case with regards to Mycenaean cults though. The rulers or kings of this era were not seen as deity or chief priest but would have controlled the ceremonies nonetheless. Thomas sees the wanax, an official of localized importance in the palace system, as performing some of these ceremonies. The dark age Basileus or leader unlike the Mycenaean kings adopted these duties.<sup>(91)</sup> This factor is reflected in the Homeric hero/basileus acting as community priests/sacrificers. For example, Nestor at Pylos and Agamemnon at Aulis and Troy. His material wealth allows him to offer the animal sacrifice and so also underlines his political authority.<sup>(92)</sup>

When these basileis began to lose their power their religious office, if they ever had one, remained. This was seen in later Archaic Athens where "...one might say that he administers all the traditional sacrifices" (*Ath.Pol.57*) - a religious coordinator rather than a priest. First Fruits festivals, as may have been operative at Isthmia, would not have required strenuous organization or permanent management with day-to-day running being looked after by precinct governors. For example, the setting up of votives and the organization of animal sacrifices were tasks that may have been performed by them occasionally.<sup>(93)</sup>

The professional priests that we do hear of are normally outside of society (like the Pythia) whereas by the time of the Archaic period, much of the Greek nobility were involved in the performance of civic religious rituals. Donlan says that "the assumption of civic and religious institutions by the aristocratic families gave them the means to increase their holdings".<sup>(94)</sup> Gift exchange, to be effective, required circulation but the large-scale depositing of expensive items at sanctuaries prevented this. The controller of the sanctuary would thus have been in the enviable position of regulating deposits and so be able to control who gave votives there. The giving of ritual deposits was an integral part of aristocratic life. If this was controlled by a specific noble clan (via a priesthood) it would give them civic prominence as implied by Donlan above. We have noted that it was probably the Bacchiads who regularized ritual through their political control but their overthrow left a gap in authority.<sup>(95)</sup>

The Cypselids attempted to bridge this with the construction of the Temple of Poseidon but the shrine was of ancient religious origin so any fundamental change in its set-up would have been unwelcome.<sup>(96)</sup> Starr suggests that when the polis started erecting temples the basileus was in too weak a position to execute the common will or to enforce decisions of the community. As a result of this the "temples developed their own independent administrators and treasurers".<sup>(97)</sup> The noble families could provide the free time required for the part-time administrative and priestly duties which led to effective control of various sanctuaries.<sup>(98)</sup> A long tradition is attested by the hereditary nature of some priesthoods: for example, the Eteoboutadai provided the priest for Erechtheus at Athens. The seventh century B.C. was, according to Starr, marked by competition for public honour and a desire for riches.<sup>(99)</sup> I feel the struggle for prominence in sanctuaries and the will to inherit the Homeric mantle of community priest is a fair reflection of this.

## Cult.

The above section has given us an idea of who performed the rites at Isthmia and other sanctuaries but not what these rites were or their significance. Rites and ritual were of vital importance as the hopes and anxieties of the community were expressed through this medium. Connor believes that these needs were clarified through political articulation and adaptation of ceremony <sup>(100)</sup> but this is only a partial explanation. For instance, Adshead says that although Periander was unable to manipulate the Melikertes myth he was able to give the cult ceremony a national Aletid quality.<sup>(101)</sup> The reality at Isthmia was that the retention of the old cult myths of an agrarian nature, putting aside our earlier political interpretation, prevented an explosive development of the artificially imposed Poseidon worship. Instead, Isthmia presents itself as having links with the fertility of the earth and the Underworld which Adshead identifies with proto-Dionysiac elements in the worship of Melikertes. Ino, the mother of Melikertes, is identified as a vegetation spirit and is often depicted as the nurse of Dionysos. Melikertes was also a central figure in tree culture - the spirit of the pine tree.<sup>(102)</sup>

If we again toy with the idea that the legendary figure of Theseus did indeed perform a foundation myth function at Isthmia, there is a possibility that some form of mystic rite existed through the sacrificing of a bull to him late at night

(Plu.*Thes.*25). Later, this could have been some form of initiation into the festival but, if it was, the archaeology suggests that it was not bulls that were sacrificed but lambs and goats. It is also possible that these nocturnal rites were associated with the lamentations of Leukothea (formerly Ino) for her son Palaimon/Melikertes.<sup>(103)</sup>

In the light of this and the Dionysiac connection one should not exclude the participation of women in the festival rites at Isthmia. This aspect cannot be proven archaeologically but female dedications are probable. Deposits of jewellery from the LPG onwards have been uncovered and although they are relatively modest, they can be considered as dedications.<sup>(104)</sup> The jewellery shows that women were both allowed to dedicate and that they saw Isthmia as an appropriate point of reception. Morgan thinks these and other items (such as model boots and a series of bulls) represent important landmarks in the womens' lives, for example marriages and births, and go towards underlining community value.<sup>(105)</sup> However, these are observations that relate to before the site developments of the eighth century B.C.. The likelihood is that the women would have conformed to the acknowledged norm of non-participation in dining. The activities of women would have been restricted to part of the main festival or distinctive female parts meaning that the sanctuary operated on different levels from very early on.<sup>(106)</sup>

## The Isthmian and Pan-Hellenic Games.

It should be noticed that the religious and ceremonial part of the festival far outweighed the amount of time devoted to the athletics. This appears to relate back to origins in funeral games. Here, funerary rites would be observed before the celebration of the hero's games. Those of Amphidamas appear to be an early allusion to a real example. (Hesiod claims to have won the poetry competition at his funeral games, *Works and Days*, 654-9). The events were often "... quickly arranged and conducted without special equipment or facilities and seemed quite natural to the Achaeans".<sup>(107)</sup> With the regularization of religious space came the regularization of the hitherto open-ended funeral games. At Isthmia that meant the celebration of Melikertes not just at the time of his alleged death but biennially in the same location. Three out of the four Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries had this as a focus but they were eighth century at the earliest so cannot be considered as realistically formative influences.

Homer provides us with excellent portrayals of what happened at these games and the feeling of intense rivalry that they invoked. The events competed in at Isthmia were very similar to those we find for the Olympic games. They were :- the two horse chariot race, boxing, wrestling, the foot race, armed combat (not in the Olympics), weight throwing, archery (not in the Olympics) and spear throwing. It should be noted that the key contestants in

*The Iliad* were all of aristocratic stock. The inclusion of merchants does not seem to have been a possibility although Odysseus competes at games in Phaeacia pretending to be a merchant (*Od.*VIII.120ff). Scope for individual excellence in battle was becoming gradually limited. This meant competitive athletics acted as an adequate arena for the *agon* or contest as it still had some elements of danger interlaced with skill. For example, the pankration could result in death or permanent damage and the chariot race involved 180 degree turns. The latter was the prestige event as the skill element needed the financial one (ownership of the horses) to make competition possible. It is therefore unsurprising to find dedications of horse figurines (in the hope of or in thanks for success) at Isthmia - the perfect offering by the "pious aristocrat" as Langdon calls it.<sup>(108)</sup> The chariot race and the horse figurines again helped to distinguish the noble from the commoner.

The games were important symbolically to the state as well as to the individual victors. At Isthmia the games were fully established in 582 B.C. when the territory of the Corinthia was more or less formalized. The community had risen above the individual desires of an aristocrat, one would not be able to avoid a guest friend in battle because the tie with the polis was now stronger.<sup>(109)</sup> It was not one way traffic though, as the rewards for victory were great. Harris says the winner could expect to be, "...substantially and materially rewarded by his city for the glory which his victory had brought".<sup>(110)</sup> Glory was thus important for city but also the individual. For instance,

Peisistratus of Athens won the Olympic chariot race in 536 and 532 B.C. which, when grasping the tyranny, would be seen as a glowing personal and Athenian achievement and one he could perhaps repeat when running the polis. Greek society was obsessed by fame and, by achieving victory in a Pan-Hellenic event, the winner could come close to the immortality of the Homeric heroes that he, as an aristocrat, was attempting to emulate.

"For if a man expands himself in the  
Struggle and wins heroic stature,  
If the Gods then grant him glory and honour,  
He is divine and to him belongs the ultimate in ecstasy."

(Pindar *I.6.10-3*)

Adshad proposes that the Pan-Hellenic games rose to prominence because of the collapse of the Dark Age *oikos* and the stationary hierarchical world.<sup>(111)</sup> They did indeed rise at a time when the Dark Age world was giving way to the new one of the polis but if anything it formed a link with the past through the aristocratic emphasis in competitive athletics and the forming and reviving of guest friendships.<sup>(112)</sup> This was important outside of the city state as it helped to provide a true feeling of cultural unity. The advent of Poseidon as the key religious figure in the Isthmian games highlighted this,<sup>(113)</sup> as it represented a move away from localized cult to that of the universal Homeric pantheon. Each polis' religious system now had a link with the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries.<sup>(114)</sup>

Coldstream believes that "complete political autonomy encourages free invention and leads in many cases to culture of style".<sup>(115)</sup> This was realized in the atmosphere of the intense rivalry found in the Pan-Hellenic sanctuaries. Following Coldstream again, he thinks the history of Greek bronze working was linked to dedicatory competition at sanctuaries.<sup>(116)</sup> I borrow finally from Harris who says "It is clear from Homer that at the time athletics were a normal diversion for the warrior class. Competition in games is a natural sequel to a feast".<sup>(117)</sup> This is also the situation at Isthmia except initially the gap between feast and games was a question of years rather than hours.

## Conclusion.

In this chapter I have charted the early beginnings of Isthmia as a communal shrine and its subsequent use by Corinth and the rest of Greece as an important point of interaction. It has been noticed that its prominent roadside and marginal location were probably responsible for this as it provided widespread access as well as a focus (on Corinth) for the inhabitants of this border area. Archaeological and literary evidence has pointed to its use for competitive display between rival aristocrats - the discovery of tripods and the competitive nature of gift exchange expressed in Homer.

In fact the whole sanctuary has a strong aristocratic feel to it:- establishment by the Cypselids, probable aristocratic priestly control with its implications for manipulation of guest friendship and indeed sanctuary usage and the Isthmian Games themselves. The sanctuary then appears to owe much of its rise to prominence to the involvement of the surrounding residents, the political machinery that encouraged them and other Greeks to participate as well as the aristocrats aforementioned set agenda.

## Chapter 5

# Olympia, Delphi, Athens and Argos - a comparative chapter.

In the four previous chapters the main source of material was the Corinthia. In this section I intend to set those findings in a "Greek" context. To do this I will draw on evidence from four sites. Both Olympia and Delphi achieved Pan-Hellenic status (as did Isthmia) through their festivals and, in the case of Delphi, this owed a lot to the success of the oracle. Festivals at Athens such as the Eleusinian Mysteries and the Great Panathenaia and those celebrated at the Argive Heraion offer a different insight due to their polis orientated control. The themes of politics, religion, location and development will also feature strongly in the course of the chapter as they are seen as common binding features of all.<sup>(1)</sup>

By studying the occurrence of these themes at alternative sites, I intend to show that the developments that took place at Isthmia were not unique. For example, political requirements will be seen as a major impetus behind the construction of the Argive Heraion (see below, p176f) just as they were for Isthmia. What will also become clear is that the very structure of the polis will make each sanctuary different even if there are structural and objective similarities.

## OLYMPIA.

### Origins.

Morgan says that "A sanctuary may well have been the preferred location for meetings between local chiefs...".<sup>(2)</sup> This may have occurred as early as the tenth century B.C. (from archaeological evidence) and their origin appears to be from the western Peloponnese.<sup>(3)</sup> Morgan presents them as petty chiefs from the west because early pottery was limited owing to the lack of local inhabitants. It is also a poor commodity for conspicuous consumption compared to indicators of wealth and status such as metal. The local inhabitants to whom I refer were the Eleans, but this makes an early control of the Olympics by them very unlikely. For example, there is no archaeological evidence of any permanent settlement in the Elis region before the late eighth century B.C. but the traditional foundation date is 776 B.C.. If we take it as read that Olympia was a place of cultic significance before it took on the role of a meeting point, then it was probably an early place of pilgrimage for those with a more expendable income.<sup>(4)</sup>

The date of 776 B.C. was probably selected by chance or was the year of the first recorded victor depending on whose arguments one cares to follow.<sup>(5)</sup> What is common to each is the fact that the games are believed to have an earlier origin. No exact date

can be offered but Mallowitz points out that no Mycenaean sherds have been found amongst Greek ones. He goes on to prove the existence of a Mycenaean Pelopion to be very unlikely, and therefore that of any evidence earlier than the Geometric.<sup>(6)</sup>

Returning to the identity of early users of the sanctuary, Arkadians are another possibility.<sup>(7)</sup> There are connections in the styles of small bronze items, jewellery and figurines but the absence of tripods is cause for concern. We shall later see that they were a very important identifying group of dedications (see below p148). It is also noted that there was a high personal involvement in Arkadian cult locations and a high proportion of pottery of Argive and Lakonian origin found in the region. Links with Olympia do not fit geographically and would also mean an additional local circumstance. This does not rule Arkadians out as users or, indeed, supplying craftsmen, but it does make them an unlikely controlling force.

However, miscasts of Argive figurines at Olympia date back to the ninth century B.C. and tripods to the early eighth century B.C.. Both craftsmen and elite dedicators could easily have travelled to Olympia. Apart from the aspect of competitive display, the metal resources of Arkadia and Messenia may have played a part in the choice of Olympia as a point of display. Both these areas had good metal resources which possibly encouraged early Argive contact.<sup>(8)</sup> If we stay with Morgan's suggestion that Olympia was a neutral meeting point for inter-regional relations of the Western Peloponnese <sup>(9)</sup>, Olympia can be seen as an extension of

early contacts with Arkadia. Again this means that an area cannot be credited with what we might call control. Its importance to Argos can be seen though in Pheidon's seizure of the games in the eighth Olympiad (748 B.C.). This date is too early for Pheidon but the seizure itself should not be doubted.<sup>(10)</sup> The event itself hints at the rising role of Olympia as a politically powerful symbol.

One aspect that should not be ignored is why Olympia gained cultic significance. Although impossible to prove, it was probably a meeting point but Swaddling (1980), 12, has an alternative suggestion. She wants to present the early Olympiads as agricultural or thanksgiving festivals. Comparative evidence can be drawn upon to justify her theory. For example, Simon (1983) 105-8, points out that many Attic festivals have their roots in agricultural activity. The rural aspects of Hera and Zeus might also be used as supporting evidence.

Archaeological material from Nichoria in Messenia provides us with valuable information which appears to have some bearing on changes at Olympia in the late eighth century B.C..<sup>(11)</sup> Morgan points out that the rising threat that Sparta posed to Arkadia may well have been a catalyst for social cohesion and the rise in investment in sanctuaries and symbols of community identity. This we have already noted through Arkadian styles at Olympia and the large proportion of personal dedications at local shrines. Lakonian action against Messenia appears to have had a similar effect through evidence from Unit IV in Nichoria. Archaeological

reports suggest that this was the residence of the chief/leader because of its size and the fact that it had relatively large storage facilities. The chief presumably held his position of authority by virtue of his skills in battle and was thus, in turn, expected to defend the livelihood of his people.<sup>(12)</sup>

This may well have been the case for a considerable period of time. We know the tenth century structure was enlarged in the ninth century and when this was destroyed, the larger Unit IV-5 was erected. When Sparta reduced the native population to the status of helots the system that appears to have rested on petty chiefdoms had to come to an end. Indeed this we witness at Nichoria with the destruction of Unit IV-5 (although it is not certain that this was by fire) and an enormous settlement change at the end of the eighth century B.C.. Small shrines moved from having local to Spartan connections and, most importantly, the dedicatory habits of those visiting Olympia changed. Ceramic remains start to have a wider origin base (including that of Sparta) and the volume of tripod dedications dropped soon after the change in circumstances in Messenia. The fall of the petty chiefdoms meant that Olympia was no longer being used as a place of competitive display by them, since the basis of their power no longer existed.

## Myth.

"In Antiquity, myth counted as a valid means of proof".<sup>(13)</sup> As such, myth was used to explain the origins of the Olympic Games. Zeus was the most important and the strongest of the gods and so it is likely that he would have founded the most ancient and revered of the Pan-Hellenic games. This can be seen in Pausanias where Zeus establishes contests amongst the gods with Apollo beating Hermes in the foot race and Ares at wrestling (V.7.10). Mallowitz deduces that Zeus is the oldest god on the site from PG terracottas dedicated to him.<sup>(14)</sup> It should also be noted that Hera is also present at Olympia from an early date although she does not have the same associations with the games as Zeus does.

The role of Zeus is therefore somewhat different to that of Poseidon at Isthmia as Zeus can be seen as the founder as well as the patron deity. Even though this is the case, there appears to be a need for heroic association with origins. Pelops is often portrayed as the hero-god in the games rather than an actual founder <sup>(15)</sup> and Mallowitz goes on to say that it is unnecessary to see "theories deriving the Olympic games from the myth of Pelops".<sup>(16)</sup> Later on in his paper Mallowitz projects the adoption of Pelops as a political antagonist to Herakles - representing a rivalry between Elis and Pisa for dominance at Olympia.<sup>(17)</sup> If there was such a rivalry it could not have been until after the late eighth century B.C. when Elis was becoming more established. However, as we have seen, the use of a hero as a representative of a community was not an uncommon one (see

above on Melikertes and Theseus, p29-30).

### Archaeological Remains<sup>(18)</sup>.

My concern in this section is not with temple structure and remains although it should be noted that the Temple of Hera, which was constructed c600 B.C., had columns of wood which were gradually replaced with stone.<sup>(19)</sup> This of course does not compare favourably with the high level of investment structurally which has been witnessed at Isthmia. However, Isthmia was under direct state control and so would have received state funding. Olympia had no such singular base.

What I am interested in here is dedicatory items and what they tell us about the sanctuary's early users. The most obvious type of dedication found was the tripod. It is of great significance that these were prizes in Homeric games such as those for Patroklos (*Il.*XXIII.264) and also at *Il.*XI.699, where a tripod is mentioned as first prize in a four horse chariot race. According to Finley (1978<sup>2</sup>) and Morris (1986b), *The Iliad* became recognised as setting out an "aristocratic" code of conduct. The use of such objects as competition in themselves, fits in well with the Homeric idea of rivalry. This can be seen at locations which held games and were important meet points for visitors of similar social standing.

An observation made by Cartledge should be noted here as it has significance for other sanctuary and cult sites. The point made

is that religious apparatus was used to reinforce rule in this competitive manner.<sup>(20)</sup> Such behaviour may well have occurred at Isthmia and other Pan-Hellenic sites such as Delphi from comparable archaeological material. Neither, however, are as rich as Olympia in this context - a fact which is probably linked to its regional role. As already witnessed, decline in tripods sets is related to the break up of the petty chiefdoms of the Western Peloponnese. However, this was not the only identifying object type for aristocratic participation. For instance, early seventh century B.C. Elean plain jugs and drinking vessels make clear that drinking and feasting activities occurred but this in itself was not an exclusively aristocratic pastime.

Thousands of Geometric votives were found at Olympia with the majority of the small bronzes being horses.<sup>(21)</sup> Some depicting two horse chariots have also been discovered. The chariot races were the most prestigious events and due to the cost of keeping horses of quality, entry would have been restricted to aristocrats who could afford them. Such personal dedications may have been from aristocrats giving thanks for a victory or those desiring assistance from the gods in a forthcoming race.

The rise in dedication of armour at Olympia may also represent another preoccupation of the elite. Snodgrass has identified the late eighth century B.C. as a period of change in funerary dedication. Previously, he believes, arms were buried with the individual but now they switch to the public arena of the sanctuary; Olympia is used as an example.<sup>(22)</sup> In fact there is a

lot of evidence for armour with finds being located in wells and over the older stadium. This was due to the volume of dedications being so great that the armour had to be buried after a number of years. They had obvious prestige value in the early years of these types of dedications. From this it is suggested by Jackson that a guest friend in the locality might be used to get one's spoils a favourable display position, for example, an Elean for Olympia or a Corinthian for Isthmia although there were nowhere near as many dedications at Isthmia.<sup>(23)</sup> This may have been because Olympia was used by petty chiefs, at first, wishing to show off their prowess in battle. The older site of Isthmia, however, appears to be linked with the local community and agriculture right from the start.<sup>(24)</sup>

## The Games.

It is generally agreed from evidence already cited that the Olympic Games were predominantly local in character until the late eighth century which witnessed the rise of Sparta and later the Western colonies.<sup>(25)</sup> In fact it was not until 720 B.C. that we find a non-Peloponnesian winner - Olympia should thus not be considered Pan-Hellenic from its inception. It is possible that the traditional foundation date of 776 B.C. was merely the date of the first recorded games. Lee says that boxers and charioteers are known from Minoan art and Linear B. Some form of activity could have taken place before the aforesaid date then.<sup>(26)</sup> Lee also takes this to mean that it was possible that events other than the stade (a 200m sprint) took place from an earlier date than is normally presumed. There are problems with this interpretation though. As Lee observes <sup>(27)</sup>, if the only event was the stade for the first 50 years the contest might have a religious purpose - possibly running in honour of Zeus (also see below on running at the Panathenaia, p164). Cartledge says that because there was only the stade at the start it "reminds us that this was primarily a religious occasion".<sup>(28)</sup> As such, there would be no reason to have any other events as they were not associated with the worship of Zeus. Later on this changed with the games becoming more important than the religious element, and so a wider variety of events was introduced.

As there was only one event originally, the games only needed one day devoted to them, but by the fifth century B.C. this had risen to five. The focus was always the sacrifice on the Great Altar and thus the religious aspect of the festival. Mallowitz suggests that there may only have been one year between early Olympiads owing to the ease with which one race could be organized. This, he goes on to claim, makes the four yearly cycle a non-religious division of time.<sup>(29)</sup> I believe that this is a feasible idea as it reflects the change in emphasis that the festival underwent. By the middle of the seventh century there were nine events. They were :- the stadion (200m run), diaulos (400m run), pentathlon, wrestling, boxing, chariot race, horse race and the pankration. There were also events for boys aged 12 to 18. Other Pan-Hellenic sites based the structure of their games on the Olympic model although none ever gained the same repute for their games.

## DELPHI

### Origins.

There is no mention of Apollo in Linear B, a fact which helps Fontenrose come to the conclusion that the god originated from Anatolia. He goes on to suggest that the cult probably reached Delphi ca1000-800 B.C..<sup>(30)</sup> If correct, this means that there was no long or continuous cult stretching back to the Mycenaean period. The rise of the village in the mid ninth century B.C. coincides with the re-use of Mycenaean areas of occupation which were large by Iron Age standards. Perhaps more significant is that fifty years later we find bronze tripods and figurines which are readily associated with cult. Delphi, as a Pan-Hellenic cult site, may have its origins in a small local shrine linked with the establishment of the settlement.<sup>(31)</sup> In fact the cultic activity of the eighth century B.C. is limited in comparison to evidence from the settlement and the dedications unearthed at Perachora.<sup>(32)</sup> An early international or national importance for Delphi should not be emphasized then.

Forrest though, has made much of the importance of Delphi on the side of the Chalcidians in the Lelantine War which he dates to the second half of the eighth century B.C..<sup>(33)</sup> Delphi's lack of size at this stage does not give this theory much credibility but

there do appear to be connections, however minor, between Delphi and Chalcidian colonies.<sup>(34)</sup> As Eretria was also colonizing at this time Forrest presumes the war was linked to this issue in some way. The issue here is not whether Delphi took part in the war but her possible level of involvement. It was very much a support or "yes man" role. Delphi is not thought of as being a powerful body in its own right yet. The same impression is attained from our early sources. For instance, we only have *Il.VII.404ff*; *Od.VIII.80*; *Theog.497-500* referring to Delphi. Although the texts do not necessarily have to mention the sanctuary, if it had been important one would expect it to be referred to a little more frequently.

As at other Pan-Hellenic sites, its rise to prominence was not just due to its religious significance. Starr states that Delphi was "also a meeting place for aristocrats and undoubtedly traders".<sup>(35)</sup> Morgan agrees with half this statement in that she believes Delphi to have been a link point in an inter-regional/national exchange system. Geographically Delphi was in an advantageous position as it was close to nearly all the mainstream poleis. (Corinth is presented as an important user through archaeological evidence). However, although items such as bronze tripods have been found, the focus of the sanctuary (the oracle) has caused Morgan to comment that competition was not the main focus of activity.<sup>(36)</sup> Delphi did have a quantity of Cypriot and Cretan bronze tripods and shields that was unparalleled at Olympia. This probably relates to Corinthian traders (Corinthian pottery has been found in reasonable amounts

in the Knossos valley) who may have been responsible for their disproportionate number. Olympia had the games whereas Delphi, although she had games modelled on those of Olympia, was dominated by something that Olympia did not possess - the oracle.

The value of favourable oracles was immense so it is hardly surprising to learn that there was conflict concerning the control of the sanctuary. In the seventh century B.C. houses in the sanctuary were removed and a new temple was built. This was only possible through organization of sanctuary affairs. Before 600 B.C. Fontenrose reports that part of Krisa or Kira placed tolls on pilgrims making their way to Delphi.<sup>(37)</sup> The result of such activities appears to be what is commonly termed as the first Sacred War in the early sixth century B.C.. An Amphictiony was formed out of leading poleis with the intention of crushing Krisa and then regulating the sanctuary. The amphictiony did come into being but the problem with the war is that there is no evidence to suggest that Krisa could have carried on the war for ten years (600-590 B.C.). The explanation for this is probably later writers attempting to make the war more equal and romanticized.

One way to chart the rise of Delphi is through the rise of Corinth. Forrest follows Dunbabin in believing that this started when the Bacchiads controlled Corinth.<sup>(38)</sup> Relations between Krisa and Corinth are thought to have existed. Evidence cited by Morgan also complements the theory that Corinth was involved

with activity at Delphi from an early time. From ca800 B.C. Corinthian fine ware came to dominate the ceramic assembly. Morgan suggests that there was a link between sanctuary and trade activity - with the ca725 B.C. settlement at the foot of the main pass leading north, a result of this.<sup>(39)</sup>

Morgan also discusses the connections between Corinth and Medeon in Phokis. Medeon grew into more of a structured settlement at a time when we see a lot of others, such as in Achaia and Messenia, dispersing. Late eighth century B.C. Mycenaean cult activity has been discovered at Medeon and a rise in population for this time is also presumed. The conclusion to be drawn from this is a concentration of the feeling of communal belonging. Morgan believes that it would have been hard for participant states at Delphi, including Corinth, to tolerate the development of a powerful community near the sanctuary.<sup>(40)</sup> As poleis such as Corinth were already heavily involved with Delphi, they would be less than willing to allow another state to usurp their position of influence. Prophecy was the only access to the divine and as a result everyone wanted the best chance of a favourable reply - especially potential colonists.

## The Colonial Link.

Delphi may first have gained Pan-Hellenic recognition with the erection of its pre-Alkmaeonid temple. The roof tiles found are identical in type to those from the first Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia.<sup>(41)</sup> They were also hipped which makes their existence before ca650 B.C. unlikely. Morgan has suggested that this may have coincided with the institutionalization of the oracle - a shelter for consultors or a hide away for the act of divination.<sup>(42)</sup> A structure is not essential for divination but it would certainly be desirable for an oracle with a growing reputation.

This reputation appears to have grown with the need for colonies to have received divine approval before they are established. Corinth was trading in the area so it may just be coincidence that Delphi became the "rubber stamp" or divine approval for her colonial exploits.<sup>(43)</sup> In other words the belief held is that Delphi owed its rise to the colonies and the colonies their rise to Delphi. It may be that the oracle was consulted as early as the late eighth century B.C. if we follow Forrest (and later Malkin) on the basis of the Lelantine War evidence <sup>(44)</sup> but others, such as Fontenrose, opt for a start date coinciding with the previously mentioned temple construction. Neither date should be discounted as later historical invention has provided us with a distorted image of the past.<sup>(45)</sup> What is certain is that if Delphi was not consulted on a potential colony, disaster

was imminent.<sup>(46)</sup>

### The Festival.

As has already been stated, the oracle was Delphi's most important asset. However, there was restricted access both in who could approach the Pythia and when she could be approached - only for nine days in a year. The implementation of the games provided another prestigious purpose for the sanctuary along the lines of those used at Olympia.

The games were the second oldest of the four that had Pan-Hellenic status. Its foundation date of ca586 B.C. is commonly accepted with the games being repeated in a four yearly cycle thereafter. The festival may have begun earlier than this though in a purely religious musical format.<sup>(47)</sup> The most ancient contest was the singing of The Hymn to Apollo. The first victor is reported to be Chrysothemis a Cretan, son of Karmanor who had purified Apollo after he had killed the dread serpent Python. We thus have a mythical beginning for the Pythian Games (Paus.X.7.3) and again the interesting link with Crete which we saw in a Corinthian context earlier.<sup>(48)</sup>

The stadion and the diaulos were there from the start (586 B.C.) as was the four horse chariot race. Nowhere on the hill-side appears suitable for horse racing so it is presumed by Fontenrose that this took place on level ground near Krisa.<sup>(49)</sup> From 582 B.C.

crowns of bay leaves were awarded but what is of more relevance to us is the religious precursors. The main content here was sacrifice and banquet which also had an integral part to play at all important Greek festivals. In this case the recital of the Hymn to Apollo was a defining feature.

## ATHENS.

### The Eleusinian Mysteries.

Why should a festival of such Pan-Hellenic importance have been celebrated at Eleusis? Early myth does not point to the possibility of a large catchment area but later political machinations definitely do. According to the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, the goddess, whilst searching for her daughter Persephone, came to Eleusis disguised as an old woman. She was received well by the royal family there and subsequently made nurse to one of the royal infants. Demeter later revealed her divinity and the Mysteries were ordered as means of celebration. The Hymn dates to the second half of the seventh century B.C. but makes no mention of its powerful neighbour - Athens.<sup>(50)</sup> This myth suggests a localized foundation, one that does not include Athens.

This fact also becomes clearer with a closer inspection of the origins of the Eleusinian priests. If we refer again to *The Hymn to Demeter*, this time lines 476-7, we read that the Mysteries were committed to a local hero called Eumolpos. The clan who claimed descent from him, the Eumolpidai, were still Hierophantes or Revealers of Sacred Things in Classical times. The important point though is that they were local.

This could not be said about another clan who performed priestly tasks at Eleusis. They were the Kerykes and according to Parke, were torch carriers.<sup>(51)</sup> Feaver places the office they held as more administratively than religiously orientated<sup>(52)</sup> which tends to suggest appointment when numbers of participants became significantly larger. The clan was also Athenian so could relate to an Athenian intrusion since they were not always at Eleusis. It may also be symbolic of a switch from local to international importance.

Its links with Athens are drawn out in another very direct way - the festival itself starts there. From what we know about its later history, a sacrificial ritual would take place (within a four day celebration period) followed by a 30km procession from Athens to Eleusis on the 13th of Boedromion. Processions were an integral part of Greek Festivals and especially so in marginal sanctuaries. In this case Athens is directly associated with the sanctuary as it is the starting place for the procession. As the name "Mysteries" suggests, the secrets of Eleusis were not intended as common knowledge. So it is hardly surprising that we know little about them ourselves. However, we can be sure that there were rites of initiation, ceremonies and sacrifices as well as the things that were said, done and revealed.

There is archaeological evidence to suggest that there was a Mycenaean shrine on the site at Eleusis and that a significant building development took place in the "Solonian" period.<sup>(53)</sup> In the Peisistratid period a large square Telestrion was constructed

but this, as Andrewes points out, does not mean that Peisistratus himself was responsible for it.<sup>(54)</sup> It does show that a marginal shrine was considered worthy of receiving such a large investment of capital though. This is, of course, not dissimilar to the state investment of a temple at Isthmia by Corinth in an outlying location.

Also, as at Isthmia, the investment should not be considered in religious terms alone. For instance, Herakles is often depicted as an initiate at Eleusis on Attic vases. As we shall see later<sup>(55)</sup>, Herakles was a popular hero in sixth century Athens and so by linking him to the Mysteries, Athens and other "foreigners" could consider themselves as justified users. They were all users of a now Athenian development away from Athens itself. Seaford makes a valuable observation here when he says that "This development of cult centres close to the margins of Attica but linked to the urban centre by processions surely contributed to the sense of Attic unity...".<sup>(56)</sup> Remembering the work of de Polignac and our findings from Isthmia<sup>(57)</sup>, I have to agree with Seaford's conclusion.

## The Great Panathenaia.

The Panathenaia is described by Burkert as the celebration of the birth of the Athenian state.<sup>(58)</sup> Every fourth year the festival became the Great Panathenaia thus fitting in with other quadrennial cycles such as the celebration of the games at Olympia. This festival, as with the Mysteries, should be thought of as promoting Athenian unity. As such, association with Athena was a necessity owing to her privileged position as patron deity. Indeed, the festival could be considered as a celebration of her birthday. Perhaps more important than this, considering Burkert's comment, are references that mention Theseus gathering the people into the one single city.

"My considered judgement is that the Panatheniac games at Athens...got the name Panathenian only under Theseus, because he held the games after he had collected all the Athenians into one city."

(*Paus.VIII.2.1*)

Theseus was a mythical character and so the events described never actually happened. His "founding" of the games (an Archaic invention) must have been to give meaning and emphasis to the theme of unity which; as we shall see, is similarly reflected in the festival's centripetal procession.

In fact the festival was reorganized but probably not until

historical times (the sixth century B.C.) when many of its Classical features were formed. Andrewes and Shapiro go along with an early origin theory and place the first of the reorganized festivals in 566 B.C..<sup>(59)</sup> In the fifth century B.C. the festival had an enormous political importance as a focal point for the Empire. Political value would also have been a factor in the Archaic Age by cementing Athens' lead role in the surrounding countryside. Some scholars have attributed this to Peisistratos. Robertson said it was a "new dimension at the hands of Peisistratos" and Andrewes comments "once in power we may assume that he [Peisistratos] fostered the Panathenaia, though there is no direct evidence."<sup>(60)</sup> Indeed there is no evidence for this, although it is possible, or for the tyrant being the initiator or the reorganizer of the festival. However, another candidate should be considered - the Archon of 566 B.C., Hippocleides. He would, ultimately, have held responsibility for any reforms in his year of office and as a reorganization of the festival would only have benefited the populace, it was probably an uncontroversial act.<sup>(61)</sup> Peisistratos' reign comes later so any involvement would have been within established parameters. To understand this it is helpful to look at what the festival was actually comprised of.

Initially there was the gathering of citizens. This in itself is of relevance to us as it represents association with the polis directly and exclusion of "foreigners" from this part of the ceremony. Similarly, the procession and the sacrifice were reserved for citizens but anyone could take part in the actual

games themselves. Davison says that "the sacrifice is of course the essential part of the festival, from the religious point of view...".<sup>(62)</sup> The procession is also important here as it involves the movement of the victim to the altar. It also, according to Robertson, united the city by marching through newer areas such as in the north-west of Athens.<sup>(63)</sup> (The significance of the procession in this context has already been noted at sanctuaries such as Isthmia as well as at the Eleusinian Mysteries). He goes on to suggest that Peisistratos may well have been responsible for this and that, even if it was not him, it was definitely a sixth century development. Another common feature of Ancient Greek festivals was the subsequent feasting after sacrifice - the Great Panathenaia was no exception.

The celebration of competitive games was the next activity in the festival. This need not be thought of as surprising if we remember that other festivals such as those at Delphi, Isthmia and Nemea were introducing games that gained Pan-Hellenic significance. Many of the competitive events were similar to those performed at other festivals for example athletics (such as the stadion, pentathlon, wrestling, boxing and pankration) and horse/chariot racing. Later these events were spread out over a number of days but initially they would have been limited in scope.<sup>(64)</sup> One early contest to be included may well have been the torch race. Simon says that "The ritual significance of the torch race was the transfer of sacred fire for the offerings at the altar."<sup>(65)</sup> The sacrifice would have been an essential part of ritual activity from early times. I therefore feel it is

logical to assume that this symbolic race was also old.

Prizes were awarded for this and other races not previously referred to, such as the tribal boat race. In other words, these events were not just contested by amateurs as the olive oil given as prizes in Panathenaic amphora was of considerable value. This also ties in well with a re-organization date as early examples of these amphora date to ca560 B.C.. Davison believes that originally the contests were restricted to the Great Panathenaia<sup>(66)</sup> which could well have been an initiative of Hippocleides.

Other events also need to be mentioned most notable of which were the recital of extracts from Homer and a music competition. This first event was of particular importance as it held Pan-Hellenic value and perhaps even more importantly, it is poetry that does not give a lead role to an Athenian hero. Its use at such a prominent Athenian festival may have meant a political motive but how could this have been if they had such a low profile in Homer? There are some passages that tradition suggests were Atticized in the sixth century B.C. by the tyrant Peisistratos to give Athens a political advantage in certain contentious issues.

The traditions we have can be divided into two places of origin, Megarian and Roman. The Megarian tradition, it is argued<sup>(67)</sup>, intended to discredit Athens by suggesting that Peisistratos inserted the section where Aias brings the boats of Salamis up with those of Athens (*Il.II.557-8*). The tyrant's intention is presumed to have been the use of the text to justify present

claims to Salamis. However, this "opinion" of the Megarians has to be considered with this natural bias in mind. Also, Davison points out that it is odd that they had no doubts over *II.I.265* or *Od.VII.79* which talk of Marathon, Athens and Erechtheus.<sup>(68)</sup> Another problem with the claim is when *II.II.557-8* is quoted to the Spartan arbitrators by Peisistratos. Why, if the Megarians knew this to be invention, did they not say something?

The Roman tradition is similarly riddled with problems. For example, the account given by Cicero (*De Oratore.3.34.137*) was probably derived from Asclepiades who was active around 100 B.C.. Davison believes that the intention of Asclepiades was to discredit his Alexandrian rivals' "authentic" text which had received public readings.<sup>(69)</sup>

Whatever the origins of certain parts of the text were we can be certain that it was introduced to the Panathenaia. In fact "the version of the Homeric poems which was adopted as the standard text for the Panathenaia (perhaps between 530 and 520 B.C.) was already in writing when it first reached Athens."<sup>(70)</sup> In other words, it is probable that there were no books resembling what we could refer to as the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* before this date. However, there would have been well established versions that would have been known to most and especially the rhapsodes who would be performing at the festival. One has to go on the presumption that they would want to compete using the best versions available. So, the introduction of a new text at Athens, would have had to have been universally acceptable and

thus not an Athenian political concoction.<sup>(71)</sup> To a certain extent it was though because of the texts' unrivalled Pan-Hellenic status. Recitals of such works would help to improve the standing of the festival on the Greek stage. The use of the festival in this way have often been associated with tyrants and, as we have seen, Peisistratos has been mentioned as a possible candidate.

However, if anyone can be connected with the introduction of a standard text at the Panathenaia it should be Peisistratos' son Hipparchus.<sup>(72)</sup> I say this firstly because of the probable date of entry for the text but also because of his apparent links with the reorganization of the musical contests (Plato.*Hipp.*228b). Davison proposes that this may have been allowing any passage at random to be performed (*Ion.*531a).<sup>(73)</sup>

## Peisistratos.

Osborne has recently stated that there is no specific evidence of any tampering or attempt to control festivals (such as the Mysteries and Panathanea) by the tyrant. This may be because of the previous need to attribute important events to individuals by both ancient and modern scholars. He believes that our opinions today are heavily influenced by our recent experiences with autocrats.<sup>(74)</sup> Andrewes' previously mentioned assertion that Peisistratos fostered the Panathenaia when in power acts as a case in point.<sup>(75)</sup> I, however, tend to agree with such assumptions as Peisistratos has to be seen as a unifying influence on Athens (from the length of his reign and as the choice of the demos) and so anything that helped this would have been encouraged by him. As we shall see, he was no stranger to propaganda in other related fields.

The rise in the profile of Herakles in this period has been directly related to political manouvering by Peisistratos. A literary testimony to this is contained in Herodotus:

"There was in the Paeonian deme a woman called Phye, three fingers short of four cubits in stature, and for the rest fair to look upon. This woman they [Peisistratos and Megakles] equipped in full armour, and put her in a chariot, ...heralds ran before them [Phye and Peisistratos] and when they came into the town made proclamation as they were charged, bidding the Athenians "to give a hearty welcome to Peisistratos, whom Athene honoured beyond all men and was bringing back to her own citadel."

(Hdt.1.60)

Herodotus belittles this venture for what he perceives to be crudity in vision on the part of the Athenian people whereas some modern scholars believe that it did not even happen. Connor is not one of these as he thinks that it ties in well with Peisistratos' close association with Herakles during his reign.<sup>(76)</sup> The favourite of Athene was Herakles who was often depicted in a chariot with Athene at this time. (Boardman believes the prominence of these depictions coincided with the rise and fall of the Peisistratids).<sup>(77)</sup> By travelling in with Athene, Peisistratos effectively starts playing his role as the new Herakles and, judging by the reported reaction of the Athenians, this was neither frowned upon nor thought odd. Boardman comments on this, "The Greeks used their myth-history as a mirror to their life, and one which they could readily distort to suit their needs and circumstances, was commonplace."<sup>(78)</sup> Peisistratos wanted control of Athens and this, he thought, would help him. He was however careful not to

overplay the role. He did not dress up but rather acted as Athene's (read Athens') brave but subordinate charioteer - an agent of the true protector and ruler of the land, Athene.<sup>(79)</sup>

Some have seen this argument as too complex. However, Moon points out that many of the Herakles vases cluster around the period of Hippias and that in fifth century B.C. art, Herakles stood side-by-side with Theseus.<sup>(80)</sup> If the reality of the Phye incident is also doubted, it now becomes wrong to think of the situation simply in terms of simple propaganda - I am Herakles. For instance, Peisistratos may have set up images of Herakles but it was left to others to make the association.

Associations with Herakles also had religious and political implications when power had been achieved. I refer of course to the Eleusinian Mysteries. It should be remembered that before the middle of the eighth century B.C., there is very little material that can be associated with Athens. Herakles was being used as an Athenian symbol. So, if he was involved with the Mysteries, the Athenians could argue a case for their own and any other foreigners' participation.

This was achieved through similar manipulation of myth. One tradition has Herakles as being purified by Eumolpos after he had murdered the centaurs (Apol.2.5.12ff; Plu.*Thes.*33.2). Herakles' escapades in the underworld are also of value, a variant of which has come to light through Athenian vases from ca530 B.C.. Hermes and Athene are prominent with Herakles offering no violence to Kerberos because of the assistance of Persephone. The role of

Hermes would have been important for the Kerykes (who claimed descent from the god) as it could provide justification for this Athenian clans' involvement with the Mysteries (see above, p163). This was of subsidiary importance to Herakles who was the "Athenian sponsored initiate who could secure the support of Persephone herself in completing what was otherwise regarded as the most dire of his labours."<sup>(81)</sup> Persephone was of direct relevance to the Eleusinian Mysteries and so her favoured mortal (Herakles) being also a symbol of Athens, meant Athens should be favoured also.

Of course we cannot be certain that Peisistratos was directly responsible for this change in attitude but the evidence does tend to suggest this. This point may perhaps be emphasized by the fact that Peisistratos traced his ancestry back to the Neleids of Pylos he in fact being named after a son of Nestor (Hdt.V.65). When Herakles sacked Pylos, Nestor was away - Peisistratos was thus deliberately saved according to Boardman.<sup>(82)</sup> Athenians and other Greeks did become involved in the Mysteries and the manipulative theory given above may go some way to help explain how and indeed why this came about.

## ARGOS.

### The Argive Heraion.

The sanctuary site is not very far from the Mycenaean Chamber tombs at Prosymna. Evidence of hero cults have been found at these tombs before the establishing of the Temple at the Heraion and owing to the lack of distance between sites, there is similarity of worship.<sup>(83)</sup> What concerns us more than this though is the identity of the participants and the reason for the Heraion's usage. As the title and indeed the archaeological evidence suggests, the Argives can be attributed with involvement with the sanctuary from the eighth century B.C.<sup>(84)</sup>

The temple itself is dated by Wright to the third quarter of the eighth century B.C. and was more advanced technically than the Temple of Poseidon at Isthmia and that of Apollo on Temple Hill in Corinth.<sup>(85)</sup> The lifting devices used were also similar to those used at Olympia which tends to suggest that new technology was both absorbed and advanced upon. However, a glaring dissimilarity with other contemporary structures was the inclusion of a fake Mycenaean platform. If one considers the close proximity of authentic Mycenaean remains, this appears to be puzzling. For an adequate explanation we need to look at the wider picture.

Locality is very relevant to actual activity at the Heraion as well. Osborne says that sanctuaries in border areas were often the focus for major state festivals; the example he draws upon is the Argive Heraion.<sup>(90)</sup> Nine kilometres separate Argos from her sanctuary which in turn provided plenty of opportunity for a display of power in a procession. This appears to have happened at the Heraia.<sup>(91)</sup> It was a sacrificial procession with the shrine's priestess riding in an ox-drawn cart. This event was based on the story of Kleobis and Biton (Hdt.I.31). Naturally enough there was feasting and also an agon with prizes at the conclusion of the festival.<sup>(92)</sup> Procession, sacrifice, feasting and some form of contest are again present.

We must first note that the Heraion itself is located a good distance from Argos, being closer to Mycenae and Tiryns. Both these poleis had authentic relics and Mycenaean links which may explain why the Argives felt it necessary to fake a platform - to give the site religious authenticity. What is more, the structure would have been a large scale investment on the part of the Argive state. But why build a Temple so far away from the city centre?

The answer to this seems to be the prolonged independence of Mycenae and the rising power of independent Asine.<sup>(86)</sup> Asine had a harbour and was not dependant on the Argive plain for its success. Argos wanted control of the whole territory. So a structure symbolic of dominance would have been an asset.<sup>(87)</sup>

The Heraion was making a bold statement to Mycenae and Tiryns about the Argive state - they had the power and financial clout to construct away from home and thus reinforcing their territorial claims. To be an initial success it would have had to serve all the communities of the plain from a neutral site so as to tie them to Argos. It marked the social and political boundaries of the emergent polis.<sup>(88)</sup> We have already seen this in a variety of locations from Isthmia to Eleusis - involvement in a marginal locality raises a city's profile within or drawing communities into the polis. The difference in this case is the method of Argos' actions, aggressive diplomacy. By establishing the Heraion they were almost daring the communities not to worship there; it was "an audacious claim to control."<sup>(89)</sup>

## Summary.

Morgan says that sites such as Isthmia and Olympia "...reflect a whole variety of constantly evolving social circumstances which cannot readily be categorised."<sup>(93)</sup> Sanctuary evolution was taking place at the behest of emerging poleis either directly, as at Argos and her Heraion, or indirectly, with Corinthian trading activity in and around Delphi. The same cannot be said of Achaia owing to the fact that it was an *ethnos* not a polis.<sup>(94)</sup> The identifying features of an *ethnos* are related to social groupings (i.e., family, tribe) rather than implicit constitutionalism although having said this, an important polis concept, boundaries, was also part of an *ethnos*' infrastructure. These were often related to natural divides, such as mountains, and emphasized by regional pottery styles.

Another similarity with emerging poleis was in sanctuaries. Although there is no material evidence of cult structures before the eighth century B.C., the coastal temple A at Aegina provides us with a valuable starting point. Dating to the eighth century, its ground plan has similarities with that of the Argive Heraion and, to a lesser extent, the Perachora house/temple models.<sup>(95)</sup> This overlap highlights the possibility of contact as well as pointing to a parallel development in time and style between two organisationally different peoples. Achaia has also provided dedicatory evidence at Mycenaean tombs. Morgan suggests that the purpose of this was to identify/emphasize the association with

places and the pressures on external boundaries.<sup>(96)</sup> We have drawn such conclusions previously<sup>(97)</sup> but this was in association with poleis.

However, so far no signs of ethnos border sanctuaries in similar defining contexts have been found. This may be because of the constitutional organization and growing financial power of the polis allowing and encouraging this. For example, Morgan says the transfer of dedications from polis grave to community sanctuary, "...reflects the creation of a monopoly of force essential to the survival of the state."<sup>(98)</sup> Although an ethnos based community had boundaries, their very set-up meant there was less emphasis put on them and there was less dependence on sanctuaries for attaining political strength - as an arena for display. Although these last points do not suggest it, the rise of the sanctuary should not be considered as a purely polis orientated phenomena as styles and types of worship in an ethnos may have influenced those of a polis. It should be remembered that religion supports human confidence more than it affects economic attitudes.<sup>(99)</sup>

The political manipulation of festivals cannot be denied whether it was Pan-Hellenic, inter-state or of internal importance. The possible role of the tyrant in such proceedings has been discussed with particular reference to Peisistratos. Although our evidence points to him not being a creative force in either the Eleusinian Mysteries or the Great Panathenaia, it is likely that he used them to suit his own agenda.<sup>(100)</sup> The games

celebrated at Olympia were dissimilar in this regard as no one state controlled it from its inception because of the sites remote location. The result of this was later conflict between states aiming to acquire a controlling interest.<sup>(101)</sup>

The political advantages that manipulation brought meant that similarities have been found between the festivals and sanctuaries mentioned in this chapter and Isthmia. The superimposing of mythological characters on festivals has acted as an excellent example of this. Melikertes represented Corinthian control at Isthmia, Theseus the unification of the Athenian state at the Panathenaia. Location was an important factor politically for Argos with regards to the Argive Heraion just as it was for Corinth at Isthmia. This chapter has also shown that a set format (procession, sacrifice, feasting and in many cases games) with the intent of achieving a variety of goals was common-place in all. The development of the sanctuary at Isthmia and others such as Olympia and Delphi, were part of a diverse but related change in the structure of Ancient Greek society.

## Conclusion.

"There was no real community among the Greeks that was not also a religious community."<sup>(1)</sup>

I believe that the evidence that has been discussed bears out this statement. The rise of the polis owed a lot to religion and vice-versa. Isthmia has been seen to be a good example in this respect as it offered a good strategic position in which to publicize the strength of Corinth. In other words, Corinth showed she could afford to erect a temple and later a stadium at the edge of her territory. Its roadside location (where any travellers to the Peloponnese would have had to pass) provided maximum exposure. At the time of its earliest constructions, it would have strengthened the political links between the locality and Corinth - a strong motivating force for such a huge undertaking.

By considering the functions and features of two other contemporary sanctuary sites in the Corinthia, Perachora and Temple Hill, it is possible to view Isthmia as an archaeological advance. Both Temple Hill and Isthmia used the same construction techniques, this is seen in the parallel V-shaped grooves in the blocks and "dovetailing" in the walls. However, Isthmia is unique in boasting a central row of columns in the cella, the Long Altar and the Stadium (see above, p72-3).

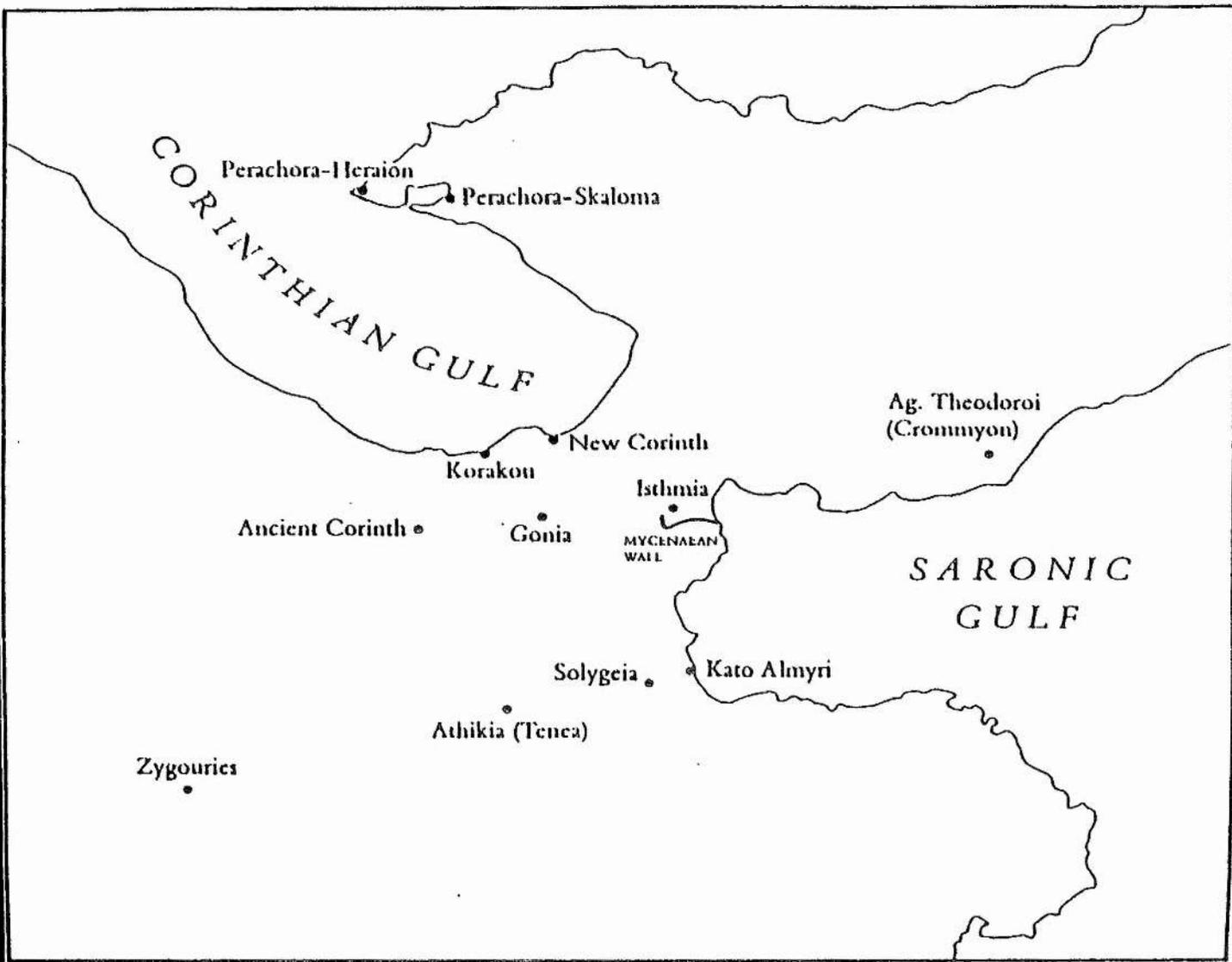
It also had an important cultural role to play in Corinthian society that Perachora and Temple Hill did not meet. By studying mortuary evidence from 1100 to 500 B.C. in the Corinthia, it has become apparent that the dramatic fall in the volume of grave goods can be directly related to the rise in dedications at Isthmia. No one reason can be given for this but a change in fashion - the acceptance and political weight of dedications in the public and permanent arena of the sanctuary, is probably the most likely.

Isthmia also had games of Pan-Hellenic status and so both reflected and encouraged the competitive ethos of aristocrats. This claim has been justified by references to the archaeology, the spiralling magnificence of the tripods, and the heroic ideals in Homer. The whole sanctuary had a strong aristocratic feel to it through probable priestly control<sup>(2)</sup> and the emphasis that would no doubt have been placed on guest friendship for the acquisition of a favourable spot for a dedication. However, the Long Altar and other dedicatory evidence at Isthmia does show that worship at this sanctuary was meant to encompass as many sections of society as possible.<sup>(3)</sup> This was probably emphasized by a procession from Corinth to Isthmia - uniting town and country in one festival.<sup>(4)</sup>

Considering state and religious direction were bound to come from the same source, it is hardly surprising that we should think that manipulation of religion for political purposes took place. The constant quest for heroic bones and the alleged expulsion of

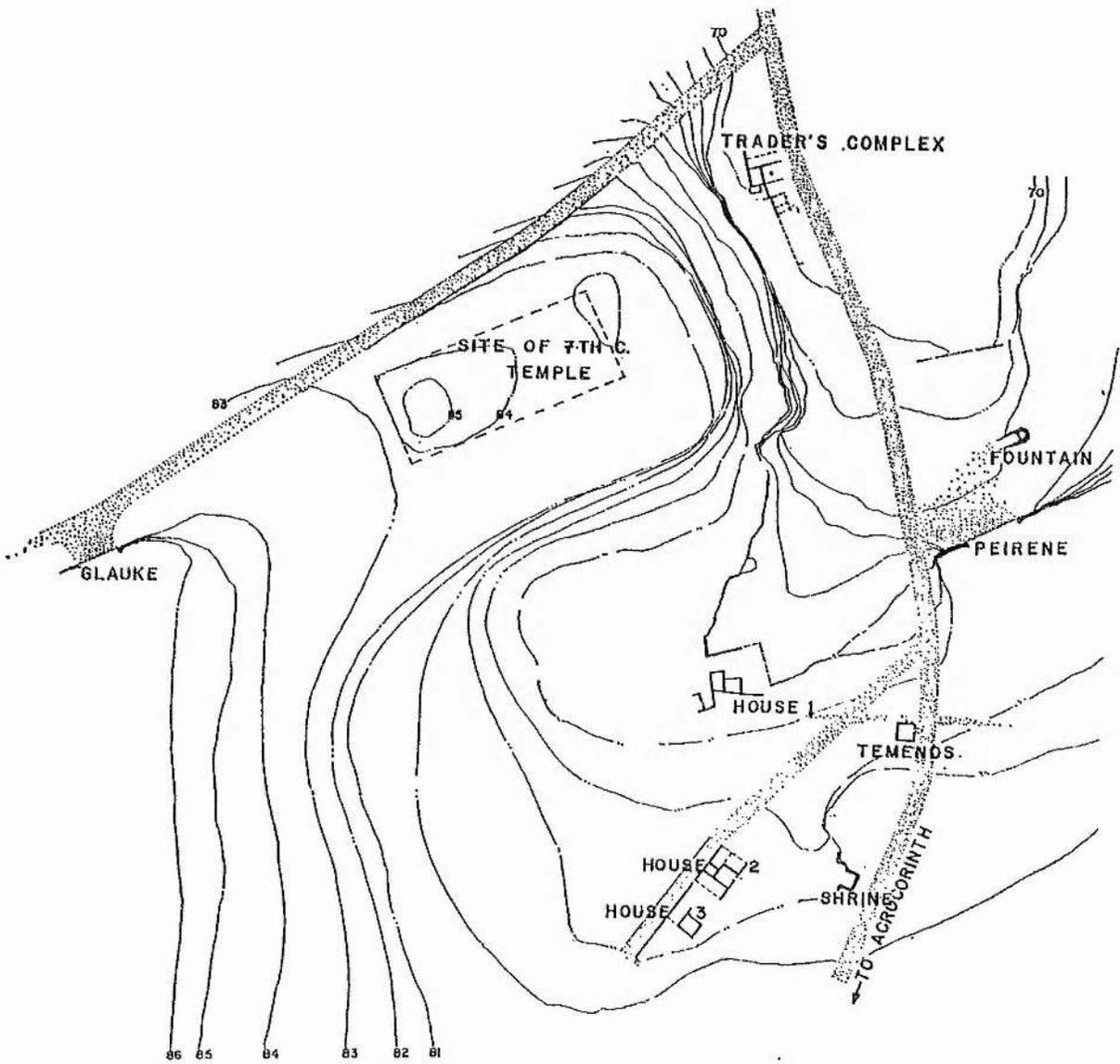
the hero Adrastus by the tyrant Cleisthenes of Sicyon act as a case in point. However, it should be remembered that we are approaching the subject from a twentieth century understanding of politics and religion. For instance, the entry of Peisistratos into Athens with his Athena look-alike was probably accepted at the time but would not have been today.<sup>(5)</sup>

I believe that the potential for political manipulation at Isthmia, was responsible for the establishment of the Temple of Poseidon and the subsequent success of the site as a place for competitive display and Games. (This point has been emphasized by comparisons and similarities with other contemporary Greek sanctuary sites such as Olympia, the Panathenaic Games at Athens and the Argive Heraion). Without the investment of resources by Corinth (initially from Kypselus) the sanctuary would not have been developed at such an early date. Without Isthmia Corinth would not have developed in the way that it did. Isthmia was an important unifying focus providing a sense of belonging to the polis for the residents of town and country alike.

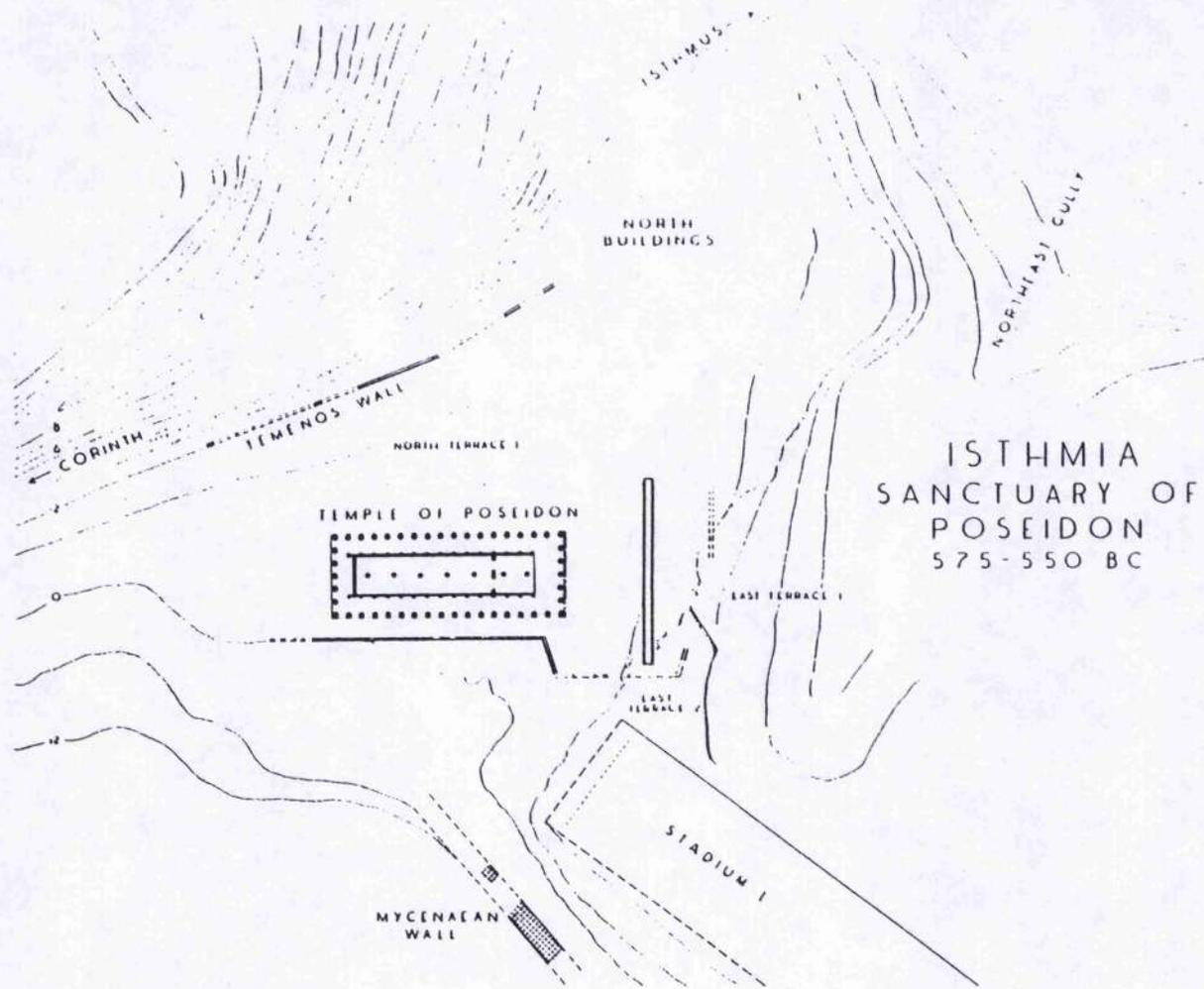


**Fig. 1.** Principal sanctuary and settlement sites in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Corinthia.

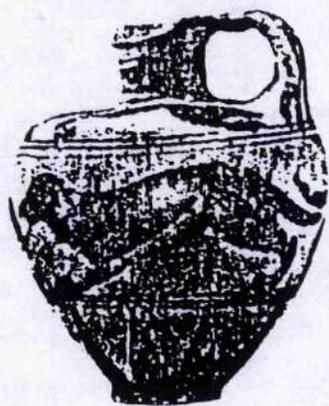




**Fig. 3.** Plan of Temple Hill area in the early sixth century B.C..



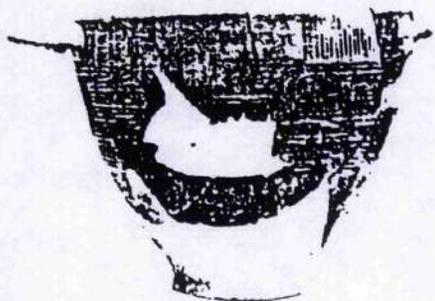
**Fig.4.** Plan of the Sanctuary at Isthmia, 575-50 B.C..



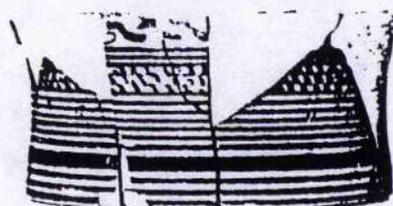
a) PC Aryballos



b) PC Conical Oinochoai



c) PC Kotyle

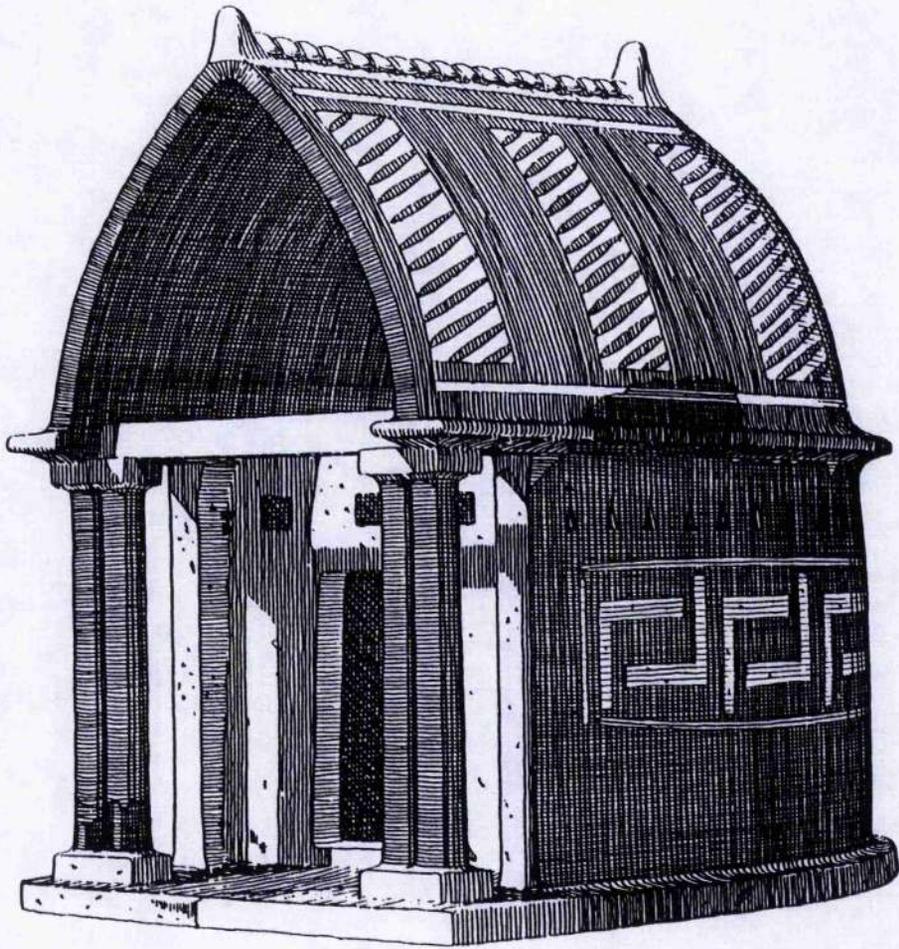


d) PC Pyxides



e) PC Tall Pyxides

**Fig.5.** Some common pottery types.



**Fig.6.** A reconstruction of a Perachora building model.

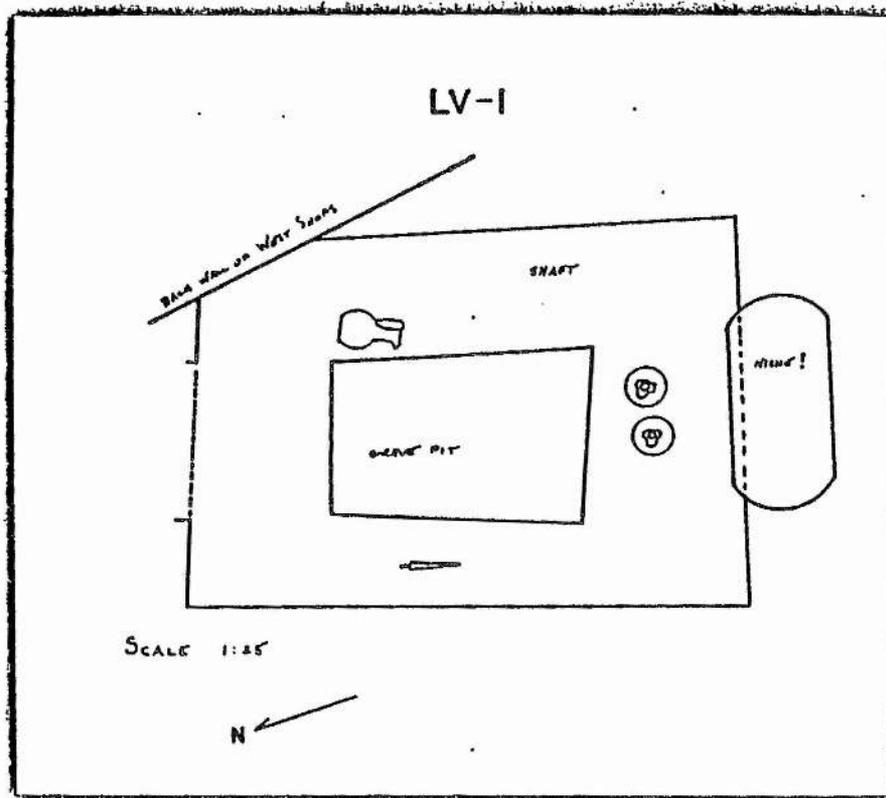


Fig. 7. Sketch Map of Grave LV-1.

### Introduction.

1. Ehrenberg (1969<sup>2</sup>), 14; Davies (1988<sup>2</sup>), 368-88.
2. See Chapter 4; de Polignac (1984), (1995).
3. For example Finley (1978<sup>2</sup>); Snodgrass (1974); Morris (1986b).
4. For example, see p13f.
5. Snodgrass (1974), 118.
6. Morgan (1991), 134; see also Jeffreys (1976), 39-40.
7. See below p22-25, 124-25.
8. For example Chisholm's Central Place Theory and the developments made from here to form the Early State Module of Renfrew and Cherry. This presents access and mobility of wealth as important factors. Cherry (1978), 411-37 provides a good summary of the various theories.
9. Cavanagh (1991), 97-118.
10. Morris (1987), (1991); Murray (1993<sup>2</sup>).
11. Malkin (1971); see also Snodgrass (1991), 10-11.

## Chapter One.

1. For both dates see Bowra (1963), 145 - 6. Morgan (1994), 135 attributes this "re-shape" to Eumelos on date and content and thus goes against Pausanias' assertion of IV.4.1.
2. Huxley (1969), 79.
3. Morgan (1994), 137; also see p57ff.
4. Salmon (1984), 47.
5. Tudor (1972).
6. Parker (1987), 189.
7. Salmon (1984), 58.
8. Morris (1986 b), 121-4 suggests the writing down of the *Iliad* was an attempt by aristocratic rulers to reaffirm their power. However, Morris himself points out that there is no direct evidence to back up his theory.
9. Dunbabin (1951), 61-71; also see p39-40.
10. Id., 135.
11. Bowra (1963), 153. The idea is that the Messenians were aligned also with Chalcis and so had links with Corinth.
12. Forrest (1957), 165-7; Lambert (1982), 216-20.
13. Bowra (1963), 153.
14. Will (1955), 337-8.
15. Roebuck (1972), 105.
16. Blakeway (1935), 129-49 on Demaratos and Morris (1986 a), 1-17 on gift and commodity exchange.
17. Salmon (1984), 73.
18. See later discussion on Peisistratus and Homer, p168-70.

20. Id., 63.
21. Oost (1972), 115-16 n 68; Will (1955), 318-9.
22. Oost Id.; Roebuck (1972), 115-6 n 68; Will (1955), 318-9.
23. Oost (1972), 63-4.
24. Murray (1993<sup>2</sup>), 142.
25. Forrest (1966), 112.
26. Roebuck (1972), 106.
27. It is reasonable to presume that Cypselus might have been a successful commander (see Peisistratus Hdt.I.59).
28. Salmon (1977), 89.
29. See n.27.
30. Stroud (1968), 242.
31. See Stanton (1968), 140-9; Jones (1980), 162-93.
32. There is a possibility though, see below p63, 110-11.
33. From Hooker (1990), 160 ff.
34. Morgan (1994), 112.
35. Broneer (1959), pls. 67e, 68h, p333 fig. 9.
36. Huxley (1969), 74.
37. Gebhard (1992a), 73-9.
38. Dunbabin (1948), 66 highlights the oriental connection between Melikertes and Melkath and thus the adaptability and origin of this Pan-Hellenic figure.
39. Also see p57 on Theseus as the mythological founder of the games.

## Chapter 2.

1. Payne (1940), 30; Salmon (1972), 163.
2. Weinberg (1939), 595; Roebuck (1955), 150; Robinson (1976), 205.
3. For example, Isthmia VI has not been published yet.
4. Payne (1940), 1-9; Fagerstrom (1988), 38.
5. Morgan (1994), 132. See also Morgan (1990), 106-26 and Payne (1940), 24.
6. Dunbabin (1962), 531 mentions a few LHIII sherds found on the site. He indicates that the forms used were similar to those used at Corinth.
7. Payne (1940), 20.
8. Salmon (1972), 160, 179-80, 203-4.
9. Id., 192-4.
10. Highlighted by Fagerstrom (1988), 39.
11. Payne (1940), 31.
12. Salmon (1972), 163.
13. Payne (1940), 32-77.
14. Id., 110-13.
15. Tomlinson (1977), 199.
16. Id., 200.
17. Id., 197; Salmon (1972), 174.
18. Jefferey (1961), 122f.
19. Tomlinson (1977), 200.
20. Salmon (1972), 174.
21. Morgan (1994), 129.
22. For instance, an inscribed bronze bull in Payne (1940), 136; pieces of inscribed painted pottery in Dunbabin (1962), 393f.

23. Tomlinson (1977), 201. See Salmon (1972), 177-8 for a similar but different approach. He also points to an inscription to "Akraia" at the top of the sanctuary in Dunbabin (1962), 397, no.57.
24. Salmon (1972), 167-8.
25. Tomlinson (1988), 167-71.
26. Salmon (1972), 168-70.
27. Morgan (1994), 131.
28. Ead.; Payne (1940),
29. Coldstream (1977), 173; Salmon (1972), 180-5; Morgan (1994), 132.
30. Many of the following assumptions are based on the observations of Salmon (1972), 185-7.
31. Fagerstrom (1988), 155-6.
32. Id., 156; Morgan (1994), 132-3.
33. Stubbings in Dunbabin (1962), 403.
34. Dunbabin in Payne (1940), 168.
35. See also Coldstream (1977), 175.
36. Morgan (1994), 139.
37. Robinson (1976), 210.
38. Weinberg (1939), 599.
39. For example, Stillwell as late as 1932, 115ff.
40. Much of the following is based on the observations of Robinson (1976).
41. Roebuck (1955), 153-4; Robinson (1976), 224 does point out that this could have been careless workmanship though.
42. Robinson (1976), 225-7; Roebuck (1955), 156 believes the walls to have been of mud brick.

43. Coldstream (1977), 174.
44. This would cover less than one side of the Archaic Temple's roof area. See Robinson (1976), 231ff for Temple Hill's tiles.
45. Robinson (1976), 212, 234.
46. Rhodes (1987), 477-80.
47. Broneer (1973), 1 goes on to say that this could have been an influencing factor behind the Theseus and the Pine-bender foundation myth (*Paus.II.1.4*).
48. For Isthmia's temenos walls see Gebhard and Hemans (1992), 47f; Broneer (1973), 9-15.
49. Smith (1955), 142-6 records an EH deposit of vases in the gully to the north-west of the Temple.
50. Morgan in Gebhard and Hemans (1992), 6-8.
51. Gebhard and Hemans (1992), 35, pl.13,b.
52. The stylobate was the level platform on which columns stood
53. Broneer (1971), 9-10; Hemans (1981), 251; Gebhard and Hemans (1992), 25.
54. For discussion of Peristyle see Broneer (1971), 9.
55. The statistical work that follows is derived from Hemans (1981), 255-8.
56. Broneer (1971), 55.
57. Gebhard (1993), 160; Rhodes (1987), 480.
58. Coulton (1975), 271.
59. Rhodes (1987), 477. The 1989 excavators still opt for a peripteral style though.
60. Id., 478-9.
61. Broneer (1958), 3-5; Broneer (1971), 98-100.

62. Coulton (1975), 272; Gebhard and Hemans (1992), 41.
63. Gebhard and Hemans (1992), 41-2.
64. Broneer (1973), 65.
65. Gebhard and Hemans (1992), 41-2. Trench 89-17 situated 20m from the later start line, reveals little context pottery for the stadium but the few sherds it does produce are of a sixth century date. Broneer (1973), 47 mentions a Geometric Attic fragment (IP2841) found in the surface of the racecourse but this is an isolated find.
66. Gebhard (1993), 162.
67. Broneer (1959), 335-6.
68. Id., 338.
69. Sturgeon (1987), 73.
70. The following bronze figures are based on Broneer's reports (1959), 327ff.
71. Gebhard and Hemans (1992), 20; Morgan (1994), 127.
72. Morgan (1990), 217, n.59.
73. Jackson (1992), 141-3 for arms and armour at Isthmia.
74. Sturgeon (1987), 7, 61.
75. Broneer (1973), 11.
76. See Sturgeon (1987), 1-6, 16-53 for a more detailed discussion.
77. See Morgan (1994), 127.
78. Robinson (1976), 225ff; Broneer (1971), 34ff.
79. Rhodes (1987), 478.
80. Id., 477.
81. Robinson (1976), 231; Broneer (1971), 40-53. It should also be noted that two fragments of similar tiles were found at

Perachora.

- 82. Broneer (1971), 49.
- 83. Coldstream (1977), 174.
- 84. Morgan (1994), 129.

### Chapter 3.

1. Whitley (1991), 33.
2. Morris (1987), 47 if we draw from *Il.XI.432-5*, *XV.348-51*, *XXI.122-7*, *XXII.96-9*, *335-54*, *508-11*, *XXIII.182-3*;  
*Od.III.258-61* for examples.
3. Dickey (1992), 3.
4. *Id.*, 14. For a detailed consideration of pit graves see Dickey (1992), 12-20.
5. See Dickey (1992), 20-4 for more detail.
6. Dickey (1992), 25-6; Young in Blegen et al. (1964), 18-20.
7. Salmon (1984), 100. Eliot (1964), 345-67 possibly according to Salmon, supports his claim.
8. Dickey (1992), 33; 24-36 for sarcophagi in detail.
9. *Id.*, 36-8; 36-43 for detail.
10. *Id.*, 45.
11. Morgan (forthcoming b), 13; Dickey (1992), 128f; Morris (1989), 315; Young in Blegen et al. (1964), 13-49. See also later section on the cult of ancestors, p101-3.
12. For Bacchiads see p15ff; Dickey (1992), 47.
13. Snodgrass (1971), 15; Dickey (1992), 47.
14. Dickey (1992), 49.
15. *Id.*, 64-5.
16. This does not include the large pots used as burial receptacles.
17. Young in Blegen et al. (1964), 17-8.
18. Dickey (1992), 72-5.
19. *Id.*, 78-90.

20. Id., 82.
21. Id., 92.
22. Id., 101.
23. Id., 103.
24. See above, p79.
25. Whitley (1991), 28 cites feasting as an example; Dickey (1992), 4.
26. Sourvinou-Inwood (1981), 35; Coldstream (1977), 137.
27. Ead., 28-9.
28. Dickey (1992), 106-8.
29. Id., 107; Salmon (1984), 199.
30. Alternatively such graves may not have been discovered possibly being located on a Bacchiad's property in the countryside.
31. Morris (1992), 25. See also Snodgrass (1980), 52-4; Langdon (1985); Morris (1986a), 12-3; Morgan (1989), 19.
32. Seaford (1994), 195.
33. See p125ff.
34. Dickey (1992), 105.
35. Op.cit., n.24.
36. The relevance of this will become clearer in Chapter 4 when the physical boundaries between men and gods are discussed, p115, 164.
37. See Eliot (1968), 345-6.
38. Dickey (1992), 126-8.
39. Id.(1992), 8-9. See also Salmon (1984), 22, 34; Young in Blegen et al. (1964), 13-20.
40. Young in Blegen et al. (1964), 13.

41. Clement et al. (1974), 401-11; Dickey (1992), 10-11, 132.
42. Wiseman (1978), 66; Dickey (1992), 11.
43. See above p81.
44. Dickey (1992), 129-30; Rutter (1990), 455-8.
45. See below p101-7 for hero cults.
46. Dickey (1992), 136.
47. Morris (1989), 317.
48. See p115, 164; Coldstream (1977), 317-40; De Polignac (1984), 41-87 presents the world of the plain (polis) against the world of nature through the liminal sanctuaries.
49. Sourvinou-Inwood (1981), 15-39; (1983), 33-4, 48.
50. See p21-5, 86.
51. Griffin (1980), 143.
52. See p19-22; Tyrtaeus (fr.10 West) also eludes to a similar attitude.
53. Op.cit (n.51), 102.
54. See p88.
55. Patroklos also had personal possessions with him at his burial, a rite that is also attested to in some of our graves from the Corinthia.
56. Hadzisteliou-Price (1973), 143.
57. Hiller (1983), 13. See also Snodgrass (1980), 129ff, 397ff, 422f; Coldstream (1977), 346ff.
58. Morris (1988), 750 notes dedications in Mycenaean tombs started as early as 950 B.C..
59. Coldstream (1976), 15.
60. Popham et al. (1993), 22. Also see p110-1.
61. Young in Blegen et al. (1964), 15.

62. Dickey (1992), 130.
63. Seaford (1994), 106.
64. Hagg (1983), 192-4.
65. Antonaccio (1993), 64.
66. For example Coldstream (1976), 9; de Polignac (1984), 129-9. Scholars such as Antonaccio (1993), 54, 65 feel that tomb cult did not reach its peak until the late eighth century B.C.. However, he does believe that hero cult started at the same time as suggested by Coldstream and Whitley (1984), 174 for the tombs.
67. Antonaccio (1993), 52-5.
68. Hagg (1987), 96. Also see below p172-4.
69. Coldstream (1977), 349.
70. Snodgrass (1980), 37ff. See also Coldstream (1976), 8-17; Hadzisteliou-Price (1973); Langdon (1987), 110.
71. Whitley (1988), 179-81. See also Calligas (1988), 233 for a similar view.
72. See p118-21.
73. See p26-27 for more on Cleisthenes of Sikyon and Adrastus.
74. Hdt.I.68; Boedeker (1993), 166-9; Morris (1988), 756.
75. Whitley (1988), 179-81.
76. Wright (1982), 193; Whitley (1988), 181; Antonaccio (1994), 103.
77. Coldstream (1975), 13-4.
78. Morris (1988), 757.
79. See p41, 68-71.
80. Morgan (forthcoming b), 5.

#### Chapter 4.

1. Marinatos (1992), 228.
2. Ead., 228-9.
3. See Sourvinou-Inwood (1993), 2-11 on spatial indeterminacy of Dark Age cult.
4. Mazarakis Ainian (1987), 105; de Polignac (1994), 7-8.
5. See p45-46 on the Perachora model buildings; Snodgrass (1980), 61.
6. See p103-106 on Mycenaean tomb cults; Burkert (1985), 91; Antonaccio (1994), 88-9, 92; de Polignac (1994), 8-9; Langdon (1987) 107; Snodgrass (1971) 394-401.
7. Popham et al (1993); (1982).
8. Popham et al (1982), 171.
9. Popham et al (1993), 97-100.
10. Callipo (1988), 230-2; Mazarkis Ainian (1987), 116, acknowledges that the Heroon does not fit in with his general schema but like Calligas, adapts the idea of a ruling family residence. This appears improbable but if correct continues the notion of involvement with the rulers house.
11. See Morgan (forthcoming b), 18.
12. Morgan in Gebhard and Hemans (1992), 6-8.
13. Morgan (forthcoming b), 4; de Polignac (1994), 4-5, perceives the Argive Heraion as originally fulfilling a similar role as a half way house/meet point for the surrounding community. See also Morgan (1994), 115; Coldstream (1983), 17 -25. For burials see Salmon (1980) 43-4.
14. See p68-71 and chapter 3.

15. Tomlinson (1977) 197-202; Mazarkis Ainian (1987), 117; Marinatos (1992), 228.
16. See p125-29.
17. Humphreys (1978), 201.
18. Morgan (1994), 119-20; Osborne (1987), Chpt 8; Connor (1987) 47-8.
19. Burkert (1985), 67-9.
20. Morgan *ibid.*
21. Poseidon was also the patron of federal gatherings which coincides well with the idea of community meetings.
22. Burkert (1983), 44.
23. *Id.*, 37.
24. Gebhard and Hemans (1992), 41-2; Gebhard (1992 b), 355; Morgan (1994), 141.
25. See p138.
26. *Op.Cit.*(n.3).
27. Coulton (1977), 30.
28. See p105-8 on Greek Temple origins.
29. Coldstream (1977), 30.
30. Antonaccio (1994), 83; De Polignac (1984), 30.
31. Rupp (1983), 104.
32. Burkert (1985), 50.
33. Langdon (1987), 110. For Homeric historical detail see Morris (1986 b); Finley, M.I., *The World of Odysseus* (London 1978<sup>2</sup>); Snodgrass, A M., "An historical Homeric society", *JHS* 94 (1974), 25-114.
34. *Op.Cit.*(n.3).
35. See Coulton (1977), 41-9.

36. See p108-11.
37. De Polignac (1984); Marinatos (1993), 229-30; Snodgrass (1980), 147.
38. De Polignac (1994), 3-18.
39. See Morgan (1994) 108; Osborne (1994), points to evidence that suggests the opposite though.
40. See below p120ff.
41. Morris (1989)
42. Sourvinou-Inwood (1993), 8.
43. Morgan (1990).
44. See n.15.
45. Morgan (1990), loc.cit.; 204.
46. See above p118-19.
47. Starr (1986), 40.
48. Morgan (1993), 35.
49. Ead.; Gebhard and Hemans (1992), 39.
50. Morgan (1993), 32.
51. See above p118-9.
52. Morgan (1994), 142; also see p27-8 on the arbitration between Poseidon and the Sun.
53. De Polignac (1984), 45-6.
54. Seaford (1994), 236.
55. Osborne (1987), 169.
56. Morgan (forthcoming a), 4.
57. See p12-14.
58. Adshead (1986), 40-41; See p29-30.
59. Adshead (1986), 59-60.
60. Id., 60.

61. McGregor (1941), 285.
62. Seaford (1994), 112-3.
63. Evjen (1986), 54.
64. Adshead (1986), 24, 39; See p137.
65. Gebhard (1992b), 335.
66. Murray (1993), 47.
67. Mauss (1990), 6, 39ff, 70; Burkert (1987), 47.
68. Seaford (1994), 196-7.
69. Herman (1987), 162.
70. For dedication of arms see below p126-27.
71. De Polignac (1994), 13.
72. *Od.* II.139ff; *XVII.*264ff.
73. See Murray ed. (1990), esp. Schmitt-Patel, 14-33 on the symposium and sacrificial meal.
74. Morris (1986 b), 124-7; see below p168-70 on Peisistratus and Homer.
75. See p68-71 on the shift of dedications from grave to sanctuary.
76. Coldstream (1977), 234-5.
77. Evjen (1986), 54.
78. See below p153-54 on the origin of Olympic Games.
79. See above p125-6.
80. De Polignac (1994), 11.
81. Morgan (forthcoming a), 2.
82. Rich votives at Perachora (p46ff) do not appear to be part of this ritualized competition.
83. Langdon (1987), 113.
84. Snodgrass (1980), 53.

85. See p21-5.
86. Jackson (1991), 228.
87. Snodgrass (1980), 63.
88. Jackson (1991), 245.
89. See above p115ff.
90. Dougherty (1993), 5.
91. Mazarkis Ainian (1988), 114; Thomas (1976), 108-13. Also see  
Drews (1983), 98-115 for the position of the basileus in the  
Geometric and Archaic periods.
92. Murray (1993), 13-68.
93. Burkert (1985), 94-5.
94. Donlan (1980), 51.
95. See below p136.
96. See Chapter 1.
97. Starr (1986), 65.
98. See Langdon (1987), 110; Humphreys (1978), 196-7 , 254;  
Burkert (1985), 95f on the noble priest.
99. Starr (1986), 63.
100. Connor (1987), 50.
101. Adshead (1986), 41.
102. Adshead (1986), 62; See also Gebhard (1993), 171; Burkert  
(1983), 197; Will (1955), 169-80.
103. See p29-30.
104. See p68-71.
105. Morgan (forthcoming b), 7-8.
106. Ead., 8.
107. Evjen (1986), 53.
108. Langdon (1987), 108-9.

- 109.Herman (1987), 2.
- 110.Harris (1964), 37. *Plu.Sol.23.3* records a financial reward of 500 dr for the Olympia and 100 for the Isthmian.
- 111.Adshead (1986), 50.
- 112.Herman (1987), 45, 80.
- 113.Seaford (1994), 122 cites that similar successive changes occurred at Rhodes.
- 114.Sourvinou-Inwood (1990), 295; also see Morgan (1991), 144.
- 115.Coldstream (1983), 25.
- 116.Coldstream (1977), 339.
- 117.Harris (1964), 49.

## Chapter 5.

1. The evidence which I discuss in this chapter is not detailed and thus not meant to be an exhaustive study in its own right. Its use is for comparative purposes.
2. Morgan (1990), 75.
3. Ead., 39 - for early archaeological evidence; Ead., 29 - for place of origin.
4. See the later discussion on Olympian tripod dedications.
5. See Burkert (1983), 94; Lee (1988), 112 for first recorded victor. Morgan (1990), 46-8, 89-92 also opts for a later "official" start date, c700 B.C..
6. Mallowitz (1988), 81, 87.
7. The following evidence is drawn from Morgan (1990), 80-5.
8. Derived from Morgan (1990), 85-8.
9. Osborne (1987), 124-6 suggests that in the later Archaic period, Olympia articulated relations between settlements because there was no major political centre in the immediate vicinity.
10. Hdt.VI.127; Ephorus FGrH F115; Strabo VIII.3.33. Also see Snodgrass (1980), 144; Kelly (1976), 94-111.
11. The following discussion draws upon material from Morgan (1990), 98-103.
12. There is evidence to suggest that feasting took place here, see Fagerstrom (1988), 42.
13. Op.cit.(n.6), 91.
14. Ead., 89.
15. Cartledge (1985), 106.
16. Op.cit.(n.14).

17. Ead., 103.
18. This section is a summary of information I believe relevant to my argument.
19. Coldstream (1985), 73.
20. Cartledge (1985), 106.
21. See n.6, 81; *Olympia IV*, 28ff, pls 10-14.
22. Snodgrass (1964); (1980), 53-4.
23. Jackson (1991), 245.
24. See p147.
25. Starr (1977), 35.
26. Lee (1988), 110-1.
27. Id., 113.
28. Op.cit.(n.20), 107. See below (n.65), for ritual running in The Panathenaia.
29. Mallowitz (1988), 101. For more detail on the following athletic events see Harris (1964), 64-110.
30. Fontenrose (1988), 121.
31. Morgan (1990), 106-7.
32. See p41.
33. Forrest (1957), 160-9.
34. Forrest (1957), 165. Lambert (1982), 216-20 believes such an early Pan-Hellenic division to be implausible as Thuk.I.15.3 is our only source that refers to a Pan-Hellenic war. Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch and Aristotle, he believes, suggest otherwise. The role of Delphi in the colonizing process is briefly considered below.
35. Op.cit.(n.25), 36.
36. Op.cit.(n.31), 134-6.

37. Op.cit.(n.30), 121.
38. Dunbabin (1948), 65ff; Forrest (1957), 172.
39. Op.cit.(n.31), 112-6.
40. Ead., 119-25.
41. Broneer (1971), 40-53.
42. Op.cit.(n.31), 133-4.
43. I use Corinth as the example here as she was favoured by the Oracle and happened to be a great colonizing State.
44. Malkin (1987), 22.
45. Londey (1990), 125.
46. This happened to the oikist Dorieus when he failed to consult Delphi (Hdt.V.39-48).
47. Fontenrose (1988), 124-5.
48. It is also interesting to note that Cretans, according to the *Hymn to Apollo*, were forced to serve as priests. However, this was probably politically motivated showing a wide scope of access to all and an attempt to play down any early local control.
49. Op.cit.(n.47), 129.
50. Parke (1977), 56-7. Many deities, along with Demeter, had independent festivals dedicated to them. In the Archaic period we find many communities claiming that their festival was the one true festival of a particular god.
51. Ibid.
52. Feaver (1957), 127-8.
53. Coldstream (1985), 89-90.
54. Andrewes (1982), 412.
55. See below p171ff.

56. Seaford (1994), 248.
57. See p112ff.
58. Burkert (1983), 154; Neils (1992), 21-2.
59. Op.cit.(n.54), 410; Shapiro (1992), 57; Kyle (1992), 80.
60. Robertson (1992), xv; op.cit.(n.54).
61. Op.cit.(n.50), 34 where Parke suggests that Hippocleides introduced the awarding of olive oil prizes for the games. Neils (1992), 20 notes Hippocleides' involvement in the games held by Cleisthenes of Sicyon (Hdt.VI.126-30) and thus an interest in athletics in general.
62. Davison (1958), 25.
63. Op.cit.(n.60), 97.
64. This would have been particularly likely before the festivals sixth century B.C. reorganization.
65. Simon (1983), 64.
66. Op.cit.(n.62), 26; J.D.Beazley *The Development of Attic Black Figure Vases* (1951), Ch.8.
67. Following Davison (1955), 16-8.
68. Id., 17.
69. Id., 20-1.
70. Id., 21.
71. Id., 11-2; Seaford (1994), 150.
72. Op.cit.(n.67), 10-1; Shapiro (1992), 72-3.
73. Davison (1958), 39.
74. Osborne (1994), 147f; 160.
75. Andrewes (1982), 412; Robertson (1992), 90-7 shares the view that Peisistratos actively encouraged the expansion of the festival.

76. Connor (1987), 42-6.
77. Boardman (1975), 1.
78. Boardman (1989), 159.
79. Op.cit.(n.76), 46.
80. Moon (1983), 102.
81. Op.cit.(n.77), 9.
82. *ibid.*
83. Wright (1982), 193; Whitley (1988), 179.
84. Wright (1982), 199.
85. *Id.*, 191.
86. Morgan and Whitelaw (1991), 79ff.
87. The Argives actually destroyed Asine in the late eighth century B.C.
88. De Polignac (1984), 49-66.
89. Op.cit.(n.86), 85; Morgan (1990), 12.
90. Osborne (1987), 169.
91. It is interesting to note that Hera was the patron goddess as she was also worshipped at Mycenae and Tiryns.
92. For further information see Burkert (1983), 162-3.
93. Morgan (1991), 144.
94. Much of the following discussion on the ethnos draws on Morgan (1991).
95. *Ead.*, 139; see also p50.
96. *Ead.*, 142.
97. See p101-2.
98. Op.cit.(n.93), 145; Snodgrass (1980),53, 99-107.
99. Starr (1977), 39.
100. Evjen (1986), 54.

101. Cartledge (1985), 105.

Conclusion.

1. Ehrenberg (1969<sup>2</sup>), 14.
2. See p66.
3. In chapter 5 such processions have been noted between Athens and Eleusis and Argos and her Heraion.
4. See p171ff.

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