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## Reconsidering the Hera-Pottery from the Samian Heraion and Its Distribution

Located in a marshy valley between the river Imbrassos and the sea, the Samian Heraion developed at the very spot where, according to the legend, Hera was born under a willow tree<sup>1</sup>. The prosperity and longevity of the sanctuary is reflected by the remarkable finds brought to light by the German excavations and comprise of architectural remains, sculpture, various small-scale objects, as well as an impressive amount of plain and decorated ceramics. This study focuses on a particular type of pottery from the Samian Heraion, termed Hera-pottery or Cult-pottery. It is locally made, found in large quantities, and often carries a distinct dipinto, abbreviating Hera's name (Fig. 1). The majority of these vessels consists of drinking cups and dates from the second half of the seventh through the sixth century B.C., a period that overlaps with the peak of the sanctuary<sup>2</sup>.

The most frequent shape is the old-fashioned one-handed mug, equipped with a small ring-foot and an outward flaring lip. The Hera-mugs are usually light brown with red details on rim, handle and foot, and most of them carry one of the following – usually red<sup>3</sup> – dipinti, indicating they are property of the goddess: HPH (*eta rho eta*), HP (*eta rho*), PH (*rho eta*). The same symbols are also found on oinochoai, hydriai, amphoras, and lekanai, although these shapes are represented in considerably fewer numbers<sup>4</sup>. According to the study of Andreas Furtwängler, there are thirteen variations of Hera-kylikes dating from 620 to the late sixth century<sup>5</sup>, and eight categories of Hera-mugs formed based on profile, lettering style of the dipinto, and ratio of diameter and height (most examples are of diam. 0.10–0.11 m and H 0.7–0.85 m). The mugs are rather tall and well-proportioned, and usually carry the HP dipinto left of the handle. After the middle of the sixth century, they become plumper and are less often marked with Hera's initials<sup>6</sup>. There is also a type of miniature mugs

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Centre de Recherches en Archéologie et Patrimoine – Université Libre de Bruxelles in 2009, as part of the ARC Project (Action de recherche concertée 2004–2009): La céramique dans les sociétés anciennes. Production, distribution, usages. I thank Athena Tsingarida for the invitation and her support. Also, I am indebted to Bettina Kreuzer for her valuable suggestions, to Denise Demetriou for commenting on earlier drafts, and to the reviewer(s) of the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*.

**1** For a discussion of the literary sources and the cult of Hera, see Kyrieleis 1993,

125. 135. 143; O'Brien 1993, 9–12. 54–62; Brize 1997, 135–137; Furtwängler 1997; de Polignac 1997; Baumbach 2004, 147. 167. 171. On the so-called sacred tree found at the Heraion, see n. 20.

**2** Kron 1984, 292–297; Kron 1988; Furtwängler – Kienast 1989, 71–80; Brize 1997, 129.

**3** The colour of the surface may vary from brown/reddish brown to yellow to light red, while the painting of the dipinti range from red to black, e. g. Isler 1978, 96 no. 142; 158 nos. 590–593; 160–163 nos. 608. 610–616. 618. 620. 621.

**623–625. 631. 633–637.** Furtwängler –

Kienast 1989, 131 no. IIIc/6; 146 no. W2/5.9–12; 148 no. W2/16–18.

**4** The dipinti consist of two or less often of three letters. At first it was thought that ΔH was an abbreviation of *demosion* similar to Athenian examples, but Kron 1984 argued convincingly against this suggestion and counter-proposed an abbreviation of the name of Hera in retrograde, identifying the so-called delta with a footless *rho*.

**5** Furtwängler – Kienast 1989, 81–86 figs. 12. 13.

**6** Furtwängler – Kienast 1989, 86–89 fig. 14.

Type of mugs	Capacity (litres)	Type of cups	Capacity (litres)
Type I	0.282	Type a	0.28
Type IIa	Profile drawing not accepted by Capacity Calculation Program	Type b	0.77
Type IIb	0.17	Type c	Profile drawing not accepted by the Capacity Calculation Program
Type III	0.27	Type d-a	0.51
Type IV	0.22	Type d-b	0.51
Type V	0.33	Type e	0.44
Type VI	0.19	Type f	Profile drawing not accepted by the Capacity Calculation Program
Type VII	0.17	Type g	0.56
Type VIIIa	0.16	Type h	0.48
Type VIIIb	0.21	Type i	0.56
		Type j	0.59
		Type k	0.46
		Type l	Incomplete profile drawing
		Type m-a	0.43
		Type m-b	0.34

(diam. 0.68–0.86 m), which, despite the lack of dipinti, probably served the same purposes as the Hera-mugs<sup>7</sup>.

An important feature that highlights the group-character of this pottery, and particularly the cups and mugs, is their capacity. The majority of Hera-cups could hold more than 0.45 l, while most mugs had half this capacity, 0.22 l (see Tab. 1), similar to the capacity of the one-handled skyphoi from the Kabeirion at Thebes and the Attic owl-skyphoi (0.25 l and 0.22 l, respectively)<sup>8</sup>. This trait suggests a deliberate uniformity of the vase-construction and points to a collective usage of the vessels by a distinct group of users.

Interestingly, three miniature vessels attached on the famous seventh-century ring-kernos from the Heraion are comparable to the shape and profile of the Hera-mugs, an aspect that enhances their sacred character. Since several of these one-handled vessels were found in the same deposit as the kernos, it has been assumed that they were all buried there after a ritual cleansing of the temenos around the end of the seventh century<sup>9</sup>.

With regard to other shapes, oinochoai were popular during the turn of the century, and probably hydriai, as there is a number of fragments of closed shapes that should be ascribed to that shape; bowls and amphoras are rather infrequent, while kraters are very rare<sup>10</sup>. Clay, technique, and colour indicate a local Samian production whereas their quality and firing varies from case to case. The Hera-pottery was probably produced within the Heraion itself, a hypothesis supported by traces of workshops in the sanctuary and along the

Tab. 1 Capacity of Hera mugs and cups based on profiles from Furtwängler – Kienast 1989, figs. 12–14 and the Capacity Calculation Program at ULB (<<http://capacity.ulb.ac.be>> [03.07.2016])

<sup>7</sup> Furtwängler – Kienast 1989, 86 n. 359; 117–119 fig. 22 pl. 25 (Ia/1 and Ib/2).

<sup>8</sup> I thank Bettina Kreuzer for pointing out these common features. The measurements were taken using profiles of select Hera-mugs and cups published in Furtwängler – Kienast 1989, figs. 12–14 and the Capacity Program at ULB (<<http://capacity.ulb.ac.be>> [03.07.2016]). In particular, for the Hera-cups the average capacity was 0.49 l and for the Hera-mugs 0.22 l. As mentioned above, the majority of Hera-cups could hold more than 0.45 l,

while most mugs had half this capacity. It is interesting to point out that the characteristic shape of the Hera-mugs finds close parallels to the one-handled skyphoi from the Kabeirion at Thebes, mostly dated to the first half of the fifth century (albeit glazed inside and out). They were used for drinking purposes, but also for libations, while at least one example can be considered part of a foundation deposit, a feature that enhances its ritual character: Heimberg 1982, 27 nos. 115–125 pl. 8.

<sup>9</sup> On the kernos, see Vierneisel 1961, esp. 28–59 figs. 24–32; Brize 1997,

128 f. fig. 12. The seventh-century ring-kernos with the miniature mugs and plastic animals recalls the Late Geometric ring-kernos with seven oinochoiskai (Walter 1968, pls. 47. 48) and confirms the long use of such vessels in libations. For the use of kernos, in general, see ThesCRA V 2b (2005) 250–252 s. v. kernos (A. M. Bignasca).

<sup>10</sup> Kron 1988, 145; Furtwängler – Kienast 1989, 89–95 figs. 15 (oinochoai), 16 (lekanai, amphoras); 103 fig. 17 (plate with the chronology of cult pottery); 104 fig. 18 (plate correlating shapes and findspots of Hera-vases).

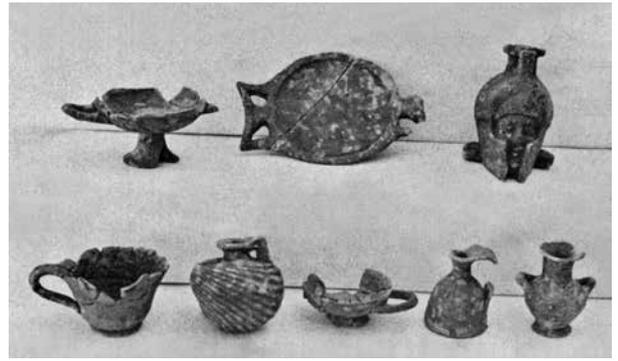


1

Samos

Fig. 1 Typical examples of the so-called Hera-pottery – mugs, oinochoe, olpe

Fig. 2 Miniature vessels from a child's burial in the West Nekropolis – notice the miniature mug in lower left corner



2

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Sacred Way<sup>11</sup>. The precise findspot of Hera-vases discovered during the early excavations is unknown<sup>12</sup>. However, recent campaigns have yielded large quantities of Hera-pottery mixed with ashes, imported ceramics, figurines, and *obeloi* from well-documented strata<sup>13</sup>.

With the exception of Naukratis (see below), the Samian Heraion is so far the exclusive findspot of Hera-vases, i. e., pots carrying the HP dipinti, indicating that it was forbidden to carry them outside the sanctuary<sup>14</sup>. However, unmarked, locally made pots have been found outside the Heraion, e. g., in the West necropolis of Samos<sup>15</sup> (Fig. 2), the Archaic city-center<sup>16</sup>, as well as at Miletus and Rhodes<sup>17</sup>.

A future study comparing the amounts of local pottery with Hera's initials from the Heraion to the plain ones found elsewhere on the island and beyond could clarify what percentage of the production was marked out for special use in the sanctuary, be it in ritual dining, dedications or other.

## Hera-Pottery and Ritual Meals at the Samian Heraion

Excavations at the Heraion have yielded large quantities of local pottery, particularly of drinking vessels. Those carrying a dipinto with Hera's initials

<sup>11</sup> On clay beds, traces of workshops and production of Samian pottery, see Vierendeel 1961, 28; Dupont 1983; Kron 1984, 296. On the chemical analysis of Hera-vases, see Jones 1986. A long tradition of trading activity within the sanctuary is also implied by the third-century *Kapelois* inscription, which outlines the conditions under which the *neopotoi* may rent out stalls for retailers in the Heraion (SEG 27, 545, ca. 246–221 B.C.); Kron 1984, 296 f. discusses the *Kapelois* inscription in this context and speculates that there must have been an earlier, now lost *lex sacra*, that dealt with similar problems, including the ritual deposit of the Hera-pottery within the sanctuary. For remains of Hellenistic selling-stands in the Heraion, see Kyrieleis et al. 1985, 365–450 esp. 435–437.

<sup>12</sup> Kron 1984, 292.

<sup>13</sup> Kron 1988, 145 mentions pots discovered in fragmentary state, yet with

recognisable profiles, in fountains and *bothroi*; Brize 1997, 129 f. argues that the *obeloi* were both ritual objects used as spits for roasting animals (*triobolon*), but, because of their value, they were also an appropriate gift for the goddess.

<sup>14</sup> Kron 1984.

<sup>15</sup> From a tomb in the West necropolis of Samos comes a miniature mug, which shares all the traits of the Hera-vessels except for the dipinto. The characteristic one-handled cup was found in a child's burial along with 22 miniature vases: Tsakos 1970, 417 pls. 351 a–c. The discovery of such a mug within a funerary context strengthens the ritual character of this shape, but, at the same time, reveals its use beyond the Heraion and calls for a careful re-examination of finds from the necropoleis and the city. For example, reading the excavation report of the 1969 campaign at the West necropolis, one discovers that among the finds of two sixth-century burials are included fragments

of vases decorated in red paint and an undecorated kyathion, prochoous, and a small one-handled vessel deposited around the amphora holding the child's remains. Any motifs that may have decorated the vases have long been covered under a layer of sediment, a frequent phenomenon on Samos: Tsakos 1969, 388. Unfortunately, there is no image of these vases in the report, but the mention of red paint and their shapes suggest a local production similar to the Hera-ware.

<sup>16</sup> Further support to the assumption that non-branded shapes of the so-called Hera-pottery were circulating outside the sanctuary is offered by recent finds, such as the group of three olpai dated ca. 500 B.C. from a deposit at the Archaic city-center that differs only by the lack of dipinti: Tsakos – Viglaki-Sofianou 2012, 266 (bottom).

<sup>17</sup> I thank the anonymous reviewer(s) for this information.

were singled out by Uta Kron and associated with ritual meals in honour of the goddess. Her suggestion was based mainly on descriptions of open-air meals in later literary sources and select sixth-century vase-paintings<sup>18</sup>. Our main source of these meals is an epigram by the Hellenistic poet Nikainetos<sup>19</sup>, describing how a procession from the city culminated to open-air banquets on mattresses under the trees in the sanctuary's sacred forest<sup>20</sup>. Kron argues that ritual dining open to all worshippers occurred in the Archaic and Classical periods as well, and that the Hera-pottery was indiscriminately used by all visitors during those festive occasions. Although this is an attractive hypothesis, it is based primarily on much later literary sources and diverges from Bettina Kreuzer's interpretation of the use of Attic vases from the Heraion.

In particular, Kreuzer questioned the characterisation of Attic black-figure pottery found at the Heraion solely for votive purposes and instead identified the vases as the preferred banquet set of ritual meals of the elite, even though none of these Attic imports (or any other figurative pottery) carry the characteristic Hera-dipinti. She argued further that cult-personnel and worshippers used the Hera-pottery, but the wealthy, male aristocrats had the privilege of dining on fine, imported pottery and metal vases<sup>21</sup>, not only in the open but also in more permanent facilities, such as the North Stoa and the North Building. These high-quality service-wares were later dedicated to the goddess<sup>22</sup>.

If Kreuzer's hypothesis is correct, then we come to the conclusion that both the modest, locally produced Hera-pottery and the high-quality Attic black-figure vases were used for ritual banquets during the sixth century. This overlap is usually explained as a reflection of the different social and financial status of the worshippers. However, in sanctuaries where pottery plays an important role in communal practices, similar social distinctions are not echoed in the service-ware, see for example the lamps at the Mysteries of Samothrace<sup>23</sup>, the kantharoi and skyphoi from the Kabeirion of Thebes<sup>24</sup>, and the krateriskoi from the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia<sup>25</sup>. Although there are cases where private meals are thought to take place in specially formed dining rooms within a sanctuary, e. g., in the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Corinth, the division of banqueters is dictated by local cult-practices rather

**18** Kron 1984 and 1988; with regard to vases thought to represent ritual meals, see the Laconian cup by the Arkesilas Painter from the Heraion (Kron 1988, 141 fig. 4) and the fragmentary Fikellura amphora from Amathous, Cyprus (Kron 1988, 141 fig. 5). The amphora was once thought to be a Samian product, but recent archaeometric analysis has demonstrated that it should be attributed to the Milesian workshop: for a detailed presentation and the argumentation against a Fikellura production on Samos, see Kerschner 2002, esp. 43; Kerschner – Mommsen 2009, 84 f.; Schlotzhauer 2012, 44 n. 172; 123 f. no. Nau 86 (non *vidi*).

**19** Nikainetos apud Athenaeus, *Deipnosoph.* 15, 673 b. c. The Archaic poet Asios from Samos and his description of the luxurious festivals in honour of Hera is quoted by Douris (FGH 76 fr. 60); another important source is Menodotos apud Athenaeus, *Deipno-*

*soph.* 15, 672c–674b. For commentary, see Kron 1988, 137–139; O'Brien 1993, 9–11.

**20** On the importance of the *lygos* tree, cf. Menodotos supra n. 19 and Anakreon, *PMelGr Fr.* 41 B (Page); Kron 1988, 138–141. On the so-called sacred tree from the Heraion (not a willow tree [*lygos*]) and its significance regarding the orientation of buildings, see Kienast 1991. On the latest excavations regarding the so-called sacred tree and its date, see Niemeier – Maniatis 2010, where it is shown that the tree does not actually grow in situ but is rather a stump deposited near the altar, possibly as a ritual marker. Also, the discovery of Minoan pottery and local conical cups in the same site demonstrates the Minoan origin of the sanctuary.

**21** Recently, Ebbinghaus 2006, 215 (with illustration) argued that a bronze, bull-shaped drinking vessel produced locally around 600 B.C. could have been

used during ritual meals by a priest, because it carries the inscription XAIPE Ω ΙΕΡΕΥ and the dedication of a certain Diagoras to Hera, abbreviated as HPH.

**22** Kreuzer 1998, 32–41; Pipili 2000, 409–421 associated the imported pottery from the Heraion with aristocratic dining, as well. Cf. the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, where ritual dining is thought to occur both in permanent facilities and in open air, see Bookidis 1993, 47.

**23** On ritual dining in Samothrace, see Cole 1984, 36 f. with more bibliography. Recently on dining-facilities in sanctuaries, see Leybold 2008.

**24** On the pottery from the Theban Kabeirion, see Heimberg 1982, esp. 27 nos. 115–125 pl. 8 for the one-handled skyphoi.

**25** On the sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron and the krateriskoi, see Kahil 1977, 86–101 and 1981, 253–263.

than social hierarchies<sup>26</sup>. Despite these objections, Kreuzer's theory is valuable not only for providing an alternative explanation for the high-quality ceramic imports<sup>27</sup>, but also because it underscores the presence of Hera-pottery at ritual meals as neither mandatory nor exclusive.

### Hera-Pottery vis-à-vis the Architecture of the Samian Heraion

Following this path, I pursue here a different interpretation of the Hera-pottery, closely linked to the architectural advancements of the Heraion (Tab. 2). In particular, I wish to associate the Hera-vases with the practice of supplying workers with pottery, a custom common in Egypt with which Samos shared many ties, as it will be shown below. Therefore, a small diversion on the architectural history of the Heraion is essential.

The first altar of Hera was built in the tenth century, but it was only with the construction of the Hekatompedos in the late eighth century that the sanctuary received its first monumental building. In the seventh century the South Stoa and the adjacent water basin were built, and by the first half of the sixth century the Dipteros I (›Rhoikos Temple‹) and the corresponding altar (›Rhoikos Altar‹) were erected. Collapsing soon after its completion, the Dipteros I was succeeded by an even larger dipteral temple about 40 m west of the previous one, possibly introduced by Polykrates (ca. 540 B.C.). Known as the Dipteros II (›Great Temple‹), this enormous dipteral temple was doomed to remain unfinished. At the northern part of the sanctuary, there is a series of buildings, such as ›temples‹ A to D, the North Building, and the North Stoa, which all date around the middle of the sixth century and whose exact functions are still debated. Cult- and building activity declines in the fifth and fourth centuries, and only in the Hellenistic period there is a brief revival of the sanctuary when Samos becomes the naval basis of the Ptolemies<sup>28</sup>.

The appearance of Hera-pottery in the seventh century coincides with the renovation of the first monumental temple of Hera, Hekatompedos II, a point crucial to my thesis. This phenomenon leads to two questions: if ritual meals were celebrated before the emergence of Hera-pottery, using local Geometric vases instead, then we have to ask what sparked the creation of this special ware. Otherwise, if sacred dining is a tradition first established in the seventh century, we have to investigate the reasons for its introduction. A plausible explanation for its appearance is linked to the building of the Hekatompedos. Alexandros Mazarakis Ainian has argued that early Greek temples, such as the Hekatompedos I of Samos, were used as chieftain's dwellings and served a number of functions, including ritual dining. Under this premise, he interprets the so-called platform running along the long sides of Hekatompedos I as benches providing seats during communal meals. These long benches stopped being used before or around the middle of the seventh century, when the floor level of the temple was raised resulting in a new architectural phase of the building, known as Hekatompedos II<sup>29</sup>. After this remodelling, ritual dining could not take place in the Hekatompedos, and thus the South Stoa (ca. 640 B.C.) becomes a plausible venue for such practices on account of its proximity to a large water basin and the large quantities of drinking pottery discovered in the area<sup>30</sup>.

Since the second building phase of the Hekatompedos and the construction of the South Stoa overlap with the appearance of the Hera-vases, I argue that the production of this special ware was dictated by the need to accommodate a large number of people over a set period of time. The association of

**26** Bookidis 1993, 45–61 esp. 51; Pemberton 2000, 85–106 esp. 96. 99–106.

**27** Kreuzer 1998, 85–97. On the local Samian productions and an overview of the problems in localizing East Aegean pottery, see Kerschner – Mommsen 2009, esp. 85 and the elusive fine Samian ware(s).

**28** For an overview of the architectural history and the different phases of the Heraion, see Shipley 1987, 57–62. 78–80; Kyrieleis 1993; Furtwängler 1997; de Polignac 1997; Baumbach 2004, 149–151; Tsakos – Viglaki-Sofianou 2012, 65–94. For the Hekatompedoi, see recently Ohnesorg 2009, 43 n. 77. For the Dipteroi, esp. matters of terminology and construction sequence, see Hendrich 2007, VII n. 1; Hellner 2009, 3. 201 f.; Kienast 1992 and 2012. On finds from each phase, see Brize 1997; Tsakos – Viglaki-Sofianou 2012, 65–165 (finds from the sanctuary). 251–342 (objects from various chronological periods and findspots). On the prehistoric settlement at the Heraion, see Milojević 1961. For an overview of the city and the necropoleis, see Zapheiropoulou 1997, 151–162; Tsakos – Viglaki-Sofianou 2012, 55–66. 164–245.

**29** Mazarakis Ainian 1988, 105–119 esp. 117 f. Cf. the temple of Apollo Pagasaïos at Soros (Demetrias): Mazarakis Ainian 2009.

**30** Kreuzer 1998, 36–38 with a discussion of previous scholarship.

temple-construction with the Hera-pottery leads to two possible scenarios: either large-scale sacred meals were held as celebrations for the restoration of the temple of Hera<sup>31</sup>, creating a tradition that signalled significant changes in cult-practices with the end of kingship and the rise of the *Geomoroi* on Samos<sup>32</sup>; or, we may explain the modest Hera-vases as the service-ware of dozens (if not hundreds) of workers that must have been employed for the ambitious building program of the sanctuary. I would like to explore here the latter possibility.

In the sixth century cult activity in the Heraion reached its peak<sup>33</sup>, receiving impressive dedications from all over the Mediterranean<sup>34</sup> and entering its monumental phase with a magnificent altar and two temples of extraordinary scale: Dipteros I and II<sup>35</sup>. The ruling dynasty may be responsible for sponsoring some of these projects, however, the Heraion itself could have also financed such enterprises thanks to its considerable revenues from agriculture, viticulture, and workshops under its control<sup>36</sup>. Admittedly, the increased production of Hera-pottery in the first half of the sixth century may be taken as an indication of a larger number of visitors attending the festival of Hera; however, if we juxtapose it to the architectural developments in the Heraion, we see a pattern where the peak of building-construction and the production of Hera-vases overlap. Starting with the fall of Polykrates, the Hera-vases gradually decreased in quality and quantity. The end of this pottery-type around 480 B.C. has been explained in the past as a result of the shift of interest from ritual meals to athletic competitions<sup>37</sup>. However, one could attribute the decline of the Hera-pottery to the halt of building activities that followed the abolition of tyranny and to the fifth-century Athenian intervention that stripped the sanctuary of its income sources. Having lost its former glory, the Heraion could no longer finance grand-scale projects, while the Athenians preferred to promote their own patron gods rather than sponsor any costly construction in the Heraion<sup>38</sup>.

According to the chronological plates compiled by Furtwängler<sup>39</sup>, there is an abundance of Hera-vases (especially mugs and cups) in the second and third quarters of the sixth century, periods that correspond to the building of the Dipteros I and its successor (Tab. 2). These projects could not be realised without a considerable number of workers labouring for long periods of time. Practically, this meant that a large number of laymen entered the sanctuary on a daily basis, and that food and water provisions for consumption and ablutions would have to be readily available. Since water-sources are abundant in the area<sup>40</sup>, the sanctuary officials only needed to provide the workers with vases that could function both as food containers and drinking vessels. The shape that best fitted this need was the archaising mug, which could be produced *en mass*, and was often marked with the HP dipinti, so that it was easily recognised as property of the Heraion.

As mentioned above, in addition to the Hera-pottery, there are vases of the same local production that are left unmarked, i. e. without dipinti, found both within the sanctuary and outside. It seems plausible to assume that vases with dipinti demarcated the batches of vessels that were destined to remain in the Heraion and cover specific needs, as it was probably the case for some of the unmarked ones that were part of the same batch of production as well. The demand for mugs and cups would have been greater than closed shapes (e. g., hydriai) and mixing containers (e. g., kraters), because of the large number of individual users, in our hypothesis workers; this may explain why we find the HP dipinti on drinking pots more frequently than on other shapes. It may also account for the absence of Hera-vases from elsewhere in Samos and on sites

31 Cf. Christian *thyranoxia*.

32 On the *Geomoroi*, see Shipley 1987, 39–48 esp. 47 f.

33 On the period, see Shipley 1987, 69–99.

34 Hdt. 2, 182, 1 (Amasis's gift); 3, 47 (on Samian pirates looting the Amasis's gift to Sparta); Shipley 1987, 83 on *xeniai*. On the variety of dedications from the Heraion, see Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985, 215–254 esp. 235–243; Kyrieleis 1993; Kyrieleis 2006, 129–139.

35 Kyrieleis 1993, 133 f.

36 Shipley 1987, 81–99.

37 Furtwängler 1997, 142–148.

38 Furtwängler 1997, 141 f. 144. 148.

39 Furtwängler – Kienast 1989, 103. 108.

40 Kyrieleis 1993, 125. 135–137.

B.C.	Building Activity	Kylikes	Mugs	Trifoil Oinochoai	Oinochoai	Amphoras
650						
640	Hekatompedos II					
630	South Stoa, Water Basin					
620						
610						
600						
590						
580	Sewage works, terracing					
570	Dipteros I, South Building Northern Buildings					
560	Northern Buildings					
550	Ῥhoikos Altar, Northern Buildings					
540	Dipteros II, Northern Buildings					
530	Dipteros II, Northern Buildings					
520	Dipteros II, Northern Buildings					
510	Dipteros II, Northern Buildings					
500	Dipteros II, Northern Buildings					
490 and later						



Tab. 2 Comparative chronology of building activity and frequency of Hera-pottery at the Heraion. Based on the chart by Furtwängler – Kienast 1989, 103 fig. 3 showing a chronological plate of the most characteristic shapes of Hera-pottery

such as Miletus or Rhodes, where identical pots without dipinti have been discovered. The local pottery-type marked as Hera's property was necessary for the activities within the sanctuary and thus never left the premises, in contrast to the vessels without dipinti that had the option to be traded as a commodity or be used within the sanctuary, since they were left in stock.

This hypothesis explains the large quantities of mugs of similar and/or identical dimensions, the frequent presence of kylikes, and the relatively small number of closed shapes. Most significantly, it accounts for the rarity of kraters, a shape indispensable for wine consumption during banquets. If the Hera-vases were a set for ritual dining, as Kron originally suggested<sup>41</sup>, one would expect a more pronounced presence of kraters vis-à-vis the great numbers of drinking pots. Instead, their small number suggests that such large, plain, open vessels were probably used during communal food preparation and serving (like the *lebetes*), not necessarily for wine mixing. Lastly, the shape and size of Hera-mugs shows no significant change over the sixth century, suggesting a more or less equal capacity. This consistency indicates a need to provide equal water- and food- portions on regular basis to a group of people, possibly the craftsmen and workers of the Heraion<sup>42</sup>.

The association of Hera-pottery with labourers does not taint its sacred character as it was used within the temenos and helped to regulate daily activities and practical needs. The identification of Hera-vases as the service-ware of laymen is based on the assumption that non-specialized workers were paid (mainly?) in food, rather than a daily salary. Such a hypothesis is indeed hard to prove, especially since the physical presence, characteristics, number, and working-conditions of labourers in Greek building projects are rather elusive<sup>43</sup>. Traces of workshops in the archaeological record are scant, with the exception of Pheidias's workshop in Olympia – by an interesting coincidence, Pheidias's favourite drinking vessel is also a mug, while drinking cups marked DEMOSION have been found in his workshop<sup>44</sup>. Our best source of

<sup>41</sup> See n. 18.

<sup>42</sup> To the usage of the Hera-mugs as ratio-vessels hints the presence of miniature mugs on the famous kernos discussed above, where a sample of different goods was offered to the deity.

<sup>43</sup> Martin 1973, 191–205; Hellmann 2002, 1. 56–72.

<sup>44</sup> For Pheidias' mug, see Mallwitz – Schiering 1964, 169 no. 1 pl. 64; for the workshop of Pheidias in general, see Schiering 1991.

information on building costs, labour division, and contracts is the extant epigraphic material and, less frequently, the works of ancient authors<sup>45</sup>. The most famous building accounts from the Greek world are the records from the Erechtheion on the Athenian Acropolis (late fifth century, IG I<sup>3</sup> 476) and of the Asklepeion at Epidauros (fourth century). Even in these cases the methods of payment and number of employees are not clearly stated. Alison Burford has estimated that at least 200 workers were present at the construction site of the temple of Asklepios in Epidauros at any given phase of the project, which was completed in four years and eight months; for the final stages of the Erechtheion, she calculates ca. 107 craftsmen and labourers<sup>46</sup>.

The question of salary is harder to approach as the price mentioned in the archives reflects the amount paid for the whole contract and not for individuals or teams of workers<sup>47</sup>. Inscriptions from Delos and Didyma mention labourers receiving food as payment (*opsonion*), while in rare instances slaves were given clothes as compensation<sup>48</sup>. Quite significant is an inscription from Aphrati in Crete, dated around 500 B.C., which outlines the work-contract of a scribe named Spensithios, his compensation, tax exemption, and annual salary; the latter includes alimentary provisions and other privileges that secure him a membership at the Cretan *sysitia*<sup>49</sup>. Admittedly, this contract is drawn between the city and an expert, not an ordinary worker, but it is still valuable as it provides evidence for alternative forms of payment<sup>50</sup>.

The practice of supplying workers with pottery was common in Egypt<sup>51</sup>, but seems to have no counterparts in Greece. One cannot help wondering, however, whether Samos is the exception to the rule. The island kept close ties with Egypt, attested by the early Samian colony of Oasis and later with the presence of Samians on Naukratis. Mercenaries and traders helped to maintain this connection, as did individual travellers, such as Pythagoras. In the sixth century, Amasis and Polykrates enjoyed a special relation, bound by necessity and aristocratic rules of *xenia*. More importantly, elements of Egyptian architecture and sculpture are clearly reflected on the temple of Hera and the colossal *kouroi* discovered in the Heraion<sup>52</sup>. Within this frame of cultural exchange, one can argue that Egypt influenced Samos on several practices, including perhaps the provision of vases for workers. The special relation that Samos enjoyed with Egypt may also explain why we do not have similar evidence for workers' provisions from the nearby poleis of Miletus/Didyma and Ephesus, where large-scale building programs were also undertaken. Let us not forget that Samos, unlike Miletus and Ephesos, did not succumb to the

45 Martin 1973, 201 commenting on Diod. 14, 1, 6 regarding the construction of Epipolai; Hellmann 2002, 1. 56 with examples from literary sources and inscriptions.

46 Burford 1969, 251.

47 Burford 1969, 193; Descat 1986, 297–306; Hellmann 2002, 1. 70–72.

48 Hellmann 2002, 1. 72 n. 73; IG II<sup>2</sup> 1673, l. 45–50 (fourth-century building account from Eleusis).

49 van Effenterre 1973, 31–46 and 1979, 279–293 esp. 281. Descat 1986, 299 f. argues in favour of separating between salary and alimentionation.

50 For similar contracts between a city and a specialist, see also van Effenterre

1979, 280. Furthermore, Kritsas 2006, 397–434 discusses the inscriptions on bronze tablets from Elis mentioning salaries of workers and herdsmen (p. 411); cf. the *iaromnamones ens Heran*, a consul of tribe leaders in charge of the revenues and transactions related to the sanctuary of Hera (p. 413); the *artynai ha ton poterion*, responsible for the manufacture of gold and silver cups used during the festivals (p. 418); the *artynai ton thyromaton*, a group of *Domatopoi* to rebuilt the temple of Hera burnt by the fire of 423 B.C. (p. 418); another group for the fine details, e. g. in ivory (p. 419), and the *Hedopoi*, the creators of the cult statue (pp. 419 f.).

51 For example, ostraka from the workers's village at Deir el-Medineh mention that the labourers were given pottery every week, most likely by the state. David Aston argued that workers' pottery found in the Valley of the Kings consisted of special set (a jar/closed shape, a stand, and a dish), and was supplied to them when they had to leave their village and live in the Necropolis for a week: Aston – Aston 2000, 11–26. Cf. Haring 2000, 45–58 and his discussion on the pottery discovered in the Necropolis. Also, see Frood 2003, 29–62.

52 Coulton 1995, 32–50; Hellman 2002, 2. 44 f.



Fig. 3 Naukratis, the Hera-mug with Glaukos's inscription: ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ Τ(Η) ΗΡΗΙ

Lydian and then the Persian expansion towards the Aegean, and was thus able to maintain the privileged channels of communication with Egypt at least until 525 B.C. when the latter fell to the Persian rule<sup>53</sup>.

### Hera-Pottery from Other Heraia: Naukratis

Let us now turn to the filial sanctuary of Hera in Naukratis, the only other place that has yielded this type of vases in some quantity<sup>54</sup>. It should be noted that in the Heraion at Naukratis, it is mainly drinking vessels (cups, mugs) that carry the HP dipinti, while a few unmarked mugs from the site are today dispersed between London and Boston<sup>55</sup>. In addition, there is a mug with an incised dedication of a certain Glaukos to Hera (Fig. 3)<sup>56</sup>, a fact that questions even further the exclusive association of this pottery-type with banquets.

The mugs unearthed at Naukratis were made by the same clay and technique as the ones found at the Samian Heraion, which demonstrates that they were directly imported from Samos<sup>57</sup>. Udo Schlotzhauer attributed the Hera-cups from Naukratis to Furtwängler's Type II and III, and postulated a date no later than 570 B.C.<sup>58</sup>. This period coincides with the early years of Pharaoh Amasis II, and, because of his favourable rule towards the Greeks, Schlotzhauer argues that the temenos of Hera was restructured in the beginning of his reign. To celebrate the occasion, Hera-vases were imported as *aphidrymata*<sup>59</sup>: supplying the Naukratis Heraion with this pottery exemplifies the transplant of traditions from the »mother-sanctuary«, the Samian Heraion.

The possibility of a new construction phase of the temenos of Hera at Naukratis around 570 B.C. may find indirect support in the alleged visit of Rhoikos at the site, the architect of the first dipteral temple of the Samian Heraion<sup>60</sup>. The assumption of his trip to Naukratis is based on an inscription decorating a multiple eye-cup dedicated to Aphrodite by a certain Rhoikos,

53 Möller 2005, 185 summarizing Alain Bresson's thesis on the importance of the history of Naukratis to the development of its administration.

54 On the sanctuary of Hera: Hdt. 2, 178; Petrie 1886, V 16 (identified as a palaestra); Gardner 1888, 13; Möller 2000, 101 points out the bad preservation of the temenos; Höckmann – Koenigs 2007, 127 associated the sister-sanctuary of Hera on Naukratis with the Ionian mercenaries in the Egyptian army, and identified it as »a home away from home« for the soldiers. On the »island of Samos-in-the Nile«, see Steph. Byz. s. v. Ephesos; Shipley 1987, 86. On Naukratis as a trading center, see Boardman 1980, 118–133; Möller 2000 and 2005; Villing – Schlotzhauer 2006a, 1–10 with an overview of the history of excavations, finds and publications. For more extensive bibliography and information on current and past excavations at Naukratis, see the website of the British Museum's project, »Naukratis: the Greeks in Egypt«, <[https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research\\_projects/all\\_current\\_projects/naukratis\\_the\\_greeks\\_in\\_](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/research_projects/all_current_projects/naukratis_the_greeks_in_)

egypt.aspx> (03.07.2016), while Demetriou 2012 discusses emporia in the Mediterranean in more detail. The latest studies on the Hera-vases from Naukratis are by Möller 2000, 144; Schlotzhauer – Weber 2005, 69–114 esp. 80 f.; Schlotzhauer 2006, 312 f. figs. 11–13 and idem 2012 (non vidi). On Samian pottery in Naukratis, see comments by Shipley 1987, 59 n. 64 and on East Greek pottery from Naukratis, see Villing – Schlotzhauer 2006b. Samians' early presence in Egypt and their relations with Amasis is described by Hdt. 4, 152 (Kolaios); 2, 182 (Amasis's dedication in the Samian Heraion); 3, 39; 3, 54 (Greek mercenaries to Amasis); 3, 47. 48 (the fragile balance between Samos, Amasis, and Sparta). For a commentary, see Cartledge 1982; Shipley 1987, 83–87; Wallinga 1993, 84–100; Kreuzer 1994, 103–119. On Ionians and Egypt, see Boardman 1980, 133–141 and recently Hölbl 2007, 447–461, while for a reappraisal of the cult of Apollo in Naukratis, see Ehrhardt et al. 2008. For the latest studies on Archaic pottery

from Naukratis, see Schlotzhauer et al. 2012 (non vidi).

55 Schlotzhauer 2006, 312 f. figs. 11–13 and recently idem 2012 (non vidi); Villing – Schlotzhauer 2006b, 61.

56 CVA Cambridge 2 pl. XVII.71 (W. Lamb).

57 Jones 1986; Schlotzhauer 2006, 312 n. 109 fig. 14; Kerschner – Mommsen 2009, 85 fig. 3 (confirmed through archaeometric analysis). For the same variations of the colour of the dipinti as the Hera-vases from the Samian Heraion, see Schlotzhauer 2012, 154–159 nos. Nau 124–129 (non vidi).

58 Schlotzhauer 2006, 312 f. and 2012, 56 f. (non vidi).

59 Schlotzhauer 2006, 312 f. and 2012, 56 f. (non vidi); on *aphidrymata*, see Nick 2002, 24 f. 100–112; Möller 2000, 101 is cautious when discussing the date of the Old Temple of Hera, possibly in the second half of the seventh century B.C.

60 Kienast 1998 argues that Theodoros was the first architect of Dipteros I and Rhoikos in charge of dismantling it.

dated around 580–570 B.C.<sup>61</sup>. As the name is rather rare and the timeline concurs with his later projects on Samos, it is not improbable to identify the Rhoikos of the cup with the famous architect<sup>62</sup>. The monumentality and scale of Egyptian art and architecture must have made a huge impact on him, and inspired his design of the Samian dipteral. One only wonders whether his talent may have found an earlier expression in the restructuring of the temenos of Hera in Naukratis. Schlotzhauer is right to associate the Hera-vases with construction-projects, but instead of interpreting them as *aphidrymata*, one may counter-propose the possibility of worker's pottery. Inexpensive, plain pottery was imported from the motherland and used by labourers, working on the renovation of Hera's temenos. The reason for not using Egyptian ceramics is twofold: first, the Hera-mugs were tested in the Samian sanctuary and proven to help regulate the daily consumption of workers, and second, Egyptian pottery was never favoured by the Greeks. This hypothesis explains the lack of Hera-vases in Naukratis after the first third of the sixth century, since the early Archaic renovation of the sanctuary was probably the only significant project in the temenos. The newly built Hellenion<sup>63</sup>, the competition with neighbouring Greek sanctuaries<sup>64</sup>, and the instability of the ground<sup>65</sup>, shifted the interest from the sanctuary of Hera, thus cancelling any future plans of construction, along with the need to import more Hera-vases.

Commenting on the identity of the users of Hera-pottery in Naukratis, Schlotzhauer argued that they were Samian citizens or perhaps priests, who distinguished themselves from the rest of the community through these special vessels<sup>66</sup>. Instead of attributing the Hera-vases to a higher class or priesthood, I would like to associate them with workers. The Hera-dipinti would have been easily recognised by Samian, Greek, and foreign workers, as well as by visitors of the sanctuary, and need not be considered as an indication of the user's nationality or literacy<sup>67</sup>.

## Disassociating Hera-Pottery from Other Heraia: Perachora and Gravisca

In addition to the Heraion of Samos and Naukratis, it has been argued that the sanctuary of Hera in Perachora is a third findspot of Hera-pottery (Fig. 4)<sup>68</sup>. The discussion concentrates on about twenty fragmentary vases with painted inscriptions of Hera, of which the simple cups with dipinti have been identified as banquet equipment following the model of the Hera-pottery from Samos<sup>69</sup>. However, most of the Perachora fragments inscribed with the name of Hera date to the fourth century and the Hellenistic period, while the five examples dated in the sixth and fifth century carry more elaborate inscriptions,

**61** Multiple eye-cup: British Museum inv. 88-6-1-392 (A1260); Schmidt 1968, 113 f. pls. 121. 122; Boardman 1980, 132 fig. 153.

**62** Schmidt 1968, 113 f. pls. 121. 122; Boardman 1980, 131 f.

**63** Hdt. 2, 178; Möller 2000, 105–108 with previous scholarship; Höckmann – Möller 2006, 11–22 on dining in the Hellenion; on ethnicity and the Hellenion, see Crielaard 2009, 70 f., while for a more in-depth discussion of Naukratis and other emporia, see Demetriou 2012.

**64** e. g., Möller 2000, 94–99 (the Milesian sanctuary of Apollo). 99 f. (the sanctuary of the Dioskouroi).

**65** Möller 2000, 101.

**66** Schlotzhauer 2006, 313; on self-identification of Ionians in general, see Crielaard 2009, esp. 63–71 (sanctuaries as venues of display).

**67** For an opposite opinion on the literacy issue, see Kron 1984, 292–297.

**68** On the sanctuary of Hera Akraia and Hera Limenia, see Payne 1940; Dunbabin

1962; Sinn 1990; Menadier 1995; Baumbach 2004, 11–49.

**69** Menadier 1995, 159 appendix 3. The painted inscriptions in question are: Payne 1940, 97 nos. 6–8 pls. 29. 131; Dunbabin 1962, 393–395 nos. 17. 19. 21–35. Incised inscriptions with the name of Hera: Dunbabin 1962, 396–399 nos. 63. 68. 83. 85. 111. 113–117. 123. 125 pls. 128. 151. 163. 164. 166–168.

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Fig. 4 Perachora, fragmentary cups with painted inscriptions of Hera (fourth century and later)

typical of dedications, e. g., ΤΑΣ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΕΙΜΙ, ΤΑΣ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΛΙΜΕΝΙΑΣ ΕΙΜΙ<sup>70</sup>. It should also be noted that the vases from Perachora are not Samian imports, the characteristic one-handled mug is absent, while the dipinti are not stylistically comparable to the ones from Samos. Also, in addition to Corinthian vases, there are at least six fifth-century Attic vases incised with the same phrase, i. e., ΤΑΣ ΗΕΡΑΣ ΕΙΜΙ and ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ ΤΑ ΗΕΡΑΙ<sup>71</sup>, supporting an identification of the Perachora vases as votive objects rather than drinking vessels produced for ritual meals, even though the tradition of ritual dining is well-attested on the site<sup>72</sup>.

A large number of drinking vessels inscribed with the name of Hera has also been found in the sacred complex of Gravisca, Etruria, most commonly on imported vases, e. g., Ionian, black-glazed, and Attic black-figure<sup>73</sup>. In particular, excavations in the area of the temenos of Hera yielded a group of Ionian cups dating around 560–520 B.C. marked with the name of the goddess in the genitive or with longer dedications<sup>74</sup>. Like the vases from Perachora, it seems that the inscribed cups from Gravisca were votives rather than drinking vessels used primarily in ritual dining<sup>75</sup>. The large number of drinking cups recovered from the temenos of Hera<sup>76</sup>, second only to the temenos of Aphrodite, along with the remarkable presence of lamps<sup>77</sup>, cooking, and storage vases<sup>78</sup>, support a hypothesis of large-scale meals in honour of the goddess. However, despite the distinct presence of Samians in the sanctuary of Gravisca<sup>79</sup>, the Hera-vases were not essential to the local tradition of sacred dining, a point that supports the disassociation of this pottery type from ritual meals at the Samian Heraion.

**70** Dunbabin 1962, 395 nos. 15. 17. 19. 21. 22 pls. 163. 164.

**71** Inscribed Attic vases: Dunbabin 1962, 398 nos. 111–117 pls. 151. 168. Inscribed Corinthian vases: Dunbabin 1962, 397 nos. 63. 68. 83. 85. 123. 125 pls. 166–168.

**72** The ca. 200 phialai from the Sacred Pool have been associated by Tomlinson with libations, purification rituals and dining, which, as he argues, took place in a fifth-century *hestiatorion*, tentatively restored near the pool: Tomlinson 1988, 167–171 esp. 170 f. and Tomlinson 1990, 95–101 for a revised date of the *hestiatorion* to the late sixth century B.C. Contra: Sinn 1990, 103 f. down-dates the *hestiatorion* to the early fourth century B.C. and explains all items used for the filling of the Sacred Pool as the result of terracing and ritual cleansing of the sanctuary. On the Archaic and Classical *hestiatorion*, see Sinn 1990, 101–103.

**73** Valentini 1993, 270 pl. 44; Boldrini 1994, 235; Johnston – Pandolfini 2000, 17–19 nos. 4–46bis pls. 1. 2. 47; Iacobazzi 2004, vol. 1, 56. 57. 170–172; vol. 2, 347. 535–538 (A. Johnston). On the history and archaeology of Gravisca, see the sixteen volumes published in the series »Gravisca. Scavi nel santuario greco« and in particular for the sanctuary of Hera, see the work of Mario Torelli, esp. 1971 and 1977.

**74** Boldrini 1994, 235. 237 describes a group of one-handled small cups, decorated with bands in the interior and handles and left in reserve on the exterior, of Ionian, possibly Samian provenance.

**75** Valentini 1993, 263 f. Cf. the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, Bookidis 1993, 54.

**76** Valentini 1993, 263 f.; Boldrini 1994, 254; Huber 1999, 11. 18. 188 (graph 4); Iacobazzi 2004, 47–479 esp. 472. 478.

**77** Galli 2004, esp. 177 notes the considerable presence of lamps from

the temenos of Hera (building A) – more than 3600 pieces – many of which of Attic origin. Cf. the large number of lamps from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, Bookidis 1993, 47.

**78** Gori – Pierini 2001, esp. vol. 2, 399–403. Cf. cooking pots from the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth, Bookidis 1993, 52 f.

**79** For an overview of the Samian presence in Gravisca, see Haack 2007, 29–40 where she also argues that the emporion at Gravisca was founded by Samians to Hera rather than by Phocaeans to Aphrodite. Boldrini 1994, 262–264 admits the distinct Samian origin of the finds, but recommends more study and comparison with Naukratis. On Samian pottery from Gravisca, see Boldrini 1994, 94–100 (esp. the plain foot-plates). 116–119 (black-figure pottery and relief cup). 137–235 (certain groups of Ionian cups).

## Conclusion

Our examination of vases inscribed with the name of Hera from four different Heraia sanctuaries at Samos, Naukratis, Perachora, and Gravisca, demonstrates that only two sites have yielded the characteristic pottery with red dipinti: Samos and Naukratis. The Hera-pottery was property of the Samian goddess, and, as it has been argued above, it may have been produced in dependence to major construction phases at the sanctuary rather than as equipment for ritual dining.

Identifying the Hera-vases as the main service-ware of workers explains why this pottery did not fare well outside Samos. The only other site where this modest, old-fashioned ware has been found is the satellite Heraion at Naukratis; and this only when the circumstances deemed it necessary, i. e., during the restructuring of the temenos. All other sanctuaries of Hera show no interest in importing the Hera-pottery, even when ritual dining is involved and/or Samian presence is attested. Despite the international character of the Samian Heraion, the Hera-vases remained a commodity with minimal distribution, tightly depended from the physical and built environment of the sanctuary.

**Abstract**

Amalia Avramidou, Reconsidering the Hera-Pottery from the Samian Heraion and Its Distribution

**Keywords**

Samian Heraion • Hera-pottery • ritual dining • workers • Naukratis

An examination of the vases inscribed with Hera's name from four different sanctuaries of the goddess (Samos, Naukratis, Perachora, and Gravisca) demonstrates that only two Heraia, the ones of Samos and Naukratis, have actually yielded the characteristic pottery with red dipinti marking it as Hera's property (hence Hera-vases). The production of this local ware is examined here with reference to major construction phases of the Samian sanctuary and an attempt is made to interpret it as the main service-ware of workers rather than as equipment for ritual dining.

**Sources of illustrations**

Fig. 1: D-DAI-ATH-1977/975 (G. Hellner) • Fig. 2: Tsakos 1970, 417 pl. 351 b; with the permission of the KA' Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities • Fig. 3: © Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, GR 227.1899 • Fig. 4: Payne 1940, 97 nos. 6–8 pls. 29. 131; with the permission of the National Museum of Athens

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